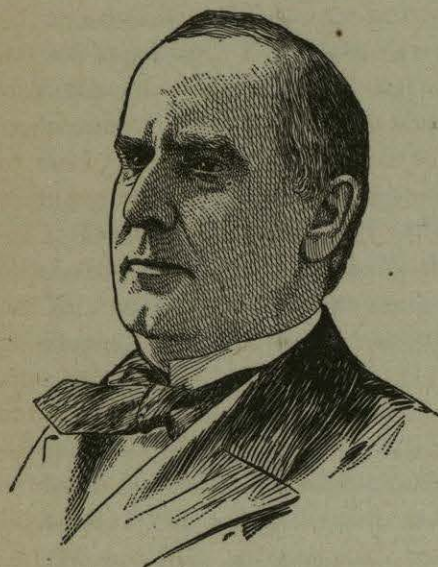


CHAPTER LXXIV.

McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

ON the 4th of March, 1897, William McKinley was inaugurated as twenty-third President of the United States. The event was brilliant and spectacular. In the new Cabinet the place of Secretary of State was given to John Sherman, of Ohio. The other appointments were: Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, Secretary of the Interior; Joseph McKenna, of California, Attorney-General; James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.



The restoration of the Republican party to power was outwardly auspicious. The new administration began with a powerful majority behind it. The great organized powers of the country were almost unanimous in its support. The populous cities, with their tremendous corporate interests, were strongly devoted to the new President, and strongly influential in determining the policy of the incoming administration. The political history of the country, reviewed for the last twenty years, thus showed a series of remarkable oscillations. The Democratic victory of 1884 succeeded the long-unbroken Republican ascendancy which had gone before. The election of 1888 brought a revulsion, and put the Republican party into power under Harrison. The

result in 1892 showed another striking reaction in the restoration to power of the Democratic party during the second administration of Cleveland. The election of 1896 still again reversed the public judgment, and brought back the Republican ascendancy under McKinley.

By this period in our country's history, nearly all of the great actors in the heroic epoch of the Civil War had either passed away or subsided into the inaction of old age. But the heroes of the great conflict might, in the language of Byron, still be said to

"Rule our spirits from their urns."

The 27th of April, 1897, was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. The occasion was celebrated with a remarkable memorial service and parade in New York City. Then was dedicated and delivered to the custody of the city the great marble tomb of General Grant, at Riverside Park, on the Hudson. In a preceding part of this work we have already narrated the circumstances of the death of the hero at Appomattox, and of the preparations for building an appropriate monument to his memory. This work was undertaken soon after the general's decease, but for some time the enterprise, under insufficient management, lagged. At length, however, Gen. Horace Porter, who had been a member of Grant's staff during the large part of the Civil War, was appointed at the head of a Monument Commission to prosecute the work of completion. Books were opened, and subscriptions to the number of more than ninety thousand were made to finish the monument. A suitable site was selected a short distance south of the temporary tomb in which General Grant's remains had lain for more than a half-score of years, and there the splendid mausoleum was built. No other such tomb exists in the New World. The structure is of plain marble, in the severest simplicity of the Doric style.

The monument was completed by the beginning of 1897, but the dedication was postponed until the recurrence of the anniversary of the birth of the hero, April 27, 1897. The event was memorable. The parade was the finest ever witnessed in America. Great interest was shown by the people in all parts of the United States. The ceremonies were more elaborate than those attending the first funeral of the general, nearly twelve years previously. In spite of the chilly air and high wind which prevailed, the great city put on her memorial garb, and the long course of the procession was through

the finest display of flags and streamers and emblems ever witnessed in New York.

About a million people thronged the line of march or awaited the arrival of the column at the monument. More than sixty thousand men were in line of whom fully ten thousand were veterans of the Union War. Large detachments of Confederate veterans also participated in the parade, for General Grant's memory is cherished also by old soldiers of the "Lost Cause." Federal troops, State militia organizations, naval and military cadets, and civic bodies without number, completed the procession, which was many hours in passing, and which *en route* was everywhere received with the strongest expressions of appreciation and affectionate approval.

The city was in gala attire. There was universal holiday. The march was begun at 10.30 A. M., and was not completed until 7 P. M. The grand stands were erected in the vast open spaces around the monument. Here the distinguished guests were assembled. The members of General Grant's family had the place of honor. The President and the retiring ex-President of the United States sat on the platform, and were surrounded with a great throng of the most distinguished American and foreign guests. The principal speakers were President McKinley and General Horace Porter, the latter of whom delivered the formal oration of the day. The event indicated clearly the strong patriotic sentiments of the American people, their surviving enthusiasm for military heroism, and, in particular, their unquenchable devotion to the memory of the Silent Man of Galena.

The project for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States neither slumbered nor slept. The measure was never viewed with public favor, but the slow-working intrigue of powerful interests at length prevailed, and in June of 1897 the President sent to the Senate a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. This produced a strong protest from Japan. In answer it was alleged that Japan herself had planned to seize upon Hawaii, and this charge received a certain plausibility from the fact that the number of Japanese in the Republic was far beyond the number of any other one nationality, and also from the fact that Japan, on account of the refusal of the officials at Hawaii to allow a large number of Japanese immigrants to land, had sent two war-ships to the harbor of Honolulu. On the other hand, Japan declared that the shutting out of the immigrants was contrary to her treaty with the

Republic, and that the war-ships had been sent to the island merely in support of her claim for damages.

The rumors of a possible Japanese uprising in the island, while largely credited in the United States, were not trustworthy, owing to the essential minority of numbers on the part of the Japanese as compared with all others in the territory. Of the native Hawaiians of pure blood there were at least thirty-seven thousand, with an additional ten thousand of mixed descent. Of the Chinese, the natural enemies of the Japanese, there were fifteen thousand, while the nine thousand Portuguese, two thousand Americans, fifteen hundred Englishmen and twelve hundred Germans, made the total much too great to be overcome by the Japanese single handed.

In signing the treaty of annexation the State Department made the declaration to the effect that the Government of the Republic was of an elective and parliamentary character that had been formerly organized by the foreign powers, and that it had continued for four years firm in its authority, wherefore its petition for the protection of the United States might be justly regarded as the will of the people. As to the character of the bulk of the inhabitants, the difficulties of admitting them to citizenship were dismissed with the statement that it would seem to be advisable that Hawaii should continue permanently as an annexed Territory, without having any authority in the legislation of the United States.

No sooner was the new administration well organized than the tariff question was revived, both within and out of Congress. There had been an attempt in the last presidential campaign to make this the vital issue; but the people were more concerned for a settlement of the money question, though a measure of interest still attached to the tariff. The Republican party was committed to a revision of the Wilson Bill of 1893, and there was an attempt on the part of the administration to make this the sole question of discussion in a special session of Congress. To this end the subject was immediately sent to the House Committee of Ways and Means, of which Mr. Dingley, of Maine, was chairman. After about two months the bill was prepared, which effected considerable changes in the existing schedules, increasing the tariff on many articles to the protective level, and transferring many others from the *ad-valorem* schedule, which had been largely used in the Wilson scheme, to the list of specific duties.

The bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, went to the Senate, was debated by that body, and was extensively

revised and amended. In this form the measure was sent to a Conference Committee of the two Houses, from which it was reported back on the 19th of July, and was adopted by the Lower House. Once more the bill went to the Senate for approval, and was by that body adopted on the 24th, receiving thereupon the President's signature, and becoming a law of the land. The measure was less radical than had been anticipated, and was in the nature of a compromise among the various elements of commercial society, whose interests, drawing in this direction and in that, resulted in a final patchwork of devices for increasing the revenue and affording additional protection to certain branches of industry.

During the winter of 1897-1898, the relations of the United States and Spain were strained not a little on account of the Cuban rebellion. The American people, in the nature of the case, sympathized with the insurgent Cubans, and conceived a strong dislike for Spanish dominion in the West Indies. It is probable that the efforts of the Cuban Junta and the sale of Cuban bonds in the United States — which bonds would become valuable in case the rebellion should be successful, but remain valueless in the event of failure — conducted to the growing dislike of Spain, and made more probable the interference of our Government.

To this already dangerous condition of affairs, an incident was presently added which, although it was disavowed as a cause of the war which ensued, was no doubt one of the leading incentives thereto. On the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, while the American battleship *Maine* was lying at anchor in the harbor of Havana, a dreadful explosion, either within or without the vessel, occurred, by which the battleship was wrecked and sent to the bottom. The catastrophe, if accidental, might well have been overlooked but for the loss of life. Two hundred and sixty-six American seamen were carried down with the great ship to instantaneous death in the sea. Only Captain Sigsbee and a few of the officers who were on shore escaped the awful fate of the sailors and men on board.

The sensation produced by the destruction of the *Maine* was great. The distrust and anger of the American people could hardly be restrained. The *Maine* had gone into the harbor of Havana in a friendly way, as is customary with the battleships of nations in foreign waters. The suspicion that the ship had been treacherously destroyed was confirmed by many circumstances, but the thing done was immediately disavowed by the Spanish authorities. A court of inquiry was at once ordered, and an investigation made of the cir-

cumstances of the case. This court rather vaguely reported that according to the evidence, the *Maine* was destroyed by some explosion against her side from without. The character of the wreck indicated, by the bending of the irons, that the force had been applied from without. But in what manner the torpedo was exploded, or the mine was sprung, was not ascertained. In any event, the loss of the great battleship, with nearly all her brave defenders, furnished an animus in the war that ensued, and justly or unjustly, the battle-cry of "Remember the *Maine*" was heard on the American side in every engagement, whether on land or sea.

The general tendency of affairs, and the war-breeding incident just narrated, acted together in precipitating hostilities between the two countries. Conflicting reports were scattered broadcast relative to the condition of affairs in Cuba. The war in that island had in many cases degenerated into bloodthirsty cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, and into guerilla methods and bushwhacking on the part of the Cubans. The government of Captain-General Weyler might well be indicated with a splotch of blood traced round about with cinders. Appeals to the Government of the United States for interference multiplied. There was a brief interval of confusion and growing hostility, and then a Commission of Inquiry headed by Senator Thurston proceeded to Cuba. The report of this body, made in the two Houses of Congress, was wholly inimical to Spain. The excitement in governmental circles rose to a high pitch, and resolutions were proposed declaring in favor of autonomy for Cuba, and the cessation of Spanish rule. Measures of interference were at first devised, with the avowed object of ending the war in Cuba. But this could hardly be effected without other war of more serious proportions. The President at length sent to Congress a lengthy message on the condition of affairs in Cuba, and the evils of Spanish rule. He concluded his communication by asking, rather inconsequentially and vaguely, for authority to act at his own discretion in the premises, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as a sort of backing for his diplomacy in bringing the Cuban business to a settlement.

The President's message did not satisfy. Congress in hot blood took the matter up, and passed a resolution directing the President to interfere in the affairs of Cuba, to the end of securing independence for the people of the island. Hereupon the Spanish minister left Washington, and on the 21st of April a resolution was passed declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of a right ought to be,

free and independent. To this the President gave his assent, and on the 22d of the month, issued a proclamation ordering the blockade of the Cuban ports.

The American navy, including the fleet of battleships commanded by Admiral Sampson and the Flying Squadron under command of Commodore Schley, was amply sufficient for the task assigned. The general plan of the war looked, first of all, to the expulsion of the Spanish authorities from Cuba. On the 23d of April, the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years. It was evident from the first that a large land and naval force must be sent to the West Indies to carry out, by blockade, invasion and battle, the policy of the Government. Preparations were immediately made to this end, and in a few days the war was begun.

At the outbreak of hostilities an attack on Havana was expected, but the fortifications of that city were so strong and the harbor was so dangerously mined that it was deemed inexpedient to make a naval descent on the place. The American fleet was accordingly directed first of all against Matanzas, and afterwards against Santiago de Cuba. As early as the 27th of the month, the batteries at Matanzas on the coast of Cuba were bombarded by Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*. The other ships participating in the attack were the cruiser *Cincinnati* and the monitor *Puritan*. This first action of the war was trivial, and resulted in no loss to the Americans.

The Spanish authorities were dependent upon their fleets rather than on their armies. On the 29th of April, Admiral Cervera with his squadron left the Cape Verde Islands for Cuba. The armament consisted of the battleships *Cristobal Colon*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Maria Teresa* and the *Vizcaya*; also the torpedo destroyers *Furor*, *Terror* and *Pluton*. The sequel showed that the Spanish policy was to leave the Cuban capital to its own defences, and to establish an offensive and defensive base at Santiago. Cervera's fleet reached that place on the 19th of May, made its way into the harbor, and was quickly blockaded by the squadron of Commodore Schley.

Cervera's course in permitting himself to be thus pent in the harbor of Santiago was considered a serious mistake in naval strategy. The event proved the fatal character of the Spanish commander's expedient, though by entering the harbor of Santiago he was able to place his fleet under protection of the land batteries and the Castle Morro, to which he in turn could give support.

The first event of the war, however, which excited enthusiasm

in the United States, and interest throughout the world, was destined to occur at a distance of many thousands of miles from the West Indies. As soon as hostilities were declared, the conflict passed from the local to the general aspect, and events were precipitated with great rapidity. The war must, as we have said, be for the most part maritime. Spain, becoming the enemy of the United States, must needs expose all of her insular dependencies to the attacks of the American navy. The whole horizon of the Spanish possessions was at once scanned, and the policy of assailing these, wherever they might be, was adopted by the American Government.

At this time, namely, in the last of April, 1898, the Pacific Squadron of the United States, under command of Commodore George Dewey, was off the coast of China. The fleet consisted of nine vessels, including two transports and colliers, the *Nanshan* and *Zafiro*. The war-vessels were the Commodore's flagship *Olympia*, the *Baltimore*, the *Raleigh*, the *Petrel*, the *Concord*, the *Boston*, the *McCulloch*. This armament was anchored in Mirs Bay, when the news of the declaration of hostilities reached Hong Kong. Commodore Dewey was ordered by cable to attack and if possible destroy the Spanish Pacific fleet which was at that time anchored in the Bay of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands.

The harbor of that city was defended not only by the warships of Spain, but also by the land batteries which had been established at the naval station of Cavite, about seven miles southwest of Manila. The Spanish armament, consisting of ten vessels, was commanded by Admiral de Montojo. His ships were the flagship *Reina Cristina*, the *Castilla*, the *Antonio de Ulloa*, the *Isla de Cuba*, the *Isla de Luzon*, *El Correo*, the *Marquis de Duero*, the *Velasco*, the *General Lezo*, and the *Mindanao*. The fleet in the last days of April lay under the protection of the heavy guns of Cavite.

During these same days, Commodore Dewey got under way on the Chinese coast, and on the 30th of the month, anchored in Subig Bay, on the coast of Luzon, about thirty miles from Manila. Thence in the night, he followed the shore-line, and about midnight made his way through the channel into the harbor of Manila. On the next day, which was Sunday, May 1st, about five o'clock in the morning, the American squadron, arranged in battle order, headed for the Spanish position. A spirit of enthusiasm prevailed among the sailors. A foolish and bombastic proclamation issued by Divilio, the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, was read, and the attack was begun with shouts of "Remember the *Maine!*"

This was the first conflict of American battleships with foreign armored vessels. The details of the battle may be omitted from the narrative. The *Olympia* led the fighting from the American line, and the *Reina Cristina* took the brunt of the onset. From the first, it was noted that the Spanish guns, though courageously served, were not skillfully aimed. The shots flew wide of the mark. Many of the shells fell short and others exploded far over and beyond the American vessels. At length, as Dewey's ships with each circuit of attack drew nearer and nearer to the Spanish vessels, and received their fire as well as that from the shore batteries, feeling no hurt from either, until only fifteen hundred yards remained between the lines, the *Reina Cristina* steamed out courageously against the *Olympia*, and was mortally wounded with two tremendous shells, which struck her, exploded, and set the vessel on fire.

This was the beginning of the final *melee*. Dewey, after five circuits, ever nearing the Spanish ships, closed with his antagonists, and one by one the enemy's vessels were destroyed or driven ashore. Once during the engagement, between seven and eight o'clock, the American commander drew off to inform himself better than he could otherwise do of his injuries and losses — if any — and to refresh the sailors with their morning coffee! His conduct throughout was as cool and discerning as if the battle were a sham fight in friendly waters. Not a vessel of Montojo's fleet was saved. The loss of life to the Spaniards was great, but on the American side not a single man was killed! Only the engineer of one ship fell down and expired from a nervous shock. The victory of the American fleet was complete and overwhelming. Even the land batteries of Cavite were silenced. Thus, in added glory to the American flag, was ended the first conflict of the war. The news reached the United States by way of Hong Kong and produced the greatest excitement and enthusiasm. Commodore Dewey sprang suddenly into fame, and he remained to the end, *par excellence*, the hero of the war.

The next event of the war, far less important than the battle of Manila, occurred at Cardenas on the Cuban coast, on the 11th of May. This place was defended by land batteries, and against these the armored cruiser *Wilmington*, the torpedo boat *Winslow* and the gunboat *Hudson* were directed. Several Spanish vessels were lying at the docks at Cardenas. As soon as the American vessels came within range, they opened fire. The Spanish batteries replied, and there was a furious engagement, resulting in the silencing of the Spanish guns.

Here was shed the first American blood of the war. A Spanish shell struck the *Winslow* in the hull and destroyed her boiler. The *Hudson* came to her relief, and threw out a line, but just at this juncture, while Ensign Bagley and six men were standing in a group to catch the line, a Spanish shell exploded in their very faces. The Ensign and four of the men were killed. The engagement was notable also for another circumstance, and that was for the first landing of the Americans on Cuban soil. A short distance from Cardenas, at a place called Diana Cay, was a Spanish battery, which was attacked and silenced by a steel gunboat, the *Machias*. As soon as the firing ceased Ensign Willard, with only three men, went ashore and raised the American flag over the wreck of the defences.

In the mean time, the land and naval forces of the United States were despatched to several strategic points. On the 11th of May the fleet, under command of Rear-Admiral Sampson, made a descent on Porto Rico, and on the following morning began a bombardment of San Juan. This place, the capital of the Island, was defended by a castle named the Morro — for such is a favorite name which the Spaniards give to their principal fortresses or bastions. Sampson's fleet consisted of the powerful battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the armored cruisers *Detroit* and *New York*, and the monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*, together with the *Wampatuck* and other auxiliaries. The Spanish position was strong, but the artillery of Castle Morro was chiefly the 7-inch guns which the Spanish Government had recently sent out, very unequal in caliber and range to the tremendous pieces of the American battleships.

The bombardment began in the early morning. The tropical heat was quite intolerable. The American sailors began to drop down from exhaustion, but the Spanish fire did little harm. After three or four hours of fighting, during which the American shells passing over the fortifications, and falling in the town of San Juan, wrought dreadful havoc with all manner of edifices and drove the inhabitants into the country, Sampson ordered the firing to cease, and steamed to the westward a distance of twenty miles, where the fleet came to anchor and the sailors were refreshed and rested. What the Spanish losses were could not then be ascertained, but the Americans escaped with little injury. The battleships were hit many times, but no men were killed. The event demonstrated the great difficulty of overcoming land fortifications without the co-operation of an army.

At this time it appeared that the war would assume first-class proportions. On the 25th of May, the President of the United States

issued a call for 75,000 additional volunteers. On the same day, an advanced detachment of the army, under General Wesley Merritt, who had been appointed Military Governor for the Philippines, was despatched from San Francisco for Manila. Other detachments, making an aggregate of several thousand men, were sent forward to the same destination. All the transports arrived in safety in due course of time, thus presenting the spectacle of an American army and fleet far off the eastern coast of Asia, fully nine thousand miles from the shores of North America.

At the close of May, the chief interest of the war centered at Santiago de Cuba. There the Spanish fleet of Cervera was blockaded. On the 31st of the month, the *Iowa*, the *Massachusetts* and the *New Orleans* bombarded the Spanish fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, and the attack was kept up after Admiral Sampson took command in person. It was at this juncture, namely, on the 3d of June, that the assistant naval constructor, Richmond P. Hobson, performed the daring exploit which so greatly aroused the enthusiasm of his countrymen. Under direction of Admiral Sampson, Lieutenant Hobson, with a detachment of seven brave fellows like himself, took an old and heavy ship, the collier *Merrimac*, and steered the vessel under fire of the Spanish batteries and fleet into the narrow throat of the harbor, and by exploding a torpedo sunk the ship almost crosswise in the channel. The object was to plant an obstruction which should prevent an exit of Cervera's fleet. The fact that the undertaking was not quite effectual by no means marred the heroism of Hobson and his men, who, after their daring exposure to the Spanish shells coming down in a shower on the vessel and all around her, took to a boat, pushed off from the wreck, signalled to the Spanish officers and were captured without the loss of one life! The name of Hobson suddenly appeared in eulogiums on all the newspapers in America.

Seven days after Hobson's exploit, a military descent was made on the island, and six hundred marines were landed at Caimanera, on Guantanamo Bay. The Spaniards resisted the movement, and fighting ensued in a desultory manner for several days. The skirmishing hardly rose to the dignity of battle, though the Spanish losses were considerable, and a few Americans were killed.

By this time the preparations for a formidable invasion of the West Indies were sufficiently forward to permit the departure of an expedition. A large army had been collected as the Fifth Corps at Tampa, Florida, from which place on the 12th of June, the soldiers,

embarking on twenty-nine transports, were directed to Santiago under command of Brigadier-General William H. Shafter. It was intended that this force should co-operate with Admiral Sampson and Commodore Scott Schley in their reduction of Santiago. The expedition arrived at its destination on the 20th of June, and was debarked two days afterwards at Baiquiri and Siboney, a short distance from the old capital of the island.

At this period of the war, the progress of events began to be distracted by cross-purposes among the military authorities. Personal motives and the disposition to advance the favorites of the War Department, to the end that military reputations might be made and marred, influenced not a little the progress and character of the various movements. The methods adopted to raise a revenue sufficient for the heavy expenditures of the Government were debated in Congress, and the influence of the monied interests began to be felt in shaping legislation. The revenue bill, which was passed and signed by the President on the 13th of June, provided for stamp duties on many kinds of business paper, and for taxation on an extensive schedule of commodities. It also provided for the sale of \$200,000,000 of three-per-cent 10-20 bonds.

These were designated as a *popular* loan, but in practice they were nearly all absorbed by the national banks as a means to the end of enlarging and perpetuating the circulation of their notes. The Secretary of the Treasury made haste to sell these bonds to the limit of his option, until, notwithstanding the large expenditures of the Government, the Treasury became engorged, with money to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. This large sum abstracted from the general means of exchange created a stricture in the money market while the business was on, and still further reduced the price of commodities.

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, the war was waged with much enthusiasm. All political parties joined in support of the Government in the active prosecution of its military enterprises. Meanwhile, the remaining Spanish fleet, lying at Cadiz, was ordered by the military authorities of the kingdom to start for the Philippines there to confront the squadron of Admiral Dewey. The Spanish armament steamed through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, but the Sagasta government became alarmed lest Admiral Camara's fleet should be sent to the bottom, like that of Admiral Montijo. An order was accordingly despatched for the return of the expedition, and Camara retraced his course. It was expected in the United

States that the Spanish commander would continue his progress across the Atlantic to aid in the liberation of Cervera's fleet at Santiago, but this movement was not attempted.

The first fighting, after a landing of American troops was effected on Cuban soil, was brought on by the advance of a cavalry force under Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. His Rough Riders, so called, in a courageous but rather spectacular way, got well to the front, and on the 24th of June fell into a Spanish ambush. Here there was a taste of serious battle. The ground was hotly contested, and the Spaniards were with difficulty driven back.

A much more serious engagement, developing into the one considerable battle of the war, followed six days afterwards. Two of the brigade commanders under General Shafter leading the advance, the first on El Caney and the second on San Juan Hill, brought on a furious engagement. In this conflict, the mettle of the two armies was seriously tested. The troops engaged were the first division of the Fifth Army Corps. The fighting was hot and long continued, though the position of the combatants was such as to curtail the losses on both sides. The country was broken, and in most parts covered with thickets. After a battle of several hours' duration, El Caney was taken by General Lawton's forces, and San Juan Hill was carried by the brigade of General Kent. The progress of the contest for the possession of Santiago was constantly reported by cable, but the news was filtered through the censorship which the Government had established as a necessary restraint on the unbridled American press. The excitement in all parts of the country was extreme, and this was by no means allayed with the knowledge of the serious losses with which the victory was clouded. On the American side, two hundred and thirty-one men were killed, one thousand, three hundred and sixty-four wounded or missing. This sacrifice embraced nearly the entire loss by violence of the Americans during the war.

On the third of July, occurred another critical conflict ending as before in a complete victory for the Americans. We have noted the mistake of Admiral Cervera in permitting himself to be pent-up in the harbor of Santiago. He remained in that enclosure for forty-five days, backed, as it were, against the land batteries and the Castle. His situation became intolerable. Camara did not arrive from the east to assist in the liberation of his colleague. The Spanish authorities grew restless and at length, Captain-General Blanco, who had succeeded Weyler in the governorship of Cuba, ordered Admiral

Cervera to break out at all hazards. Unless this could be done, the war was already ended. It appears that Cervera doubted the expediency of getting out of the harbor. To do so meant a critical naval battle just outside, with a probable fatal result and final catastrophe to the Spanish cause. But the order to the Admiral was peremptory, and he accordingly made the trial.

In the early morning of July 3d, the American officers on the warships discovered the Spanish vessels coming through the channel. Signals for clearing were at once given, and the battleship *Iowa* put across the bow of the *Infanta Maria Teresa*. The other Spanish vessels came out one by one, and the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, the *Indiana*, on the American side, opened fire. Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*, was several miles away at the beginning of the engagement, and the *Massachusetts* had gone to Guantanamo for a supply of coal. In a short time the Spanish vessels, though in flight, were all engaged. Cervera's flagship was the *Cristobal Colon*, and this vessel being a fast sailer got to the front. The other powerful warships of the Spaniards besides those mentioned were the *Almirante Oquendo* and the *Vizcaya*. The great guns of both fleets sent forth terrible volleys of shells, and the American fire soon took effect. One after another the Spanish ships were struck and disabled, and one after another they were destroyed. After three-quarters of an hour, only the *Cristobal Colon* remained afloat, and that vessel was steaming away with the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn* and the *New York* in close pursuit. Vain were the efforts of Cervera to escape. The *Cristobal Colon* was run ashore, and her commander, whose valor had provoked the praise of his assailants, was obliged to save himself and the remnant of his men by surrender. Every Spanish ship was knocked to pieces or burned under the merciless fire of the American gunners. The victorious battleships, though many times struck by the Spanish shells, were little injured, and the losses were trifling. One of the incidents of the battle was the appearance of the little auxiliary *Gloucester* in the midst of the fight, where she exposed herself to imminent destruction. The *Gloucester* had been aforetime the pleasure yacht of Pierpont Morgan, of New York, by whom the vessel was sold to the Government and converted into a diminutive ironclad cruiser. Her commander, Lieutenant Wainwright, so distinguished himself by his daring as to gain the rank of a hero.

The destruction of Cervera's fleet was virtually the end of the conflict in Cuba. On the same day of the engagement, General Shafter

demanded the surrender of Santiago, and coincidentally, about the same hour, the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrões, was taken by the cruiser *Charleston* belonging to the Pacific Squadron.

On the 7th of July a notable civil event was projected into the military calendar. The effort of those interested to gain possession of the Hawaiian Islands was at last successful. Resolutions of annexation having been passed by Congress, the President of the United States, on the date referred to, signed the Congressional measure, and the steamer *Philadelphia* was despatched to raise the American flag at Honolulu.

For two weeks after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the defences of Santiago held out against the pressure of the Americans. But, at length, resistance was seen to be useless, and the besieged city capitulated. General Linares, the Spanish commandant, had been wounded during the siege, and it devolved upon his successor, General Toral, to surrender the city and its defenders to the Americans. General Shafter, after consultation with the authorities at Washington, and acting under direction of the Commander-in-chief, dictated the terms of the capitulation, which included not only Santiago de Cuba but the whole eastern portion of the province, with a total of about 20,000 prisoners of war. The office of military governor was assigned to Gen. Leonard R. Wood, formerly Colonel of the First Volunteer Cavalry of New York.

For a while after the fleet and armies began to operate in Cuba, and in the East, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Commander-in-chief of the American forces, remained at Washington, or directed the military and naval movements from Tampa or Key West. At length he decided to be himself the leader of an expedition into the West Indies. He accordingly embarked for the scene of war and reached Cuba on the 11th of July. He was thus in time to determine the conditions on which the surrender of Santiago would be accepted. When this work was accomplished, he put himself at the head of a large division, set out from Guantanamo Bay, and debarked at Guanica, on the Porto Rican coast. The city of San Juan had been bombarded by Admiral Sampson as early as the 12th of May, but the formal invasion of the island was not made until the 25th of July. Within three days, General Miles compelled the surrender of Ponce, by whose inhabitants he was received rather as a deliverer than as a conqueror. The other towns in the vicinity surrendered without serious resistance. The whole island was subjugated with little expenditure of treasure and with scarcely the loss of a single life. It

was needful that General Miles, in order to participate personally in the war, should expedite his movements as much as possible, for the end was already at hand.

Not only the results of the several conflicts but also the pressure of international suggestions was felt in producing a cessation of hostilities. The French Republic, friendly through many historical, social and religious motives with the Spanish kingdom, and influenced not a little by the solicitations of the French holders of Spanish bonds, sought assiduously to bring about a cessation of the war. M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, exerted himself in interviews with the President and Secretary of State to incline them favorably to peace. He procured from President McKinley, on the 30th of July, a statement of the general conditions on which the United States would consent to peace. These conditions M. Cambon signified to his own government and to Spain — with the result that the terms were first informally, and then formally, accepted.

By the 9th of August the French Ambassador was able to signify to the President the willingness of Spain to end the conflict on the conditions named. In the meantime, the troops of the United States, at the coast town of Malate, near Manila, in Luzon, had repulsed the Spaniards who had attacked them and inflicted a slight loss on the enemy.

The preliminary agreement, called a protocol, which the President of the United States prescribed to Spain, was signed by the Secretary of State for the United States and by the French Ambassador for Spain, on the 12th of August, 1898. The terms included the independence of Cuba and the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities from the island; the cession of Porto Rico to the United States — this as a result of the war; the cession of the island of Guam in the Ladrone Islands to the United States; the occupation of the harbor and city of Manila, pending the final disposition of the Philippines by the decision of Commissioners appointed by the two nations to meet in Paris before the 1st of October to determine by permanent treaty the conditions of peace.

The event moved forward speedily to conclusion. The President appointed as Commissioners on the part of the United States ex-Secretary of State Hon. William R. Day, Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, Hon. Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish Government also appointed five distinguished Commissioners

headed by Señor Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate. The other members on the side of Spain were Señor Abarzuza, Señor Garnica, General Cerero and Señor Villarrutia. The Commissioners met at Paris on the 1st of October and proceeded at once to organize and to take up the important diplomatical matters submitted to them for final decision.

The war entailed upon the American people several important consequences. In the first place, it brought the all-important question of the proper disposition and management of the insular territories acquired by the treaty. Hitherto, all territorial acquisition by the United States had been made with the distinct purpose of peopling such territories with American citizens, organizing Republican governments and admitting the territories into the Union as equal States in the sisterhood. This method did not seem to suggest itself with respect to the islands acquired by the war. These were inhabited, for the most part, by the descendants of the Latin races, by hybrid populations and by Orientals, few of whom knew anything and most of whom knew nothing of republican institutions or self-government in any form.

The proposition to establish a colonial system for the acquired islands, in the manner of the British Colonial governments, seemed repugnant to all American traditions, if not positively contrary to the Constitution of the United States. A party sprang up, however, willing to take this risk — willing to introduce a sort of modified imperialism, instead of the strictly republican and democratic theory of government. The movement, however, was opposed by an anti-imperialistic party, but the lines of division between the two did not coincide with the lines of the existing political cleavage. This question obtruded itself powerfully into the party contests of 1898.

The war brought in its train not a few results that were hurtful to the nation and a drawback on the progress of the age. The spirit of war was encouraged. The conflict, which had been undertaken generously and with the sole design of securing the independence of the Cubans, was soon poisoned with the notion of conquest and territorial aggrandizement. Those who favor the maintenance in the United States of a great standing army and a prodigious navy were encouraged, and the recently prevailing sentiment in favor of arbitration received a backset from which recovery must needs be slow. The rampant partisans of the war began to flaunt their bravado against the principles of peace, and openly to advocate the revival in America of the old war passions prevalent among the European nations.

Besides all this, abuses sprang up in the military management which reflected discredit upon the Department of War, and spread a feeling of distrust against those responsible for the welfare of the soldiers. The public provision for the support of the army was so inadequate to the actual requirements of the camp, the field, and the hospital, that private benefactions had to be added to alleviate the sufferings of the army. The naval administration was superb, but the land forces were frequently neglected, and were even deprived of the abundant provisions made by a generous people for their comfort and preservation. These facts were brought out by the American press, and were directed with much bitterness against the administrative authorities in the party contests of 1898.

Perhaps the most salutary advantage gained by the American people, as a result of the conflict with Spain, was the complete effacement of the animosities and prejudices remaining from our great Civil War. It had been very difficult for the men of the South and the men of the North to become reconciled. Though a full generation had arisen and glided away, the deep-down recollections of the past in the hearts of millions of our people could hardly be removed to give place to other sentiments than those which had prevailed in the days of the great Rebellion. The pictures of that terrible time still stood in the silent chambers, and the effort to turn their faces to the wall was resented as an affront to the dead. The war with Spain had the effect to obliterate the surviving antagonisms of our people. The men of the old Confederacy and their sons sprang forward with enthusiasm to the support of the national cause. Such men as Gen. Fitzhugh Lee and Gen. Joseph Wheeler were assigned to important commands, and both they and their soldiers, whether from the South or the North, showed a heroic devotion to the flag of the Republic. The soldiers of the two sections fraternized completely, and over the grave of the past the grass grew green in the summer of 1898.

While the issue of the war, so far as the American arms was concerned, was highly auspicious, many things followed in the train well calculated to spread grief and anxiety among the people. It had been foreseen that the climate of the West Indies would severely try the constitution of the American soldiers. The war broke out at the beginning of the dangerous season — dangerous as to both the torrid heat and the malignant diseases which prevail in the tropics. From this source much more was to be apprehended than from the armies of the enemy.

The event corresponded with the apprehension. No sooner had the American forces been debarked in Cuba than the fatal effects of climate and disease began to be felt in the invading camps. The season was less disastrous as to temperature than had been feared, and the diseases peculiar to the Cuban climate did not come in the most malignant form. Yellow fever appeared in only a sporadic manner. The worst affliction of the soldiers was typhoid fever and malarial affections of various kinds. Of such ailments a great many soldiers sickened, and many died. The losses from this source were far in excess of the losses from marching and battle.

The effects of the prevailing diseases were aggravated by the imperfect supply-system and inadequate medical and surgical service of the American army. It was soon known that the forces about Santiago were suffering greatly for provisions, medicines, and hospital accommodations. The percentage of the sick increased, and it was a fortunate circumstance that the fall of Santiago and the announcement of the protocol came at so early a period of the year. Provisions were soon made for the withdrawal of divisions of the army; as soon as the sick soldiers could be distributed in camps they were sent thereto, and in course of time a better system of medical service and of supply was instituted. The mustering out of the forces followed in the latter part of August, September and October, though a sufficient army was retained in Cuba and in the Philippines to make certain that no advantage should be taken by Spain pending the negotiations at Paris.

In that city the Commissioners of Peace began their work on the 1st of October. The American representatives had the advantage in all that ensued. Most of them—indeed all except Senator Gray—went to the Congress strongly predisposed to the policy of expansion, and to the conclusion of a treaty without much regard to the protests and arguments of the Spanish ambassadors. Meanwhile the whole force of the administration at Washington was turned to the policy of getting as much as possible out of the war. The sentiment grew in favor of holding the Philippines, and indeed everything else which had been, however temporarily, under control of the Americans during the conflict.

A very specious form of argument was invented at this time to the effect that everything which had been covered by the flag of the Republic should be retained—as though the flag and they who carried it could do no wrong! Against this sentiment there was among the American people nothing to oppose except morbidity and

moral cowardice. It was in vain to point out the fact that when the protocol of peace was signed not one foot of the Philippine territory was under the American flag. It was only *after* the protocol was proclaimed that Commodore Dewey made his successful onset on Manila. By this means the flag was indeed raised over that city, and an excuse was thus contrived, not only for holding the harbor and city of Manila, not only for taking possession of the island of Luzon, but for the conquest of the whole Philippine archipelago.

The American representatives at Paris were borne on by the tide, and the Spanish representatives were forced back under the pressure. The United States had all the while the powerful backing of England. Any favor which Spain might receive from France had meanwhile turned the other way; for the French holders of the Spanish bonds now saw a hope of payment in the conclusion of peace. They who hold the war debts of the world have one prevailing motive of conduct which rises above all national and international considerations and rests wholly in the hope of securing their bonds and perpetuating them as an interest-bearing fund.

It became evident before the result of the negotiations was announced that the largest advantages (even though they might be disadvantages) would be taken by the Americans as the fruits of victory. As to Porto Rico, that island had already been conceded by Spain to the United States at the conclusion of hostilities. As to Cuba, it had been agreed that the Spanish authority should be abrogated, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and independence secured to the people of the island. And herein lay a serious complication, for it had now been discovered that the Cuban Republic, in behalf of which the war had been virtually undertaken, was an insubstantial fact, and that the Cuban army was rather an obstacle than an auxiliary. Still, the declarations of policy regarding Cuba were so distinct that controversy relative to the island could hardly break out at the Paris conference.

The same might be said of the Island of Guam, that point of the Ladrones or Marianas which had been conceded to our Republic at the time of the protocol. But as to the Philippines everything was controversial. The Spanish representatives stoutly resisted the aggressive policy of the Americans which soon hesitated not to claim the whole archipelago, and to shape the contention so that there could be no receding. Along this line, the members of the conference debated, adjourned, re-assembled, modified unimportant details, but fixed their views more and more until, on the 18th day of De-

ember, a result was finally reached in the form of a treaty to be submitted for approval to the treaty-making powers of Spain and the United States.

Near the close of the year 1898 this treaty of Paris was transmitted to the governments of the respective nations. On the main point the agreements reached included the cession of the whole Philippine group to the United States, and the payment by the latter to Spain of \$20,000,000. This sum was claimed by the Spanish representatives and was allowed by the American representatives on the score of the ousting of Spain from her forts, government buildings and other material improvements in the Philippines, rather than as money paid for the islands themselves. These were claimed by the United States on the score of conquest and indemnity and also on the ground that it had become the duty of our government to secure for the Philippine Islands such civil and political institutions as might enable them to obtain and enjoy all the liberties to which mankind is entitled.

A population of fully 8,000,000 semi-barbarians and savages were thus transferred to the sovereignty of the United States with the consequent necessity of establishing over them some kind of a colonial government such as that employed by Great Britain in the control and management of her insular and other foreign possessions. The full text of the treaty agreed to and signed by the Commissioners of the United States and Spain may not be profitably repeated; only the leading articles, with a summary of the less important parts are here inserted as the logical conclusion of the story of the Spanish-American War.

ARTICLE I.—Spain renounces all right of sovereignty over Cuba. Whereas said isle when evacuated by Spain is to be occupied by the United States, the United States, while the occupation continues, shall take upon themselves and fulfil the obligations which, by the fact of occupation, international law imposes on them for the protection of life and property.

ARTICLE II.—Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and the other islands now under her sovereignty in the West Indies and the Isle of Guam in the archipelago of the Marianas or Ladrões.

ARTICLE III.—Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, which comprises the islands situated between the following lines:

(The remainder of the Article defines at length the ocean boundaries which enclose all of the islands of the Philippine archipelago.)

ARTICLE IV.—The United States shall, during the term of ten years, counting from the interchange of the ratifications of the treaty, admit to the ports of the Philippine Islands Spanish ships and merchandise under the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of the United States.

The fifth Article made it incumbent on the United States to transport to Spain all the Spanish prisoners of war; to concede to the captured soldiers their arms; to enjoin on Spain the evacuation of the Philippines and the Isle of Guam; to grant to Spain the retention of such of her flags and standards and arms as had not been taken in actual battle, except the heavy ordnance of permanent fortifications.

The sixth Article required that Spain should set at liberty all prisoners, political and military, in Cuba and the Philippines, and that the United States should likewise liberate all persons who had been taken and imprisoned during the war.

ARTICLE VII.—Spain and the United States mutually renounce by the present treaty all claim to national or private indemnity, of whatever kind, of one Government against the other, or of their subjects or citizens against the other Government, which may have arisen from the beginning of the last insurrection in Cuba, anterior to the interchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as also to all indemnity as regards costs occasioned by the war. The United States shall judge and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain, which she renounces in this article.

ARTICLE VIII.—In fulfilment of Articles I, II and III of this treaty Spain renounces in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico and the other West Indian isles, in Guam and the Philippine archipelago, all buildings, moles, barracks, fortresses, establishments, public roads and other real property which by custom or right are of the public domain, and as such belong to the crown of Spain. Nevertheless, it is declared that this renouncement or cession, as the case may be, referred to in the previous paragraph, in no way lessens the property or rights which belong by custom of law to the peaceful possessor of goods of all kinds in the provinces and cities, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations or whatever bodies have judicial personality to acquire and possess goods in the above-mentioned renounced or ceded territories, and those of private individuals, whatever be their nationality.

In the ninth Article it was provided that all Spanish subjects, native or domiciled, in the ceded territories should have the right of passing under the future sovereignty of the places in which they dwelt, or of freely returning to Spain. In doing so all rights of property should be strictly observed.

ARTICLE X.—The inhabitants of the territories whose sovereignty Spain renounces or cedes shall have assured to them the free exercise of their religion.

ARTICLE XI.—Spaniards residing in the territories whose sovereignty Spain cedes or renounces shall be subject in civil and criminal matters to the tribunals of the country in which they reside, conformably with the common laws which regulate their competence, being enabled to appear before them in the same manner and to employ the same proceedings as the citizens of the country to which the tribunal belongs must observe.

In Article XII the forms of judicial proceedings in the countries affected by the war were defined. The manner of carrying sentences into effect and the forms of criminal prosecutions were ascertained and declared.

ARTICLE XIII.—Literary, artistic and industrial rights of property acquired by Spaniards in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and other territories ceded on the interchange of ratifications of this treaty shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary or artistic works which shall not be dangerous to public order in said territories shall continue entering therein with freedom from all customs duties for a period of ten years dating from the interchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIV.—Spain may establish consular agents in the ports and places of the territories whose renunciation or cession is the object of this treaty.

ARTICLE XV.—The Government of either country shall concede for a term of ten years to the merchant ships of the other the same treatment as regards all port dues, including those of entry and departure, lighthouse and tonnage dues, as it concedes to its own merchant ships not employed in the coasting trade. This article may be repudiated at any time by either Government giving previous notice thereof six months beforehand.

ARTICLE XVI.—Be it understood that whatever obligation is accepted under this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba is limited to the period their occupation of the island shall continue, but at the end of said occupation they will advise the Government that may be established in the island that it should accept the same obligations.

ARTICLE XVII.—The present treaty shall be ratified by the Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States, in agreement and with the approval of the Senate, and ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington within a period of six months from this date or earlier if possible.

The acceptance of the treaty by the Spanish Government was a foregone conclusion, but the issue in the United States was doubtful. For several weeks the ratification of the terms by the Senate was delayed. Much had to be said for and against. There was strong and logical opposition to the treaty on the ground that it was a departure from all American precedents, and a plunge into the unknown. The opposition was not limited to any political party, for several leaders of all three parties represented in the Senate strenuously opposed the treaty, and voted against it. The requisite two-thirds, however, were finally obtained, but not until the sudden outbreak of war in the Philippines, and the fighting of a severe battle between the forces of Aguinaldo and the American army under General Otis, with the result of victory to the latter, had created another wave of doubtful enthusiasm and furnished an excuse for a change of attitude on the part of several Senators. The vote in favor of ratification was taken on the 6th of February, 1899, and the treaty was signed by the President four days afterwards.

The History of our Country has thus been recited from its discovery by the adventurers at the close of the fifteenth century down to the year 1899. The STORY OF THE REPUBLIC is complete. The four centuries of time through which we have passed since the unveiling of the continent have brought us the experience of the ages, and, let us hope, the wisdom and virtues of the greatest nations of the

earth. Our Nation has passed through stormy times, but has come at last in full splendor and with uplifted banners, to the closing years of the nineteenth century. As a united nation, we are already well advanced into the second era of our existence. Peace and tranquility are abroad. Clouds of distrust and war have sunk behind the horizon. Here, at least, the equality of all men in rights and privileges before the law has been written with an iron pen in the constitution of our country. The Union of the States has been consecrated anew within our memories by the blood of patriots and the tears of the lowly. Best of all, the temple of Freedom reared by our patriot Fathers still stands in undiminished glory. THE PAST HAS TAUGHT ITS LESSON, THE PRESENT HAS ITS DUTY, AND THE FUTURE ITS HOPE.