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ADMISSION OF CUBA.

SPEECH

OF

HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS,

OF WEST VIRGINIA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Monday, June 30, 1902.

WASHINGTON.

1902.

ADMINISTRATION OF CHINA

REPORT

BY STEPHEN B. ELKINS

OF THE UNITED STATES

TO THE

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The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. R. 115) providing for the admission of the Republic of Cuba into the Union as a new State—

Mr. ELKINS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I ask that the joint resolution be read.

The joint resolution was read, as follows:

Joint resolution (S. R. 115) providing for the admission of the Republic of Cuba into the Union as a new State.

Resolved, etc., That Congress doth consent that the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Cuba may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Cuba, with a republican form of government, to be adopted by the people of said Republic, by deputies in convention assembled, with the consent of the existing Government, in order that the same may be admitted as one of the States of this Union.

2. *And be it further resolved,* That the foregoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions and with the following guarantees, to wit: First. The constitution of said State, with the proper evidence of its adoption by the people of said Republic of Cuba, shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress for its final action on or before the 1st day of January, 1901. Second. Said State, when admitted into the Union, after ceding to the United States all public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy-yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defense belonging to said Republic of Cuba, shall retain all the public funds, debts, taxes, and dues of every kind which may belong to or be due and owing said Republic, and shall also retain all the vacant and unappropriated lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities of said Republic of Cuba, and the residue of said lands, after discharging said debts and liabilities, to be disposed of as said State may direct; but in no event are said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the Government of the United States.

3. *And be it further resolved,* That if the President of the United States shall in his judgment and discretion deem it most advisable, instead of proceeding to submit the foregoing resolution to the Republic of Cuba as an overture on the part of the United States for admission, to negotiate with that Republic; then,

Be it resolved, That a State, to be formed out of the present Republic of Cuba, with a republican form of government and with representatives in Congress, shall be admitted into the Union, by virtue of this act, on an equal footing with the existing States, as soon as the terms and conditions of such admission shall be agreed upon by the Governments of the Republic of Cuba and the United States; and that the sum of \$100,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to defray the expenses of missions and negotiations to agree

upon the terms of said admission and cession, either by treaty to be submitted to the Senate or by articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Congress, as the President may direct.

Mr. ELKINS. The joint resolution I had the honor of introducing in the Senate, which has just been read, has been misunderstood. The introduction of this resolution had no relation to nor bearing whatever upon the question of Cuban reciprocity. It has been my judgment for a long time, independent of all questions of reciprocity and trade relations, that Cuba would inevitably become part of the United States. This being the case, I have believed the sooner the annexation was consummated the better it would be for both Republics.

It is charged that the resolution is untimely and an offense to Cuba by even suggesting annexation at this time. The letter and spirit of the resolution furnishes no ground of offense. The resolution provides that Cuba must take the initiative, and only when she asks for annexation can the United States take action. Under the resolution, if Cuba fails to ask to be admitted as a State there can be no annexation. There has been no time within the last fifty years when the people of Cuba, if they could have had their choice, independent of Spain, would not have gladly consented to become a State in the American Union. Then, why should it be any cause of offense now that she is free, largely by the grace of the United States, to simply indicate our willingness that in the event it should be her wish to become a State we would consent? Texas, after gaining her independence by the valor and heroism of her people alone and unaided, did not regard it an offense to be asked to come into the American Union as a State. The invitation set forth in this resolution is the same that was extended to the people of Texas. They were not offended, and they did not regard it beneath their dignity to promptly accept it; and why should Cuba be offended? We have spent two hundred millions of our money and watered the soil of Cuba with the blood of our soldiers to gain her independence.

For nearly a century the annexation of Cuba to the United States has been the dream and ambition of American statesmanship. Jefferson and the earlier statesmen favored it and looked forward to its certain consummation.

Jefferson said:

I candidly confess that I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of States.

President Polk in 1848 offered \$100,000,000 for Cuba.

It is known that President Pierce favored the acquisition of Cuba and instructed Mr. Buchanan, minister to England, Mr. Mason, minister to France, and Mr. Soulé, minister to Spain, in 1854 to

take up the subject with European governments. Their conclusions were incorporated in what is known as the Ostend Manifesto; they urged the purchase of the island of Cuba from Spain for \$120,000,000, and stated that they regarded the island as necessary to the United States and the sale advantageous to Spain. They added, if this offer was not accepted, that self-preservation is the first law of nature.

The Democratic platform of 1860 favored the acquisition of Cuba.

Discussion and agitation were delayed on account of the fear that annexation would extend the area of slavery and increase the slave power in the Government. President Garfield and Mr. Blaine had annexation in mind in the beginning of the Garfield Administration, and it was their purpose to make the acquisition of Cuba one of the aims of that Administration. At that time \$200,000,000 was not regarded as too much to pay Spain for Cuba.

President Garfield, a few days before the dastardly shot of the assassin which took away his life, pointing to a map in the Cabinet room, said to a friend:

Do you know that Cuba is right at our doors, and farther west than Pittsburg, and don't you think her acquisition would be a great thing for our country?

President McKinley, speaking to the Cuban commissioners who came to Washington to look after the question of defining the relations between the two countries, said:

If you only were a member of the family, how easy it would all be.

Discussing the speech President McKinley made at Austin, Tex., while en route to the Pacific coast, Henry Litchfield West, who is not only an able and accomplished writer, but a close observer and a man of accurate judgment, says, in the Forum, December (1901):

The conditions in Cuba are much more satisfactory, and much discussion is not likely to be provoked unless an attempt is made to arrange a reciprocity treaty with the new government of that island. * * * It is hardly possible that a sincere effort will be made at this early stage of Cuba's development to agitate for the annexation of the island. Had President McKinley been spared, some action in this direction would have been inaugurated. There is no doubt he looked forward to annexation as the ultimate solution of the Cuban problem.

After nearly a century of waiting, the time seems opportune now to carry into effect the well-defined wishes of a majority of the people of Cuba and the United States in regard to annexation. No sufficient reason can be urged against annexation. Under all the circumstances annexation now is in the interest of both countries. I never favored it before, and opposed the Spanish war partly for the reason that in the event of war the United

States would be compelled to acquire all the territory of Spain in the Western Hemisphere. This I did not desire.

The environment of Cuba, being a small country, right under the shadow of the Great Republic, beset with trials and difficulties on the threshold of her national life—these and other things stand in the way of her being long an independent nation, while as a State in the American Union her people would be prosperous and progressive; the products of her soil, the richest on the earth, would find a ready market at home and abroad; her people would become citizens of the Great Republic, an honor greater than being Roman citizens in the best days of the Roman Empire, and enjoy the liberties and all the blessings that would flow from being part of the best, greatest, and freest Government in the world.

After annexation the products of Cuba would not come into hurtful competition with those of the United States. Free trade amongst the States has never lowered the price of labor or worked injury to American interests. Wherever our flag floats the price of labor advances. Under our immigration laws this would soon be the case in Cuba, and the price of labor in both countries would be the same for the same work. With annexation Cuba would have the best market in the world for all her products at her very doors in her sister States unhindered by duties, and the farmers and manufacturers of the States would supply everything needed by Cuba as against all other countries.

It is claimed that annexation would destroy the promising and growing beet-sugar industry of the United States. Not so, however. The price of products among the States of the Union always seeks an equilibrium. With proper protection in favor of the cane sugar of Cuba, which she will enjoy as a State, and the beet sugar of the United States, within fifteen years the United States would not only produce enough sugar for its own consumption, but largely compete with other countries in the markets of the world.

But for the war with Spain, although so successful and glorious, Cuba would now be a part of the United States. Before the declaration of war, at the instance of the United States, Spain granted the armistice on the island demanded by the Cuban insurgents. President McKinley, in his great desire to avert the war, labored hard to secure this result, and I think if the armistice had come a week earlier or President McKinley could have had thirty days longer he would, through peaceful negotiations, have induced Spain to surrender sovereignty over Cuba and Porto Rico.

It was clear that only through the intervention of the United States by peaceful means or war could the people of Cuba ever have hoped to end Spanish rule on the island. Nothing short of

the annexation of Cuba would have justified the United States in intervening and paying Spain \$200,000,000 for the island. The people of Cuba would have welcomed annexation, as it offered the only escape from Spanish domination on the island.

Even with the war, had it not been for our declaration that the war was not waged for conquest or aggrandizement, known as the Teller amendment, Cuba would to-day be a part of the United States, just as Porto Rico and the Philippines are. This amendment has proved both mischievous and unwise. There was no need of the United States, on the eve of war, declaring what it would or would not do during or following the war. Wise men, and a nation governed by wise men, in entering upon great transactions should never make unnecessary declarations and pledges.

The difficulties, trials, and troubles we had in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, and are now having in the Philippines, are but the pulse beats of national expansion, the growing pains of the Republic, natural and logical in the progress and development of a great nation. They will soon pass away and be forgotten, and we will look upon our island possessions with pride and satisfaction and as useful acquisitions necessary to holding and increasing our trade and commerce in the Pacific Ocean and the Orient, and for our national defense.

When Cuba shall become a part of the American Union and the isthmian canal shall be completed, which is now assured, Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines will be the outposts of the great Republic, standing guard over American interests in the track of the world's commerce in its triumphant march around the globe. Our people will soon see and feel that these island possessions belonging to the United States are natural and logical, and in the great part we are to play in the affairs of the world we would not only not give them up, but wonder how in the working out of our national destiny we could get on without them. This splendid chain of island possessions, reaching half around the world, would not be complete without Cuba, the gem of the Antilles.

The provisions of the act of Congress demanding that Cuba insert the conditions in her constitution, commonly known as the Platt amendment, prevent Cuba from being an entirely free and independent nation. We have put upon her conditions which, in a sense, may be to the mutual interest of both countries, but, while insuring a certain security to Cuba, makes her, in effect, a dependent nation, and as long as these conditions stand as part of our laws and embedded in her constitution she can never be a free and independent nation. The people of Cuba will soon learn

that it is far better to be a State in the American Union, with Senators and Representatives in Congress, than to be a dependent nation. This furnishes one of the reasons why I think her people will prefer giving up national existence and becoming a part of the Great Republic.

There is a tendency in all human affairs, in government, trade, and commerce, to concentration and combination. Meteors go to the sun; small nations are becoming parts of great nations, and Cuba in her present environment, situated as she is, can not be expected to resist this tendency. Thoughtful and intelligent people, both in Cuba and the United States, believe that it is manifest destiny that Cuba should become a part of the United States. Why not anticipate the sure workings of time and do now what the people of both nations will welcome later on with joy, unanimity, and enthusiasm. Now is the most opportune time for annexation before Cuba contracts debts and strains her credit to start in the race of national life, and before the United States in order to further help Cuba makes more sacrifices either by abandoning her economic traditions and breaking down the policy of protection, which has brought such great prosperity and success to our people, or otherwise. In the long future, yet not so long in the lives of nations, Cuba would become one of the richest and most progressive States of the Union.

Only the beginning of the history of the relations between the two Republics has been written, one brief chapter, a chapter, however, unparalleled in the world's history, for what the United States has done for Cuba no nation ever did for another. Both countries can now agree upon and write down what they wish and what is to their mutual interest before difficulties, embarrassments or hindrances to annexation come about. Cuba can now act freely before individuals and combinations, for selfish purposes make action in the future troublesome. Prompt and untrammelled action now will safeguard the interests of both Cuba and the United States.

Americans have always had an affectionate interest in Cuba's welfare; they gave their blood and treasure freely to expel the Spaniard from this beautiful island and to secure her people the liberties they now enjoy. Our honored President testified his interest in and affection for Cuba by his splendid heroism on San Juan Hill. The worthy President of Cuba, Señor Don Tomas Estrada Palma, able, honest, loyal, and unselfish, knows the heart of the American people; he and the statesmen of Cuba know the Great Republic can be trusted and that the rights of a State in the American Union are indestructible.

The effect of the Platt amendment, though not intended, will

operate to bring about annexation. A nation can not long remain half free and half dependent; such a condition embarrasses healthy progress in national life, and leaves but little room for the exercise of the genius and intelligence of a people in the affairs of government, especially when under such restrictions as these amendments impose.

I will put in contrast the language of the Teller amendment and the words of the Platt amendment. They are absolutely inconsistent. I was opposed to both, but was hushed into silence because our great leaders, great lawyers, and best thinkers in the Senate thought it was wise to adopt them. But they rise up now to plague us.

We promised the people of Cuba, upon their establishing a government, we would surrender the sovereignty and control of the island to them. Long before our Army was withdrawn from the island we passed the Platt amendment, which restricted that very control. We did the best we knew how; we acted from the very best motives; I do not challenge them.

The first and fourth clauses of the joint resolution, approved April 20, 1898, for the recognition of the independence of Cuba, and in effect declaring war against Spain, are as follows:

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

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

As to the first clause all know that the people of Cuba were not at that time free and independent, yet we solemnly declared them to be, though it took our Navy and an army of 100,000 men to make this declaration a fact.

The fourth clause, commonly known as the Teller amendment, prevented Cuba from coming to us just as Porto Rico and the Philippines did. In it we made certain definite pledges to the people of Cuba. Have we kept them? The Platt amendment to the Army bill approved March 2, 1901, is as follows:

I.

That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

II.

That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

III.

That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

IV.

That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

V.

That the government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

VI.

That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

VII.

That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

VIII.

That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

This amendment, instead of leaving the government and control of the island to the people of Cuba, places a limitation upon their power to make treaties, upon their power to contract debts, provides that the United States may intervene to protect life and property on the island, and even enforces the right of the United States to jointly look after the sanitation of the island. We owe it to the people of Cuba to relieve them from the condition of a dependent nation in which they are placed by the Platt amendment, and the best way to do this is to invite them to become a State in the Union, which will bring to their people larger benefits and advantages than being a small dependent Republic.

The question of annexation forces itself to the front and will claim from now on the attention of the people of both countries. This is in the very nature of things and grows out of our past and present relations with Cuba. Reciprocity with Cuba affords no adequate remedy for what threatens her interests. A 20 per cent reduction in her tariff and ours will do Cuba as a people or a Government little or no good, while it will work great harm to the interests of the United States. It is said that both General Wood

and President Palma have stated that 20 per cent reduction will not help Cuba. They have never claimed that annexation would not be helpful to the people of Cuba.

Cuba has an area of 41,655 square miles: was discovered by the Spaniards in 1511, nearly four hundred years ago. Considering her situation, rich soil, fine climate, and natural resources, but little progress has been made in her material development. More progress has been made in the four years of American occupation of Cuba than in any fifty years of her previous history. Cuba, with her great advantages and resources, needs capital and confidence on the part of investors that capital and property will be protected. In nearly four centuries it is said only about two-fifths of the lands of Cuba has come under use and cultivation. Her vast forests of timber are substantially untouched, and her iron-ore deposits scarcely opened. Her fruit industry is neglected.

If Cuba were a State in the American Union all this would be changed; the investor would have confidence that capital would be protected; the unappropriated lands would come into use, and their value multiply; her forests would be taken, her iron mines would be opened, her commerce on sea and land would increase, her towns and cities would grow in population, and her people soon be as prosperous as any in the world. Americans would seek homes there and engage in business with the certainty of the largest measure of success.

There was long discussion and fierce opposition to the annexation of Texas—much more, I think, than there will be to the annexation of Cuba—but it came at last as surely as the annexation of Cuba will come. There is not a loyal and true American to be found within the confines of the Republic who would give up Texas, and within a few years after Cuba becomes a State in our Union not an American will be found willing to part with the island.

Under the circumstances, having been generous beyond measure to Cuba, having lifted her up and made her a nation among the nations of the earth, it seems right and proper that the United States, as provided in the resolution before the Senate, should open the way and make it easy for Cuba to ask for annexation.

Mr. President, I wish to detain the Senate a few minutes by drawing attention to some remarks made by the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATE] on Friday last, in relation to our duty to Cuba, and the necessity of keeping her friendship and extending our trade with her people.

I nearly always agree with the Senator from Connecticut and follow him; he commands the respect, confidence, and high re-

gard of his associates; he forces conviction by his superb ability and sound judgment. It is an ungracious task to differ with him on any question. I find, however, on the Cuban question I can not agree with him. In his remarks he says there is no place in the world where we can so surely extend and increase our trade as Cuba, but the question is on what terms. Our trade must not be increased there at the expense of American interests; we must not pay too dear for trade with Cuba.

Cuba should prefer us to all other nations in the matter of friendship and trade relations. The Senator from Connecticut looks upon the acquisition of Cuba with alarm; he says we must either make her our warm friend, make her independent, or acquire her, which would be a peril to the country.

Mr. President, what more can we do for Cuba to make her our friend? Why this seeking after friendship with a country for which we have done everything? If her Government lasts a thousand years it can not discharge its obligations to us, and I can not understand this desire to make great and continued sacrifices in order to secure the friendship of Cuba. I do not know where it originates or its cause. We owe Cuba good will. But we are not called upon to prefer Cuba to our own country. We are charged with the guardianship of the interests of our own people and not those of the people of a foreign country. When many of our own people have been in dire distress we have not helped them by legislation. The only wrong we have done Cuba was passing the Teller amendment, which prevented her acquisition following the Spanish war, and the Platt amendment, which made a her a dependent nation, which I have just read. We can make reparation for both by promptly admitting Cuba into the Union as a State if her people so desire.

The Senator from Connecticut in speaking of annexation further said:

I regard that, Mr. President, as the greatest peril which to-day besets our Government. I can think of no future danger to be so much apprehended as that. When we begin to annex to our country foreign territories with foreign inhabitants, inhabitants alien to our race, to our habits, to our customs, to our traditions, and to our institutions, with the near certainty that statehood is to follow, we shall have taken the first step, in my judgment, toward the demoralization, in this a disintegration, of our republican institutions.

Why this alarm when the annexation of Cuba is proposed? Why stop at Cuba, situated at our doors, and absorb the Philippines, 7,000 miles away, with Malays, Chinese, mixed and uncivilized races, when the people of Cuba are a highly civilized people and, we have declared, capable of self-government?

Have we not already acquired the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Guam, Danish West Indies—territory with foreign inhab-

itants and alien to our race, to our habits, and to our customs, much more so than Cuba and the people of Cuba? Did we not absorb California, New Mexico, and Arizona with foreign people, with Indians and Mexicans? Yet we have survived and made unexampled progress in our national life.

In all of our acquisition of islands reaching fifteen hundred miles east and nearly ten thousand miles west, we failed to acquire Cuba, the one nearest our doors, the most desirable and most important, and about the acquisition of which there has been a century of controversy. The trouble is the Senator's amendment makes annexation not only possible, but certain.

The Senator then adds: We have come to a crisis in our affairs; that our plain duty is to treat Cuba with reference to her commercial relations to the United States, so as to keep her our friend.

Have we not done enough to make Cuba our friend for all time? If she will not be our friend now, will she ever be? Cuba needs us more than we need Cuba. I can not understand this fear of not doing enough to keep Cuba's friendship. It reminds me of the wave of hysteria which swept over the country before and following the Spanish war. Somehow we can not speak of or deal with Cuba with composure and without becoming extravagant.

Just before the Spanish war the well-balanced, conservative, judicious, and judicial-minded senior Senator from Ohio, in a speech made in the Senate April 13, 1898, gave away in his hot zeal in praising the Cuban Government and said that the island had a government organized in all departments and an efficient postal system, and exclaimed that her President and Vice-President would compare favorably with ours. I quote his words:

I say, without attempting to disparage anybody, the President and Vice-President of the Cuban Republic, for intellectual strength and power and vigor, for high character, for unquestioned ability, for statesmanship, will compare favorably with the President and Vice-President of the United States of America.

It is shown by that testimony that they have in the island of Cuba, instituted by this paper government, a postal system which is carrying the mails to-day throughout the island into every fortified city, as well as throughout the territorial parts of the island. They not only have a postal system, but they have a fiscal system—a fiscal system which has provided tax collectors for the Government throughout all that island. The Cubans do have a fixed capital.

I did not agree with the honorable Senator when he made this statement. I set it down then, as I do now, to his ardent desire to help the cause of Cuba.

Following the war our able Secretary of War, who never acts from impulse and always keeps his ardor and enthusiasm under

the severest control, deliberately uses this extravagant language in his annual report to the President on the subject of Cuba:

For the peace of Cuba is necessary to the peace of the United States; the health of Cuba is necessary to the health of the United States; the independence of Cuba is necessary to the safety of the United States.

This is on a par with the statements made by the Senator from Ohio, and others who urged the United States to declare war, and are now being made about Cuba. We can not keep the peace of the United States if Cuba does not have peace. We can not have health in the United States unless Cuba has health. The independence of Cuba is necessary to the safety of the United States. Who believes this now? I hardly think the honorable Secretary does. The United States maintained peace twenty-five years while there was war in Cuba, and the United States has enjoyed safety for a century, though Cuba was not during all that time independent.

Speaking generally on the subject of trade relations with Cuba and increasing our trade in the island, and incidentally aiding Cuba, I do not believe for these purposes or any other we should reduce duties on all the products of one country, thereby discriminating against other countries who are better customers; we should not injure an American industry which Republicans stand pledged in their national platform to aid; we should not revise the tariff by piecemeal and out of time; we should not diminish our revenues six millions a year for five years to aid Cuba, leaving it doubtful whether Cuba and her people would ever get the benefit of this reduction, when we know and feel that in a short time Cuba must become a part of the United States and all these questions settle themselves without injury to the interests of our people.

The United States can better afford to give up all trade with Cuba and pay all the expenses of the Cuban Government than impair the protective principle and injure any American industry. The duties on 20 agricultural products from Cuba can not be reduced without impairing protection no more than reducing the duties on 20 agricultural products from Canada and then declare it will not work injury to the American farmer.

If, on the ground of aiding Cuba and at the same time finding a wider market there for American products, the Cuban Relations Committee should bring in a bill reducing the tariff on lumber, coal, wool, glass, and other products of West Virginia, the West Virginia delegation in Congress could not support it; and if it did I doubt whether any member of the delegation that did so would ever be returned to Congress.

There is no precedent for increasing or lowering duties by legislation on the products of any particular country. Tariff sched-

ules are always framed as a whole and left to stand until another revision by Congress. The tariff should never for any reason be changed by legislation except as a whole. You can not take links out of a chain and still maintain the strength of a chain, or claim you have a chain at all.

Reciprocity has always been effected through treaties, never by legislation. Weeks ago I suggested to the friends of Cuban reciprocity in the Senate the way to bring about reciprocity with Cuba was by treaty and not by act of Congress. I had in mind the Buffalo speech of our late martyred President, in which he used these significant words, "Reciprocity is in harmony with the spirit of the times." There are now pending in the Senate twelve or fourteen treaties providing reciprocity. Why should Cuba be made an exception to this rule?

The reciprocity with Cuba now asked by the Committee on Cuban Relations is not the reciprocity advocated by Blaine, Harrison, McKinley, or Roosevelt. Not one of these great statesmen ever advocated reducing the tariff by legislation on some articles to the injury of any American industry and calling it reciprocity. McKinley would never have done so, and nothing he ever said warrants any such belief. President Roosevelt has never advocated any such doctrine. In his annual message he used this language:

Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for, so far as it can be safely done, without injury to any of our home industries.

Further on in his message he defines what reciprocity is, and his definition accords with that of McKinley, Blaine, and Harrison. I stand by the words of President Roosevelt. They are sound.

