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NINTH YEAR. EARLINGTON, HOPKINS COUNTY, KENTUCKY, THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1898 NO. 15

Sound Lungs

are kept sound and weak lungs are made strong by DR. BELL'S PINE-TAR-HONEY—a scientific remedy of the most wonderful efficacy in all lung affections.

"A year ago I had a long spell of fever that settled in my lungs and caused a severe cough. My physicians thought I would not recover, but DR. BELL'S PINE-TAR-HONEY stopped the cough at once and soon restored me to health."
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DR. BELL'S
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is a certain specific for coughs, colds, sore throat, bronchitis, asthma, whooping cough and croup.
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ST. BERNARD DRUG STORE,
BRYAN HOPPER, Manager.

FOR ARMED INTERVENTION.

Resolutions Reported by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations for Armed Intervention.

MINORITY IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Democrats in Both Houses Insist on Independence Resolutions—Foraker and Other Republicans in the Senate Will Aid Them—House Resolution of Similar Tenor to the Senate's.

"It is the opinion of your committee that the destruction of the Maine was compassed either by the official act of the Spanish authorities, or was made possible by a negligence on their part so willing and gross as to be equivalent in culpability to positive criminal action."—Report of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—The senate foreign relations committee reported to the senate resolutions for immediate armed intervention and establishment of a stable independent government. The minority of five members will report in favor of Cuban insurgents' independence.

The following are the majority resolutions reported by Senator Davis:

The Majority Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship with 266 officers and crew while on a friendly visit to the harbor of Havana, and can not longer be endured, as has been set forth by the president of the United States in his message to congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of congress was invited; therefore,

Resolved, First, That the people of the island are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the government of the United States does hereby demand, that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the president of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into actual service of the United States the militia of several states, to such an extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

The report of the senate committee on foreign relations on the Cuban situation made by Senator Davis, chairman of that committee, and accompanying the resolutions, was a very thorough review of the entire situation, and a strong presentation of the facts which had led the committee to its conclusions. The report takes up the Maine disaster as the leading topic for consideration, and plunges into that question in its first sentence, which is follows:

The destruction of the United States battleship Maine, of two of her officers and of 264 of her crew in the harbor of Havana, on the night of February 15, 1898, excited to an unprecedented degree the compassion and resentment of the American people.

Continuing the report says:

Manifestations of that resentment were suspended, although the feeling was not allayed by the self-restraint of four people, who determined to hold their judgment in suspense concerning their ultimate action until an official investigation should disclose the cause of that great disaster and enabled them by direct or circumstantial testimony to impute the responsibility therefor.

That investigation has been made. It was conducted with judicial thoroughness and deliberation. The difficulty of demonstrating by conclusive proof the efficient personal cause of that sinister event was the usual one of exposing plotted and mysterious crimes. No such difficulty, however, obscures its official and responsible cause.

The committee say that the explosion itself of the Maine was linked with a series of precedent transactions, "which can not in reason be disconnected from it."

With animus by Spain, so plainly apparent that no one can even plausibly deny its existence, it is merely our reason for the conclusion to which the investigating mind must come in concerning the entire subject of the relations of the United States with that government. It is the opinion of your committee that the destruction of the Maine was compassed either by the official act of the Spanish authorities or was made possible by negligence on their part so willing and gross as to be equivalent in culpability to positive criminal action.

When property and life are destroyed by an act which the exercise of due diligence by the person whose duty it is to use it could have prevented, the happening of such an event is sufficient proof that diligence was not employed.

"The time of the explosions," says the report, "must have been calculated for the moment when the Maine should swing within the destructive radius of the mine."

Concluding, this portion of its presentation, the committee says:

"The duplicity, perfidy, and cruelty of the Spanish character as they always have been are demonstrated still to continue by their manifestations during the present war in Cuba. All these circumstances considered cumulatively warrant the conclusion that the destruction of the Maine was compassed either by the official act of the Spanish authorities (and the ascertainment of the particular person is not material), or was made possible by a negligence on their part, so willing and gross as to be equivalent in culpability to positive criminal action.

Senator Turpie presented the report of the minority of the committee as follows:

The undersigned, members of the committee on foreign relations, cordially concur in the report made upon the Cuban resolutions, but we favor immediate recognition of the republic of Cuba, as organized in that island, as a free, independent and sovereign power among the nations of the world.

It was signed by Senators Turpie, Mills, Daniel and Foraker.

The reading of the report occupied 47 minutes. Mr. Hoar demanded that the resolution lie over under the rules until Thursday.

Senator Foraker proceeded to discuss the Cuban question on its general merits.

Action of the House Committee.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—At 1:30 p. m. the majority of the house committee on foreign affairs agreed to the following resolution, which was later reported to the house:

WHEREAS, The government of Spain for three years past has been waging war on the island of Cuba against a revolution by the inhabitants thereof, without making any substantial progress toward the suppression of said revolution, and has conducted the warfare in a manner contrary to the laws of nations by methods inhuman and uncivilized, causing the death by starvation of more than 200,000 innocent non-combatants, the victims being for the most part helpless women and children, inflicting intolerable injury to the commercial interests of the United States involving the destruction of the lives and prosperity of many of our citizens, entailing the expenditure of millions of dollars in patroling our coasts and policing the high seas in order to maintain our neutrality; and

WHEREAS, This long series of losses, injuries and burdens, for which Spain is responsible, has culminated in the destruction of the United States battleship Maine in the harbor of Havana and in the death of 266 of our seamen; therefore

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 permanent 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 United States to execute the purposes of this resolution.

The Minority Report.

The democratic members of the house foreign affairs committee, in a report signed by five democrats and Mr. Newlands, silverite, agreed to the following resolutions as a substitute for the majority report. It follows:

Resolved, That the United States government hereby recognizes the independence of the republic of Cuba.

2. That, moved thereto by many considerations of humanity, of interest and of provocation, among which are the deliberate mooring of our battleship Maine over a submarine mine and its destruction in the harbor of Havana, the president of the United States be, and he is hereby directed to employ immediately the land and naval forces of the United States in aiding the republic of Cuba to maintain the independence hereby recognized.

3. That the president of the United States is hereby authorized and directed to extend immediate relief to the starving Cubans.

At 2:52 p. m. Mr. Adams (Pa.), acting chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, entered the house, and shortly thereafter presented the majority report and accompanying resolution. Mr. Bailey (Tex.) had charge of and presented the minority report.

There was a general understanding that there would be little or no debate, and that the report would be acted upon during the afternoon.

There were some stormy scenes on the floor growing out of differences of opinion on the questions at issue, and it finally required the production of the silver mace in the hands of the sergeant-at-arms to restore order.

The house committee on rules presented a rule to consider at once the Cuban resolutions, and it was adopted by a rising vote—290 to 0.

After a brief colloquy, characterized by some acrimonious passages, the previous question on the passage of the resolutions was demanded and carried, and the house proceeded to vote on the minority independence resolution.

TROOPS BOUND SOUTHWARD.

The Twenty-Fifth Infantry Pass Through Chicago on Their Way to Chickamauga Park.

CHICAGO, April 13.—The Twenty-fifth Infantry, commanded by Co.. Andrew Burt, arrived in Chicago over the Great Western road, and left 15 minutes later over the Chicago & Eastern Illinois, bound for Chickamauga. No time was lost in carrying the troops through the city, a flying switch being made at the Sixteenth street yards where the tracks of the Eastern Illinois and those of the Great Western come in contact. The troops were not in the city over 30 minutes from the hour of their arrival until they pulled out for the south. Col. Burt with his officers occupied a sleeper in the rear of the train, a portion of the regiment being in the tourist sleepers which formed the balance of the first section.

The first train, which arrived consisted of six Pullman tourist cars, one Pullman standard sleeper and four box cars. The second section which arrived later was made up of nine Pullman tourist cars, one sleeper and two box cars. A third section followed consisting of two stock cars, three box cars, one coach and one flat car. This section was utilized mainly for the transportation of equipment.

From Sixteenth street to the Polk Street station the tracks were lined with people, who had waited since early morning to get a glimpse of the soldiers. At the depot Col. Lee, assistant quartermaster-general of the department of the lakes, greeted Lieut. Cochran and Maj. Hooton, of the colored troops, as representative of Gen. Brooke, and furnished them with orders for supplies at Chickamauga. The troops, most of whom have been 19 years on the western frontier, expressed themselves as delighted at their transfer south, where many of them enlisted.

Col. Burt, commander of the troops, was seen. He said: "I am absolutely without any news whatever. I am simply pushing through to Chickamauga park as fast as the railroads will carry me there."

When told that the flying squadron had been ordered to sea, and that things were beginning to assume a warlike aspect, he smiled but said nothing.

Ships for Capt. Sigsbee and Commander Goodrich.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—It was officially announced at the navy department to-day that Capt. Sigsbee and Commander Goodrich will be the commanders of the St. Paul and St. Louis when put into commission, no conclusion, however, having been reached regarding which officer goes to which ship.

The Latest—The Flying Squadron Sailed Under Sealed Orders.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., April 13.—The flying squadron, in command of Commodore Schley, left Old Point Comfort at 2:20 p. m., under sealed orders. The warships proceeded slowly toward the capes.

The Flying Squadron on a Practice Cruise.

WASHINGTON, April 13.—It is officially announced that the flying squadron sails this (Wednesday) afternoon on a 48 hours' practice cruise.

Some Men Uncle Sam Won't Get.

MOBILE, Ala., April 13.—Two men, names unknown, were crushed to death at Magazine Point, on the Louisville & Nashville railroad, by the sudden shunting of a car. Philip Kamm, of Pittsburg, Kas., was fatally injured. All were en route to Pensacola to enlist in the navy.

The Situation Regarded as Serious in Madrid.

MADRID, April 13.—3 p. m.—The situation is regarded to-day on all sides, even apparently by the United States minister, as being most serious.

When you buy
Sarsaparilla
Ask for the best and you'll
Get Ayer's.
Ask for Ayer's and you'll get
The Best.

McKINLEY'S MESSAGE

The Long-Expected Document Laid Before the Congress.

ASKS FOR POWER TO END THE WAR.

A Riot Alike on Civilization and Humanity—The Situation Reviewed and Responsibility for Action Shifted to the Legislative.

WASAINGTON, April 11.—The president sent the following message to the congress of the United States.

The Message.

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 their 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 relations, the course which 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 precepts laid down by the founders of the republic and religiously observed by succeeding administrations to the present day.

But the Successor of Similar Revolutions.

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 effort and expense 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.

A Fertile Domain Ravaged.

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 the combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times where a dependent people, striving to be free, have been opposed by the power of the sovereign state. Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its 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.

Onerous Duties Entailed by Neutrality.

We have found ourselves constrained, in the observance of that strict neutrality which our laws enjoin and which the law of nations commands, to police our own waters and watch our own seaports in prevention of any unlawful act 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 his mind and stand in the way of that close devotion to domestic advancement that becomes a self-contented commonwealth whose prime maxim has been the avoidance of all foreign entanglements. All this must needs awaken and has indeed aroused the utmost concern on the part of this government as well during my predecessor's as my own administration.

Efforts of the Previous Administration.

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 intervention of this government in any way that might tend to an honorable adjustment of the contest between Spain and her revolted colony, on a basis of some effective scheme of self-government for Cuba under the flag this sovereignty of Spain. It failed, the proposal being met by a categorical refusal by the Spanish government to consider any form of mediation, or even any plan of settlement which did not begin with the actual submission of the insurgents to the mother country, and yet such terms as Spain herself might see fit to grant. The war continued unabated. The resistance of the insurgents in nowise diminished.

Spain's Futile and Inhuman Efforts.

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 Capt.-Gen. Rando, on October 21, 1896, in the province of Pinar del Rio, was thence extended to embrace all of the island to which the power of Spanish arms 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 ruining 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 afford food or shelter to armed men or to human habitation or support was commanded by one or the other of the contending parties, and executed by all the powers at their disposal.

The So-Called Reconcentration.

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, Habana 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 all means of subsistence, housed under destitute of shelter, left poorly clad and exposed to the most unsanitary conditions.

Destruction, Misery and Starvation.

As the scarcity of food increased with the devastation of the depopulated areas of production, destitution and misery ensued, and spread with rapid strides. Month by month the death rate increased in alarming ratio. By March, 1897, according to conservative estimates, from official Spanish 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 overcrowded towns, already suffering from the general dearth, could give no aid. So-called zones of cultivation established within the immediate area of effective military control about the cities and fortified camps proved illusionary 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 war, it was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave.

A Dogged Struggle.

Meanwhile 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 destitution 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 submission, put forward by Spain as the essential and sole basis of peace, seemed as far distant as at the outset.

Confronted with a Grave Problem.

In this state of affairs, my administration found itself confronted with a grave problem of its duty. My message of last December reviewed the situation and detailed the steps taken, with a view of 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 more liberal party, committed long in advance to a policy of reform, involving the principle of home rule for Cuba and Puerto Rico. The overtures of this government made through its new envoy, Gen. Woodford, and looking to an immediate and effective amelioration of the condition of the island, although not accepted to the extent of admitted mediation in any shape, were met by assurances that home rule, 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.

Policy of the New Government of Spain.

Incidentally 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 consular agencies of money appropriated expressly for their succor by the joint resolution approved May 24, 1897, prompted the humane extension of a similar succor to aid to the great body of sufferers. A suggestion to this end was acquiesced in by the Spanish authorities.

An Appeal to the American People.

On the 24th of December last I caused to be issued an appeal to the American people, inviting contributions in money or in kind for the succor of the starving sufferers in Cuba. Following this, on the 8th of January, 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 that committee have been untiring and accomplished much. Arrangements for free transportation to Cuba have greatly aided the charitable work. The president of the American Red Cross, and representatives of other contributory organizations have generously visited Cuba and co-operated with the consul-general and the local authorities to make effective disposition 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.

Necessity for a Change Recognized.

The necessity for a change in the condition of the reconcentradoes is recognized by the Spanish government. Within a few days past the orders of Gen. Weyler have been revoked, the reconcentradoes 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 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 of 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 existence.

Friendly Duty to Both Sides.

Realizing this, it appeared 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 the final submittal, 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 October 1, for the negotiations of peace with the good offices of the president.

In addition I ask the immediate revocation of the order of reconcentration, so as to permit the people to return to their farms and the ready to be relieved with provisions and supplies from the United States, co-operating with the Spanish authorities so as to afford full relief.

Reply of the Spanish Cabinet.

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 department, inasmuch 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 lessened or diminished. As the Cuban parliament does not meet until the fourth 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 conditions of the armistice.

The propositions submitted by Gen. 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 function 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 Gen. 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, whether by direct negotiation or indirectly by means of legislation does not appear.

Disappointing Reception of Overtures.

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: 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 spoke not of forcible annexation, for that can not 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 barbarities in Cuba, he reached the conclusion that the recognition of the independence of Cuba was impracticable and indefensible, and that the recognition of belligerency was not warranted by the facts according to the tests of public law. 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.

Views Have Not Changed.

Nothing has since occurred to change my view 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.

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, December 21, 1836, on the subject of recognition of the independence of Texas. He said:

One of the Precedents.

"In all of 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, we which 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 restrangement of good will in those against whom we have been by force of evidence compelled to decide.

"It has thus made known to the world that the uniform policy and practice of the United States is to avoid all interference in disputes which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually to recognize the authority of the prevailing party without reference to our particular interests and views, or to the merits of the original controversy. But on this, as on every other occasion, safety is to be found in a rigid adherence to principle.

Our Former Action Recited.

"In the contest between Spain and the revolted colonies we stood aloof and waited not only until the ability of the new states to protect themselves was fully established, but until the danger of their being again subjugated had entirely passed away. Then and not until then, were they recognized. Such was our course in regard to Mexico herself.

"It is true that with regard to Texas the civil authority of Mexico has been expelled, its invading army defeated, the chief of the republic himself captured, and all present power to control the newly recognized government of Texas annihilated within its confines. But on the other hand, there is, in appearance at least, an immense disparity of physical force on the side of Texas. The Mexican republic, under another executive, is rallying its forces under a new leader, and menacing a free-b invasion to recover its lost domain.

"Upon the issue of this threatened invasion, the independence of Texas may be considered as suspended; and were there nothing peculiar in the situation of the United States and Texas, our acknowledgment of its independence at such a crisis could scarcely be regarded as consistent with that prudent reserve with which we have hitherto held ourselves bound to treat all similar questions.

President Jackson Considered the Risk.

Thereupon Andrew Jackson proceeded to consider the risk that there might be impartial to the United States a motive 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:

"Prudence, therefore, seems to dictate that we should 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 should 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 but 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."

Condition Imposed by the Government Upon Itself.

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 own governance in dealing with cases like those the further contention 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 entirely passed away." 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 Texan territory, and then and there was at the time no bona fide contest going on between the insurgent province and its former sovereign.

Former Message Reverted To.

I said in my message of December last: "It is to be 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 certainly be no less considered when the graver issue of recognizing independence is in question, for no less positive test can be applied to the greater case than to the lesser; while, on the other hand, influences of and consequences of the struggle upon the internal policy of the recognizing state which form important factors when the recognition of belligerency is concerned, are secondary if not rightly eliminable factors, when the real question is whether the community claiming recognition is or not independent beyond peaceful venture.

Present Recognition Inexpedient.

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 independence would create a condition which 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 feasible and that there is within 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, such government can be promptly and readily recognized, and the relations and interests of the United States with such nation adjusted.

Alternative Forms of Intervention.

There remain the alternative forms 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.

At to the first, it is not to be forgotten that during the last few months the relation of the United States has been virtually those of friendly intervention in many ways, each not of itself conclusive, but all tending to the exertion of a potential influence toward an ultimate peaceful result 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, unmarished 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 following many historical precedents where neighboring states have interfered to check the hopeless sacrifice of life by civil war within territory beyond their borders is justifiable on national 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 of Intervention.

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

First. In the cause 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 ther 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 specially our duty, for it is right at our doors.

Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and immunity for life and property which no government there can, or is willing, to afford, and to insure a termination the conditions that deprive them of local protection.

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

Fourth. And which is not 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 a war 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 jeopardy and their property destroyed and themselves ruined—where our trading vessels are liable to seizure, and are seized at our very door, by warships of a foreign nation, the expeditious of filibustering that we are powerless to prevent altogether, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace, and compels us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

Destruction of the Maine.

These elements of danger and disorder already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by a 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 hearts 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 can not assure safety and security to a vessel of the American navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace and rightfully there.

Assurances Given by Spain.

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 requires in the matter of the Maine.

The reply above referred to on the 31st ultimo, also contained an expression of the readiness of Spain to submit to an arbitration all the differences which can arise in this matter which is subsequently explained by the note of the Spanish minister at Washington of the 10th instant, as follows:

"As to the question of fact which springs from the diversity of views between the report of Spain that the fact be ascertained by an impartial investigation by experts, which decision Spain accepts in advance." To this I have made no reply.

President Grant Quoted.

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 the 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 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 interest of humanity and in sincere friendship for both parties. I were 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 arrived.

"And yet the strife continues with all its dread horrors and all its injury to the interests of the United States and other nations. Neither 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."

Cleveland's Last Message Quoted.

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 extinct in Cuba for all purposes of lawful existence, 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 condition will have been produced in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

The December Message Reverted To.

In my annual message to congress, in December last, speaking to this question, I said:

"The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace, just alike to the Cubans an do 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 considered. When that time comes, that action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and duty. It will be faced, without misgiving and hesitancy, in the light of the obligation this government owes to all, and 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 by 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