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Speech of

Hon. Frank J. Cannon

Feb 9. Del. by F. J. Cannon

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CUBA.

I believe that just one strong, brave word from the people of the United States will at once put a stop to Cuban atrocities; and if that brave word shall be spoken in time it will absolutely prevent the possibility of war between this country and Spain.

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRANK J. CANNON,
OF UTAH,

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IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

FEBRUARY 9, 1898.

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SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK J. CANNON.

AFFAIRS IN CUBA.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, as I entered the Senate Chamber this morning I obtained a copy of this morning's New York Herald, which contains an article telegraphed from Washington by the bureau of the Herald here from which I will read some words as an introduction to the remarks which I shall make on the pending resolution.

Under headlines which state that the President is displeased at the exhibition of jingoism in the Senate this expression occurs:

It will be well understood here and in official circles abroad that nothing more harmless than talk will result. The President very much deplors this agitation at the present time. It is regarded as unfortunate that just when negotiations for the proposed new commercial treaty with Spain are getting under way members of the Senate should pursue a course which might seriously embarrass the Administration in the pending negotiations.

The New York Herald is usually very accurate in its news and in its observations upon the sentiments of the administration of affairs in this country, and I take it that I am not going too far when I accept this statement as being the view of the Administration at the present time.

Mr. President, at the threshold of the new movement for a recognition of Cuba, I desire to say that it is not my purpose, and so far as I know it is not the purpose of any Senator who shall address the Senate or who shall speak to the country on this question, to disturb in any way the peace and welfare of the people of the United States or to interpose any remark in criticism which can in any manner deflect from its progress toward success any policy which the President of the United States has in mind at this time for the honorable settlement of the Cuban question and the establishment of the dignity of this Republic.

Mr. President, there is another phase, however, to this question as raised by a great and powerful newspaper. By what authority does any public journalist declare that nothing more harmful than talk will result from the agitation of the Cuban question in the Congress of the United States? What access has the New York Herald, or any other paper, to the purposes of this Administration which justifies the declaration that no substantial result can follow from a movement in Congress to recognize the Cuban patriots?

It would appear that some concerted plan has been determined upon to forestall and prevent any action by the Senate, as all pos-

sible action has been forestalled and prevented in the House of Representatives, to the end that the will of the people may be undone, and to the end that some policy, not yet revealed to the people of the United States and not approved by them, may be carried out.

In the same article there are observations upon a distinguished member of the Senate, which I do not choose to read. I do not know to what extent the author of the article may have had conference with or the indorsement of that Senator: but, Mr. President, something more harmful than talk will result to the anti-Cuban purpose of the men in Congress and outside of Congress, in high official places in this country. The purpose can not be carried out.

We have been told by intimations, repeated in this body and in another hall of legislation and through the public prints, that a policy was to be inaugurated—a policy so courageous in character and so startling in effects before the world as to put to shame those who have questioned the patriotism of the Administration and its intention to carry out the platform upon which the President was elected.

And we have waited in vain for the revelation until now, when war is ended in Cuba, and when the brutal heroism of battle has given place to a controversy of hunger. Spain no longer has the courage or the credit to maintain offensive operations in the field. She is only holding to the appearance of a struggle in Cuba in order to satisfy the creditors who have advanced the millions by which she has sought to keep that people in subjection. Spain has been bankrupt in money for many years. She is bankrupt now in credit. Her greatest statesman is gone; her people no longer have the ability to furnish armies for the contest. Her policy is not that of warfare, but it is to subdue by bribery, by corruption, by starvation, a people which Spain and her cohorts can not conquer in the field.

If there be any policy on the part of the United States, it is one of affiliation with this movement, by which Spain shall be enabled to saddle upon Cuba the vast mass of debt incurred in the vain endeavor to conquer that island. More than four hundred millions of bonds are held by Spanish creditors, the bulk of which were issued to obtain funds with which to carry on the struggle in Cuba. In 1868 the Cuban debt was only \$25,000,000. At the opening of the recent revolution it had swelled to nearly \$200,000,000; and as Spain charges to Cuban account all the expenditures which are made in the prosecution of the warfare, it has now become nearly five hundred millions, not all of which, however, is represented by bonds.

Mr. President, I charge now that the purpose of the Administration in delaying action is in consonance with, if not in direct copartnership with, the will of the Spanish bondholders, who are determined that before Cuba shall be allowed her freedom in the world, and before there shall be recognition of her independence by Spain, there shall be security upon that blood-stained island for the major part of the debt which has been incurred by Spain.

There are not wanting evidences of this. There appeared in an American newspaper a few days since—a paper which can not be charged with Cuban sympathies, a paper which has access to the purposes of the Administration now in power—an article which substantiates to the letter the statement which I have made.

In the Tribune, of Chicago, under a Washington date line of February 3, this statement is made:

Secret negotiations are now actually in progress between the State Department and the insurgents in Cuba looking to a stoppage of the war on some financial basis, to be agreed upon hereafter. President McKinley has not recognized the insurgents as belligerents, and he can not therefore treat with them openly as he would do with a diplomatic representative of an independent nation.

Direct communication has been had between the insurgents' government and the Administration here. The insurgents expressed perfect willingness to assume a reasonable share of the Spanish bonds issued against Cuban revenues. The proposition has been considered with some favor, and the President and his Cabinet have discussed several plans for guaranteeing the Cuban debt on the sole basis of independence.

At a further point in the article the statement is made that—

The United States will be in a position to offer Spain a heavy financial bonus for giving up the island.

Mr. President, Cuba has bought her liberty with blood. The hundreds of thousands of people who have perished there in this last struggle for liberty have offered up their lives in payment of the purchase price; and for the United States now to join with Spain or to force the patriots to consent to any purchase of the independence of Cuba by the payment of money is like robbing the dead. The United States can not afford to maintain a policy by which the insurgents—as a last resort, to protect the wives and children of the island, to protect the men and the property—must consent to give gold to buy that which is already theirs.

A sufficient apology for bringing this subject before the Senate and before the country again at this time is found in a letter written by Gen. Maximo Gomez to a friend in this country under recent date. I shall read it here for the purpose of showing to the Senate the spirit which animates that great leader in the field and which actuates the Cubans, that, if possible, his view may find some echo here in the recollections which we have of the mighty deeds of our ancestors. He says:

MY DEAR AND RESPECTED FRIEND: I wrote you before Mendez's departure. He took with him letters in which I related to you everything that had happened of importance. I do so now, because it is proper that you should know, and by men such as I, that would not stain their name with falsehood, that General Blanco, knowingly, or deceived by his subordinates, is carrying out a more infamous policy than General Weyler. The latter killed and pillaged by daylight, and his orders and decrees were well known, and in his case it could be said, "forewarned is forearmed." But General Blanco, notwithstanding his deconcentration, persecutes some families while he leaves others alone; destroys the plantings of those who had remained on their ranches, while he proposes to establish zones of cultivation around towns and forts where nothing but thistles can be raised.

This agriculture has no direction or system, no definite plan, and no means to carry it into effect. It is an illusory and almost a cruel reconstruction. It is a system by which a people who are willing to be saved are condemned to a fruitless and barren labor. I do not know whether this slavery is not worse than the slavery of old of the colored people.

The men who are found getting cattle for their families are deprived of the cattle and killed. Anyone can imagine how many such cases occur, the country people confiding in the flag of peace so treacherously waved by General Blanco. He protects and takes advantage of the traitors and assassins, as he is presently doing with the assassin and traitor Antonio M. Guzman. If Angiolillo had escaped after his attempt against Señor Canovas and sought refuge in our ranks, hoping to save himself, he would have been sadly mistaken, because justice would have been meted out to him here as it was done in Madrid.

We can not associate with criminals, for that would be to stain the flag of liberty and order which we have waved in our glorious field. The Spaniards,

on the other hand, laying aside all considerations of honor and dignity, profit by everything against the Cubans. The best and most intimate friend of Generals Pando and Salcedo is to-day Antonio M. Guzman. But there is more. The Spaniards with the greatest cynicism accuse us of cruelties and insults to our families, as they have just said, referring to our capture of the town of Guisa. Let the Cuban beware who would attack a woman, a child, or an old man! To punish him the authority of a general is not needed, because we would all rise against such criminal, and at once public opinion and the law would fall on him.

The families within our camps as well as outside we consider as flesh of our flesh, bone of our bones. They are the special object of our care, and as to myself, I can say that in every Cuban woman I see Bernarda Toro (my wife) and Clemencia Gomez (my daughter). But it is not thus with the Spaniards. They have sworn war and extermination to everything that breathes in this land, and Blanco, the same as Weyler, although by different systems, goes to the same end. Blanco comes to deceive and corrupt. He puts his triumph not in the force of arms, which have been useless, but in the force of deceit, of infamy, and of bribery. The Spaniards could not kill us in a fair struggle in the field of battle. They now offer great rewards to those assassins who, masked as friends, will come to our midst to suppress, by whatever means, those whom they call leaders!

It is necessary that you should make the civilized world acquainted with such infamies.

The protest written by those exiles against the pretended autonomy has pleased us very much. And although there is not here one single soldier who thinks of such ridiculous proposition, our enthusiasm has been increased when we have read of the firmness of our brothers across the seas in also upholding the principles for which so much blood is being daily shed. The winter campaign has already commenced, with advantage for our arms, and, as I have already informed you, without any optimism, we have the war well in hand throughout the island, and it will be materially impossible for Spain to pacify the island even should she send against us 200,000 men more. Less will they be able to do it when they only count with the sickly and tired remains of the army which Weyler has left, together with the debts as an inheritance for Blanco.

You and your companions can work with calmness without any precipitation, so that our directed affairs will turn out properly; as to those who are here, you will notice that we continue to fight without weakening. Do not worry if you hear of surrenders; they are of those who do not have courage, virtue, or prestige, and they do not subtract strength from the revolution; they are so many less mouths to feed.

Your friend,

MAXIMO GOMEZ.

Mr. President, this letter, a personal one, directed from the great general to his confidante, is a practical substantiation of the statement that war is ended there. Its tenor is a sufficient justification for us at this time and in this way to demand a pause in the only possible policy which is being maintained by the Administration, which would be to force the Cubans to buy their liberties anew from the Spaniard, who does not own them.

In the rush and hurry of events, bearing in mind that sixty-one resolutions on the Cuban question have been presented before the American people in Congress in the past two years, we are likely to lose sight of the one significant fact, which has existed from the beginning and which now exists, that the President of the United States can by a pen stroke stop the barbarities in Cuba, free the people there, and relieve the island from the burden which it sustains. It is almost earthly omnipotence which he possesses. A declaration of belligerency at any time since the war began would have brought it to a speedy conclusion, and would now absolutely terminate the attempt of Spain to hold possession of Cuba.

Gentlemen who oppose the recognition of belligerency have been fond of maintaining here and elsewhere before the country that the Cubans would be no better off after the granting of such recognition than now. It is significant that every friend of Spain in this country has protested against the granting of belligerency,

and that every friend of Cuba and every sympathizer with that devoted island has demanded such recognition, under the statement and the firm belief that with it and with the equal rights which it would give to Cubans in this country and in our waters the island would soon be free.

Mr. President, if the Chief Executive of this nation when he came into power could have dreamed of strength and authority greater than that which any man had ever enjoyed in our history, he could not have conceived in his most ardent imagination greater opportunity than that which now exists in him to set a people free. One word will do it. The bare signature of his name to a declaration of belligerency will do it.

What hand is it that stays William McKinley from signing his name? What whisper is it that says to him, "Wait?" There has never been the suggestion of a movement in behalf of Cuba in two years but that some one has said, "Wait just a little longer and the Administration's power will be seen, the great purpose which has been cherished by the President will be made known, and Cuba will be freed without danger to the United States." We have waited while Americans confined in prison have been starved and tortured and assassinated. We have waited, as was said in another hall of legislation not long since, until all American property in the island and commerce with the island have been destroyed. We have waited until war itself has ended and until starvation has begun. Our cup of waiting is full.

Mr. President, on the 13th day of January, nearly a month ago, a resolution of inquiry was directed by the Senate to the President of the United States, asking him to inform the Senate, if not incompatible with the public interests, what power of the United States was being exerted to protect the lives and property of American citizens in the Island of Cuba. No response has been received to that inquiry; no answer in word or deed has been made by the Executive. It is an astonishing thing—almost an unparalleled thing—that the Executive should not at least have answered that he could not reply in terms without doing something which was incompatible with the public interests. The resolution of inquiry passed this body unanimously. The Executive has treated it with that contempt of silence with which the question is treated under the despotism of another branch of the Federal Congress.

It has been no answer to the American people to send the *Maine* to Cuban waters. For twenty-four hours the people of this country were exultant in the thought that the power of the United States was to be made manifest, but almost instantly there was a revulsion of feeling, because, instead of the *Maine's* appearing as a friend to the Cubans, it was made to appear that the visit of that war vessel was in compliment to Spain, and the flag of the United States was dipped to the banner of the tyrant. It is no answer to the American people to send the fleet to Key West. All those things, if they mean anything significant for the Cuban people, are provocations of war, and the most ardent Cuban sympathizers in the United States do not wish to see war with Spain for the redemption of the island. We have believed from the beginning that the Cubans were amply competent to win their own freedom if they could have the same rights here which were accorded to their oppressors. It is no answer, Mr. President, that there shall be under consideration at the present time a treaty for reciprocal commercial relations with Spain. The reciprocity which

the American people want is such as is described in a letter written by Col. Melchor L. de Mola, General Gomez's chief of staff, from the field on a recent date. He said:

On the beautiful morning of the 23d of December there arrived at the general headquarters of the army the consul of the United States at Carthegena, Mr. Rafael Madrigal, who came in representation of the consul general of the said nation in Havana, Gen. F. H. Lee, to ask of the general in chief of the Cuban army the delivery of the jewels and money belonging to the American citizen Crosby, killed by the Spaniards in the battle which took place in Santa Teresa on the 8th of March of this year.

As Mr. Madrigal came in an official character and brought the American flag waving, he was received with our flag and music, and the honors due to the representative of a foreign power which for so many reasons deserves our respect and affection were done him. The reception of the American consul and his suite was solemn and moving. The flags were dipped, and embraces and expressive phrases exchanged by the distinguished visitors and our general in chief.

Mr. Madrigal fulfilled his mission in due form and revealed himself a perfect gentleman and expert diplomat.

During the days which the distinguished visitors passed in our camp they were well taken care of by us.

This event is important and will have great influence, because it is the first time that a legal representative of a foreign power presents himself in the Cuban camp to treat with us and to exchange salutations with an authority of the revolution; it is the first time that the starry flag of the great Republic comes to the field of battle to affectionately join the triumphant flag of the solitary star; which implies the tacit acknowledgment of belligerency; to think of the contrary would be not to do justice to the United States.

That is the reciprocity which the American people want—reciprocity of affection and care and support with and for Cuba, not with Spain. Commerce with Spain, with or without this reciprocal or other treaty, may well pause for a little time. Our commerce with Cuba free is of more value to the American people, is of more profit to our toilers, is a greater enhancement of the industries of agriculture and manufacturing in this country, than all our trade with Spain, on whatever basis it might be established.

Mr. President, the resolutions now pending, the one which was read from the Secretary's desk this morning, and the still more striking one presented by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], and the amendment proposed to the consular and diplomatic appropriation bill by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], are not unnecessary. It is true that this resolution or the one proposed by the Senator from Illinois will not, if either shall be passed by the Senate of the United States, be a recognition of belligerency. It is also true that the President of the United States would be under no obligation to announce this great right to the Cuban patriots, but it is also true that the Senate of the United States can discharge its responsibility by renewing its affirmation of justice to the struggling patriots. If offense must come, let the responsibility be upon those who commit the offense. If the House of Representatives shall refuse to adopt any resolution and if it shall be in the power of the distinguished Senator who has control of the consular and diplomatic bill to prevent a hearing or a vote in the Senate on the proposed amendment of the Senator from Nebraska, let the responsibility rest where it belongs, but, for one, I shall feel that I have not discharged my duty unless I endeavor to gain a renewed expression from the Senate of the United States of sympathy for Cuba and of intention to force, if possible, some Administrative recognition of the rights which they should enjoy in the family of nations.

Besides, Mr. President, the bringing forward of resolutions of this kind at this time will be a test of the sentiment of the Senate of the United States. Less than two years ago there were at most but 5 pro-Spaniards in the Senate; of the entire membership, at least 85 Senators asserted their sympathy with Cuba, either by voice or vote in this Chamber or by external expression. When the resolution for belligerency was brought forward on the 20th day of May last for a vote, there were 41 Senators present who voted affirmatively. To-day perhaps no resolution could pass this body, and yet the people of this country are entitled to have the test made to see whether the sentiment which once existed here is dead, to see whether the supplications of the people in general, the requests of State legislatures, which in many instances have petitioned the Senate and the House for action on this question, are to be ignored.

I suppose this resolution may die in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations if the gentlemen who have charge of the important subjects which come before that committee shall refuse to bring it forward with a recommendation for or against its passage, but the effort made by bringing the question once more into the Senate of the United States will not be without avail, because the struggle in both Houses of Congress will thereby be encouraged.

Mr. President, I have said that the recognition of Cuban belligerency would set Cuba free. There has been expended by the Cuban patriots since the beginning of this war a sum less than \$3,000,000. At no one time have they had in their treasury more than a quarter of a million, and at the present time they have less than \$100,000. We affect to carry out neutrality laws which should obtain between nations at peace with each other, and yet the Cubans in the field get munitions of war from the United States. The rifles which the Cubans use with so much effect are sent from this country. Every rifle which a Cuban soldier carries has cost the Cuban patriots \$200 before it is put in the field.

Mr. ALLEN. I trust there may be order in the Chamber, so that the Senator from Utah will not be disturbed in his remarks.

Mr. CANNON. I do not object to ordinary disturbance, and I am quite content to allow Senators or gentlemen who have access to the floor all the privileges which are usually exercised here, but I certainly do object—

Mr. HALE. If the Senator will allow me, I hope the Chair will enforce the rule that conversation shall entirely cease in the Chamber. It is utterly impossible for those of us who desire to listen and who are sitting near the Senator from Utah to hear what he says unless order is preserved.

Mr. CANNON. I thank the Senator from Maine, but I wish to conclude the observation I was making. I stated that I do not object to ordinary interruption—to conversation or movement in the Chamber—but I do object to expressions of denial couched in improper language. A remark was made by some one, I think not a member of this body, to the effect that the statement which I had just uttered concerning the cost of rifles to the Cubans was a lie. The statement was distinctly audible to me and perhaps to others. I do not know by what right anyone who may have the privilege of the floor assumes to utter any remarks during the progress of business here, but I care less for that than I do for the spirit which actuated the remark.

Mr. President, it is a solemn truth that the Cubans have to pay \$200 each for the rifles with which they have secured their liberties. We have been doubly guilty of cowardice; we have refused to recognize the belligerency of the Cuban patriots, so that they might enter this country upon equal terms with the tyrant of Spain to buy munitions of war and supplies for their army and their suffering people, while at the same time our selfish commerce has made its exaction of extra blood money from the patriots for every rifle and all the munitions of war which it has secretly sold to them. Every express company and every skipper of a craft which has engaged to aid filibustering between this country and the Island of Cuba has taken a deadly toll, until each rifle which has come into the hands of a patriot in the field has cost the Cubans \$200.

I stated that \$1,000,000 would enable the Cuban patriots to put an end to the struggle or the appearance of a struggle. If Cuban belligerency were granted by the people of the United States, at this hour the Cuban patriots could buy enough munitions of war with the small funds at their command to drive the last invader from the island.

Mr. President, we have pursued a policy on this question that is little less than infamous. In 1823 we notified the countries of Europe that all hands except those of Spain must be kept off Cuba. To-day the Christian sentiment throughout the world outside of the United States might possibly be aroused in behalf of the struggling republic, but under the doctrine which we have enunciated no other nation than the United States can interpose to aid the Cubans without coming into conflict with the principle by which we are guided in international affairs. The United States therefore stands to administer the Spanish garrote to the Cuban patriots. We hold the Cubans whilst Spain outrages and pillages the island.

Mr. President, I trust that the Committee on Foreign Relations, which takes these resolutions into its keeping, will permit us once more to vote on this question at an early day. And in addition to the direct issue on the resolutions, I hope that the subcommittee which has charge of the consular and diplomatic appropriation bill will allow us to have a vote upon the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. If the Senate of the United States will at this time attach the amendment of the Senator from Nebraska to the appropriation bill, the House of Representatives, which is eager to declare on this question, may have the long-sought opportunity in despite of the plans to the contrary. I believe that just one strong, brave word from the people of the United States will at once put a stop to Cuban atrocities, and if that brave word shall be spoken in time it will absolutely prevent the possibility of war between this country and Spain.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I do not rise now for the purpose of debating this resolution at any length, nor any of the questions involved in it, for the reason that I agree in what is evidently the expectation of the Senator from Utah [Mr. CANNON], that the resolution will be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that committee will have ample opportunity to consider it and to make report upon it.

The resolution of the Senator from Utah will be followed by another resolution upon the same subject submitted yesterday by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. MASON], who desires to address the

Senate on his own proposition. I have no doubt that that resolution will take the same course with this, and will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and therefore I shall not upon either resolution go at length into general debate upon the Cuban situation.

Both resolutions, Mr. President, are in the direction of a determined purpose to put the Administration into leading strings in reference to its policy upon Cuba. They are based upon the assumption that the country can not afford to wait the processes by which the executive department will arrive at one conclusion or another upon this subject, but are intended to drive the Administration into a course which I believe is fraught with danger to the country, and may involve us at a near day in an armed conflict with a now friendly nation.

Another step in this same programme to coerce the Administration is the amendment offered yesterday by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN], by which it is proposed, in a rider to be thrust upon an appropriation bill, to settle the policy of the country and of the Administration upon the Cuban question.

I have great faith first that the Committee on Foreign Relations will treat that amendment and the consideration of it wisely, and, moreover, that whatever may be the result of its deliberations upon it, the amendment offered by the Senator from Nebraska, clearly subject as it is to the point of order, will be ruled out under our rules and upon the good general reason that we ought not on a matter of such vast importance to coerce another branch by putting so drastic a proposition as a rider on an appropriation bill.

But, Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska, in offering his resolution, indicated that he should go further, and that whatever might be the result of the deliberations of the Foreign Relations Committee, or whatever might be ruled from the Chair upon a point of order, he would take an appeal and bring this subject before the Senate and put Senators upon record. Therefore, assuming that when that time comes the matter will really be brought in its most strenuous form and in its most objectionable form before the Senate, I do not propose to take much time of the Senate to-day in debating the subject of our relations with Cuba.

I shall speak briefly here, and then I shall give way to the Senator from Illinois, who is desirous of debating his own resolution.

The President, in his first message to Congress, a most carefully considered document, presented the whole situation in Cuba, the relations of this Government and this country to it, and the attitude that he assumed as the head of the Administration, in a most clear, cogent, and conclusive fashion. In the message which I have before me he discussed the situation at length, page after page, none of it surplusage, but all of it throwing light upon the subject. He quoted from the great messages of Grant in the years past that are a fundamental doctrine upon the subject, and also referred sympathizingly, in instances, to the suffering in Cuba and to wrongs committed and excesses endured there.

He summed up his conclusions as follows:

For these reasons I regard the recognition of the belligerency of the Cuban insurgents as now unwise and therefore inadmissible. Should that step hereafter be deemed wise as a measure of right and duty, the Executive will take it.

He there laid down the chart of the course his Administration will pursue—that if at any time in the future the conditions

should be such as to justify recognition of Cuban belligerency, the Executive would act in accordance with such conditions.

Now, since then the President and his Administration have acted time and again. The Senator from Utah has declared that many American citizens have been imprisoned, abused, maltreated, killed, it may be, in Spanish prisons in Cuba. Since that message was written, in the plan which the President had in his mind of considering this subject carefully and acting from time to time as wisdom might direct, he has taken such a course that to-day not one citizen of the United States is found in prison upon the Island of Cuba. One of the things that was demanded of this Administration has been most signally answered by the course of the President. To-day there is not an American citizen in durance in Cuba.

Moreover, the President, recognizing the sufferings upon the island, whoever may be responsible for them, and in that I do not wholly agree with the Senator from Utah, has not only made an appeal to the country for help, for benefactions from the American people, but has so conducted negotiations with the representatives of the Spanish Government and with the Spanish ministry that the doors of Cuba have been thrown open, and every encouragement has been given by the Spanish ministry for the introduction of the aid which the American people has so generously sent.

More than that, Mr. President, I will not say by any coercion, I will not say by argumentation, but clearly by suggestion of a friendly nature made by the Administration, the general in command, the person in highest authority in Cuba, against whom most objection existed and about whose methods undoubtedly there was much of the barbaric, has been removed by the Spanish Government and another and a different man put in his place.

But much more than that has been done. After negotiation and suggestion, and after due waiting and consideration by the Spanish Government, for these things can not be done in a day, the new Spanish ministry has proclaimed and offered officially and submitted to the people of Cuba a charter of human liberties that is broader and wider and deeper and more general and beneficent and democratic in its scope than that of any colonial dependency to-day of an Anglo-Saxon people on the face of the globe. And yet Senators say that nothing has been done. And to-day, when this experiment of autonomy is being tried and when it can be seen only in the future whether it is successful and whether a peaceful government based upon the principles of republicanism and true democracy shall be accepted in Cuba—when all this hangs in the balance—Senators introduce warlike resolutions here for the purpose of inflaming the situation and preventing the peace which is desirable in Cuba.

Still more has the President done. It was said and urged and argued in an impassioned way on this floor that the Administration was pusillanimous and that we ought to send ships to Cuba to show that if needed we could exercise our authority and our power in protecting American interests and the citizens of the United States there. In addition to what I have said that the President and the Administration have done, ships have been sent, great war ships, all manned, bearing the flag of the United States, sailing into the harbors of Cuba, showing that the Republic might be represented in Cuba as elsewhere in the world. And yet all this does not satisfy Senators. Notwithstanding all the Administration has done, notwithstanding the situation is entirely changed

from what it was, the Senator from Utah introduces his resolution which contemplates not only the recognition of belligerency but absolute independence in ninety days thereafter. This means war. Mr. President, the object is clear and plain. Whether it will or not succeed depends on the good sense of the Senate. This ought not to be an inflammatory body. This ought not to be a body easily carried off its feet.

I do not agree with the assumption of the Senator from Utah that the American people are determined upon action here and intervention that may result in war. First, I do not believe the American people want war. It is too intolerable that to-day, with our industries reviving, with the demand everywhere for peace, the American people want war. There are no indications that the American people agree with the Senator from Utah and the Senator from Illinois upon this matter and want speedy action. If there was any such sentiment it would have displayed itself in better fashion than fighting out the battles of Cuba on the floor of the United States Senate. We are less than a hundred miles from Cuba; there are one hundred places where thousands of men interested and determined to help the insurrection might have landed in Cuba and joined the insurgent army; and none have gone there.

There are to-day 250,000 soldiers of the great war of the rebellion upon both sides under the age of 50, and not one of them has gone to Cuba. There are said to be a million unemployed men in this country, with nothing to do, and not one of them has gone to Cuba. The Senator himself has no friend or relative who has gone there. Nay, more, Mr. President. I stand here and pause for a reply, and ask any Senator on this floor to give to me the name of one single citizen of the United States, with an English name, who is to-day fighting in the ranks of the insurgents. [A pause.]

I put that as an answer to the assumption of the Senator from Utah and all other Senators that this great American people is bound that the United States shall interfere at the risk of war. Some of the newspapers are for it. Others are for it for one reason and another, and the battle is being fought in the United States Senate, on the floor of this Chamber, not in Cuba. There never was a war that had in it the elements of an honest and sincere struggle for liberty against oppression that did not arouse not only the sympathy but the active aid of hundreds and thousands of gallant men, and this insurrection has excited none of that feeling in this country.

Mr. HOAR. Lafayette.

Mr. HALE. Yes; the Senator from Massachusetts has instanced a case of real sympathy with struggling liberty. I have before now thought of the difference between the case of the Cuban junta and their representatives, not one of whom has ever set foot on the Island of Cuba, living upon the contributions they have exacted in this country, not one ever crossing the narrow strait between the island and this country, and I have contrasted it, as the Senator from Massachusetts has, with the course of that gallant young Frenchman, the Marquis Lafayette, who took the sea, crowded as it was with British cruisers, his life and liberty in his hands, and came to this country, joined in our battles, took our risks and hardships. One does, I say to the Senator from Massachusetts, contrast a case like that with the procedure of the so-called Cuban patriots in this country.

Mr. President, I did not mean to be led into this discussion. I

only wanted to put the situation and to show that the President has not been inattentive to this subject; he has not been idle; he has not been cowardly. to quote the word used by the Senator from Utah, but has faithfully and seriously given his consideration, and his Administration has been with him upon this subject; and to-day, in this situation, that this subject should be forced, after the Senate has already passed a resolution and sent it to the other branch, and that the determination should be manifested to coerce the other branch, even to the extent of a rider upon an appropriation bill, is intolerable.

But, Mr. President, I have spoken longer now than I intended, and I make the motion that I rose to make—that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, I desire to make a personal explanation in behalf of a distinguished gentleman who was upon the floor at the time of the interruption to which I called attention. He states that while the objectionable words were actually uttered by him as I declared they were, yet they were not spoken in reference to the statement which I was at that time making, but were purely a comment upon a certain matter quoted to him by another gentleman who was upon the floor at the time and related to another subject than the one under consideration here.

Mr. President, I would not have accepted the explanation, but being personally acquainted with the gentleman who made the remark and who offered the explanation, and knowing his absolute truthfulness, I accept it absolutely and beg that the Senate will do so. There was on his part no intention to disturb this body or to contradict the statement made.

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