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The Only Justification for War

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JUSTICE AND HUMANITY, NOT REVENGE, THE
ONLY JUSTIFICATION FOR WAR.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR,
OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1893.

WASHINGTON.
1893.

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SPEECH
OF
HON. GEORGE F. HOAR.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 119) for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect—

Mr. HOAR said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The function of diplomacy in regard to this grave crisis in the history of this matter seems to have ended. The President tells us in his message that he has exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors, and for the first time, by the consent of everybody, the matter rests with the American Congress for decision. It has seemed to me to be my duty, while the Government was engaged in diplomatic efforts, to abstain from public discussion. The Constitution having committed to the President from the beginning the conduct of our relations with foreign governments, I do not think that expressions of dissent or criticism are quite in accordance with the duty either of American citizens or American Senators while he is acting. The duty of action and determining the policy of this people now rests with us and our associates in the legislative functions of the Government.

I wish to make a few observations which I fear and believe will be somewhat dull in the ears of my listeners, quietly, rather in the manner of a court dealing with a great question of constitutional law involving in its results liberty and life and public welfare and public honor. It seems to me to be no time for impassioned rhetoric, for the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and shouting. I do not in saying that forget that the expressions of deep emotion which we have heard in this Chamber, which we read in the press, which we have heard all over the country, are neither to be condemned or to be slighted.

I am not one of those persons who find in them occasion either for sneers or for jesting. They are the utterances of good men, of American citizens, of the emotion which is felt and which all good men must feel when they witness great cruelty, great wrong, and when they are contemplating a great outrage to their flag. So, whether I differ or whether I agree with the conclusions, or some of them, to which these gentlemen have come, I have nothing but the profoundest respect for the motive which has brought them forth.

I, however, Mr. President, bred and born in a cold latitude, would rather approach this grave occasion in the spirit of that captain who led the company of the people of my own birthplace to the

bridge in the morning of the Revolution, when he said, "I went into that battle with the same seriousness and the same sense of responsibility to God with which I am accustomed to go to church." If in the providence of God this country is called upon to do a great act of international justice, let us do it in the spirit of justice, and not in the spirit of vengeance.

The other day one Senator cited us, as if he liked it, the utterance of the Scripture, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The Saviour cited it only to disapprove it and to give us a new commandment and a better doctrine.

I am not one of those, either, if any there be, who would seek to divide and not to unite the people of this country. If we are to enter upon a course of action where we receive the sympathy of the civilized world, let us not begin by reviling each other.

Mr. President, I regret, speaking for myself, that any Senator feels it to be his duty to indulge in harsh criticism of the President of the United States. What the President of the United States does in diplomacy the people of the United States do. There is no other means of knowing the opinion, purpose, conduct, character of the American people under our Constitution, so far as that is expressed in our diplomatic and international action, than by studying and seeing what the accredited agent of the American people, the Executive, has done, just as there is no mode of determining what the American people do or mean to do or desire to do in legislation but by the legislative enactments passed through their constitutional agencies.

What the President of the United States did the United States did in the face of mankind, and what the President of the United States refrained from doing the American people refrained from doing in the face of all mankind. For one I approve him alike in what he has done and said and in what he has refrained from doing and saying. I like the President's holding back and striving with all his power for a peaceful solution of this business. I like his holding out for peace so long as there was a hope that peace could be had with honor.

Mr. President, do gentlemen, when they criticize this brave American soldier's love of peace—and every brave American soldier from the beginning of our history has been a lover of peace—reflect what war is and who it is that suffers by it? The persons who suffer by modern wars are not the men who provoke them or the men who are guilty of the causes to which they owe their origin. Every modern war is an additional burden on the poor man, the laboring man, the plain man, while the glory is reaped by a few officers and the profits by a few stock jobbers and contractors.

It is not even the guilty Spaniard who is primarily to suffer by the terrible punishment which we are expected to inflict upon Spain. It is not the Weylers or even the Sagastas or the Blancos. It is the poor peasant whose first-born is to be drafted into the military service, never to return or to return a wreck. It is the widow whose stay is to be taken from her, who is to get no share of the glory, but only the full of the suffering. This war, if it be to come upon us, is to add a new and terrible burden, even if it be confined within the limits to which we hope it may be confined, to the already overburdened and suffering peasantry of Europe. The results of a great war are due to the policy of the king and the noble and the tyrant, not the policy of the people.

Every child up on the Continent of Europe to-day was born with

a mortgage of \$350 about his little neck and an armed soldier riding upon his back. So while I agree, as will be seen before I finish, that war may be necessary, and it may be necessary now, yet I can not myself agree with my honorable friend the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] when he said so lightly that he thought it was a good plan to have a war once in a while, that it prevented the dry rot of prolonged peace. A nation is made up of human homes, and the glory of a nation and the value of its possessions are in its humble homes. I do not agree with the Senator who thinks that a home is made better by the loss of its boys or the crippling for life of its head.

I do not like what follows war. I do not like the piling up in this country of thousands upon thousands of millions more of our public debt. I have not read history like the Senator from Mississippi in a way to lead me to think that war is ever a purifying process. The seasons which follow great wars, either in this country or elsewhere, are times of debts and jobs and disordered currency and popular discontent. The periods that have followed the great wars are the worst periods in history. If we enter upon this war, we are to subject our ships to many disasters like that of the *Maine* and our soldiers to pestilence and yellow fever. The destruction in the soldier who survives of the capacity for the rest of his life for the works of peace is a not insignificant result even of the best and most necessary war, to say nothing of the increase of the debt and of the pension list.

On the other hand, I have no patience and I have no respect for those critics who find in the conduct and action of many of my associates and friends on this floor what they are pleased to term a spirit of jingoism. The spirit which has inspired, without an exception, the impassioned and zealous speeches to which we have listened is the spirit of an honorable indignation at a great wrong and an honorable resentment for a great insult, and I believe these gentlemen who think as I do that the time has come when the armed forces of this nation are to be summoned to assert themselves have been guided certainly by quite as patriotic a spirit as I claim to be guided by myself, whether I agree with them in all their conclusions as to the detail of action or not.

But I was saying, Mr. President, that I like and thank President McKinley that he has as far as he could and as long as he could held back the impatience of the American people. President McKinley and those who love him and stand by him need not be at all disturbed lest his fame may suffer in the eyes of humanity and the eyes of posterity by the caution and wisdom with which he has proceeded. The great events in our civic history and the great names in our civil history are those which are connected with the sublime self-restraint with which the American people has contained itself in the presence of great wrongs and of great provocations. It is true, also, that these civic glories have more than once crowned the brows of great soldiers and warriors.

Have we forgotten that the same kind of speeches which the Senator from Washington permitted himself to utter, who seemed to think that he who represents half the State of Washington had a better right to speak for the American people than William McKinley, who represents forty-five States and 70,000,000 people—have we forgotten that the same kind of objurgation and contumely was hurled at the head of George Washington at the time of Jay's treaty, when he held back the indignant people of the Republic

from entering upon another war with England? The fame of Washington is represented and typified by the loftiest of monumental structures as it rises in its severe and stainless beauty over the streets of the capital. Where, Mr. President, are the graves of his critics?

Has my honorable friend from Washington forgotten John Adams's experience when the people were clamorous for a war with France, and Washington was summoned from his retirement to take the head of the armies again, and our ministers had been dismissed with insult and contempt by the French Directory, when he sent Oliver Ellsworth and Davie and Vans Murray to reopen the negotiation? That act cost John Adams the support of the Federal party and it cost John Adams his reelection. But it left him his fame and the love and honor of his countrymen.

Andrew Jackson, in the great desire of the Southern people and of the majority of the American people to acquire Texas, and in the midst of our great sympathy with that people, struggling then against the despotism of a people of Spanish blood, held this nation strictly in the narrow yet honorable path of international law. Now, everybody honors Andrew Jackson and the only thing that our friends have to say about it is to pervert the transaction and say that the General really did not do it.

Mr. President, I am old enough to remember some of the tempests of popular excitement in Congress and out. I think there are Senators here who remember the cry of "On to Richmond! On to Richmond! On to Richmond!" and the denunciation by honorable and zealous patriots of what they described as the cowardice and treachery of Abraham Lincoln. I think people like to remember Abraham Lincoln's counsels in those days, and those of us who sit on this side of the Chamber wish we could forget Bull Run.

You remember, Mr. President, the sublime patience with which we waited after the French invasion of Mexico until the time at last came, and Mr. Seward spake and the Frenchman got out. You remember, my colleague cited it yesterday, the impatience of some good men at our dealing with the Trent affair, and my colleague cited the lines of Mr. James Russell Lowell:

 Ef I turn mad dogs loose, John,
 On your front-parlor stairs,
 Would it jest meet your views, John,
 To wait an' sue their heirs?

I wish to remind my honorable colleague, with whom I suppose I am so fortunate as to agree as to everything of substance relating to this political crisis, that we did not take the advice of Mr. James Russell Lowell on that occasion. We took the advice of Abraham Lincoln, and William H. Seward, and Charles Sumner, and John Andrew, and on the whole we came out about as well.

Mr. President, some of us remember President Grant's dealings with the same sort of conditions that we have had to deal with in the Island of Cuba in the last two years. I came first into public life just as that matter was going on. We did not throw law books at each other's heads in those days in the House of Representatives, but there was quite as much angry speech for the President as we have heard in either House of Congress within a few days. But the great fame of Ulysses Grant shines in the sky like a star, and the conduct of that affair is one of the brightest and

strongest of his claims to the gratitude and affection of the American people.

I think it is perhaps because I am getting old and thin blooded and losing my pluck in these matters. But, somehow or other, I like, when I read the history of the Republic, to read the story of these sublime self-restraints, for which those men who hate popular government think a great and free people are incapable.

Do you remember how we submitted year after year to the fitting out in England of the war ships which drove our commerce from the seas till at last one morning, Mr. Adams, having discovered that the rams were about to go out from Laird's shipyard, wrote a letter to Lord John Russell expostulating? Lord Russell replied that he had consulted Her Majesty's ministers and really they did not think they could do anything about it. Mr. Adams, when the time came, replied in a single sentence, which to my taste is the most sublime utterance in American literature: "It is superfluous to observe to your lordship that this is war." And the rams were stopped in an hour.

I also agree with the President of the United States in his refusal to recognize belligerency up to this time. I do not agree with my honorable friend from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER], who thought the result of that was that we policed our shores in the interest of Spain. That recognition of belligerency, in my opinion, would have simply given Spain the right to search our ships; would have released her from responsibility for actions like the destruction of the *Maine*, unless they could be traced affirmatively and clearly to her, and would have done the insurgents no sort of good whatever.

Mr. President, what has been the result, what is the result to-day, of the conduct of this matter by President McKinley so far? I have not time to go, as I should like, into a full discussion of this matter, but I wish to read one testimonial only. I do not often read newspapers in the Senate, and ordinarily we all agree that it is not a very good practice, but I wish to read the testimony of the ablest, most consistent, most thoroughgoing advocate of an instant and an extreme dealing with Spain in this emergency in regard to what has been the effect of the policy which the present Executive has pursued thus far.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from Massachusetts will suspend a moment. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which is Senate bill 2680.

MR. GALLINGER. I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. Is there any objection to the request? The Chair hears none, and unanimous consent is given. The Senator from Massachusetts will proceed.

MR. HOAR. I read, Mr. President, from the New York Sun of April 5, and not much has happened to excite my honorable friend from Washington since then, with the exception which I shall speak of presently.

The delay thus far—

Says this organ of the cause of liberty in Cuba—

has served the cause of the right. It has given time for military and naval preparation for decisive action. It has consolidated public opinion and put the nation behind the President in his constitutional capacity of Commander in Chief of the land and sea forces of the United States. It has permitted the escape of some of the vapor that precedes deliberate and calm action in an

affair of momentous importance. It has likewise enabled the President to exhaust, as it was his duty to employ and exhaust, the resources of diplomacy in order to bring about, if possible, an honorable and satisfactory settlement without resort to arms.

Now, I would like to ask these gentlemen who are so anxious to find treachery and cowardice and want of patriotism and want of honor in the President of the United States, the President of their own party, whether in the face of such a testimonial as that it is not just barely possible that President McKinley may have been right and that they may have been wrong.

There is another result which has come from this diplomatic action and this striving to keep in the paths of peace. We have, what we never have had in any international conflict before, largely the sympathy of all foreign nations and almost wholly the sympathy of that nation on earth which is alike the freest, the most powerful, and the most nearly allied to us by language, history, and blood.

I would like to have read as a part of my remarks an extract from the London Times. Mr. President, these gentlemen may, if they choose and if they are so disposed, undervalue in this great crisis the sympathy of the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. I think we may perhaps like to have it before we get through. The sympathy of that country on the other side prolonged what would have been a one or two years' war to a four years or five years' war within the memory of most of us. I will ask the Secretary to read what I have marked. Undoubtedly this paper expresses the sentiment of the entire people of Great Britain.

The Secretary read as follows:

We can not refuse our sympathy to the people of the United States in circumstances which would have made it difficult even for our own countrymen to preserve their boasted calm. We should have needed all our self-command to combine dignity with equity in such a trying position. It is bare justice to say that however inexcusable the language of some of the newspapers of the United States may have been, the attitude of President McKinley is equally dignified and fair.

In this matter, whatever disagreements we may have had from time to time with our trans-Atlantic kinsmen, our sympathies are on their side. We share their grief at the loss under such cruel conditions of a noble vessel of war and a gallant crew. We admire the patience and the reserve of a democratic government in circumstances of provocation, in the presence of public excitement which it would only have been too easy to fan into a flame of war. The sentiments with which the majority of the people of the United Kingdom regard the people of the United States, and which we trust, in spite of passing gusts of temper, are reciprocated at heart on the other side of the Atlantic, are expressed in the cordial verses of the poet laureate, which we print in another column.

Mr. HOAR. Now, Mr. President, I affirm, and I challenge contradiction, that that sympathy and that expression of respect has been won for us largely, if not wholly, by the diplomatic bearing and conduct of the President of the United States in this emergency.

I also desire to express my full and hearty concurrence with the President of the United States when he advises against the recognition of the insurgent government, if it be a government, now. Consul-General Lee says he has never thought the insurgents had anything but the skeleton of a government. I will not repeat the citations from international law and from the utterances of our statesmen and department of foreign affairs throughout the whole of the other Spanish conflicts in the Spanish-American countries which I have had occasion long ago to cite.

I affirm that to recognize that people now can not be done without disowning our whole history, without declaring that England was right and that we were wrong in the great controversy as to her conduct in the time of the rebellion, where there were eleven States, with a constitution, with courts, confederated into a republic; and yet we claimed, and England yielded, that she had no right to recognize their independency. We can not recognize that independency, as I say, without flying in the face of our whole diplomatic history. Before this discussion is over it may be desirable to return to that particular point again.

Gentlemen cite the precedent of France in the time of our Revolution. France did not pretend or claim that that recognition of the independence of the United States was anything but an act of war. She was hardly at peace with England. Before she had been driven off the continent of North America by the genius of Chatham and the military prowess of James Wolfe, and she had sat, sulky and angry, biding her time during twelve years of hollow and treacherous truce, and when the time came France hastened to throw her weight into our scale.

It is not true, however, as I understood my honorable friend to imply the other day, as I read the history of the country, that we should not have won our independence without the assistance of France. Before the French alliance our Navy, which never has had its due share of the credit of the Revolutionary war, had driven the rate of marine insurance in the Mediterranean Sea on English vessels and cargo up to 28 per cent. England could have maintained the land war, France or no France, for a hundred years but for that; and it was that which induced the merchants of Liverpool and London to compel George III and Lord North to make peace.

Our Navy in the time of the Revolution, as I said, never has had its due credit. Why, Mr. President, the State of Massachusetts alone had at sea in the Revolutionary war more men in ships of war and in privateers than the whole of all the rest of the States of the Union put together had on land, in addition to furnishing largely more than her quota of the land forces.

Mr. President, we want to gain and we want to keep in this struggle into which we are about to enter the sympathy of the civilized world, and we can only keep it by maintaining the pathway marked out for us by the law of nations. If we depart in dealing with Spain from the accepted traditions and rules of international law, especially if we depart from those rules which we have affirmed over and over again during our own history, we can not blame them if they shall sympathize with Spain for departing from them also. If we put the issue on any doubtful ground, we make the cause of Spain the cause of every European Government that has got a colony in another continent or in an island adjacent to another continent. We do not need to be departing from the rules of international law. What we have in hand we shall know how to do lawfully and effectively.

Another thing. Senators talk about recognizing the insurgent republic. Is that insurgent republic the people of Cuba? The Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] and, I believe, the committee in their report both state the number of the people of Cuba who sympathize with the insurgent government. The committee states it as a third of the people of the island, and the Senator from Ohio stated it at 400,000. Now, although we may all sympa-

thize, as we all do sympathize, with the gallantry of those insurgents, with the courage and leadership of Gomez, with the endurance and the devotion which is willing to give life and everything which makes life dear for the liberty of Cuba, by what right can you stand in the face of the nations of the earth and say that you will recognize as the lawful government of Cuba a community which the Senator from Ohio, in some sense the organ of the committee, and the chairman of the committee in his report tell us amounts to but a third of the inhabitants of that island?

Mr. STEWART. The Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] is not here, but I did not understand him to make that statement.

Mr. HOAR. I will look in his speech and find if he did not.

Mr. STEWART. I understood the Senator from Ohio to say that there were only 400,000 within the military lines.

Mr. HOAR. That is not what he said at all.

Mr. STEWART. I do not think the Senator from Ohio said that of those who sympathized with the insurgents there were but 400,000.

Mr. HOAR. Perhaps we had better find what the Senator from Ohio said. I had somewhere marked what he said about the 400,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. Here it is.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Ohio said:

They control absolutely more than one-half of that territory. More than 400,000—

That is it—

More than 400,000 of the population of the island recognize no government except only their civil government.

Now, what has become of the other 1,100,000?

Mr. STEWART. If the Senator will take the context, he will find the Senator from Ohio spoke of those in the walled cities.

Mr. HOAR. The Senator from Ohio said a great many other things with which I am not dealing now. I am dealing with the estimate which that Senator gave of the number of Cubans, the 1,500,000 people, who recognize that government themselves. Where are the other 1,100,000? The Senator said nothing about walled cities. He was speaking of the number of Cubans who recognize no government but the civil government of the insurgents.

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President—

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to read from the testimony of General Lee?

Mr. GALLINGER. I will say to the Senator from Massachusetts that a very large part of the people sympathize with the Cuban cause even in that part of the island where the insurgents do not hold the territory.

Mr. TILLMAN. Over 200,000 of them are dead.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to say one word? I wish to read from Gen. Fitzhugh Lee's testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations, which will give the Senator the information he wants. Will the Senator allow me to do that?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. General Lee was asked by Senator FORAKER:

What percentage of the population of the island is Cuban?
 Consul General LEE. About one million five or six hundred thousand people. About one third of those are negroes. Take off 500,000 and that will

leave 1,000,000, the Cubans being out of that 1,000,000, all except about 300,000.

Senator FORAKER. About 50 per cent?

Consul-General LEE. Yes; I think all but about 300,000.

Senator FORAKER. Are all the Cubans friendly to the insurgents?

Consul-General LEE. I never saw one who was not.

Senator FORAKER. They are all friendly to them?

Consul-General LEE. Yes.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I know Cubans myself who are thoroughly friendly to the cause of the insurgents, but who do not desire their government to be established.

Mr. FRYE. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. HOAR. Certainly.

Mr. FRYE. The Senator from Massachusetts alludes to the Senator from Ohio as to a certain extent being the organ of the committee. He is in no sense the organ of the committee on the question of the recognition of the Cubans as a republic.

Mr. HOAR. I had somewhere marked the statement about the proportion of people in Cuba who favor the recognition of the insurgents' government made by the committee, which I shall ask leave to quote in the RECORD. It is this:

The insurgents hold the eastern portion of the island to the practical exclusion of Spain. This possession extends over one body of territory comprising fully one-half of the area of Cuba.

The extermination by Spain of the peaceful inhabitants of the western portion of the island has so affected the balance of the population between these moieties of Cuba that the insurgents comprise in the eastern half nearly one-third of the population of the island. That third of the population pays taxes to them, serves in their armies, and in every way supports and is loyal to them. This situation has existed ever since the first few months of the war.

Mr. President, I was about to say, however, that this does not seem to me to be practically so important as it seems to some gentlemen who have dealt with it, because the moment we are at war, the moment we choose to exercise armed force and constraint upon the people of Spain, we are then, by every rule of international or moral law, at liberty to ally ourselves with any instrumentality we choose to use. So, after all, it is a question of what is to happen twenty-four hours beforehand or twenty-four hours afterwards.

You have the opportunity to keep within the acknowledged principles of international law, the precedents of your own history, and have unity in dealing with this matter, or, for the sake of casting an imputation upon the President of the United States largely, to adopt a different policy; and the moment this process of intervention begins and war follows, if it do follow, we shall then have the right by every rule of law to ally ourselves with any instrumentality. If the people of Ireland, if the people of Sussex, if the people of the Isle of Man, or of Guernsey were in rebellion against England, and we went to war with her, we should, of course, extend the hand to them as allies and cooperators.

Mr. President, there is another matter in which I do not agree with the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] or the honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY], and with great respect to both those Senators—and no man values more highly their ability or their patriotism—I am sorry they said it. I do not believe that the man who enters a house to put out a fire becomes legally responsible for every mortgage on the house, and I do not believe that a policeman who enters a disorderly house to subdue a riot or a fight, even if he has to take the proprietor into custody,

becomes liable for every debt which the proprietor may have incurred. I do not think if we take Spain into custody, if we put her off the Island of Cuba neck and heels, that we are in the least responsible for any mortgages she may have undertaken to put on the island.

Mr. MASON. Will the Senator from Massachusetts allow me to make a suggestion?

Mr. HOAR. I will yield to the Senator.

Mr. MASON. I do not care to interrupt the Senator, but I thought the illustration which he has made as to one entering a burning house should in all fairness have been carried to its legitimate conclusion.

Mr. HOAR. I beg that the Senator will not interrupt me to do so.

Mr. MASON. I wish to ask the Senator, after a man who enters a burning house has extinguished the fire, if he sets up ownership and says he will decide who shall run the house thereafter, whether he does not then incur responsibility?

Mr. HOAR. Nobody proposes to set up ownership and to prescribe who shall run that house hereafter. I have not heard such a proposition, certainly not from my honorable friend from Illinois [Mr. Mason], and, as I said, I think the only effect of that utterance of those two eminent Senators to whom I have referred will be to give to some foreign government, or some foreign banker, or broker, or stock jobber a chance to make a claim against this Government. Mr. President, it is a pretty fine distinction between our liability if we go in there and turn Spain out without first recognizing the insurgent government, and our liability in case we go in there and turn Spain out and do first recognize the insurgent government.

I do not think the hairsplitting metaphysics of my honorable friend from Kentucky or the exuberant eloquence of my honorable friend from Ohio will ever make the publicists or the investors of mankind to see the distinction between those two cases. What they state will be held and will amount in the eyes of mankind to throwing the great authority of those two Senators on the side of a claim to be made hereafter if we do anything in Cuba by way of intervention; and an utterance of that kind in debate is another argument for the opinion of those who think such discussions should be in executive session and not in open session.

Mr. President, there is another thing. As I said, the insurgents have many titles to our sympathy, and they have it. I do not suppose there is a man within the sound of my voice whose heart has not been stirred by the noble and gallant story of this struggle for freedom. They are struggling for freedom. They are brave and unyielding. There is another thing I like in them, and I presume the Senator from Kentucky likes it also: It is well understood that the aspiration of Gomez is for a black republic in the West Indies. If he should get control of Cuba, and if Haiti and San Domingo join him, and perhaps Puerto Rico, he aspires to give an example to mankind where the men of the colored race may rule themselves as equals socially and politically, and in all other ways in freedom and in honor; and for one, I say, and I hope my friend from Kentucky will say, Amen. I bless him and I honor him for that aspiration.

But, Mr. President, the insurgents are not without fault in regard to the terrible condition of affairs which has grown up

in Cuba. They began that system of warfare. Among their first acts, long before the reconcentrado orders, was the destruction of every cane field and of every farm where anything could be raised for which even the owners should pay a tax to the Spanish Government. I would not speak severely of them for it in their desperate struggle, but it was an introduction into the usages of war of a practice unknown to the present time. Mr. President, they have not abandoned that system in warfare.

I should like to have the Secretary read one testimony upon this subject, the testimony of a person for whose wisdom, honor, and integrity—if it were not ridiculous for anybody to impugn it—I would pledge every title of my own to the respect and confidence of my countrymen. I speak of Clara Barton. I spoke of her years ago as the most illustrious citizen of Massachusetts. Whoever else may be in doubt, she has won all the laurels of this epoch—that noble, beautiful woman who leaves her comfortable and delightful home, where she enjoyed the society of kindred, the affection of friends, and the admiration of all her fellow-citizens, to go, with the Red Cross in her hand, wherever there is fever or sickness or suffering, penetrating the barbarism of Turkey when the missionaries failed to do so, and making her way into Cuba even past the cruel and bloody knives of the Spanish soldiery.

The American people have had, in every generation since the landing at Jamestown and at Plymouth, brave soldiers and sailors. There has never been a war from the beginning in which the American flag has suffered dishonor or the glory of the American name been tarnished. But in this field other nations also have been our competitors. Military character, courage in war, have been found in human annals from the beginning of time; but the mission of the Red Cross, with its message of peace and humanity, is wholly and altogether of American origin. It is ours almost exclusively. I think we may trust Clara Barton and may accept her evidence without hesitation. I ask the Secretary to read what is marked.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FAULKNER in the chair). The Secretary will read as requested, if there be no objection.

The Secretary read as follows:

It is hardly possible, even with General Blanco's latest permission, for Spain to give all the protection she would even within her trochas. Although the Spanish soldier might be controlled and might not touch the reconcentrados who are attempting to cultivate the land, there is always the native guerrillas to be feared. There is where the danger lies; it is not so much from the Spanish soldier. The Spanish can generally control their soldiers. All the reconcentrados could cultivate much land still left to them inside of the trochas and inside of the forts, but as soon as they have got something raised, in comes the lawless guerrilla and takes it. Great destruction has also come from the insurgents. Their policy in regard to that is about as strange and as unnatural as was the cruel policy of Spain in driving the reconcentrados away from their farms.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, we have the testimony of this benevolent lady to this effect. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. The fact that both parties are in some degree to blame for these horrors does not in the least affect our right and our duty to stop them. They exist in an island over which Spain claims authority, and by her own logic she must admit either that she herself is guilty of them or that her subjects, as she calls them, are guilty of them, she being unable to prevent them. So that I conceive it makes no difference in the right or the duty of the American

people to deal with this transaction, and I only cite this evidence of Miss Barton as showing the reason why we should hesitate just now at the recognition of the insurgent government.

What should we do, Mr. President? I think we should not begin by quarreling amongst ourselves and by slapping the President of the United States in the face. I think we should not begin by aiming to make party capital out of this transaction. I agree entirely with my honorable friend the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] in his admirable and powerful statement of international law as to the right of intervention. He has summed up the authorities on one side, and to some extent on both sides, and he has come to the conclusion—and I will ask leave to make an extract or two from it—that the writers on international law who declare that there is a lawful international right of intervention to stop horrors of this kind have the better reason on their side. In that opinion I entirely concur with him. The chairman says in his report:

The conflict of opinion and definition among the jurists upon the subject of intervention is very great. Some of them deny its existence as a right under any circumstances, excepting of self-defense against an imminent peril, while other writers of equal authority maintain the validity of its assertion as a right for causes which may be inconsistent with that great foundation principle of international law, the equal and inviolable sovereignty of states.

The extremes of these opinions are represented by Guizot and Arntz. The former declares that "no state has the right to intervene in the situation of internal government of another state, except only when the interest of its own safety renders such intervention indispensable."

Arntz maintains that the right of intervention exists:

1. "When the institutions of one state violate or threaten to violate the rights of another state, or when such violation is the necessary consequence of its institutions and the impossibility of an orderly coexistence of states results therefrom."

2. "When a government, acting entirely within the limits of its prerogatives of sovereignty, violates the rights of humanity, whether by measures contrary to the interests of other states or by excess of injustice and cruelty which deeply wounds public morals and civilization."

"The right of intervention is a legitimate one, because, however important may be the rights of sovereignty and independence, there is one thing of still greater importance, and that is the law of humanity and human society, which ought not to be outraged."

Between these extremities of opinion the differences among the publicists are exceedingly various and irreconcilable. Professor Hall, in his work on International Law (3d edition, page 288, note 1), in considering the opinions of modern international jurists who touch upon humanitarian intervention, says that "the treatment which the subject receives from them is merely fragmentary, notice being taken of some only of its grounds, which are usually approved or disapproved without very clear reference to a general principle."

Vattel (liv. I, chapter iv, section 56) considers it permissible to succor a people oppressed by its sovereign, but does not appear to sanction any of the analogous grounds of intervention. Wheaton (Elem., part II, chapter I, section 93), Bluntschli (section 478), Mamiani (page 86), give the right of aiding an oppressed race.

Heffter (section 46), while denying the right of intervention to repress tyranny, holds that so soon as a civil war has broken out a foreign state may assist either party engaged in it. Calvo (section 166) and Fiore (I, 446) think that states can intervene to put an end to slaughter.

Vattel says, Book II, Chapter IV, top page 157, "As to those monsters who, under the title of sovereigns, render themselves the scourges and horror of the human race, they are savage beasts, whom every brave man may justly exterminate from the face of the earth."

"All antiquity has praised Hercules for delivering the world from Antæus, a Busris, and a Diomedæ."

If these opinions state the correct rule, as we believe they do, the right of intervention by the United States in the present instance is indubitable. They are, however, controverted by other publicists of great eminence. It is possibly correct to say as to this conflict of opinion that this portion of international law is, though operative in certain cases, in that formative and progressive condition of development by which many benign principles, though formerly contested, have at last become firmly established.

I shall not undertake to detain the Senate by reciting the familiar, yet terrible, story which is told in the consular reports. If there be no objection, I will also include as a part of my remarks a few extracts from the reports of our different consuls which have been communicated to the Senate and printed. [See Appendix.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That order will be made, if there be no objection. The Chair hears none.

Mr. HOAR. I agree further with the President of the United States when he says in a sentence brief and compact, as becomes the head of a great nation making a great statement to the world, but which can not be misunderstood—

This long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war can not be attained.

Mr. President, that means, as I understand it, that in order to restore peace in that island, the continuance of the flag of Spain over the Island of Cuba is an object impossible of attainment. If that be true, then any intervention on our part conducted by the President, if it is to accomplish the object at which we aim, must directly, and as soon as may be, expel the authority of Spain from that island, and in that belief I have no doubt we are all agreed. It is in view of that fact that the President goes on to ask leave to use the forces of the Navy and Army to restore peace. It is a peace, in other words, which can only exist and be consistent with the expulsion of the Spanish flag from Cuba. So our intervention can only accomplish its end by compelling the entire withdrawal of Spain from the island. So far as Spain has made this necessary, she is responsible for it; so far as the insurgents have made it necessary, they are, or they were, Spanish subjects, whom she can not control, and Spain, so long as she is there, can not prevent it, and we who can prevent it must prevent it.

Mr. President, I find no difficulty where my honorable friend the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. LINDSAY] and my honorable friend the Senator from Washington [Mr. TURNER] find difficulty, and where my honorable friend the Senator from Ohio [Mr. FORAKER] finds a doubt, in authorizing the President to do a particular act of international force unless that be preceded by a declaration of war. Take a familiar case in our history, that of the Algerian captives, where so many of our merchantmen and sailors were taken by Algiers, during Mr. Madison's Administration I think it was.

Does anybody here doubt that Congress might have authorized President Madison to dispatch a naval force to Algiers and rescue those captives and compel their delivery up, and stop there? I imagine that proposition will not be controverted. It depends on the other side, then, whether they will take that as an act of war. If we authorize the President to put Spain out and restore peace to that island and Spain shall get out, there will be no war, and it is not necessary to declare war; or if he puts her out and she concludes that she can not help herself and does nothing further, there will be no further war, and it is not necessary to declare war.

Mr. President, the Executive of the United States has frequent occasion to do acts of this kind when Congress is not in session. How many instances of international force have been necessary in the ordinary protection of American citizenship abroad or on the high seas which the other party may take as an act of war if

it chooses, but which the President has a constitutional right and duty to do whether or not war has been previously declared? Suppose Austria had gone a little further and Commodore Ingraham had resisted the attempt to retake Martin Koszta by force and the President of the United States had sustained him in it. Does anybody claim that is a declaration of war, or will any American claim that it is not within the lawful and constitutional power of the President to do it? Austria might have treated it as an act of war.

Take the very familiar power committed to the President, that of the recognition of the independence of a foreign government, which he does in time of peace, so far as this country is concerned, or he does when Congress is not in session. The other side may take that as war or not, as they see fit. It is very often one of the most hostile of acts. So I find no difficulty there.

Mr. President, I am therefore prepared to support the resolutions of the House, if I have correctly interpreted them. I should like a little better the form which has been drawn up, I understand, by the honorable Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. It appeared in the papers, and I suppose I violate no propriety in saying that it appeared with his consent or his authority. I like that, which I think is a perfect expression of the limits and the extent to which it is necessary for us to go, and I think when we go that far all other things will be added to us and all other things will be added by the inevitable and inexorable logic of events that are desired by the friends of freedom in Cuba. I have spent this time because I thought it was due to a brave soldier, to an honorable American patriot, and to a great President that the angry attacks upon him which have been heard in this Chamber should not go without at least one voice being raised in his behalf.

I also agree with the President and with the committee in treating the outrage upon the *Maine* for our present and immediate purpose only as an instance and proof of Spain's incapacity to preserve order and civilization in the island. It will have its own consideration, and they misunderstand the American people who think that the consideration of any public transaction by the people of the United States leads to cowardice, dishonor, or weakness. It will have its own consideration, and unless the entire history of this country is to be forgotten the result of that consideration will be such as is creditable and honorable to American manhood and to American good faith.

I believe it was a meditated act of which Spanish officials were probably guilty. I do not overlook Consul-General Lee's suggestion as to the possibility of bringing a torpedo in the neighborhood of the ship in a boat by one or two or three men and the ship swinging against it. That is not the consul-general's opinion, but his suggestion, and I should like to put it in the language in which he gave it:

Consul General LEE. I never have been certain that the submarine mine was placed there prior to the entrance of the *Maine* into the harbor. It might have been done afterwards. The *Maine* was anchored to a buoy by some little chain. A vessel swinging around that way sometimes gets at various places all around the circle. When she would swing off that way, with the bow next to the buoy, and these boats plying about the harbor all the time, anybody could go pretty well in front of her on a dark night and drop one of these submarine mines of 500 pounds. They have fingers, as it were, and as the boat goes around it would touch the finger, which makes contact and explodes the mine. That might have been done after the *Maine* got in there.

Senator CULLOM. And not be discovered?

Consul-General LEE. Yes, sir; one or two men rowing quietly in a boat could drop it off the stern of the boat on a dark night, though Sigsbee had his patrols out. I do not know what they call them on men-of-war; sentinels. Still, it might not have been discovered. A boat would not have been noticed, because boats go there always.

Senator CULLOM. Day and night?

Consul-General LEE. Yes, sir; to a late hour of the night. The harbor is full of these little boats. A mine weighs about 500 pounds, and I suppose it would take two or three men—one man to row and probably three or four to handle the mine.

Senator CULLOM. Containing 500 pounds of gun cotton?

Senator LODGE. And the casing.

Senator CULLOM. And the casing, which weighs something more.

But the committee say with great force that such things are not found in private hands, especially in a community like that of Havana, and that it is almost impossible to escape the conclusion that no person could have had in his possession a mine or torpedo capable of working that destruction without the connivance of Spanish officials, or without gross negligence, which, under the circumstances, was equal to connivance. I further agree and believe and maintain that that being true, the Spanish Government is responsible for that loss and should be held responsible.

But everybody—the President, the consul-general, the Committee on Foreign Relations, if I am not mistaken—acquits Blanco. The chairman of the committee, the Senator Lee from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS], nods his head in assent. General Lee says he found Blanco in tears when he hastened himself to the scene of the occurrence. This is Blanco's dispatch:

[Inclosure in No. 777.]

HAVANA, February 18, 1898.

MR. CONSUL: It becomes my painful duty to express to you my profound sorrow for the misfortune which occurred yesterday on board the American ship *Maine*. I associate myself with all my heart to the grief of the nation and of the families who have lost some of their members; and upon so doing I do not only express my personal sentiments, but I speak in the name of all the inhabitants of Havana—witnesses of the catastrophe which has afflicted so many homes.

God guard you many years.

RAMON BLANCO.

THE CONSUL-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

Now, to acquit Blanco—do not let me be misunderstood—is to acquit Spain of direct purpose, intentional guilt, in that transaction, because he was the only medium through which the orders of the Government of Spain could have gone to any subordinate official. I do not mean that to acquit Blanco is to acquit Spain of neglect. I do not mean that to acquit Blanco is to acquit her of having treacherous and wicked officials, and still less do I mean that to acquit Blanco is to acquit her of full responsibility; but what I say is that if we acquit Spain of having directly, with malice aforethought, of diabolical intent and purpose, set off that mine, then the setting off of it is not an affirmative act of war, but is one of those acts which warrant us in seeking reparation, if necessary, by warlike means and instrumentalities. It does not create a state of war unless we choose to make war for that cause in and of itself; and so the committee treat it.

If the *Maine* stood alone, we could, I hope and believe, under these circumstances secure an honorable reparation for her loss without war. Spain has opened the door. She has declared her willingness to submit, not her liability, not what reparation she

shall make, but simply the fact how it happened under circumstances which imply that if it be ascertained that it happened from an external cause, she of course expects to make due reparation and to agree, as she says in advance, to accept the result.

Mr. President, I do not agree with those gentlemen, amiable, honest, zealous, and patriotic as they are, who find fault with our honorable committee and our President for not bringing in a declaration of war on the instant in consequence of the destruction of the *Maine*. It is said—although on this I do not place so much stress, but as gentlemen are reviewing the past and finding fault with some of us, we may, perhaps, allude to it—that there is no other country in the world that would allow the *Maine* incident to go three weeks without redress. That may be true, but there is no other country in the world which would allow itself to go unarmed and would maintain, with wealth and resources like ours, a policy for all these years which enables a fifth-rate, weak power, a relic of the Dark Ages, to be on an equality almost with the people of the United States for the first few weeks of a naval war.

I should think my honorable and amiable friend the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER], who does me the honor to listen to me, and, I am afraid from the expression on his countenance, has done me the honor to disagree with me a good deal, would be rather amused when he reads the utterances and the votes of some of his bellicose associates and remembers how he was baffled, disappointed, and blocked in his honorable and praiseworthy attempts, which are the glory and crown or among the various glories and crowns of his honorable and useful life, by the very men who are now so warlike.

I will not undertake to give names or to allude to persons, but I will undertake to say that if any Senator of the State of Massachusetts be charged with overcaution in hesitating to get this country into a naval war before she is ready, at least no Senator of Massachusetts ever failed to vote for the largest amount of money and the largest number of ships whenever the question of an honorable and decent Navy was at stake or whenever the question of proposed fortifications was up.

Mr. President, Spain ought to be as powerless in the grasp of the United States as a 3-year-old infant in the grasp of his father.

Mr. President, I expect to vote for the House resolutions, unless I should have an opportunity to vote for the resolution of the honorable Senator from Colorado. That leads to war. There is no doubt about it. It will lead to the most honorable single war in all history, unless we except wars entered upon by brave people in the assertion of their own liberty. It leads to war. It is a war in which there does not enter the slightest thought or desire of foreign conquest or of national gain or advantage.

I have not heard throughout this whole discussion in Senate or House an expression of a desire to subjugate and occupy Cuba for the purposes of our own country. There is nothing of that kind suggested. It is disclaimed by the President, disclaimed by the committee, disclaimed by everybody, so far as I am aware. It is entered into for the single and sole reason that three or four hundred thousand human beings, within 90 miles of our shores, have been subjected to the policy intended, or at any rate having the effect, deliberately to starve them to death—men, women, and children, old men, mothers, and infants.

If there have been any hasty or unwise utterances of impatience

in such a cause as that, and I think there have been, they have been honest, brave, humane utterances. But when I enter upon this war, I want to enter upon it with a united American people—President and Senate and House, and Navy and Army, and Democrat and Republican, all joining hands and all marching one way. I want to enter upon it with the sanction of international law, with the sympathy of all humane and liberty-loving nations, with the approval of our own consciences, and with a certainty of the applauding judgment of history.

I confess I do not like to think of the genius of America angry, snarling, shouting, screaming, kicking, clawing with her nails. I like rather to think of her in her august and serene beauty, inspired by a sentiment even toward her enemies not of hate, but of love, perhaps a little pale in the cheek and a dangerous light in her eye, but with a smile on her lips, as sure, determined, unerring, invincible as was the Archangel Michael when he struck down and trampled upon the Demon of Darkness. [Applause in the galleries.]

APPENDIX.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Fay.

No. 110.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE GENERAL.

Havana, November 25, 1897.

* * * * *
Fourth. The insurgents' leaders have given instructions to prevent grinding wherever it can be done, because by diminishing the export of sugar the Spanish Government revenues are decreased. It will be very difficult for the Spanish authorities to prevent cane burning, because one man at night can start a fire which will burn hundreds of acres, just as a single individual could ignite a prairie by throwing a match into the dry grass.

I have read letters stating that charitable persons in the United States will send clothing, food, and some money to these unfortunate people, and I have arranged with the Ward Line of steamers to provide free transportation from New York. I hope to secure the permission of the Spanish authorities here for such things to be entered free of duty. I am told, however, that they must come consigned to the bishop of Havana. The sufferings of the reconcentrado class have been terrible beyond description, but in Havana less than in other places on the island; yet Dr. Brunner, acting United States sanitary inspector here, informed me this morning that the death rate of the reconcentrados in this city was about 50 per cent that in other places of the island, and when it is remembered that there have been several hundred thousands of these noncombatants or pacificos, mainly women and children, who are concentrated under General Weyler's order, some idea can be formed of the mortality among them.

In this city matters are assuming better shape. Under charitable committees large numbers of them have been gathered together in houses, and are now fed and cared for by private subscriptions. I visited them yesterday and found their condition comparatively good, and there will be a daily improvement among them, though the lives of all can not be saved. I witnessed many terrible scenes and saw some die while I was present. I am told General Blanco will give \$100,000 to the relief fund.

I am, etc.,

FITZHUGH LEE, *Consul-General.*

[Inclosure with dispatch No. 712.]

SIR: The public rumor of the horrible state in which the reconcentrados of the municipal council of Havana were found in the fosos having reached us, we resolved to pay a visit there, and we will relate to you what we saw with our own eyes:

Four hundred and sixty women and children thrown on the ground, heaped pell-mell as animals, some in a dying condition, others sick, and others dead, without the slightest cleanliness nor the least help, not even to give water to the thirsty, with neither religious nor social help, each one dying wherever chance laid them, and for this limited number of reconcentrados the deaths ranged between forty and fifty daily, giving relatively ten days of life for each person, with great joy to the authorities who seconded faithfully the politics of General Weyler to exterminate the Cuban people, for

these unhappy creatures received food only after having been for eight days in the fosos, if during this time they could feed themselves with the bad food that the dying refused.

On this first visit we were present at the death of an old man who died through thirst. When we arrived he begged us, for God's sake, to give him a drink. We looked for it and gave it to him, and fifteen minutes afterwards he breathed his last, not having had even a drink of water for three days before. Among the many deaths we witnessed there was one scene impossible to forget. There is still alive the only living witness, a young girl of 18 years, whom we found seemingly lifeless on the ground; on her right-hand side was the body of a young mother, cold and rigid, but with her young child still alive clinging to her dead breast; on her left-hand side was also the corpse of a dead woman holding her son in a dead embrace; a little farther on a poor, dying woman, having in her arms a daughter of 14, crazy with pain, who after five or six days also died, in spite of the care she received.

In one corner a poor woman was dying, surrounded by her children, who contemplated her in silence, without a lament or shedding a tear, they themselves being real specters of hunger, emaciated in a horrible manner. This poor woman augments the catalogue already large of the victims of the reconcentration in the fosos.

(The relation of the pictures of misery and horror which we have witnessed would be never ending were we to narrate them all.)

It is difficult and almost impossible to express by writing the general aspect of the inmates of the fosos, because it is entirely beyond the line of what civilized humanity is accustomed to see; therefore no language can describe it.

The circumstances which the municipal authorities could reunite there are the following: Complete accumulation of bodies dead and alive, so that it was impossible to take one step without walking over them; the greatest want of cleanliness, want of light, air, and water; the food lacking in quality and quantity what was necessary to sustain life, thus sooner putting an end to these already broken-down systems; complete absence of medical assistance; and what is more terrible than all, no consolation whatever, religious or moral.

If any young girl came in any way nice looking, she was infallibly condemned to the most abominable of traffics.

At the sight of such horrible pictures the two gentlemen who went there resolved in spite of the ferocious Weyler, who was still Captain-General of the island, to omit nothing to remedy a deed so dishonorable to humanity, and so contrary to all Christianity. They did not fail to find persons animated with like sentiments, who, putting aside all fear of the present situation, organized a private committee with the exclusive end of aiding materially and morally the reconcentrados. This neither has been nor is at present an easy task. The great number of the poor and scarcity of means make us encounter constant conflicts. This conflict is more terrible with the official elements, and in a special manner with the mayor of the city and the civil authorities, who try by all means to annihilate this good work. The result of the collections are very insignificant if we bear in mind the thousands of people who suffer from the reconcentrados; but it serves for some consolation to see that in Havana some 159 children and 81 women are well cared for in the asylum erected in Cadiz street, No. 82, and 93 women and children are equally well located in a large saloon erected for them in the second story of the fosos, with good food and proper medical assistance, as also everything indispensable to civilized life.

According to the information which we have been able to acquire since August until the present day, 1,700 persons have entered the fosos proceeding from Jarico, Campo Florido, Guanabo, and Tapaste, in the Province of Havana. Of these, only 243 are living now and are to be found in Cadiz street—82 in the saloon already mentioned and 61 in the Quinta del Rey and the Hospital Mercedes, the whole amounting to about 397, and of these a great many will die on account of the great sufferings and hunger they have gone through.

From all this we deduct that the number of deaths among the reconcentrados has amounted to 77 per cent.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

No. 724.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL,
Havana, December 7, 1897.

I am informed an order has been issued in some parts of the island suspending the distribution of rations to reconcentrados. * * * The condition of these people is simply terrible.

I enclose herewith an official copy of the comparative mortality in Havana for the six months ending November 30. It will be perceived that there has

been a great increase in the death rate, and without adequate means in the future to prevent it the mortality will increase. I hear of much suffering in the Spanish hospitals for want of food and among the Spanish soldiers. * * * I hear also that the Spanish merchants in some parts of the island are placing their establishments in the names of foreigners in order to avoid their provisions being purchased on credit by the military administration, and that the Spanish army is suffering much from sickness and famine, and that a great deal of money is needed at once to relieve their condition. In some parts of the island, I am told, there is scarcely any food for soldiers or citizens, and that even cats are used for food purposes, selling at 30 cents apiece.

It is a fair inference, therefore, to draw from the existing conditions that it is not possible for the Governor General of this island to relieve the present situation with the means at his disposal. * * *

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

No. 737.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL.

Havana, December 15, 1897.

SIR: I have the honor to report that I have received information that in the province of Havana reports show that there have been 101,000 "reconcentrados," and that out of that 52,000 have died. Of the said 101,000, 32,000 were children. This excludes the city of Havana and seven other towns from which reports have not yet been made up. It is thought that the total number of reconcentrados in Havana province will amount to 150,000, nearly all women and children, and that the death rate among their whole number from starvation alone will be over 50 per cent.

For the above number of reconcentrados \$12,500, Spanish silver, was set aside out of the \$100,000 appropriated for the purpose of relieving all the reconcentrados on the island. Seventy-five thousand of the 150,000 may be still living, so if every dollar appropriated of the \$12,500 reaches them the distribution will average about 17 cents to a person, which, of course, will be rapidly exhausted, and as I can hear of no further succor being afforded, it is easy to perceive what little practical relief has taken place in the condition of those poor people.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

No. 742.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL.

Havana, January 8, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to state, as a matter of public interest, that the "reconcentrado order" of General Weyler, formerly Governor-General of this island, transferred about 400,000 self-supporting people, principally women and children, into a multitude, to be sustained by the contributions of others or die of starvation or of fevers, resulting from a low physical condition and being massed in large bodies without change of clothing and without food.

Their houses were burned, their fields and plant beds destroyed, and their live stock driven away or killed.

I estimate that probably 200,000 of the rural population in the Provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, and Santa Clara have died of starvation or from resultant causes, and the deaths of whole families almost simultaneously or within a few days of each other, and of mothers praying for their children to be relieved of their horrible sufferings by death, are not the least of the many pitiable scenes which were ever present. In the Provinces of Puerto Principe and Santiago de Cuba, where the "reconcentrado order" could not be enforced, the great mass of the people are self-sustaining.

Mr. Lee to Mr. Day.

No. 746.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE-GENERAL.

Havana, January 13, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith some statistics sent me about the mortality in the town of Santa Clara, the capital of Santa Clara Province, situated about 33 miles south of Sagua, which numbers some 11,000 inhabitants. It will be noticed that there were 5,489 deaths in that town in the seven years previous to 1897, which included 1,117 in one year, from an epidemic of yellow fever, while in 1897, owing to the concentration order, there were 6,981; the concentration order went into effect in February.

In that year, 1897, the month's death rate for January was 78, but in February, the first month of reconcentration, there were 111, and there has been a gradual increase since, as you will see, until in December, 1897, the number of deaths was 1,011. I refer to this as a specimen of the mortality on this island in consequence of the "reconcentrado order" of the late Captain and Governor General, Weyler.

I am, etc.,

FITZHUGH LEE, *Consul-General.*

[Inclosure in No. 746.]

STATISTICS OF DEATH RATE IN SANTA CLARA.

(A town of 14,000 inhabitants.)

1890.....	578	1896 (epidemic of yellow fever among army and Cubans)....	1,417
1891.....	730		
1892.....	506		
1893.....	619		5,489
1894.....	687	1897 (no epidemic).....	6,981
1895.....	812		

(1,392 more than in seven previous years.)

Concentration order in February, 1897—Monthly death rate.

January.....	78	August.....	645
February (concentration).....	114	September.....	690
March.....	373	October.....	884
April.....	524	November.....	1,037
May.....	539	December.....	1,041
June.....	531		
July.....	655	Total.....	6,981

Sample month, December, 1897.

	Number of deaths.	Number of patients.
Civil Hospital.....	143	170
Military Hospital.....	23	790
San Lazarus Hospital.....	2	19
Buried in poor carts.....	228	
Buried by family.....	553	
Prison.....	2	
Total.....	951	

Mr. Erice to Mr. Day.

No. 95.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Matanzas, November 17, 1897.

* * * * *

Starvation.—No relief as yet afforded the starving thousands in this province. Several days ago an order from Captain Gim was given municipal authorities to issue rations and clothing, but no attention is paid the order.

* * * * *

Death rate in this city over 80 persons daily, and nearly all from want of food, medicines, and clothing. As I write this a dead negro woman lies in the street within 200 yards of this consulate, starved to death; died some time this morning, and will lie there, maybe, for days. The misery and destitution in this city and other towns in the interior are beyond description.

A general order has been issued allowing reconcentrados to return to the country, but the restrictions placed in order are such as to practically prohibit. If they went, what can they do without money, food, or shelter? Only those who can obtain employment on sugar plantations can live. Insurgents say no one will be allowed to grind in Province of Matanzas. The situation is indeed deplorable, and I am free to say no real help can be expected from Spanish Government, and the fate of the remaining reconcentrados is slow, lingering death from starvation.

Mr. Erice to Mr. Day.

No. 97.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Matanzas, December 17, 1897.

* * * * *

Concentrados.—Relief offered these and other poor people by Spanish authorities is only in name. I have personally visited (on several occasions) head masters of distributing stations. Two thousand rations were given out, for a few days only, to 8,000 persons. * * * There are more than 12,000 starving people in this city to-day. One out of 4 (or 6) received the following ration: 2 ounces rice, 1½ ounces tassajo (jerked beef), and sometimes a small piece of bread, per diem. Imagine starving people being relieved by such

rations! Even this ration of food has been discontinued since 11th instant. Death rate has diminished somewhat; low about 65 daily. There are less people to die.

The scenes of misery and distress daily observed are beyond belief. Here is one out of hundreds: In a family of seventeen living in an old limekiln, upper part of city limits, all were found dead except three, and they barely alive. * * * A few of the strongest of these people have been sent out to sugar plantations, which expect to grind. They get 30 cents per day and board themselves. General Blanco's order allowing reconcentrados, owners of plantations and farms, to return and cultivate crops, etc., is inoperative and of no avail. Several of our American citizens, owners of land, have repeatedly asked the civil governor of this province for permission to return to their homes, and in every case refused or restrictions imposed making it impossible to comply with.

I am, etc.,

A. C. BRICE, *United States Consul.*

Mr. Brice to Mr. Day.

No. 99.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Matanzas, January 18, 1898.

SIR: I have the honor to report the following concerning destitute American citizens, Matanzas Province:

Up to Sunday, January 9, 1898, weekly rations of food have been regularly issued, also medicines for sick, and although there has been more or less hardships and suffering for want of clothing, shelter, etc. (which we were not allowed to supply), none of our people have suffered for food or medicine.

In behalf of these people I earnestly ask the Department that some prompt measures be taken to further relieve them. They are absolutely helpless—no work, shut up in cities and towns like rats in a trap to starve. We have fifteen or eighteen families (American reconcentrados) who own property in the country, and were they allowed to go to their homes, could make a good living. All these have begged and pleaded with authorities (under Blanco's order) to go, and in every case refused.

Since the 24th of May, 1897, to December 26, 1897, seven months, we have given food and medicines and relief to an average of 305 persons, American citizens, at a cost of \$8,175.48 Spanish gold. This amount received from Havana on account of Cuban relief fund to date. We require a little over \$800 (bills not rendered) to settle last two weeks' ration bills and three weeks' medicine.

I am, etc.,

A. C. BRICE, *United States Consul.*

Mr. Hyatt to Mr. Day.

No. 413.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Santiago de Cuba, December 14, 1897.

As I write a man is dying on the street in front of my door, the third in a comparatively short time.

Very respectfully,

PULASKI F. HYATT,

United States Consul.

Mr. Hyatt to Mr. Day.

No. 415.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Santiago de Cuba, December 21, 1897.

SIR: I respectfully report that sickness and the death rate on this island is appalling. Statistics make a grievous showing, but come far short of the truth.

The principal disease is known by various names. Calentura, baludol fever, la gripe, etc., is thought by physicians to be brought on by insufficient food. I know some that are attacked that have plenty. These, however, usually make a good recovery, while the others die or make very slow recovery.

The three Rivery brothers, American citizens and owners of coffee, cocoa, and orange groves, are about to return to their places. They are absolutely penniless, and say they would have surely starved but for the food issued from this consulate. I shall continue to supply them with food, and issue a month's rations of such food as rice, beans, codfish, crackers, etc., as their

homes are over 30 miles away. I have made myself, personally (not my Government), responsible for the transportation of themselves, their families, and goods, as it seemed desirable to get them on their estates as soon as possible.

Dr. Henry S. Caminero, United States sanitary inspector, has just informed me that there are in this city over 12,000 persons sick in bed, not counting those in military hospitals. This is at least 35 per cent of the present population. Quinine, the only remedy of avail, is sold ten times higher than in the States.

Mr. Jova to Mr. Pay.

No. 301.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, November 11, 1897.

In the meantime the reconcentrados, the majority innocent beings, who have had, and even now have, no notion of the cause of this revolution, who had no more aspiration than to till their little farms, continue perishing. It is difficult, it may be said almost impossible, to be able to describe the extension and intensity of such tremendous suffering, of such iniquitous, unjust, and sinful imposition, to annihilate thousands of women and children. If this Godless combination should be accurately represented, it would seem an exaggeration induced by stirred fellow-feeling.

With sensibility in the heart moving among them, the unceasing crowd of famished leggars, one can scarcely do more than commiserate the undeserved misfortune. To express, to delineate the afflictions, the anguish witnessed at every step, would require much to write, and no lavish of colors could approach the reality to fiction. No history in the world, ancient or modern, can be compared an instant to this frightful, dreadful suffering. Perhaps civilization has not seen the like of it.

I have, etc.,

JOHN F. JOVA, *Vice-Consul.*

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 202.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, November 20, 1897.

* * * * *
The guerrillas have already started their merciless warfare, having within the past week killed two "presentados" who had in good faith surrendered and gone to work on the American-owned estate "Victoria," repeating the act upon three insurgents who had surrendered to the local guerrillas of Sagua.

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 203.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, November 25, 1897.

SIR: With reference to the distress and deaths in this island, I beg to submit the following relative to this—Santa Clara—province.

As has been my custom for the past five months, I have just made the monthly trip of investigation in this consular district, embracing a large part of the territory of the province. Appended is the official mortality list of each of the judicial districts comprising the province known as "Cinco Villas" (five towns) from January 1 to November 15, 1897, inclusive, viz:

Santa Clara.....	27,900	Sancti Espiritus.....	5,482
Sagua.....	16,583	Trinidad.....	4,946
Cienfuegos.....	11,263		
Remedios.....	11,415	Total.....	80,589

Add to this 25 per cent for the number of which no record has been kept. * * * I deem a conservative estimate would make the grand total 100,736 deaths.

In truth, after talking with both military and judicial officers, I regard this rather under than above the actual deaths for the period stated. Undoubtedly one-half of the concentrated people have died; and to-day Spanish soldiers are companion victims to the surviving noncombatants.

The inclosed slip (inclosure No. 1), showing the number of deaths, official, in the small municipal district of San Juan de la Yeras, will give some idea of the rapid increase from month to month, as will also the clippings (inclosure No. 2), cut from the local papers, show that the authorities no longer conceal these facts, as was done under the retired Captain-General. This appalling death roll is mute yet convincing proof of the terrible destruction of life under the main policy pursued in attempting to subjugate the island. The

heavens, it would appear, weep for despoiled, distressed Cuba, for during the present month the fall of rain has been almost phenomenal. I have to reiterate, the authorities, however great the desire to do so, are utterly helpless to ameliorate the dire distress that must continue to increase.

Relative to furnishing protection to the mills to grind, how is it possible in view of the fact that the safeguard extended planters in making the previous crop enabled them to grind less than one third of the usual yield, while the military force available to-day is not half in numbers as at that time?

With me the conviction is firmly rooted that within sixty days 90 per cent of the populace will reach a state of craving hunger, without outside aid, nor do I feel that I am speaking chimerically when I include the rank and file of the Spanish army.

The true status, as viewed at present, will bear out this opinion. The suffering among the troops, as well as the reconcentrados, simply beggars portrayed, while discontent ripens daily.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER, *Consul*.

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 270.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Sagua la Grande, December 15, 1897.

All efforts so far to obtain relief by popular subscription have met with signal failure. The Cubans are too poverty stricken, while the Spaniards, who own the wealth, will contribute nothing.

In my recent trip I found that the Spanish soldiers are not only suffering for necessary food, but I was often appealed to by these pitiable creatures for medicine. One has only to look upon them to be assured of the needs complained of.

[Confidential.]

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Sagua la Grande, December 28, 1897.

How could the situation be otherwise, since the island is producing absolutely nothing, save some growing cane, and at the same time completely exhausted of all food? Relief alone can be obtained from the outer world in the way of charitable contributions.

This—Santa Clara—province is capable this season of producing perhaps two-thirds of whatever cane might be made in the entire island.

To grind this cane without interruption would be the means of saving the lives of thousands who, without this or outside aid within the next thirty to fifty days, must die of actual hunger. Over a month since the planters were officially advised of Spain's inability to provide protection in order to operate their mills. This leaves the sugar growers entirely in the hands of the Cubans in revolt as to whether they will be allowed to grind without hindrance or fear of total destruction of their property. I know that strict orders have been given to subordinate commanders under no circumstances must mills be permitted to grind, under penalty of violation of the order destruction of property.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 273.—Telegram.]

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

SAGUA, December 5, 1897.

States that food, medicine, and clothing are required by more than 50,000 persons in his consular district, and that a reliable estimate of the number of starving in the Sagua province is 100,000. Advises the immediate need of relief by supplies through Consul General Lee at Havana, or directly by the Munson Line. Says that some money will be needed, and that municipal authorities will aid in distributing supplies sent.

BARKER, *Consul*.

Mr. Barker to Judge Day.

No. 275.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Sagua la Grande, January 17, 1898.

SIR: I beg to submit the following: In this consular district a reign of terror and anarchy prevails which the authorities, be they so disposed, are utterly powerless to control or in any measure subdue.

Aside from the suffering and desperation caused by the unparalleled desolation, I regard the situation as rapidly assuming a critical stage; and to add that, as stated repeatedly heretofore, in no way have the authorities departed in fact from the policy pursued by the late (but not lamented) General Weyler.

Spanish troops as well as the guerrillas, under the cruel chiefs Carreras, Olavarrita, and Lazo, continue to despoil the country and drench it with the blood of noncombatants. Although the "bando" of the Captain-General provides that laborers may return to estates having a garrison, last week a number belonging on the "Sta. Ana," located within a league of Sagua, and owned by Mr. George Thorndike, of Newport, R. I., were driven off after returning, and refused permit as a protection by the military commander, Mayor Lemo, one of the trusted officers under the Weyler régime.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER.

—
Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 281.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, January 27, 1895.

SIR: I beg to inform the Department that smallpox, referred to in my No. 259 of the 18th instant, has increased to an alarming extent.

The number of cases and mortality among the "reconcentrados" is unprecedented throughout this consular district.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER, *Consul.*

—
Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 286.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, January 27, 1895.

* * * * *

Over two months since two of our citizens notified me they had discovered in possession of the local guerrillas 10 or 12 head of their horses, seized by said guerrillas. I addressed the military commander of Sagua, * * * asking, upon proof of ownership, their stock to be restored. Nothing has been done; while these American citizens—both in affluence at the breaking out of the rebellion—are to-day dependent on charity.

One sugar mill is running, not without interruption, with chances of making one-fourth of a crop. Another—just started up—was attacked yesterday by a band of insurgents, killing 14 and wounding 5 of the guerrillas paid by the estate to protect the operatives. Seven laborers were killed, the insurgents leaving two of their dead.

An adjoining estate, the property of the British consul, was also attacked, the growing cane burned. This precludes further attempts to grind, as men can not be induced to work while the insurgents roam at will over the country.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER, *Consul.*

—
Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 288.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, February 17, 1895.

SIR: I beg to submit the following:

It is proper that I inform the Department that the ravage of smallpox has reached a point where the physicians, few in number, without proper means of treating, as well as no nurses, can not cope with it. I have cabled our dispatch agent in New York for an additional supply of virus.

I was informed by the mayor of this city only yesterday that he was just in receipt of a communication from the government of the province stating no funds to feed the starving were obtainable. In reply to my query why he did not send a number of them to the country, he stated that the military commander refused to grant this permission.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER, *Consul.*

—
Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 291.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Sagua la Grande, March 12, 1895.

* * * * *

From the 15th of last month, through cash donations made to this consulate direct, through personal appeal, I cared for 1,200 persons. By the 1st instant these contributions increased so as to enable the committee to increase

1,500

the relief list to 2000. This has been maintained until now; but as the *Fern*, with 65 tons, should arrive to-morrow, the Sagua relief can be continued.

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 26.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Sagua la Grande, March 15, 1873.

SIR: The inclosed letter from Mr. Valle,* of Sancti Spiritus, whom I have every reason to believe will not misrepresent the case, together with the fact that in other places I find I have underestimated the number in my jurisdiction in need of relief. It is therefore that I beg to increase the amount required, as stated in my No. 24, of the 12th instant, from 80 to 100 tons per month.

I am, etc.,

WALTER B. BARKER, *Consul.*

[Telegram.]

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

SAGUA LA GRANDE, *March 15, 1873.*

DAY, *Washington:*

Closer investigation disclose larger number destitute than estimates sent. Fifty tons needful now. Distress far greater than my reports show.

BARKER, *Consul.*

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 27.]

CONSULATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Sagua la Grande, March 17, 1873. (Received March 30.)

SIR: I have the honor to say that since forwarding my No. 24 of the 12th instant, where in I gave the Department approximately the amount of food required for my zone per month, I find many outlying interior-villages, of which I had no account, neglected and in great want. To this very class, located in the interior towns, I have given special attention, but it has been impossible to care for all immediately. For instance, the relief committee to whom supplies were sent in Santa Clara, sent of government of the province, inform me to-day that in a small town near there are 300 persons in pressing need.

To-day I wired Mr. Louis Klopsch, of the Christian Herald and Central Cuban Relief Committee, who is now in Havana, that 20 tons additional required till 1st proximo, and to know if he could supply this. As yet no reply has been received. A very large proportion of these poor creatures being actually ill, other medicine than quinine is required, as also medicinal wines and nourishing food for them.

I beg to inclose herewith a list of towns to which I have and am sending supplies. There are perhaps six to eight more requiring relief.

Mr. Barker to Mr. Day.

No. 28.]

CONSULATE OF UNITED STATES,
Sagua la Grande, March 21, 1873.

SIR: I visited seat of government of this Province, Santa Clara, where I learned, not alone from trustworthy persons sent out by me for the purpose, but also the civil governor, that the number of persons in actual want exceeds any estimate I have sent the Department. The distress is simply heartrending. Whole families without clothing to hide nakedness, sleeping on the bare ground, without bedding of any kind, without food, save to such as we have been able to reach with provisions sent by our noble people; and the most distressing feature is that fully 50 per cent are ill, without medical attention or medicine.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA,
Havana, February 9, 1873.

MR. CONSUL: It becomes my painful duty to express to you my profound sorrow for the misfortune which occurred yesterday on board the American ship *Merac*. I associate myself with all my heart to the grief of the nation and of the families who have lost some of their members; and upon so doing I do not only express my personal sentiments, but I speak in the name of all the inhabitants of Havana--witnesses of the catastrophe which has afflicted so many homes.

God guard you many years.

RAMON BLANCO.

THE CONSUL GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

* Letter referred to implores medicines and provisions.

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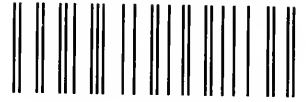
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