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## M'KINLEY SENDS IN HIS CUBAN MESSAGE

### President Asks Permission of Congress to Use Force in Restoring Peace.

### SAYS TIME IS AT HAND TO END THE STRUGGLE

### He Wants Discretionary Powers Voted in Him—Reviews Trouble and Argues Against Recognition—Catastrophe to Be Averted as Proof That Spain Can't Guard Interests of This Country.

WASHINGTON, April 12.—The president's message was sent to congress at noon along with consular reports. The information that Spain has proclaimed a cessation of hostilities on the island did not have the effect of materially changing the president's message as originally prepared, except that it furnished important evidence in support of his contention that discretionary power in some measure should be given to the president in the use of force to compel peace.

In his message the president strongly opposes recognition of belligerency as inexpedient. He also opposes the recognition of the independence of Cuba at this time, but favors the granting of authority for such use of armed force of the United States as he may deem necessary to put an end to hostilities and to secure a stable government in Cuba. He also asks for an appropriation to be used for the relief of such of the people as are still in need.

The message shows that Spain herself first suggested to this government the desirability of an armistice and signified in advance her assent and asked that the United States use its good offices to secure a like assent from the insurgents. This request was denied.

The Maine incident figures quite prominently in the message and the president argues that the wreck of our battleship in Havana harbor shows conclusively that Spain is not able to guarantee to the United States and the other nations that security to their vessels which they have a right to demand. The message shows, however, that Spain, so far as can be done, without specific action by the states, has disavowed any connection with the wrecking of the Maine and has expressed her deep regret and sorrow that the appalling disaster should have occurred in a port within her jurisdiction.

The only feature of the message which it is thought will encounter any serious opposition in congress, is that giving the president a measure of discretionary authority in the use of force. It is believed, however, a majority of the committees of the two houses, to which the message was referred, will support the president's view, and the opinion is gaining ground in administration circles that a more conservative sentiment has been developed than seemed probable a week ago, and the expectation is that when put to the test of a vote, the president's recommendations will receive the support of a majority of both houses of congress.

### MESSAGE IN FULL.

WASHINGTON, April 11.—The president today sent the following message to the United States congress:

Obedient to that precept of the constitution which commands the president to give from time to time to 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 respect 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 union and the grave relation to the congress which, as now incumbent upon the nation to adopt measures upon 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.

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 according the neutrality laws, caused enormous losses to American trade and commerce, caused circulation, annoyance and disturbance among our citizens and by the exercise of cruel, barbarous and unprovoked processes of warfare has inflicted upon our people and offended the humane sympathies of our people.

Review of the Revolt.

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 unequalled in the history of the island and rarely paralleled as to the number of combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times where a dependent people, striving to be free, have been opposed by the power of the sovereign. Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its lucrative commerce virtually paralyzed, its exceptional productivity diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruins and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution.

own waters and watch our own airports to prevent any unlawful act in aid of the Cuban. 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 sorely tried as to begot a perilous unrest among our own citizens, which has inevitably found its expression from time to time in the national legislature, so that those wholly estranged to our own truly patriotic course of attention and stand in the way of that close devotion to domestic advancement that becomes a self-contained commonwealth whose political machine has been the evidence 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 term as in my own.

In April, 1895, the evils from which our country suffered through the Cuban war became so serious that my predecessor made an effort to bring about a peace through the mediation of this government in any way that might lead to a honorable adjustment of the contest between Spain and her revolted colony, on the basis of some effective scheme of self government for Cuba under the flag and sovereignty of Spain. It failed, through the refusal of the Spanish government to give in power to consider any form of self government, and of any plan of settlement which did not begin with the actual submission of the insurgents to the mother country, and then only on such terms as it itself might see fit to grant. The war continued, and the resistance of the insurgents was in no wise diminished.

War of Extremism.

The efforts of Spain were increased by the dispatches of fresh levies of Cuban and by the addition to the horrors of the strife of a new and inhuman phase happily unprecedented in the history of civilized Christian peoples. The policy of extermination and concentration inaugurated by the captain general Oct. 1, 1895, in the province of Pinar del Rio was thence extended to embrace all of the islands to which the power of the Spanish arms was able to reach by occupation or by military operation.

By the time that the present administration took effect, the war, in concentration—so-called—had been made effective over the better part of the four central or western provinces, Santa Clara, Matanzas, Havana and Pinar del Rio. The agricultural population, to the extent of 500,000 or more, was herded within the towns and their immediate vicinity, deprived families of support, rendered destitute of shelter, left poorly clad and exposed to the most insanitary conditions. The security of food supplies with devastation of the population areas and destruction and want became misery and starvation. Month by month the death rate increased in an alarming ratio.

The Mortality Great.

By March, 1897, according to conservative estimates from official Spanish sources, the mortality among the reconcentrated from starvation and the diseases thereto incident exceeded 50 percent of their total number. Practical relief was accorded to the destitute, the overburdened towns, already suffering from the general dearth, could give no aid. Scattered "zones of cultivation," established within the immediate area effective military control about their centers, were, in some cases, proved illusory as a remedy for the suffering. The unfortunate, being for the most part women and children with aged and helpless men, enfeebled by disease and hunger, could not have tiled the soil without tools, seeds or shelter, for their own support or for the support 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 merely a war measure, it was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave.

Miswelfare 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, sweeping over the hitherto unwarmed fields of Pinar del Rio and carried havoc and destruction up to the walls of the city of Havana itself, had relapsed into a dogged struggle in the central and eastern provinces. The Spanish government, in 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 partly restricted the revolutionists held their own and their own submission, put forward by Spain as the essential and sole basis of peace, seemed as far distant as at the outset.

In this state of affairs, my administration found itself confronted with the grave problem of its duty. My message of last December reviewed the situation and narrated the steps taken with a view to relieving its acute and opening the way to some form of honorable settlement. The assassination of the prime minister, Canales, led to a change of government in Spain. The former minister's administration, to my objection, gave place to that of a more liberal party, committed in advance to a policy of reform involving the wider principle of home rule in Cuba and Porto Rico. The overtures of this government, to be through its new organs, General Woodford, and looking to an immediate and effective amelioration of the conditions of the island, although not accepted to the extent of admitted mediation in any shape, were met by assurances that 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. Coincidentally with these declarations, the new government of Spain continued and completed the policy already begun by its predecessor, justifying friendly regard for this action by releasing American citizens held under one charge and 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.

Aided by Americans.

While those negotiations were in progress, the increasing destitution of the unfortunate reconcentrated and the alarming mortality among them claimed urgent attention. The success which had attended the limited measures of relief extended to the suffering American citizens among them by the judicious expenditure, through the consular agencies, of the money appropriated expressly for their relief by the joint resolution approved May 19, 1897, prompted the humane extension of a similar scheme of aid to the great body of sufferers. An appropriation to this end was acquiesced in by the Spanish authorities.

On Dec. 24, last, I caused to be issued an appeal to the people, inviting contributions in money and kind for the succor of the starving sufferers in Cuba, following this on Jan. 8 by a similar public announcement of this formation of a central Cuban relief committee with headquarters in New York city, composed of three members representing the National Red Cross and religious and business elements of the community. The efforts of that committee have been untiring and accomplished much good. Arrangements for free transportation to Havana have been greatly aided the charitable work. The president of the American Red Cross and the representatives of other contributory organizations have generously aided Cuba, and co-operated with the consular general and the local authorities to make effective distribution of the relief collected through the efforts of the central committee.

Nearly \$200,000 in money and supplies had already reached the sufferers and more is forthcoming. The supplies are carried daily from the United States to the interior, as first necessarily confined to Havana and the larger cities, is now extended through most if not all the towns where suffering exists. Tens of thousands of lives have been saved. The necessity for a change in the constitution of the reconcentrated is recognized by the Spanish government. Within a few days, the orders of General Weyler have been revoked, the reconcentrated are, it is said, to be permitted to return to their homes, and to resume their self supporting pursuits of peace; public works have been ordered to give them employment and a sum of \$500,000 has been appropriated for their relief.

The shift in Cuba is of such nature that there is every prospect of an ultimate final military victory and a peace which is practically in effect. The year's war by the troops of both sides has exhausted the resources of the one or the other party or perhaps of both. The year's war by the troops of both sides has exhausted the resources of the one or the other party or perhaps of both. The year's war by the troops of both sides has exhausted the resources of the one or the other party or perhaps of both.

Efforts to End War.

Realizing this, it appeared to be my duty in a spirit of fraternal good will to Spain than to the Cubans, who have so much to lose by the prolongation of the struggle, to bring about an immediate termination of the war. To this end I submitted, on March 29, as a result of much private and confidential correspondence through the United States minister at Madrid, propositions to the Spanish government looking to an armistice until Oct. 1 for the negotiation of peace with the good offices of the president of the United States, and the immediate revocation of the order of reconcentration, so as to permit the people to return to their farms and the needy to be relieved with provisions and supplies from the United States, co-operating with the Spanish authorities, so as to afford full relief.

The reply of the Spanish cabinet was received on the night of March 31. It offers, as the means to bring about peace in Cuba, to confine the preparation thereof to the insular parliament assembled as the consequence of that body which is necessary to reach a final result, it is 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 May 4, next, the Spanish government would not object for this part to accept of a temporary armistice if asked for 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 General Woodford and the reply of the Spanish government were both in the form of brief memoranda, the texts of which are before me, and are substantially in the language above given.

The action of the Cuban parliament in the matter of "preparing" peace and the manner of its doing so are not explained in the Spanish memoranda; but from General Woodford's preliminary reports of preliminary discussions preceding the final conference, it is understood that the Spanish government stands ready to give the insular government full power to negotiate peace with the insurgents—whether direct or indirect—if it does not appear. With this list overture in the direction of peace and its disappointing reception by Spain, the executive was brought to the end of his effort.

The Last Resort.

In my annual message of December last I said:

"If the untiring measures these months only Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents; recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants and intervention in favor of one or the other party. I speak not of forcible annexation, but of the thought of that, by our sole of neutrality, would be criminal aggression.

Thereupon I reviewed those alternatives in the light of President Grant's measured words, uttered in 1875, when, after seven years of sanguinary, destructive and cruel and cruel hostilities in Cuba, he reached the conclusion that the recognition of the independence of Cuba was impracticable and indefensible; and that the recognition of 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 inconceivable and positive dangers of a recognition of belligerency, which,

while adding to the already onerous burdens of neutrality within our own jurisdiction, could not in any way extend our influence of effective offices in the territory of hostilities. Nothing has since occurred to change my view on this regard and I recognize fully now as then that the issuance of a proclamation of neutrality, by which process the so-called recognition of belligerency is published, could, of itself and unaided 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 Dec. 31, 1836, on the subject of the recognition of the independence of Texas. He said:

"It has thus made known to the world that the United States and Spain are in a dispute which merely relate to the internal government of other nations, and eventually recognize the authority of the prevailing party without regard to our particular interests and views, or to the merits of the original controversy.

"But on this as on every trying occasion, safety is to be found in a rigid adherence to principle.

"In the contest between Spain and the revolted colonies we stood aloof, and waited not only for the ability of the new states to protect themselves, but until the danger of their being again subjugated had entirely passed away. Then, and not till 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 the rest of the territory of the newly organized state has been 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 raising its forces under a new leader, and menacing a fresh invasion to recover its lost dominion.

"Upon the issue of this threatened invasion the independence of Texas may be considered as suspended, and there is nothing present in the relative situation of the United States and Texas even 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 conduct our relations with Mexico.

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

Andrew Jackson Quoted.

"Produce therefore seems to dictate that we should stand aloof and maintain our present attitude if not until Mexico shall recognize the independence of the new government, and until the lapse of time and the course of events shall have proved beyond doubt or dispute the ability of the people of that country to maintain their separate sovereignty and to uphold the government instituted by them in their own name, and which we can justly complain of their failure to do so.

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 independence at home.

The course of the resolution and patriotic Jackson. They are evidence that the United States, in addition to the test imposed by public law as to 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 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, and ready for its own government in dealing with cases like those that further condition that recognition of independence of that statehood is not due to a revolt or dependency under the danger of its being subjugated by the parent state is entirely passed away.

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can be applied to the greater extent than to the lesser while on the other hand the influence and consequences of the struggle upon the internal policy of the recognizing state, which form important factors where the recognition of belligerency is concerned, are secondary, if not rightly estimable factors, when the real question is whether the community claiming recognition is or is not independent beyond peradventure.

For from the standpoint of experience I think it would be wise or prudent for this government to recognize, as the present time, the independence of the so-called Cuban republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligations towards the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such power, in the independence of the present time, the independence of the so-called Cuban republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligations towards the organization so recognized. 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