

SUPPLEMENT TO

The Republican

Broken Bow, Nebraska

PROBLEM OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Question of the Hour.

Conclusions Arrived at After Extended Personal Investigation—Sen. Beveridge's Great Speech Delivered in the Senate January 9, 1900.

The secretary read the joint resolution (S. R. 53) defining the policy of the United States relative to the Philippine Islands, as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Philippine Islands are territory of the United States; that it is the intention of the United States to retain them as such and to establish and maintain such governmental control throughout the archipelago as the situation may demand.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President, I address the Senate at this time because Senators and Members of the House on both sides have asked that I give to Congress and the country my observations on the Philippine problem, and the conclusions which those observations compel; and because of hurtful resolutions introduced and utterances made in the Senate, every word of which will cost and is costing the lives of American soldiers.

Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burthen, but with gratitude and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

PHILIPPINES COMMAND THE PACIFIC.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

But to hold it will be no mistake. Our greatest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than England, Germany or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.

Lines of navigation from our ports to the Orient and Australia; from the isthmian canal to Asia; from all Oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting, dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored in a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic.

VALUE OF CHINA'S TRADE.

China's trade is the mightiest commercial fact in our future. Her foreign commerce was \$285,738,000 in 1897, which we, her neighbors, had less than 9 per cent, of which only a little more than half was merchandise sold to China by us. We ought to have 50 per cent, and we will. And China's foreign commerce is only beginning. Her resources, her possibilities, her wants, all are undeveloped. She has only 310 miles of railway. I have seen trains loaded with natives and all the activities of modern life already appearing along the line. But she needs, and in fifty years will have, 29,600 miles of railway.

Who can estimate her commerce then? The statesman commits a crime against American trade—against the American grower of cotton and wheat and tobacco, the American manufacturer of machinery and clothing—who falls to put America where she may command that "Hindustan" which we, her neighbors, had less than 9 per cent, of which only a little more than half was merchandise sold to China by us. We ought to have 50 per cent, and we will. And China's foreign commerce is only beginning. Her resources, her possibilities, her wants, all are undeveloped. She has only 310 miles of railway. I have seen trains loaded with natives and all the activities of modern life already appearing along the line. But she needs, and in fifty years will have, 29,600 miles of railway.

RESOURCES AND IMMENSE SIZE OF THE ISLANDS.

But if they did not command China, India, the Orient, the whole Pacific for purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I have cruised more than 2,000 miles through the archipelago, every moment

a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches.

Only in America surpasses its fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon. Rice and coffee, sugar and coconuts, hemp and tobacco, and many products of the Temperate as well as the Tropic zone grow in various sections of the archipelago. I have seen hundreds of bushels of Indian corn lying in a road fringed with banana trees. The forests of Negros, Mindanao, Mindoro, Palawan, and parts of Luzon are invaluable and intact. The wood of the Philippines can supply the furniture of the world for a century to come. At Cebu the best informed man in the island told me that 40 miles of Cebu's mountain chain are practically mountains of coal. Pablo Majia, one of the most reliable men on the islands, confirmed the statement. Some declare that the coal is only lignite; but ship captains who have used it told me that it is better steamer fuel than the best coal of Japan.

I have nugget of pure gold picked up in its present form on the banks of a Philippine creek. I have gold dust washed out by crude processes of earnest natives from the sands of a Philippine stream. Both indicate great deposits at the source from which they come. In one of the islands great deposits of copper exist untouched. The mineral wealth of this empire of the Queen will one day surprise the world. I base this statement partly on personal observation, but chiefly on the testimony of foreign merchants in the Philippines, who have practically investigated the subject, and upon the unanimous opinion of natives and priests. And the mineral wealth is but a small fraction of the agricultural wealth of these islands.

And the wool, hemp, copra, and other products of the Philippines supply what we need and cannot ourselves produce. And the markets they will themselves afford will be immense. Spain's export and import trade, with the islands undeveloped, was \$11,534,731 annually. Our trade with the islands developed will be \$125,000,000 annually, for who believes that we can not do ten times as well as Spain? Consider their imperial dimensions. Luzon is larger and richer than New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Ohio. Mindanao is larger and richer than all New England, exclusive of Maine. Manila, as a port of call and exchange, will, in the time of men now living, far surpass Liverpool. Behold the exhaustless markets they command. It is as if a half dozen of our States were set down between Oceania and the Orient, and those States themselves undeveloped and unspoiled of their primitive wealth and resources.

Nothing is so natural as trade with one's neighbors. The Philippines make us the nearest neighbors of all the East. Nothing is more natural than to trade with those you know. This is the philosophy of all advertising. The Philippines bring us permanently face to face with the most sought-for customers of the world. National prestige, national propinquity, these and commercial activity are the elements of commercial success. The Philippines give the first; the character of the American people supply the last. It is a providential conjunction of all the elements of trade, of duty, and of power. If we are willing to go to war rather than let England have a few feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no market and commands none, why should we not do rather than let England, Germany, Russia, or Japan have all the Philippines? And no man on the spot can fail to see that this would be their fate if we retired.

PHILIPPINE CLIMATE.

The climate is the best Tropic climate in the world. This is the belief of those who have lived in many Tropic countries, with scores of whom I have talked on this point. My own experience with tropical conditions has not been exhaustive; yet, speaking from that experience, I testify that the climate of Iloilo, Sulu, Cebu, and even of Manila, greatly surpasses that of Hongkong. And yet on the bare and burning rock of Hongkong our constructing race has built one of the noblest cities of all the world, and made the harbor it commands the focus of the commerce of the East. And the glory of that achievement illumines a spot selected by the strategy of Providence, commanding the Pacific. And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic.

Yet fifty years ago this English outpost of empire was a smooth and treeless mountain, blazing like a ball of fire beneath the tropic suns. The Philippines are beautiful and rich, with the healing seas pouring round and through them and fanned by a thousand winds. Even in the hottest season, under severest conditions, I found the weather tolerable and often delightful; and in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Negros, and Sulu I have been in the sun and rain without protection from either for hours at a time, traveling from place to place on horseback, on foot, or in a boat, rising at dawn, reaching my destination at dusk, without injury to health.

General MacArthur, commanding a force which had been fighting continuously for three months and which was under fire practically every hour, was in excellent health every time I saw him at San Fernando, our extreme front. General Lawton, that perfect soldier, whom I have seen ride, order, plan, and execute all night, until the Tagals named him "the soldier of the night," told me that his health was perfect. General Otis, that devoted servant of the Republic, who toils ceaselessly, does not fall ill, nor grow weary, nor complain. I could give the names of scores of our officers and describe their feats of endurance witnessed by me that would have taxed their strength even in America. Yet they do not succumb. I have seen correspondents exert themselves in all kinds of weather without food or sleep in a way that would prostrate them in the hottest days of our summer in Chicago or New York. Major Hoyt, chief medical officer with MacArthur, told me that San Fernando is as healthy as the average American town. The European business men of Cebu, Iloilo, and Manila work as hard and as many hours a day as those of New York, and a finer body of physical manhood can not be gathered at random in America. This proves that this garden of the seas is not the sweltering, steaming, miasmatic swamp that it has been described.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—AGUINALDO.

It will be hard for Americans who have not studied them to understand the people. They are a barbarous race, modified by three centuries of contact with a decadent West. The Filipino is the Spaniard of the Middle Ages. The process of three hundred years of superstition in religion, dishonesty in dealing, disorder in habits of industry, and, erudely, caprice, and corruption in government. It is barely possible that 1,000 men in all the archipelago are capable of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon sense.

My own belief is that there are not 100 men among them who comprehend what Anglo-Saxon self-government even means, and there are over 5,000,000 people to be governed. I know many clever and highly educated men among them, but there are only three commanding intellects and characters—Arellano, Mabini, and Aguinaldo. Arellano, the chief justice of our supreme court, is a profound lawyer and a brave and incorruptible man. Mabini, who, before his capture, was the litigation and diplomatic associate of Aguinaldo, is the highest type of subtlety and the most constructive mind that race has yet produced. Aguinaldo is a clever, popular leader, able, brave, resourceful, cunning, ambitious, unscrupulous, and masterful. He is full of decision, initiative, and authority, and had the confidence of the masses. He is a natural dictator. His ideas of government are absolute, and he demands implicit obedience, or immediate death. He understands the character of his countrymen. He is a Malay Sylla; not a Filipino Washington.

These conclusions were forced upon me by observing the people in all walks of life in the different islands, and by conversations with foreign merchants, priests, mestizos, pure Filipinos, and every variety of mind, character, and opinion. I have seen them, in Luzon, go down through the entire archipelago to the interior of Sulu. These conversations were had informally at dinner tables, on journeys, and the like, and always under conditions favorable to entire frankness and unreserve. Their chief value is that they are the real opinions of their authors and not prepared and guarded statements. I will read to the Senate salient points from a few notes which I have compiled, reserving the names of the persons interviewed, except that of Pablo Majia, of Cebu, who was assassinated a week after I met him, and whose fate I will not risk bringing down on others. Their names and residences are given in this book, and will be gladly given to any Senator or to the Senate in executive session. The conversations themselves, of course, are not in this book, but I give here only the brief extracts, which may be helpful to a correct understanding of the subject immediately at hand.

One of the principal merchants of the Philippines and the far East said, among many other things:

The whole country is inconceivably rich. With only ordinary good government commerce would be immensely profitable. The country is rich in commerce accustomed itself to the conditions and furnished in spite of them. So rich is the country that it can afford to be a free nation, however bad, if it is only fixed and certain. The people are incapable of self-government. The climate is not good for the masses. For years to come a very strong government will be necessary. The climate is very bad. There are eighteen years, and my health was never better.

One of the principal business men of the Philippines and the far East said:

I have no fault to find with the climate. My health is very fine. Business here, large as it is, is only beginning. I think it folly to talk of giving the natives any part in the government. They are incapable of it. I employ several hundred men who might be capable, but I doubt the result of such an experiment, even with the best supervision. I should like to see the first will result in disaster. Do not put courts into their hands at all, except the minor and village courts. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

The most eminent educator in the Philippines, of very wide information about the people and the country, said:

It is a most marvelous country. The climate is the ideal tropical climate of the world. Also, it presents every variety of climate. Only a few miles from the coast, the climate is that of Benares, there are oaks, pines, frank, and you must use blankets at night. It is the richest and most varied portion of the world's surface. My health has always been good. You must introduce a strong, decisive, and pure government. The natives are not ready to accept it. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

Self-government is out of the question. I fear the insurrection will last for months. The natives are like buffalo bulls—they get mad and when you come to understand their nature, they are wrong. You cannot successfully deal with them by gentle means; they are absolutely misanthropic. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

One of the large planters and business men of the interior of Luzon, a pure Filipino, with intimate relations with the insurgents:

It is hard to say how long the contest will last. The very common people are right about the matter, but have been told and believe many bad things about the Americans. What the Philippines want is to govern themselves. No government except that Spain gave them, which was most corrupt, will be accepted by the common people who would be satisfied, if they could not know.

The common people do not know what they want. Are they capable of self-government? Of voting intelligently? What difference does that make? They would vote just exactly as the better classes say. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A pure Filipino, a physician, a man of wealth, in the interior of Luzon—one of the most intelligent men of the many I met and talked to:

It is hard to say how long this struggle will continue. The leaders say they want independence; the common people probably want socialism. To be definite and particular, they probably do not know what they want. No, they are not capable of self-government. If you give them pure government, free speech and all that, they would not understand and appreciate it at first; would not believe it, as it were. But when, after a while, three or four years, they do understand our intentions and actually experience good government, there will be no trouble. Oh, yes; the government is one in operation, they will pay their way many times over. My people are not able to understand it; they are children yet.

The principal British merchant of Iloilo said:

The climate is simply splendid, even here on

the sea. A very short distance inland you must have a very high fever. I have been here more than twenty years, and my health is as good as always has been most excellent. The only time I have been ill was in New York last September. It goes without saying that the country is enormously rich. Its resources have not yet been developed. You can find as much silver as you wish. It is only a suggestion to what may be. The natives are a kind, affectionate, and hospitable people. They are not educated, though, and once aroused, very obstinate. Surely they are capable of self-government in municipal affairs. These people are not fit to be left to go to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A highly educated and bright Spanish mestizo, claiming to be pure Filipino, employed in Iloilo, said:

No one can tell when the fighting will cease. It all depends upon what Aguinaldo has in mind. The common people have absolute faith in him. His order among those now in rebellion in this island would be promptly obeyed. The common people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A rich planter of Panay, pure Filipino, but moderate in views, said:

The common people have no opinions and are not capable of voting. If the Filipinos established a government, of course the property and business classes would be ruined, and such a government, not more than 25 per cent of the people are fitted to take part in the selection of the trustees. The common people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A prominent and very conservative business man of Panay:

You may be a long time subdividing this insurrection. The people are not yet capable of self-government in the archipelago. It is well, though, that the common people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A leading mestizo of Negros:

The island of Negros is far ahead of any other island in the culture of its people. Our chief defect is that we do not get away from Spanish customs, laws, and traditions. I think we are quite capable of self-government under American conditions. The common people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

Spain did one of this, but the reverse. That is, and was, our complaint. English should be immediately made the language of the schools. I do not think the same political place should prevail throughout the islands. One place should have laws adapted to it; another, to it. The reason for this is that the people of the various islands are of different degrees of culture. Of course, though, I think the whole archipelago a commercial unit.

Pure Filipino and large planter of Negros:

I have working for me about 400 men. They are good, average examples of the common people of the island. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-government. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-government. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-government. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-government.

I have several American boys. They do good work. We do not use me because they are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

Pablo Majia, pure Filipino, rich, able, honest, and moderate. He was stabbed to death in Cebu, and this is why I withhold the names of the others:

I do not think anyone could ask for a better climate than this. It is much better than Iloilo. The resources of this island have not begun to be developed. Our coal is very good, much better than Japan coal. There is no silver in this island, but yet you can find an easy way to get it. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

An educator of Cebu, who has lived among the Filipinos for twenty-five years, and one of the ablest men I ever met:

For general health and for all human conditions I consider this climate unequalled in the world. When I left Europe twenty-five years ago and came here my health was wretched. The resources of this island have not begun to be developed. Our coal is very good, much better than Japan coal. There is no silver in this island, but yet you can find an easy way to get it. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

Here, I will make you a present of this book. It was secured up from one of our streams here. It proves the existence of very heavy deposits at the point from which these fragments were taken. In another place I found three very rich gold deposits. Let me present you with this nugget. It was picked up just as you see it. It is a very fine specimen of gold, as your thumb—pure, solid gold. Why are they not worked? Oh, they have been so far out of the world, you see, that they are forgotten. And then, the strange apathy of the Spanish Government and people. But that is all changed. These people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

To the upper classes it means rule and dominion. If the ballot were placed in the hands of all the people, they would vote as their leaders said. It would be well to make English the language of all the islands—but, dear me, what a fearful time you will have teaching it. Why, my dear friend, as you see, the common people are not fit to be left to their own devices. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government. I employ several hundred men in municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

A gentleman living in Sulu and who has spent his entire life in various tropical countries said:

The resources of these islands are not even guessed. This land we stand on grows cocoa, sugar, rice, coffee, and hemp, and all of the necessities of life. I hope you are not contemplating such a thing as self-government for the archipelago. It would be a hideous mistake. These people are utterly incapable of participating in government.

May be in some places municipal government, but not self-government. I hope you are not contemplating such a thing as self-government for the archipelago. It would be a hideous mistake. These people are utterly incapable of participating in government.

You must establish government over the islands, because it is incalculably in your interest in the future, and because, if you do not, another day will come when you will do too much to your own harm. Involving the loss of a war for which you will be responsible.

The form of government you should have a governor-general of great ability, firmness, and purity; under him subordinates of discretion and high character; and for the municipalities, all appointed by their superiors and not chosen by the people. You should not allow the common people to elect their own officials for the municipalities, all appointed by their superiors and not chosen by the people. You should not allow the common people to elect their own officials for the municipalities, all appointed by their superiors and not chosen by the people.

Make English the language of the courts, everything else. Let me impress on you the necessity of conferring your benefits on them quite gradually. If you give them too much too soon, they will not know how to use it, and it will thus be thrown away; but if you give them the blessing of free government gradually, you will find that they will use it with constant gratitude. In the other way you exhaust yourself at the beginning, and besides that you will find that they will not know how to use it.

Here, then, Senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base. That was the one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we let that man sit on the throne of the common people of the Republic, little understands the instincts of our race, who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; but they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to the situation, but the failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

MILITARY SITUATION—OTIS DEFENDED.

The military situation, past, present, and prospective, is no reason for abandonment. Our campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of our acquisition; and, second, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 3,722 officers and men who had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. It was one of the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

It is not fair to complain of our ignorance of the real situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means; we became impatient that it was not finished before it could fairly be commenced; and I pray we may not add that other element of disaster, pausing in the face before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. If we do not act, the lives of our soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians themselves benefited had we made continuous and decisive war; and any other kind of war is criminal because ineffective. We acted towards the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them—a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and paralytic purpose. Let us now be instructed by our own experience.

This, too, has been Spain's course in the Philippines. I have studied Spain's painful military history in these islands. Never sufficient troops; never vigorous action, pushed to conclusive results and a permanent peace; always treating with the rebels while they fought them; always cruel and corrupt when a spurious peace was arranged. This has been Spain's way for three hundred years, until, in 1898, she became a Filipino habit. Never since Magellan landed did Spain put enough troops in the islands for complete and final defeat; never did she intelligently, justly, firmly, administer government in peace.

At the outbreak of the last insurrection in August, 1896, Spain had only 1,500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Manila. In November of that year she had only 10,000 men. The generals in command of these were criticised and assailed in Spain. It is characteristic of Spain that the people at home do not support, but criticise their generals in the field. The Spanish method has always been a mixed policy of peace and war, a contradiction of terms, an impossible combination, rendering war ineffective and peace impossible. This was Compo's plan. It was the American plan. Those who would make it our plan will inherit Blanco's fate and fall.

TRUE MILITARY POLICY.

Mr. President, that must not be our plan. This war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. I am prepared to vote either to make our work thorough or even now to abandon it. A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolute defeat is accomplished on the enemy. To halt before expiring force, every guerrilla band, every armed man is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection.

Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will cease us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to save a present situation, that peace should be established. It is for the tranquillity of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Philippines for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled, not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American Republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

It has been charged that our conduct of the war has been cruel. Senators, it has been the reverse. I have been in our hospitals and seen the Filipino wounded as carefully, tenderly, and as our own. Within our lines they may grow and reap the fruits of absolute liberty. And yet, for kindness was misunderstood, or rather not understood. Senators must remember that we are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. We are dealing with Orientals who are Malays. We are dealing with Malays instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness, forbearance for fear. It could not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of savagery, other hundreds of years of Orientalism, and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and custom.

OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE PEACE.

Our mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness. It has been the application to Spanish Malays of Methods appropriate to New England. Every device of mercy, every method of conciliation, has been employed by the peace-loving President of the American Republic, to the amazement of nations. Before the outbreak our generals in command appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the commission well—General Hughes, Colonel Crowder, and General Smith—moderate, kindly, tactful men of the world; an ideal body for such negotiation. It was treated with contempt.

We smiled at intolerable insult and insolence until the lips of every native in Manila were curled in ridicule for the cowardly Americans. We refrained from all violence until their armed braves crossed the lines in violation of agreement. Then our sentry shot the offender, and he should have been court-martialed had he failed to shoot. That shot was the most fortunate of the war. For there is every reason to believe that Aguinaldo had planned the attack upon us for some nights later. Our sentry's shot brought this attack prematurely on. He arranged for an uprising in Manila to massacre all Americans, the plans for which, in a responsible officer's handwriting, are in our possession. This shot and its results made the awful scheme impossible. We did not strike till they attacked us in force, without provocation. This left us no alternative but war or extinction.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

The patience of our peace-loving President was not even then exhausted. A civil commission was sent to Manila, composed of the president of one of our great universities, a distinguished diplomat and an eminent college professor who had special knowledge of the country and people and also General Otis and Admiral Dewey. These men exhausted the expedients of peace and always were met with the Malay's ready evasion, the Spaniard's habitual defiance. I am personal witness that no effort was neglected by our commission to assure the Filipino people of our good intentions and beneficent purposes. The commission entertained the mestizos of Manila in a way that would have honored the Senate of the United States; the broken faces of the common people secured their sympathy. The commission treated natives, accustomed to blows, with consideration; the agents of Aguinaldo told tales of our pusillanimity to the ignorant rural masses. This remarkable man sent so-called commissions, ostensibly to treat, but really to play with ones. His commissions were composed of generals in uniform. The populace gaped in open admiration when they appeared in Manila. Our representatives of peace talked to them, argued with them, entertained them; the people were impressed with their importance. President Schurman even rode with them through the city. The masses were confirmed in their reverence for their brothers who were thus honored and distinguished. Then the bespangled representatives of the Malay dictator returned to their lord, and the sole effect of these pacific efforts was to make 250,000 natives in Manila think that the only way to win the respect of the American Republic is to fight it.

No, Senators, the friendly methods of peace have been thoroughly tried only to make peace more difficult. The Oriental does not understand our attempt to conciliate. Every effort at Manila so earnestly, so honestly, so thoroughly, and which, with Americans or Europeans, would have so brilliantly succeeded, only delayed the peace it attempted to hasten. There is not now and never was any possible course but ceaseless operations in the field and loyal support of the war at home.

1,500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Manila. In November of that year she had only 10,000 men. The generals in command of these were criticised and assailed in Spain. It is characteristic of Spain that the people at home do not support, but criticise their generals in the field. The Spanish method has always been a mixed policy of peace and war, a contradiction of terms, an impossible combination, rendering war ineffective and peace impossible. This was Compo's plan. It was the American plan. Those who would make it our plan will inherit Blanco's fate and fall.

TRUE MILITARY POLICY.

Mr. President, that must not be our plan. This war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. I am prepared to vote either to make our work thorough or even now to abandon it. A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolute defeat is accomplished on the enemy. To halt before expiring force, every guerrilla band, every armed man is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection.

Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will cease us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to save a present situation, that peace should be established. It is for the tranquillity of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Philippines for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled, not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American Republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

It has been charged that our conduct of the war has been cruel. Senators, it has been the reverse. I have been in our hospitals and seen the Filipino wounded as carefully, tenderly, and as our own. Within our lines they may grow and reap the fruits of absolute liberty. And yet, for kindness was misunderstood, or rather not understood. Senators must remember that we are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals. We are dealing with Orientals who are Malays. We are dealing with Malays instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness, forbearance for fear. It could not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of savagery, other hundreds of years of Orientalism, and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and custom.

OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE PEACE.

Our mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness. It has been the application to Spanish Malays of Methods appropriate to New England. Every device of mercy, every method of conciliation, has been employed by the peace-loving President of the American Republic, to the amazement of nations. Before the outbreak our generals in command appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the commission well—General Hughes, Colonel Crowder, and General Smith—moderate, kindly, tactful men of the world; an ideal body for such negotiation. It was treated with contempt.

We smiled at intolerable insult and insolence until the lips of every native in Manila were curled in ridicule for the cowardly Americans. We refrained from all violence until their armed braves crossed the lines in violation of agreement. Then our sentry shot the offender, and he should have been court-martialed had he failed to shoot. That shot was the most fortunate of the war. For there is every reason to believe that Aguinaldo had planned the attack upon us for some nights later. Our sentry's shot brought this attack prematurely on. He arranged for an uprising in Manila to massacre all Americans, the plans for which, in a responsible officer's handwriting, are in our possession. This shot and its results made the awful scheme impossible. We did not strike till they attacked us in force, without provocation. This left us no alternative but war or extinction.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

The patience of our peace-loving President was not even then exhausted. A civil commission was sent to Manila, composed of the president of one of our great universities, a distinguished diplomat and an eminent college professor who had special knowledge of the country and people and also General Otis and Admiral Dewey. These men exhausted the expedients of peace and always were met with the Malay's ready evasion, the Spaniard's habitual defiance. I am personal witness that no effort was neglected by our commission to assure the Filipino people of our good intentions and beneficent purposes. The commission entertained the mestizos of Manila in a way that would have honored the Senate of the United States; the broken faces of the common people secured their sympathy. The commission treated natives, accustomed to blows, with consideration; the agents of Aguinaldo told tales of our pusillanimity to the ignorant rural masses. This remarkable man sent so-called commissions, ostensibly to treat, but really to play with ones. His commissions were composed of generals in uniform. The populace gaped in open admiration when they appeared in Manila. Our representatives of peace talked to them, argued with them, entertained them; the people were impressed with their importance. President Schurman even rode with them through the city. The masses were confirmed in their reverence for their brothers who were thus honored and distinguished. Then the bespangled representatives of the Malay dictator returned to their lord, and the sole effect of these pacific efforts was to make 250,000 natives in Manila think that the only way to win the respect of the American Republic is to fight it.

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