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JOINT RESOLUTION INVITING THE REPUBLIC
OF CUBA TO BECOME A STATE OF
THE AMERICAN UNION.

REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,
OF NEVADA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

November 23 and 25, 1903.

WASHINGTON.
1903.

REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

REPUBLIC OF CUBA.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote of the Senate by which the joint resolution (S. R. 15) inviting Cuba to become a State of the American Union was referred to the Committee on Relations with Cuba.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Maine moves that the vote by which the joint resolution to which he calls the attention of the Senate was referred to the Committee on Relations with Cuba be reconsidered.

Mr. HALE. I ask that the joint resolution may be read.

The Secretary read the joint resolution introduced by Mr. NEWLANDS on the 20th instant, as follows:

A joint resolution (S. R. 15) inviting Cuba to become a State of the American Union.

Whereas the Republic of Cuba is desirous of securing commercial union with the United States; and

Whereas the best commercial union can be secured by and through political union by means of the admission of the Republic of Cuba as a sovereign State in the Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the Republic of Cuba be, and is hereby, invited to become a State of the United States, upon terms of equality with all other States of the Union, and, leading in that direction, the following suggestions are made:

First. That the island of Porto Rico become a county or province of Cuba and a part of the State of Cuba.

Second. That the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Cuba be the governor and lieutenant-governor, respectively, of the State of Cuba until their terms of office expire, and that all other executive, legislative, and judicial officers now holding office in the Republic of Cuba continue to hold similar positions in the State of Cuba until their present terms expire, with the exception of the customs and postal officials, who shall be incorporated into the customs and postal service of the United States, and the Rural Guard, the officers and subordinates of which shall be incorporated into the Army of the United States.

Third. That the bonds about to be issued by the Republic of Cuba for the payment of its army during the war with Spain, aggregating \$35,000,000, with interest at 5 per cent, be issued as the bonds of the State of Cuba, and that the interest agreed to be paid thereon be reduced from 5 to 3 per cent, the difference to be applied to the sinking fund, and that as so changed their payment be guaranteed by the United States.

Fourth. That the balance in the treasury of the Republic of Cuba be turned over to the State of Cuba, and the balance in the treasury of Porto Rico be turned over to the county or provincial authorities of that island.

That the foregoing resolutions are inspired not by a desire to annex forcibly or to assert sovereignty over the island of Cuba, or to exercise any form of compulsion, but solely by a regard for the mutual interests of the two countries and a conviction that the interests of the States composing the Federal Union and Cuba are identical, and that they can be best secured by a union under one form of government in which all shall be represented on equal terms and be governed by equal and indiscriminating laws, insuring freedom of trade and equality of right and privilege.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President, I shall take only a little time of the Senate, but I desire to submit a few observations upon this resolution.

Mr. HALE then spoke in opposition to the resolution.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I am very glad to hear the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] on this subject. The purpose of the introduction of this joint resolution was to invite debate, consideration, and deliberation, and I feel gratified that the resolution has met with so early a response in this direction.

I agree with the Senator from Maine in much that he has said. I commend with him the good sense and the good judgment of the people constituting the Government of Cuba, but I contend that the good sense and the good judgment of this country will be demonstrated by presenting this invitation and that the good sense and good judgment of Cuba will be proved by accepting it.

Now, what is the joint resolution to which the Senator takes exception? This resolution presents no suggestion whatever of force or compulsion. It recognizes that the Republic of Cuba is a sovereign nation among the nations of the world. It recognizes the fact that that Republic itself feels that it can not stand alone; that it has accepted already the protection of this country; that it has surrendered to the more powerful sovereign to the west control over a portion of its territory as naval stations and military posts; that it has limited its power to contract, so far as debts are concerned, where such power is likely to be exercised in such a way as to risk the independence of the Republic. It recognizes our control over the sanitary conditions of that island as a matter of protection to our own country. Cuba stands, as is often said in debate in both Houses, in the position of a ward to a guardian.

I will not say anything now as to the history of this peculiar position of protection on one side and of dependence on the other. I will assume, without argument, that it was wise—wise upon the part of the United States to offer it and wise upon the part of Cuba to accept it—and yet the United States does, by the voluntary act of both the United States and Cuba, stand in the position of guardian to Cuba.

What, then, does Cuba ask of us? She asks of us another exceptional relation. She admits that from the economic point of view she is unable to stand alone; that the economic conditions of the world are against her; that though she is to-day the cheapest producer of sugar in the world, the markets of the world are barred against her by protective tariffs in some countries and by the bounty system in others. When she sought to restore the industries that had been destroyed by the war, she found that the production of 1,000,000 tons of sugar, which she had been accustomed to supply to the world, had been taken up by Germany, by France, and by Austria under the bounty system, and by Hawaii, Louisiana, and western beet sugar under the protective system, and that they had possession of her markets and that the sugar which she sought to produce and sell was a drug upon the market, sagging that market down and lowering the international price of sugar; and she looked to America, surrounded by a tariff wall, producing with the aid of Hawaii, Louisiana, and the fertile farms of the West only about one-third of her consumption, calling upon the world at large for 1,600,000 tons of sugar annually, and imposing upon that product a customs duty of \$35 a ton, nearly the international price that sugar was then bringing in the markets of the world.

She looked out eagerly for this market to which she had been accustomed before her prostration came. If she could import her sugar duty free it meant that she would receive annually for

1,000,000 tons of sugar \$75,000,000 instead of \$40,000,000. It meant that this advantage would increase as her production increased and that wealth and prosperity would come to her beyond the power of man to describe. She first asked free trade, then moderated her request to a reduction of 50 per cent in the duty, and then finally acquiesced in a reduction of 20 per cent. What would free trade have meant to her? One million tons of sugar, bringing only \$10 a ton in the markets of the world, would yield her \$75,000,000 in our market, where the domestic price of sugar is of course the international price plus the duty. What does the reduction she finally acquiesced in mean? A reduction of 20 per cent—\$7 a ton, \$7,000,000 annually.

Why does she ask this preferential arrangement? She asks it because she is the ward of the Republic; she asks it because she is dependent upon the great Republic; she asks it because of the sympathy, the aid, and the succor that the great Republic gave her in her war for freedom. She is not to be blamed or criticised for asking it. It is entirely natural that she should appeal to her best friend for sympathetic action.

And yet it is doubtful whether relief ought to be granted in this particular way, involving as it does terms of preference, the admission of the products of a foreign country within our tariff wall upon terms more favored than those accorded to other countries. Cuba asks us to tear down our fiscal system, which, whether the protective wall be high or low, should be controlled by two considerations—one, free trade inside the Republic, the other impartial trade outside of the Republic; the one securing amity and friendship on our own soil, no preferences, no discriminations between individuals and industries; the other securing amity and friendship with the nations of the world.

When Cuba asks this favor have we not the right to negotiate with her? Is it not entirely proper and just for us to say, "We object to discriminations, we object to preferences, we object to tying up our tariff by contractual arrangements with individual nations of the world, thus losing control of it ourselves. But we realize your position, we realize your economic distress, we know that you are dependent for your prosperity upon the markets of this country. We are your friends. You ask for commercial union. We tender you political union. You ask for a less limited trade. We offer you unrestricted trade." Is that taking advantage of Cuba? Is it not the generous act of a great country which says to this dependent country, "We relieve you of your condition of dependence and hardship; we welcome you to become one of us—a sovereign State in the great Union of States, bound together for the general welfare and common defense?"

Let us see whether this proposition does any injustice to Cuba, for I am certain that I offered this joint resolution with no spirit of spoliation. The Senator from Maine has said that every adventurer and every speculator and every Spanish don is behind the effort. If that be so, I know nothing of it. I have conferred with no speculators or adventurers or Spanish dons. This resolution presents my individual view with regard to a matter affecting the principles of our Government and the wise policy which it should pursue in its relations with Cuba, and is inspired by the greatest friendliness to Cuba.

In the first place the joint resolution is entitled, "Joint resolution inviting Cuba to become a State of the American Union."

That does not smack of compulsion. An invitation is not force. Then come the recitals and the first part of the resolution, as follows:

Whereas the Republic of Cuba is desirous of securing commercial union with the United States; and

Whereas the best commercial union can be secured by and through political union by means of the admission of the Republic of Cuba as a sovereign State in the Union: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, etc., That the Republic of Cuba be, and is hereby, invited to become a State of the United States, upon terms of equality with all other States of the Union, and, leading in that direction, the following suggestions are made:

First. That the island of Porto Rico become a county or province of Cuba and a part of the State of Cuba.

Why this inclusion of Porto Rico? Simply for this reason: That as the result of or contemporaneously with the Spanish war we came into numerous new possessions—Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Cuba, and Porto Rico, all of them now occupying varying relations of dependence to this country. We had asserted in the Declaration of Independence the equality of man, the inseparableness of taxation and representation, the doctrine of the consent of the governed, but at that juncture we were met by the question as to whether we could safely apply these doctrines to all these countries which bear to us to-day varying relations of dependence. We did apply them to Cuba by withdrawing our forces and surrendering the government to her own people. We did apply them to Hawaii by organizing a Territorial government, with a Delegate in Congress—the traditional mode of organizing an infant State—but we declined to apply them to Porto Rico and the Philippines. The Philippine Islands became colonial possessions and Porto Rico became not a Territory or an infant State, but became a dependency without representation in our Government and subject to its absolute will. Porto Rico, which lies to the east of Cuba and has like commercial conditions, population, and climate, is a small island, only 100 miles long by 30 miles wide—not big enough to become a State.

Obviously, therefore, the only way of asserting the old doctrine of the Declaration of Independence as to Porto Rico is to admit her into the Union as a part of the State of Cuba. Cuba has six provinces, corresponding to our counties. Porto Rico would be a seventh county of the State of Cuba, a member of the American Union, and as such would take part in the election of a President of the United States and in the selection of United States Senators and Congressmen. As to her, there would be no taxation without representation. So far as she is concerned this blot upon our escutcheon would be absolutely removed. It is to be hoped that hereafter we may take such action with reference to the Philippine Islands as to redeem the old doctrine of the Republic in all its integrity.

The second suggestion is:

Second. That the President and Vice-President of the Republic of Cuba be the governor and lieutenant-governor, respectively, of the State of Cuba until their present terms expire and that all other executive, legislative, and judicial officers now holding office in the Republic of Cuba continue to hold similar positions in the State of Cuba until their present terms expire, with the exception of the customs and postal officials, who shall be incorporated into the customs and postal service of the United States, and the Rural Guard, the officers and subordinates of which shall be incorporated into the Army of the United States.

Under this suggestion the President and Vice-President of the Republic would become the governor and lieutenant-governor

of the State of Cuba, the present Congress of Cuba would become the State legislature. Under it the cabinet would become the State officials; under it the judicial officers of the Republic of Cuba would become the judicial officers of the State of Cuba.

The joint resolution provides that those officials connected with the customs and post-offices shall be incorporated into the customs and postal service of the United States, and that the Rural Guard, their only army, small in dimensions, but officered and controlled, I believe, by able and patriotic men, will become a part of the Army of the United States.

Now, this is simply a suggestion to the Republic of Cuba. Why? Because in the consolidation of two Republics, just as in the consolidation of anything else, there are more or less points of friction, and the purpose is to make the transition as easy as possible. Under this resolution no man will be deprived of his office, his position in the service of that country, or of his position in the army. It simply provides a gradual change from the service of the Republic of Cuba to the service of the State of Cuba.

Now, what is the next suggestion?

Third. That the bonds about to be issued by the Republic of Cuba for the payment of its army during the war with Spain, aggregating \$35,000,000, with interest at 5 per cent, be issued as the bonds of the State of Cuba, and that the interest agreed to be paid thereon be reduced from 5 to 3 per cent, the difference to be applied to the sinking fund, and that as so changed their payment be guaranteed by the United States.

I may be asked of what benefit is that? For a long time Cuba has been endeavoring to negotiate these bonds in the markets of the world for the purpose of paying her patriotic army, a thing which ought to have been accomplished long before this. Certainly the pay of that army ought to be a tax upon the wealth of the entire island until satisfied. Cuba has thus far been unable to negotiate these bonds, though they are offered at a discount of 10 per cent—at 90 cents on the dollar. What saving will this effect to the State of Cuba as opposed to the Republic of Cuba? The guaranty of the United States will enable those bonds to be negotiated at par. At the very outset she will save three million and a half dollars upon the bonds. The reduction in the rate of interest from 5 per cent to 3 per cent will save her 2 per cent—\$700,000 annually; so that in fifty years she will save in the payment of interest alone, \$35,000,000, which amounts to the principal of the bonds. She will thus save nearly \$40,000,000 on this transaction alone by becoming a State in the Federal Union, and she will save \$35,000,000 annually or \$350,000,000 within the next ten years by the enhanced price she will receive for her sugar.

The next resolution provides that the funds in the treasury of the Republic of Cuba shall be turned over to the State of Cuba. There are about three or four million dollars in the treasury of Cuba. It would go a great way toward State development—toward the construction of roads and internal improvements. The same provision is made regarding Porto Rico. The funds in the treasury there are to be turned over to the county or provincial authorities of that island, and thus a considerable sum will be provided for internal improvements.

Then comes the last portion of the joint resolution, which declares—

That the foregoing resolutions are inspired not by a desire to annex forcibly or to assert sovereignty over the island of Cuba, or to exercise any form of compulsion, but solely by a regard for the mutual interests of the two countries and a conviction that the interests of the States composing the

Federal Union and Cuba are identical, and that they can be best secured by a union under one form of government in which all shall be represented on equal terms and be governed by equal and indiscriminating laws, insuring freedom of trade and equality of right and privilege.

We have, then, Cuba in this dependent position, seeking a still more intimate relation with the Republic of the United States, seeking commercial union, and we respond by offering her political union, which involves absolute freedom of commerce.

Now, gentlemen say that this invitation should not be extended by this country; that we would not extend it to a great country; that we extend it to the Republic of Cuba only because it is a little country; that we would not to-day extend an invitation to Canada to become a State of the Republic. Obviously not, because that would be an act of hostility against Great Britain herself. We are now dealing with an independent sovereignty which asks preferences in trade and a commercial union with us, and we, animated by friendliness, kindness, and generosity of spirit, respond: "Come into the American Union and enjoy with us the unparalleled blessings of liberty, equality, and prosperity."

Mr. CARMACK. Will the Senator from Nevada permit me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PERKINS in the chair). Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Tennessee?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Certainly.

Mr. CARMACK. I suggest to the Senator from Nevada that shortly after the war there was considerable correspondence between this country and Great Britain with reference to the acquisition of Canada,

Mr. NEWLANDS. That may be. I am not informed as to that.

So with reference to the Republic of Mexico. The Republic of Mexico is not seeking more intimate relations with us. I am not aware that she is asking for commercial union with us. If she were, it would be entirely proper for us to respond by extending to her an invitation to come into the Union. But here is Cuba making the offer of commercial union and we offer the larger benefit of political union, which involves the blessings of a free government and at the same time greater commercial advantages than she could secure through any reciprocity arrangement.

Why, then, should we make this offer? Why should we extend this invitation? Why does not Cuba ask for it? Simply because, though it is a desirable thing, simply because, though the people of both countries may be in favor of it, we will find that Cuba will be reluctant to take the initiative, because she will be suspicious and fearful of our action. She has seen us, under temptation, absolutely abandon the doctrines of the fathers—those doctrines which have been the inspiration of every Fourth of July orator for the last hundred years. She has seen us repudiate the doctrine of the inseparability of taxation and representation. She has seen us repudiate the doctrine of the consent of the governed. She has seen us seize islands in a war inspired absolutely by benevolence, and has seen us yield to the temptation of greed and hold those islands against the will of their people. She will fear, if she makes the least advance toward the union of the two countries, that then we will endeavor to annex her, not as a State of the Union, but as a dependency, such as the Philippines are and such as Porto Rico is.

No public man could rise in the Congress of the Republic of Cuba to-day and make the suggestion of annexation to the United



States, for he would be met by this argument which I have presented—an argument which furnishes every kind of fuel that eloquence needs. The people would be suspicious, and, in view of our action regarding Porto Rico and the Philippines, they have a right to be suspicious. We must, by unequivocally taking our position, tell Cuba that we do not ask annexation, but that we invite her to sisterhood; that we do not seek to exercise sovereignty over her, but that she shall become one of the sovereign States of the Union, bound together for the common welfare and defense.

Now, I am aware that the joint resolution will be criticised; that it will be opposed by many both in Cuba and in this country; but I believe the argument for political union can not be refuted, and I believe it will eventually prevail. I can not believe that the United States is indifferent to this question. There has not been a time in the history of the Republic when the annexation of Cuba would not have been welcomed. Throughout the history of the Republic we would have sought Cuba just as eagerly as the valley of the Mississippi or Florida. It is separated apparently from Florida by a convulsion of nature, by only a few miles of water. The island is one of incomparable salubrity of climate and richness of soil. To-day it has a population of 1,500,000. It is capable of supporting 15,000,000 people. Its commercial advantages, its agricultural advantages are undoubted. It lies in front of the great Gulf, of our way to the Mississippi, of our way to the future canal at Panama.

Having that island as a part of the United States, destined at some time to be inhabited by 400,000,000 people, we can imagine its value to those 400,000,000 people merely as a sanitarium and health resort. It has such advantages of climate and scenery that one day it will rival the Riviera of the Mediterranean. With California on the Pacific Ocean and Cuba upon the Atlantic, with 400,000,000 people between, the advantages of that island from the standpoint of health alone, dismissing all considerations of commerce and business, must be obvious.

Mr. President, I fear I have already taken up too much time in response to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I believe in the joint resolution. We are told by the Associated Press that while it was seriously considered by some people in Cuba it was regarded by others with amusement, and that it was regarded in the island of Porto Rico with derision. But amusement and derision often accompany the urging of great measures and should constitute no discouragement. The people of Cuba have not as yet seen this joint resolution. They have probably received only the condensed report of the Associated Press. The people of Porto Rico have not yet received it. But I base my position upon the strength of the argument, and I believe that that argument will find a lodgment in the minds of patriotic and sensible men, both in the United States and in the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I do not know whether the Senate desires to continue this discussion at the present time, but I do not wish to let this subject pass from its consideration without a few observations.

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It is a little strange that this new theory or sentiment of expansion should come from those who in so recent years have been the loudest in the denunciation of that policy.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Will the Senator from Connecticut permit me for a moment?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Certainly.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the fact that the Democratic party has always been in favor of the expansion of the Republic as opposed to the expansion of the empire, and that this is a legitimate part of the policy of the Republic, which has always embraced the acquisition of contiguous continental territory and of adjacent islands essential to our coast defense.

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Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I regretted very much the introduction of this resolution, but I do not regret the discussion that has arisen this morning, for I think the resolution has made some such discussion absolutely and immediately necessary.

The question what this resolution means is to us of no consequence. The important thing is the impression that it has made or is likely to make upon the people of Cuba.

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Mr. President, we have no desire to annex that island. We much prefer it in the state in which it now is. For one, Mr. President, looking at it solely from our own side and not from theirs, I am opposed to having island States. We all know that if Cuba becomes a part of the United States it must be made a State of the Union, and the wholesome rule against island States would be broken once for all.

Mr. President, there is an island prospering and doing well, with our aid and our approbation. We do not want to agitate and distress her people with resolutions conveying an idea that we are suspicious of her future or doubtful of her present.

And not content with that, Mr. President, this resolution goes on to propose that the island of Porto Rico, which is prosperous and happy under the government that we have given it, shall be annexed violently to the island of Cuba. Porto Rico is ready to be a dependency of the United States, but it is a very different proposition that we should, with a high hand, make it a dependency of another island. Mr. President, is it necessary to agitate those people in this way?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly.

Mr. NEWLANDS. If the island of Porto Rico were a county of the State of Cuba, would the Senator call it a dependency?

Mr. LODGE. I thought the language was "a county or province." I have it not before me.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I used the term "county or province" because Cuba is divided into six provinces, and they would better understand that term than the word "county;" but the purpose was simply to make Porto Rico a county of a sovereign State, sharing with that State in the selection of United States Senators and Representatives in Congress and in the election of the President of the United States.

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I wish to ask the Senator from Massachusetts in case the people of the island of Cuba voluntarily and without any sug-

gestion from us should indicate any desire to become a State of the Federal Union, whether he would be inclined to grant their request?

Mr. LODGE. That is an important question, to be considered when it arises. There is not the slightest indication that the people of Cuba want to become a State of the Union. There is not the slightest indication that they are not content where they are; that they are not gratifying their own pride and their own sense of citizenship by remaining where they are. Why should we discuss bringing them into the Union? Why should we arouse their suspicion and hurt their feelings? Why not leave them alone to work out their destiny as they are working it out, with all the kindly aid and assistance we can give them?

Mr. NEWLANDS. Will the Senator permit another question?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly; as many questions as the Senator wants to ask.

Mr. NEWLANDS. I presume the Senator realizes that the markets of the world have been gradually closed against sugar in Cuba and that she markets her entire crop in this country. Now, assuming that England should adopt the retaliatory policy called for by Mr. Chamberlain, and should put a protective duty upon sugar with a view to protecting her own colonies producing sugar, I ask whether the island of Cuba would not be absolutely dependent for the marketing of her own crop upon the United States, and would the Senator regard it as an act of hostility to Cuba to suggest to her an arrangement by which, instead of securing \$40,000,000 annually for her crop, she would secure \$75,000,000?

Mr. LODGE. I am not going to discuss the sugar question. That comes up very properly, no doubt, in connection with the bill to carry the treaty into effect. I did not rise to discuss the sugar question or any part of it. My object was simply to enter my own disclaimer against any idea that we were seeking to annex Cuba or to change the present relations of the countries.

November 25, 1903,

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, in the debate the other day relating to the joint resolution (S. R. 15) inviting Cuba to become a State of the American Union, which I had the honor to present, it was stated by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] and also, I believe, by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] that the joint resolution proposed that the island of Porto Rico should become a part of the State of Cuba without consulting the island of Porto Rico; in other words, without her consent.

I wish to state that the suggestions which the joint resolution presents look to having an expression of the sentiment both of Cuba and Porto Rico upon this subject. If Cuba is disposed at all to consider the matter, the whole question can, by a popular vote, be presented to the Cuban people as to whether or not it is desirable to become a State in the American Union, and as to what changes are necessary in the constitution of the Republic in order to fit that Republic for statehood in the American Union.

In the same way the sense of Porto Rico can be taken as to whether or not that island desires to become a part of the State of Cuba, or a county of the State of Cuba, and, as such, a part of the American Union, enjoying constitutional rights and privileges, freedom of trade, and the power and privilege of joining in

the selection of the President of the United States and of Senators and Representatives of the United States. The sense of that people can be taken by a popular vote as to whether or not they wish to remain a mere dependency of the United States, annexed to but not a part of the United States, subject to the absolute power and will of the United States, or whether by means of incorporation with Cuba they desire to become a part of a sovereign State of the Union.

In this way the doctrine of the consent of the governed will be vindicated by an expression of the will of the majority both in Cuba and in Porto Rico. Porto Rico is too small in territory to become a State. If Porto Rico wishes to remain a dependency, she can express her will. If she wishes to become a part of a sovereign State of the American Union, she can express her will by a popular vote. So I contend that this provision does not involve the incorporation of Porto Rico as a part of the State of Cuba without the consent of that island.

Another statement was made by the Senators who spoke upon that day—the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]—and that was that Cuba was not a dependent Republic. I assume that politically no one can deny that she certainly has abdicated a part of her sovereignty by the adoption of the Platt amendment and that she has become in a sense dependent upon this country.

But when I referred in my remarks to her dependence I referred principally, not to a political dependence, but to an economic dependence. That seems to have been denied by the Senators; and yet if you will look over the speeches of the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House advocating reciprocity, if you will look over their reports, if you will look over the testimony of delegations representing Cuba, which appeared before the Ways and Means Committee of the House two years ago, you will find everywhere the fact prominently stated and urged that Cuba is a ward of the great Republic, and that from an economic point of view she is absolutely dependent upon the markets of this country, and that she can not prosper, or at least not in any very high degree, unless she receives either freedom of trade or less restrictions than are imposed upon other countries. So I insist upon it that I was warranted in saying that the Republic of Cuba is dependent, both in a political and an economic sense, upon this country.

Now, I was charged, and charged by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE], I believe, with disturbing conditions, with making statements that would affect the credit of Cuba, and that, too, at a most critical time. Mr. President, I claim to be the friend of Cuba. I would not do a thing or say a word which would throw any obstacle whatever in the path of her progress. I contend that in presenting the dependent condition of Cuba, both in a political and an economic sense, I was simply stating the facts of history—facts testified to in the records of both bodies of Congress, facts testified to by the Cuban delegation, and facts proclaimed by the Republican Members of the House in their speeches.

I claim that the very purpose of the joint resolution which I have introduced is to improve the credit of Cuba. As a matter of fact, Cuba is to-day attempting to negotiate bonds to the ex-

tent of \$35,000,000, with interest at the rate of 5 per cent, and the bonds are offered at a discount of 10 per cent. It is a matter well known throughout the financial world that thus far there have been no takers for the bonds.

The suggestion of the joint resolution is that those bonds shall be guaranteed by the United States, which would enable them to be negotiated at par. Such a guaranty would warrant a reduction of the rate of interest from 5 per cent to 3 per cent. This would effect an immediate saving of three million and a half of dollars in the negotiation of the bonds and an ultimate saving in interest which would very nearly pay the principal of the bonds themselves. So I contend that the passage of the joint resolution would strengthen the credit of Cuba and not injure it.

In support of what I have said, I should like to append to my remarks certain quotations from the proceedings before the Ways and Means Committee of the House, the testimony of Colonel Bliss, Mr. Mendoza, and others representing Cuba, and also certain quotations from debates upon this subject. I will not read them now, but I ask permission of the Senate to insert them in my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, such will be the order of the Senate. The Chair hears none.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, briefly stated, the purpose of the joint resolution is not force or compulsion. The appeal is only to reason. We invite Cuba to become a State of the Union upon an equality with all the other States of the Union, and we suggest, simply as steps leading in that direction, that the President, the judicial officers, and the legislative body of that Republic shall become the executive officers, the judicial officers, and the legislative officers of the State of Cuba without change of term or salary.

As to the customs and postal officials, the joint resolution suggests that they shall become incorporated into the customs and postal service of the United States. As to the small army of that Republic, the rural guards, composed mainly of and officered by soldiers who fought in the war for Cuban freedom, the suggestion is that it shall be incorporated into the Army of the United States. As to the debt, the suggestion is that the bonds shall be guaranteed by the United States, and thus Cuba will ultimately save in expenditures a sum aggregating nearly \$40,000,000.

Such are the suggestions contained in this resolution of little changes in government that are necessary to adapt the Republic of Cuba to statehood in the American Union. Such is the immediate economic advantage which Cuba would secure by union, in addition to the great economic advantage of having her entire sugar crop, amounting to 1,000,000 tons annually, admitted to this country without the imposition of the present duty of \$35 a ton, thus enabling the Cubans to secure in the American market, for the present production of 1,000,000 tons, \$75,000,000 instead of \$40,000,000. That would be a saving to Cuba of \$35,000,000 annually, \$350,000,000 in ten years, over a billion dollars in the forty years constituting the term of the bonds which she is about to issue.

Now, I submit this statement simply in explanation. The joint resolution came up unexpectedly the other day for discussion, and I was unable to answer all of the Senators who spoke upon it. My purpose now is not to make a speech, but simply to complete

the record, so that there can be no misapprehension whatever as to the purpose and intent of the joint resolution.

* * * * *

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, just a few words in reply to the Senator from Maine.

I claim that the suggestion of the possibility of Cuba becoming a State of the American Union will benefit her credit instead of injure it. But even under present conditions the people proposing to take those bonds would doubtless feel that the security of the bonds is strengthened by even the possibility of Cuba's becoming a State of the Union, and this suggestion should not in any way weaken the existing negotiations.

Now, as to the Senator's statement that no one is in favor of taking those islands, I agree with him that no one is in favor of taking the island of Cuba; at all events, I hope no one is in favor of it, for that suggests force and compulsion. But so far as the union of the island of Cuba with the American Union is concerned, I beg to differ with him. There has been no mode of getting an expression of the public sentiment either in Cuba or in this country upon that subject, but I submit that the traditional policy of this country, dating back a hundred years, has always included the acquisition of Cuba and the incorporation of Cuba into this Union if it could be done peaceably, with the consent of her people, and upon terms of equality to both. I believe that the sentiment has been and is to-day favorable in Cuba itself, though that sentiment has found no expression, for they have been discouraged, perhaps, in their aspirations by the new policy of the American Republic, which has looked to the acquisition of territory as a dependent territory subject to the absolute will of the sovereign owner; and they doubtless fear that if they make overtures for union with this country those overtures might be met by measures smacking somewhat of compulsion or violence and leading to the annexation of the island as a military dependency or as a colonial possession of the United States.

Now, to support my statement that there is a sentiment in Cuba favorable to the union, let me read from the testimony of General Bliss (then Colonel Bliss), a distinguished American officer who had been serving in Cuba for three years as administrator or collector of customs during the American occupation, who was fully familiar with its people and with its economic conditions, and who testified with great clearness and precision before the Committee on Ways and Means two years ago. The quotation is a short one. His statement was in reply to a question presented by myself:

Mr. NEWLANDS. As I understand it, Colonel, the Cuban people wish to come into commercial union with the United States without being subjected to the burdens that political union would involve, such as exclusion of the pauper labor of Europe and restriction of Asiatic immigration. The contention, you understand, on the American side, in behalf of the beet-sugar industry and others, is that it would be unfair to have a commercial union when the Americans are handicapped by restrictive legislation as to immigration and cheap labor, and the Cubans are not.

A GENTLEMAN. And the payment of internal taxes.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Now, I ask you whether or not the Cuban people are prepared to come into political union with the United States so that they will stand upon an equality in the production of sugar?

Colonel BLISS. I think, judging from my own personal acquaintance and from information derived from it, that the great majority of Cubans are ready.

Mr. NEWLANDS. They are ready to come into political union?

Colonel BLISS. Yes, sir.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Do you mean by that that they are willing to come in as a part of the United States under a Territorial form of government under the Constitution, their people being citizens, and wait until the United States is ready to admit Cuba to statehood, or do you mean that they would require immediate statehood?

Colonel BLISS. From all those people who are interested in any way personally in the island of Cuba I have never heard but one statement—that they would be glad to come in as a Territory, as a colony, or remain under the present military administration, or in any way so as to become recognized as a part of the United States.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Now, then, if the United States Government, in the place of tariff concessions, should, by joint resolution adopted by Congress, invite Cuba to come into our political union, first as a Territory, with the assurance that in due time she would be admitted to statehood, do you think that invitation would be accepted by Cuba?

Colonel BLISS. I think it would; yes, sir.

* * * * *
Mr. NEWLANDS. Colonel, do you think the Cuban climate is adapted to Americans?

Colonel BLISS. Yes, sir; perfectly.

Mr. NEWLANDS. That they can live there generation after generation without degeneration?

Colonel BLISS. I can not answer you further than my own generation, and, in fact, not for all of that one. I have lived there three years, and have worked hard in all the variations of climate that they have there. I feel as well now as I did when I went there, and I see no reason to think that if I were there twenty-five years longer it would make any difference.

Mr. NEWLANDS. You were speaking a few moments ago regarding the sentiment there as to political union with the United States. Do you derive that sentiment from communications with Spaniards, or from communication with Cubans?

Colonel BLISS. With Spaniards, with Cubans, with laboring men, and with everybody except a certain class of Cuban politicians.

Mr. NEWLANDS. That is a small class, is it?

Colonel BLISS. Comparatively a small class; yes, sir.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Take the leaders in the late war with Spain—the Cuban leaders—what is their sentiment regarding it?

Colonel BLISS. I think that, as a matter of pride, at least, all of those men would prefer to see an independent Cuba. I think—in fact, I know—that there are some of these who have no hesitation in saying that after the pride of their people has been satisfied they will gladly welcome the next step in the solution of this problem.

Mr. NEWLANDS. As a permanent arrangement, do you think they would prefer simply a commercial union with this country, with tariff concessions on both sides, or political union, which, of course, would involve complete commercial union?

Colonel BLISS. That I do not know, sir; but I am satisfied that in bringing about this commercial union of which you speak, any condition that you choose to impose will be gladly accepted; any modification in any law, or the creation of any new law, will be gladly made by Cuba to secure that which is all she asks now, I believe, viz, closer commercial relations with the United States.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Do you think their disposition as to a political union with this country arises from these commercial considerations; or do other considerations enter into it?

Colonel BLISS. I think it all grows out of the commercial considerations.

Mr. NEWLANDS. It is represented here that there is intense hostility upon the part of Cubans to America.

Colonel BLISS. There is on the part of a certain outspoken element; yes, sir.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Is that a large proportion?

Colonel BLISS. I think it is a very small proportion, largely represented by the political men of whom I speak, whose immediate hope for the gratification of their pride and their ambition is in the establishment of an independent government.

* * * * *
Mr. NEWLANDS. You have spoken of the American influx that would follow settled conditions there. Do you think Americans there would take hold of the soil and till it? Do you think they would take up small holdings there?

Colonel BLISS. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Is that climate adapted for Americans in that kind of work?

Colonel BLISS. Perfectly; perfectly. It is warmer in winter and cooler in summer than almost any part of the United States with which I am familiar. I do not know of a more delightful climate, winter and summer, than the island of Cuba, so far as concerns any part of the island that I have visited.

Of course, the effect that would be produced on a second generation or a third generation is something that I do not know and can not foresee; but I am acquainted with many Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, and Spaniards who have lived in Cuba from a quarter to a half a century and who have suffered no deterioration that I can see, either physical or otherwise. I know a good many Americans, small planters, people who have come down and bought 30, 40, or 50 acres of land and are raising vegetables and oranges, who have found that the business is not successful because they can not export anything to the United States. They find that the price they get for a barrel of oranges on the wharves of Habana is counterbalanced by the duty they have to pay in New York.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Do these Americans labor themselves or do they employ peon labor?

Colonel BLISS. Oh, those whom I have in mind are people that go out and work in the fields themselves.

Cuba was also represented by a delegation there, called, I believe, the Cuban Economic Delegation, representing its business and commercial interests, a number of men of great intelligence, who presented their views to the committee on our trade relations with Cuba. One of them, Mr. Mendoza, a leader among them, designated in the report as Cuban commissioner on economic affairs, was asked by me the following question; and remember that the question asked of Colonel Bliss was in the presence of this delegation:

Mr. NEWLANDS. Now, Mr. Mendoza, you heard Colonel Bliss's statement regarding the sentiment there as to political union with this country, or annexation?

Mr. MENDOZA. Yes, sir; I quite agree with him.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Do you agree with him?

Mr. MENDOZA. Yes, sir.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Does he express fairly the sentiment of Cuba?

Mr. MENDOZA. Yes, sir.

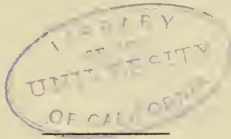
Here you have the statements of Colonel Bliss, who was familiar with all the affairs of Cuba, and of Mr. Mendoza, representing this Cuban delegation, and I say here that every member of that delegation nodded his approval when Mr. Mendoza gave his approbation to Colonel Bliss's statement.

1900

CENSUS OF CUBA,

TAKEN UNDER

THE DIRECTION OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.



BULLETIN NO. 1.

TOTAL POPULATION BY PROVINCES, MUNICIPAL DISTRICTS,
CITIES, AND WARDS.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1900.

