

marked the life of the patriot who has passed to his eternal rest.

Following are some of the notable sentiments in the President's speech at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, September 5, which were received with great enthusiasm :

"Expositions are the timekeepers of progress.

"The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work.

"Isolation is no longer possible, or desirable.

"We must not rest in fancied security that we will forever sell everything and buy little or nothing.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem.

"Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times ; measures of retaliation are not.

"We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag.

"We must build an Isthmian canal.

"The construction of a Pacific cable can be no longer postponed.

"This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the Republics of the new world. He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans everywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement."

CHAPTER VII.

Important State Papers and Speeches of President McKinley—Message to Congress on the War in Cuba—Addresses at Peace Jubilees.

A MOURNFUL interest now attaches to President McKinley's last public address. It was delivered on Thursday, September 5th, to a great throng at Buffalo. From his entry to the Exposition grounds soon after ten o'clock in the morning until the dying out of the lights of the illumination of the grounds and buildings at night, the day at the Pan-American Exposition was a long ovation to President McKinley.

As the President, accompanied by Mrs. McKinley, Mrs. William Hamlin, of the Board of Women Managers, and John G. Milburn, drove to the Lincoln Parkway entrance, they were met by detachments of United States marines and the seacoast artillery, and the Sixty-fifth and Seventy-fourth New York regiments under General S. M. Welch. A President's salute of twenty-one guns was fired. The great crowd which covered the esplanade before the grand stand, a quarter of a mile square, overflowed into the Court of Fountains. There were more than 30,000 who joined in the cheers that greeted the President as he assisted Mrs. McKinley from the carriage to the stand, where were seated many distinguished persons, among them the representatives of Mexico and most of the Central and South American republics.

There was almost absolute quiet when Mr. Milburn arose and said simply :—"Ladies and gentlemen—The President."

Cheers again drowned all else. When they had subsided the President began his address.

After welcoming the representatives of other nations, praising expositions in general as the "timekeepers of progress," and noting the benefits to be derived from comparison of products and friendly competition, the President referred to the march of improvement and invention with reference to its effect upon the

world's commerce and moral and material advancement. He referred also to the growing disposition to settle international differences in the court of arbitration, the "noblest forum" for the settlement of such disputes. He then said:—

"My fellow citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we are utilizing our fields and forests and mines, and that we are furnishing profitable employment to the millions of workmen throughout the United States bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability.

PROSPERITY EVERYWHERE.

"That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community, and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty in the care and security of these deposits and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity.

"Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention.

"We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established.

"What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade rela-

tions will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

"Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamships have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coasts of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the western coast of the United States and South American ports.

"We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

LARGER COMMERCE AND TRUER FRATERNITY.

"We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coasts of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable cannot be longer postponed.

"This Exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the republics of the New World. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here.

"He needs no identification to an assemblage of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement, which finds here practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American Congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico.

"Let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict; and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe

prosperity, happiness and peace to all our neighbors, and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth."

President McKinley's reference to the establishment of reciprocal treaties, the necessity of building an isthmian canal and a Pacific cable, and his reference to the work of Mr. Blaine in the carrying out of the Pan-American idea brought forth especially enthusiastic applause. Upon the conclusion of his address the President held an impromptu reception for fifteen minutes.

Mr. McKinley's statesmanlike ability in dealing with great public questions was shown on many occasions. This appeared especially during the events preceding our war with Spain. His message to Congress on April 11, 1898, is a masterpiece of its kind.

MESSAGE ON THE CUBAN QUESTION.

We reproduce the message here, as it contains a concise statement of the matters in controversy, and is an important State paper which every person who would be well informed will desire to preserve.

"TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

"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 regard to the grave crisis that has arisen in the relations of the United States to Spain by reason of the warfare that for more than three years has raged in the neighboring island of Cuba.

"I do so, because of the intimate connection of the Cuban question with the state our own Union, and the grave relation the course which it is now incumbent upon the nation to adopt, must needs bear to the traditional policy of our Government, if it is to accord with the precepts laid down by the founders of the Republic, and religiously observed by succeeding administrations to the present day.

"The present revolution is but the successor of other similar

insurrections which have occurred in Cuba against the dominion of Spain, extending over a period of nearly half a century, each of which, during its progress, has subjected the United States to great effort and expense in enforcing its neutrality laws, caused enormous losses to American trade and commerce, caused irritation, annoyance and disturbance among our citizens, and by the exercise of cruel, barbarous and uncivilized practices of warfare, shocked the sensibilities and offended the humane sympathies of our people.

"Since the present revolution began, in February, 1895, this country has seen the fertile domain of 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 the combatants and the bitterness of the contest by any revolution of modern times, where a determined people striving to be free have been oppressed by the power of the sovereign State.

COMMERCE PARALYZED.

"Our people have beheld a once prosperous community reduced to comparative want, its lucrative commerce virtually paralyzed, its exceptional productiveness diminished, its fields laid waste, its mills in ruins, and its people perishing by tens of thousands from hunger and destitution. We have found ourselves constrained, in the observance of that strict neutrality which our laws enjoin, and which the law of nations commands, to police our waters and watch our own seaports in prevention of any unlawful act in aid of the Cubans.

"Our trade has suffered, the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and forbearance of our people have been so seriously tried as to beget a perilous unrest among our own citizens, which has inevitably found its expression from time to time in the National Legislature, so that issues, wholly external to our own body politic, stand in the way of that close devotion to domestic advancement that becomes a self-contained Commonwealth, whose primal maxim has been the avoidance of all foreign entanglements. All this must needs

awaken, and has, indeed, aroused the utmost concern on the part of this government as well during my predecessor's term as in my own.

"In April, 1896, the evils from which our country suffered through the Cuban war became so onerous that my predecessor made an effort to bring about a peace through the mediation of this Government in any way that might tend to an 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, then in power, to consider any form of mediation or, indeed, 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 Spain herself might see fit to grant. The war continued unabated. The resistance of the insurgents was in no wise diminished.

HORRORS OF INHUMAN STRIFE.

"The efforts of Spain were increased both by the despatch of fresh levies to Cuba and by the addition to the horrors of the strife of a new and inhuman phase, happily unprecedented in the modern histories of civilized Christian peoples. The policy of devastation and concentration by the Captain-General's bando of October, 1896, in the province of Pinar del Rio was thence extended to embrace all of the island to which the power of the Spanish arms was able to reach by occupation or by military operations.

"The peasantry, including all dwelling in the open agricultural interior, were driven into the garrison towns or isolated places held by the troops. The raising and moving of provisions of all kinds were interdicted. The fields were laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed, and, in short, everything that could desolate the land and render it unfit for human habitation or support, was commanded by one or the other of the contending parties and executed by all the powers at their disposal.

"By the time the present Administration took office a year ago, reconcentration—so-called—had been made effective over the better part of the four central and western provinces, Santa Clara, Mantanzas, Havana and Pinar del Rio. The agricultural population, to the estimated number of 300,000 or more, was herded within the towns and their immediate vicinage, deprived of the means of support, rendered destitute of shelter, left poorly clad, and exposed to the most unsanitary conditions. As the scarcity of food increased with the devastation of the depopulated areas of production, destitution and want became misery and starvation.

"Month by month the death rate increased in an alarming ratio. By March, 1897, according to conservative estimate from official Spanish sources, the mortality among the reconcentrados, from starvation and the diseases thereto incident, exceeded 50 per centum of their total number. No practical relief was accorded to the destitute. The overburdened towns, already suffering from the general dearth, could give no aid.

CONFRONTED WITH GRAVE PROBLEMS.

"In this state of affairs my administration found itself confronted with the grave problems of its duty. My message of last December reviewed the situation, and narrated the steps taken with a view to relieving its acuteness and opening the way to some form of honorable settlement. The assassination of the Prime Minister, Canovas, led to a change of Government in Spain. The former administration pledged to subjugation without concession, gave place to that of a more liberal party, committed long in advance to a policy of reform involving the wider principle of home rule for Cuba and Porto Rico.

"The overtures of this Government, made through its new Envoy, General Woodford, and looking to an immediate and effective amelioration of the condition of the island, although not accepted to the extent of admitted mediation in any shape, were met by assurances that home rule, in an advanced phase, would be forthwith offered to Cuba, without waiting for the war

to end, and that more humane methods should henceforth prevail in the conduct of hostilities.

"While these negotiations were in progress the increasing destitution of the unfortunate reconcentrados and the alarming mortality among them claimed earnest attention. The success which had attended the limited measure of relief extended to the suffering American citizens among them by the judicious expenditure through the Consular agencies of the money appropriated expressly for their succor by the joint resolution approved May 24, 1897, prompted the humane extension of a similar scheme of aid to the great body of sufferers.

"A suggestion to this end was acquiesced in by the Spanish authorities. On the 24th of December last I caused to be issued an appeal to the American people inviting contributions in money or in kind for the succor of the starving sufferers in Cuba, following this on the 8th of January by a similar public announcement of the formation of a Central Cuban Relief Committee, with headquarters in New York City, composed of three members representing the National Red Cross and the religious and business elements of the community.

SPAIN'S FRIENDLY FEELING.

"Coincidentally with these declarations, the new Government of Spain continued to complete the policy already begun by its predecessor of testifying friendly regard for this nation by releasing American citizens held under one charge or another connected with the insurrection, so that by the end of November not a single person entitled in any way to our national protection remained in a Spanish prison.

"The war in Cuba is of such a nature that short of subjugation or extermination a final military victory for either side seems impracticable. The alternative lies in the physical exhaustion of the one or the other party, or, perhaps, of both—a condition which in effect ended the ten years' war by the truce of Zanjón. The prospect of such a protraction and conclusion of the present strife is a contingency hardly to be contemplated with

equanimity by the civilized world, and least of all by the United States, affected and injured as we are, deeply and intimately by its very existence.

"Realizing this, it appeared to be my duty in a spirit of true friendliness, no less to Spain than to the Cubans who have so much to lose by the prolongation of the struggle, to seek to bring about an immediate termination of the war. To this end I submitted on the 27th ultimo, as a result of much representation and correspondence through the United States Minister at Madrid, propositions to the Spanish Government looking to an armistice until October 1, for the negotiations of peace with the good offices of the President.

"In addition, I asked 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.

OFFER OF THE SPANISH CABINET.

"The reply of the Spanish Cabinet was received on the night of the 31st ultimo. It offers as the means to bring about peace in Cuba, to confide the preparation thereof to the Insular Parliament, inasmuch as the concurrence of that body would be necessary to reach a final result, it being, however, understood that the powers reserved by the Constitution to the Central Government are not lessened or diminished. As the Cuban Parliament does not meet until the 4th of May next, the Spanish Government would not object for its part to accept at once a suspension of hostilities if asked for by the insurgents from the General-in-Chief, to whom it would pertain in such case to determine the duration and conditions of the armistice.

"The propositions submitted by 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.

"There remain the alternative forms of intervention to end

the war, either as an impartial neutral by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, or as the active ally of the one party or the other.

"As to the first, it is not to be forgotten that during the last few months the relation of the United States has virtually been one of friendly intervention in many ways, each not of itself conclusive, but all tending to the exertion of a potential influence toward an ultimate pacific result just and honorable to all interests concerned. The spirit of all our acts hitherto has been an earnest, unselfish desire for peace and prosperity in Cuba, untarnished by differences between us and Spain and unstained by the blood of American citizens.

HOPELESS SACRIFICE OF LIFE.

"The forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral, to stop the war, according to the large dictates of humanity and following many historical precedents where neighboring States have interfered to check the hopeless sacrifices of life by internecine conflicts beyond their borders, is justifiable on rational grounds. It involves, however, hostile constraint upon both the parties to the contest as well to enforce a truce as to guide the eventual settlement.

"The grounds for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows: First. In the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there, and which the parties to the conflict are either unable to or unwilling to stop or mitigate. It is no answer to say this is all in another country, belonging to another nation, and is therefore none of our business. It is specially our duty, for it is right at our door.

"Second. We owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and indemnity for life and property which no government there can or will afford, and to that end to terminate the conditions that deprive them of legal protection.

"Third. The right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade and business of our people,

and by the wanton destruction of property and devastation of the island.

"Fourth. Aid, which is of the utmost importance. The present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace and entails upon this government an enormous expense. With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations; where the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are liable to seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation; the expeditions of filibustering that we are powerless altogether to prevent, and the irritating questions and entanglements thus arising—all these and others that I need not mention, with the resulting strained relations, are a constant menace to our peace and compel us to keep on a semi-war footing with a nation with which we are at peace.

DESTRUCTION OF THE BATTLESHIP MAINE.

"These elements of danger and disorder already pointed out have been strikingly illustrated by a tragic event which has deeply and justly moved the American people. I have already transmitted to Congress the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry on the destruction of the battleship "Maine" in the harbor of Havana, during the night of the fifteenth of February. The destruction of that noble vessel has filled the national heart with inexpressible horror. Two hundred and sixty-six brave sailors and marines and two officers of our navy, reposing in the fancied security of a friendly harbor, have been hurled to death; grief and want brought to their homes and sorrow to the nation.

"The Naval Court of Inquiry, which, it is needless to say, commands the unqualified confidence of the Government, was unanimous in its conclusions that the destruction of the "Maine" was caused by an exterior explosion—that of a submarine mine. It did not assume to place the responsibility. That remains to be fixed.

"In any event the destruction of the "Maine," by whatever

exterior cause, is a patent and impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable. That condition is thus shown to be such that the Spanish Government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American Navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace and rightfully there.

Further referring in this connection to recent diplomatic correspondence, a despatch from our Minister to Spain, of the 26th ultimo, contained the statement that the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs assured him positively that Spain will do all that the highest honor and justice required in the matter of the "Maine." The reply above referred to of the 31st ultimo also contained an expression of the readiness of Spain to submit to an arbitration all the differences which can arise in this matter, which is subsequently explained by the note of the Spanish Minister at Washington of the 10th instant, as follows:

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

"WAR IN CUBA MUST STOP."

"In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.

"In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity, and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

"And in the interest of humanity, and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island, I recommend that

the distribution of the food and supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens. The issue is now with Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors.

"Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

"Since the preparation of the foregoing message official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me. This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

"Executive Mansion, April 11, 1898."

INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS IN CUBA.

The causes stated in the President's message constituted the real occasion for war between the United States and Spain. It was felt that the condition of the people of Cuba could no longer be tolerated, especially as it involved the rights of American citizens and endangered our commercial relations. Our citizens were liable to arrest on suspicion of sympathizing with the insurgents. Their property, in many instances, had been wantonly destroyed, and they had been compelled to suffer disaster from fire and sword. It was not in the nature of things that such outrages should continue without arousing public indignation and creating a demand that these atrocities should be discontinued even at the cost of war.

During the progress of hostilities with Spain the President showed in every way his appreciation of the brave demeanor of the American soldiers who promptly responded to their country's call.

The following official correspondence between President McKinley and General Breckinridge, in which the President pays tribute to the troops who could not be sent to the front was made public August 12th.

"CHICKAMAUGA PARK, GA., Aug. 10, 1898.

"THE PRESIDENT:

"May I not ask you, in the name and behalf of the forty thousand men of this command, to visit it while it is still intact? There is much to be said showing how beneficial and needed such a visit is; but you will appreciate better than I can tell you the disappointment and consequent depression many men must feel, especially the sick, when they joined together for a purpose, and have done so much to show their readiness and worthiness to serve their country in the field, but find themselves leaving the military service without a battle or campaign. All who see them must recognize their merit and personal interest, must encourage all if you can find time to review this command.

"BRECKINRIDGE, Major General Commanding."

The following was the President's reply:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, Aug. 11, 1898.

"MAJOR GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE, Chickamauga Park:

"Replying to your invitation I beg to say that it would give me great pleasure to show by a personal visit to Chickamauga Park my high regard for the forty thousand troops of your command, who so patriotically responded to the call for volunteers and who have been for upwards of two months ready for any service and sacrifice the country might require. My duties, however, will not admit of absence from Washington at this time.

"The highest tribute that can be paid to a soldier is to say that he performed his full duty. The field of duty is determined by his government, and wherever that chance to be is the place of honor. All have helped in the great cause, whether in camp or battle, and when peace comes all will be alike entitled to the nation's gratitude.

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

The war having been brought to a successful issue, on the evening of August 12, 1898, President McKinley issued the following proclamation:

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, By a protocol concluded and signed August 12, 1898, by William R. Day, Secretary of State of the United States, and His Excellency, Jules Cambon, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of France at Washington, respectively representing for this purpose the Government of the United States and the Government of Spain, the United States and Spain have formally agreed upon the terms on which negotiations for the establishment of peace between the two countries shall be undertaken; and

"Whereas, It is in said protocol agreed that upon its conclusion and signature hostilities between the two countries shall be suspended, and that notice to that effect shall be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

HOSTILITIES ARE SUSPENDED.

"Now, therefore, I, William McKinley, President of the United States, do, in accordance with the stipulations of the protocol, declare and proclaim on the part of the United States a suspension of hostilities, and do hereby command that orders be immediately given through the proper channels to the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States to abstain from all acts inconsistent with this proclamation.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done in the city of Washington, this 12th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and twenty-third.

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

"By the President, WILLIAM R. DAY, Secretary of State."

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