## SUPPLEMENT TO

The Northwestern

Loup City, Nebraska

The Question of the Hour.

Conclusions Arrived at After Extended Personal Investigation Sen. Beveredge's Great Speech Delivered in the Senate January 9, 1909.

The secretary read the joint resolution (8, 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 slands are territory of the United States; that t 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 in the Philippines and the far East, 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 burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiaing to Almighty God that He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

PEHAPPINES COMMAND THE PACIFIC. in all the oceans. If it should prove a | tive wealth and resources. mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irrretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready

But to hold it will be no mistake. our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacshall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England. Germany or Russia, the commercial securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.

to the Orient and Australia; from the the spot can fail to see that this would isthmian canal to Asia; from all Oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting, dividendpaying fleet, permanently anchored at 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 Re-

VALUE OF CHINA'S TRADE.

China's trade is the mightiest comeign commerce was \$285,738,300 in 1897. of which we, her neighbor, 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 foreign commerce is only beginning. Her resources, her possibilities, her wants, all are undeveloped. She has only 340 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, 20,000 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 fails to put America where she may command that trade. Germany's Chinese trade is increasing like magic. She has established ship lines and secured a tangible foothold on China's very soil. Russia's Chinese trade is growing beyond belief. She is spending the revenues of the Empire to finat San Fernando, our extreme front. General Lawton, that perfect soldier, whom I have seen ride, order, plan, and execute all day, and then ride, order, plan, and execute all day, and then ride, order, plan, and execute all night, until the along China's very coast; but Manila is nearer China than Yokohama is. The Philippines command the commercial situation of the entire East. Can America best trade with China from ish her railroad into Pekin itself, and America best trade with China from New York is to Pittsburg, what then? nessed by me that would have taxed so it is just the same thing And Manila is nearer Hongkong than Habana is to Washington. And yet American statesmen plan to surrender this commercial throne of the Orient kinds of weather without food or sleep many I met and talked to: where Providence and our soldiers' lives have placed us. When history comes to write the story of that suggested treason to American supremacy and therefore to the spread of American civilization, let her in mercy wrlte that those who so proposed were merely blind and nothing more.

RESOURCES AND IMMENSE SIZE OF THE ISLANDS.

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 mg miles through the archipelago, every moment of the purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I have cruised more than 2 mg miles this proves that this garden of the seas is not the sweltering, steaming, miasmatic swamp that it has been described.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPE—AGUINALDO. It will be hard for Americans who the Climate is simply splendid, even here on the continuous coal mine. The coal is excellent. It is far better than the Japan coal. And there are very rich copper deposits over yonder; nobody ever worked them yet. There is gold here, too. But if they did not command China,

fringed with banana trees. The for- Anglo-Saxon sense. ests of Negros, Mindanao, Mindora, coal of Japan.

sonal observation, but chiefly on the a Filipino Washington.

testimony of foreign merchants in the These conclusions were forced upon wealth of these islands.

This island empire is the last ladn left | developed and unspoiled of their primi- | helpful to a correct understanding of

Nothing is so natural as trade with us the nearest neighbors of all the among many other things: East. Nothing is more natural than to trade with those you know. This is give the first; the character of the and my health was never better. American people supply the last. It is One of the principal business men of powers of the present and the future. rather than let England have a few They have moved nearer to China by feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no

> be their fate if we retired. PHILIPPINE CLIMATE.

The climate is the best Tropic climate in the world. This is the belief of Philippines, of very wide information 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 specified 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 moderate distance from Marile, in the whole archipelago a commercial moderate distance from Marile, in the whole archipelago a commercial moderate distance from Marile, in the country, said:

| In the people and the country, said: laws adapted to it. The reason for this is the ideal tropical climate of the world. Also, it presents every variety of climate. Only a moderate distance from Marile, in the country is another, laws adapted to it. The reason for this is a most marvelous country. The climate is the people of the various islands are of different degrees of culture. Of course, though, it presents every variety of climate. Only a moderate distance from Marile, in the country is a constant to the people of the various islands are of the country. been exhaustive; yet, speaking from that experience, I testify that the cli-Hongkong. And yet on the bare and burning rock of Hongkong our conmitted to take a practical part in mualcipal afstructing race has builded one of the fairs. mercial fact in our future. Her for of the commerce of the East. And the for from Hongkong's heights civilization is irradiating all the Orient. If percent, and we will. And China's this be imperialism, its final end will be the empire of the Son of Man.

post of empire was a smooth and tree- any man now living, said: less mountain, blazing like a ball of season, under severest conditions, I firmly controlled by the Americans. found the weather tolerable and often sun and rain without protection from with the insurgents: either for hours at a time, traveling

in excellent health every time I saw him | not know. their strength even in America. Yet in a way that would prostrate them in the hottest days of our summer in Chiropean business men of Cebu, Iloilo, and Manila work as hard and as many

My own belief is that there are not Paluan, and parts of Luzon are invalu- 100 men among them who comprehend able and intact. The wood of the what Anglo-Saxon self-government in the hands of the natives, even if you allow Philippines can supply the furniture of even means, and there are over 5,000,the world for a century to come. At | 000 people to be governed. I know Cebu the best informed man in the many clever and highly educated men How should they? The whole secret of your most reliable men on the islands, con- Arellano, the chief justice of our sufirmed the statement. Some declare preme court, is a profound lawyer and that the coal is only lignite; but ship a brave and incorruptible man. Macaptains who have used it told me that bini, who, before his capture, was the it is better steamer fuel than the best literary and diplomatic associate of pino, employed in Iloilo, said: Aguinaldo, is the highest type of sub- It all depends upon what Aguinaldo says. The I have a nugget of pure gold picked | tlety and the most constructive mind | common people have absolute faith in him. His up in its present form on the banks of that race has yet produced. Aguinaldo order among those now in rebellion in this isl a Philippine creek. I have gold dust is a clever, popular leader, able, brave, washed out by crude processes of careresourceful, cunning, ambitious, unence. They mean by this the right to manage less ratives from the sands of a Philip- scrupulous, and masterful. He is full their ewn government; make and execute their pine stream. Both indicate great de- of decision, initiative, and authority, tween the Philippine Islands and people of the posits at the source from which they come. In one of the islands great de-He is a natural dictator. His ideas of leaders absolutely control the people. A man posits of copper exist untouched. The government are absolute orders, immineral wealth of this empire of the plicit obedience, or immediate death. ocean will one day surprise the world. He understands the character of his derstand what self-government means. I think I base this statement partly on per- countrymen. He is a Malay Sylla; not

Philippines, who have practically in- me by observing the people in all walks vestigated the subject, and upon the of life in the different islands, and by If you have one thing at one place and another priests. And the mineral wealth is but priests, mestizos, pure Filipinos, and a small fraction of the agricultural every variety of mind, character, and people of this island are very angry because Ne And the wood, hemp, copra, and on down through the entire archipelago other products of the Philippines sup- to the interior of Sulu. These conver- be myde the one language of the island. ply what we need and cannot ourselves sations were had informally at dinner produce. And the markets they will tables, on journeys, and the like, and themselves afford will be immense, always under conditions favorable to Spain's export and import trade, with entire frankness and unreserve. Their the islands undeveloped, was \$11,534. chief value is that they are the real annually, for who believes that we can read to the Senate salients points from public officers. The people are at not do ten times as well as Spain? a few of my notes of these conversa-Manila, as a port of call and exchange, ers. Their names and residences are government by the upper classes. will, in the time of men now living, far here in this book, and will be gladly surpass Liverpool. Behold the ex- given to any Senator or to the Senate business man of Panay: the subject immediately in hand.

one's neighbors. The Philippines make Philippines and the far East said.

The whole country is incalculably rich. With only ordinary good government commerce would the Philosophy of all advertising. The Philippines bring us permanently face and flourished in spite of them. So rich is the to face with the most sought-for eus- country that commerce will survive any situatomers of the world. National pres- tain. The people are incapable of self-governtige, national propinquity, these and ment. The few exceptions are no examples of ture the most it needs, secure from its commercial activity are the elements of the masses. For years to come a very strong colonies the most it consumes. Where commercial success. The Philippines revery good. I have lived here eighteen years,

a providential conjunction of all the | the Philippines and the far East said: alements of trade, of duty, and of I have no fault to find with the climate. My power. If we are willing to go to war health is very fine. Business here, large as it , is only a hint of what will be under a good government. I think it folly to talk of giving feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no market and commands none, what should we not do rather than let England, Germany, Russia, or Japan have Lines of navigation from our ports land, Germany, Russia, or Japan have best. Anything but a strong government at all the Philippines? And no man on first will result in disaster. Do not put courts into their hands at all, except the minor and village courts, of course. You might give them municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful

The most eminent educator in the derate distance from Manila, in the province of Benguet, there are oaks, pines, frost, and you must use blankets at night. It is the richest gross mate of Hoilo. Sulu, Cebu, and even of and most variegated portion of the earth's sur-Manila, greatly surpasses that of face. My health has always been good. You I have working for me about 400 men. They

noblest cities of all the world, and self-government is out of the question. I fear If the ballot were given them, or even if it were noblest cities of all the world, and the insurrection will last for months. The naterior restricted to those 3 or 4 per cent, I should exmade the harborit commands the focus tives are like buffalo bulls-they get mad and then want to fight, no matter whether right or | I think the English language should be imme glory of that achievement illumines them by gentle means; they absolutely misun- ago. It would simplify matters incalculably. No with a rarer splendor than that of derstand such treatment. While in arms they I do not believe the same laws should prevai Waterloo the flag that floats above it, for from Hongkong's heights civilizated by the forest lessly. Otherwise they will keep it up forever. than in Panay. We deserve better laws. The most eminent scientist of the

far East, better informed on the Phil- man of Negros, claiming to be pure Yet fifty years ago this English out- perienced in the whole situation than

fire beneath the tropic suns. The Philippines are beautiful and rich, with the healing seas pouring round will take a long time to prepare the people for and through them and fanned by a thousand winds. Even in the hottest now. I think everything must for years be will take a long time to prepare the people for

One of the large planters and busidelightful; and in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, ness men of the interior of Luzon, a

from place to place on horseback, on last. The very common people care little about the matter, but have been told and believe many bad things about the Americans. What tiring at midnight, week after week, Filipinos want is to govern themselves. No. of get us farther away from the old and hated re

America best trade with China from San Francisco or New York? From San Francisco of course. But if San Francisco were closer to China than New York is to Pittsburg, what then?

Servant of the Republic, who tolls states to kach a neet here to protect that government and this agreement witnessed by a third nation, strong enough to compel the United States to carry out its contract. The people are not capable of self-government, but the leaders are, or will be after some practice; are capable of self-government.

A pure Filipino, a physician, a man they do not succumb. I have seen cor- of wealth, in the interior of Luzon- I do not expect nor desire any government exrespondents exert themselves in all one of the most intelligent men of the cept one founded on and directed by America.

It is hard to say how long this struggle will continue. The leaders say they want indepencago or New York. Major Hoyt, chief medical officer with MacArthur, told me that San Fernando is as healthy as the average American town. The Eu- give them pure government, free speech and all that, they would not understanp and appreciate it at first; would not believe it, as it were.

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.

a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. have not studied them to understand the sea. A very short distance inland you must have fire every night. I have been here more I have ridden hundreds of miles on the the people. They are a barbarous race, than twenty years, and my health is and all islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches. In a decadent race. The Filipino is ever felt heat badly was in New York last September 1. No land in America surpasses in fer-tility the plains and valleys of Luzon. the South Sea Malay, put through a process of three hundred years of su-Rice and coffe, sugar and cocoanuts, perstition in religion, dishonesty in merce is or was, it is only a suggestion to what hemp and tobacco, and many products dealing, disorder in habits of industry, of the Temperate as well as the Tropic and cruelty, caprice, and corruption in cious, though, and once aroused, very obstinate. zone grow in various sections of the government. It is barely possible that Surely they are capable of self-government in municipal natters. Further than that I think archipelago. I have seen hundreds of 1,000 men in all the archipelago are bushels of Indian corn lying in a road capable of self-government in the ple probably do not understand the meaning of elf-government as we do.

There is no doubt that they would be completely dominated by their leaders. I should think it a very risky business to put the courts them a large measure of self-government otherwise. You see; they do not understand the just and pure administration of law through courts. island told me that 40 miles of Cebu's among them, but there are only three mountain chain are practically mountains of coal. Pablo Majia, one of the most reliable means of the most r government. But all will fail if you send any but pure and incorruptible men here

A highly educated and bright Spanish mestizo. claiming to be pure Fili-

No one can tell when the fighting will cease of property expects his working people to have

It is, perhaps, true that the masses do not unthat that there are enough capable and educated men among our people to control government, but I do not believe that the great mass of the people are at all fitted for self-government now have uniform laws over the entire archipelago. unanimous opinion of natives and conversations with foreign merchants, at another place, each will think and say that the other is better treated, and you will have constant and serious disturbance. Already the opinion from San Fernando, in Luzon, gros is given a United States constitution. That lect your plan and execute it. English ought to

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

The common people have no opinions and are ot capable of voting. If the Filipinos estab lished a government, of course the property and 731 annually. Our trade with the opinions of their authors and not pre- islands developed will be \$125,000,000 pared and guarded statements. I will people are fitted to take part in the selection of capable of self-government, though they might be intrusted with purely municipal affairs. Es Consider their imperial dimensions, tions, reserving the names of the per- tablish precisely the same laws through the Luzon is larger and richer than New sons interviewed, except that of Pablo archipelago. English should be universally York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Ohio. Majia, of Cebu, who was assassinated a nothing about self-government or any other Mindanao is larger and richer than all week after I met him, and whose fate government. They are principally interested in New England, exclusive of Maine. I will not risk bringing down on oth- simply living. Self-government can only mean

A prominent but very conservative

haustless markets they command. It in executive session. The conversations themselves, of course, are many lateral to a self-tions the self-tions themselves, are many lateral to a self-tions the s set down between Oceanica and the of them quite extended. I give here though, to trust them with muhicipal adminis-Orient, and those states themselves un- only the brief extracts, which may be tration provided everything is under your final supervision. The proposition to have the same commercial laws everywhere is to plain for ar-"The climate is not bad at all. One of the principal merchants of the see that for yourself. It is very cool here, you see, this evening. My own health has been excellent, and is now. There is very little sickness among the English here.

> A leading mestizo of Negros: The island of Negros is far ahead of any other dand in the culture of its people. Our chief deire now is to get utterly away from Spanish customs, laws, and traditions. I think we are quite capable of self-government under American protection. If the Philippine islands are made ito a Federal system we would expect to be one of the States. Certainly we can manage the local affairs of the island. Exclusive of the savages of the mountains. I should say that 4 or per cent of the people are now capable of ingenly voting

> I think the voting should be by those who own roperty, can read and write, or are established lders and heads of families, with definite residences. I would find out who should yote by having a committee in each town make out a list and then notify the ones chosen. Cer tainly I would expest the common people to follow the advice of the leaders and vote for whom the leaders said. I should think my own employes would take my view of a situation. It you give us a government where justice is ad ministered without corruption or delay, property protected without a fee, free speech insured commercial language provided, the people will be satisfied.

Spain did none of this, but the reverse. That and was, our complaint. English should be archipelago. I do not think the same political lsws should prevail throughout the islands. One place should have laws adapted to it: another,

are good, average examples of the common peo-ple of the island. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-govern ent or in any true sense understand the term.

Very large planter and influential ippines and their people and more ex- Filipino, but with some Chinese blood: The climata is most excellent. The wealth of these islands is beyond imagination. We have only begun to develop our resources. For example, we have not touched our minerals practically. Lands you see yonder are really better for agricultural purposes than this low, fiat coast land. No: it is not yet occupied, and the title to it is still in the government. I have several American plows. They do good work. We do not use more because they are not brought to us. The native plow has served our purpose and our inertia makes it inconvenient to change, if effort is necessary. Yes; enterprising agency would sell many plows. I have several carriages made in Amer Negros, and Sulu I have been in the pure Filipino, with intimate relations | ca. I have from 1,000 to 1,500 men working for me. Of these practically all are capable of It is hard to say how long the contest will self-government. Would they vote as I wished Most assuredly they would. By all means make English the language of these islands as speed

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.

I regard these islands as a commercial unit, and think uniform laws should prevail throughout the driving and think uniform laws should prevail throughout the archipelago. Your young men could be administered freely and without price, property protected, and free speech secured, you ask me if the common people would be satisfied. I do not know anything about government where justice would be administered freely and without price, property protected, and free speech secured, you ask me if the common people would be satisfied. I do not know anything about government was found in the draway from the draway from

limate than this. It is much better than are capable of self-government

Of course the wealthy and educated classes are entirely competent to run the government given, there is no doubt that we of the upper classes can control. I employ 100 men now-in good times more. All these would vote as I

An educator of Cebu, who has lived among the Filipinos for twenty-five years, and one of the ablest men I ever | fought them; always cruel and corrupt

For general health and for all human conditions I consider this climate unexcelled in the world. When I left Europe twenty-five years ago and came here my health was wretched. Here I am never ill. The resources of these isl-

lust; it was scooped up from one of our streams here. It proves the existence of very heavy deposits at the point from which these fragments were washed down. In another Island there are very rich gold deposits. Let me present you with this nugget. It was picked up just as you see it. I have seen nuggets from there as large as your thumb—pure, solid gold. Why are they not worked? Oh, we have been so far out of the world, you know, the world has forgotte is. And, then, the strange apathy of the Span ish Government and people. But that is all good luck for you. These people are not capa-ble of self-government. That ought to be ap-parent to any thoughtful person. They are strangely childish. They do not themselves nderstand clearly what they are fighting for. Independence to the common people means ar archy, or, rather, socialism.

To the upper classes it means rule and dominon. If the ballot were placed in the hands the of 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, we have been teaching them Spanish for three hundred years-working hard, tooand yet they speak it very badly even now. They are not bright; really, they are stupid. The resemble very mach the caribou. They learn with great difficulty. Come into the islands with practical common sense, not scholastically theoretically, or experimentally. The islands can be made a griat blessing to you, and you to them, and they also can be made a great curse.

tropical countries said:

The resources of these islands are not even iessed. This land we staud on grows cocoa, sugar, rice, coffee, and hemp, and all of the finest quality. As to the health the conditions are I am thoroughly acquainted with Asiatic and Pacific Tropics, and I consider this the ideal climate of them all. I hope you are not contemplating such a thing as self-govern ment for the archipelago. It would be a hide ous mistake. They are utterly incapable of

participating in government.

May be in some places municipal government might, to a limited extent, be put in the hands of the more competent natives, but even then, fear, it would work badly. But government of the archipelago by natives would mean continuous civil war. I want you people to succeed but you will ignominiously and frightfully fail if you put up a weak or a half-hearted govern-ment here. I have spent my life here, in Bor-neo, Java, Straits Settlements, and other such places, and I know this people thoroughly. You have a glorious opportunity here and you must

I will close these few extracts, which are a fair sample af a great number of others, all of which I am willing to submit to the Senate at any time, by reading a few suggestions made to me by the first statesman of the far East. who had had practical experience with similar problems. In the course of a long interview he said. You must establish government over the isl

ands, because it is incalculably to your interest in the future, and because, if you do not, an other power will undoubtedly take them, in volving the world in a war for which you will be

As to the form of government, you should have a governor-general of great ability. firm-ness, and purity; under him subofficers of districts, and under them still lower officials for the municipalities, all appointed by their su-periors and not chosen by the people. You should employ the ablest natives in the Government service in some way so as to enlist them on your side. The courts are the most important consideration of all. Don't put the natives in charge of them whatever else you do. In the armed forces, don't give any native superior position for a long time. Den't do too much for them in the beginning. Do it grad-ually, as the years go by. I think your course is clear. Don't treat with them until you defeat them. You must do that. You can not treat and fight.

Make English the language of the courts. chools, and everything else. Let me impress you the necessity of conferring your benefits on them quite gradually. If you give them too much they can not appreciate nor understand nor rightly use it, and it will thus be thrown away; but if you give them the blessing of free institutions gradually, you furnish a source of constant gratitude. In the other way you exhaust yourself at the beginning, and besides fail in your good intentions.

WE WILL HOLD IT FAST, AND HOLD IT FOREVIR.

Here, then, Senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all raphy and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base. To-day we have one of the three great naval, and military points in the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it? That man little knows the common people of the Republic. fast and hold it forever, administering inst government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our they will avail us nothing but delay. academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their 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 abandonmeut. Cur campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failtreaty of peace, General Otis had only legal right to order into battle. The compulsion. It was one o' the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

Those who complain do so in ignorance of the eal situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means: we became impatient that it pausing in the work before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the and settlers saved, and the Indians ineffective. We acted towards the Instructed by our own experience.

ands. Never sufficient troops; never vigorous action, pus'ied to conclusive results and a permanent peace; always treating with the rebels while they when a spurious peace was arranged. This has been Spain's way for three final action in war; never did she ingovernment in peace.

At the outbreak of the last insurrec- field and loyal support of the war at tion, in August, 1896, Spain had only home.

Here I will make you a present of this gold 1.500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Manilla. In November of that year she had only 16 -00 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 Blanco's plan. Those who would make it our plan will inherit Blanco's fate and

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 absolutely final defeat is in-A gentleman living in Sulu and who flicted on the enemy. To halt before has spent his entire life in various every armed force, every guerrilla band, opposing us is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrec-

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 curse us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to salve 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 Fili-pinos 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 tne 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 cared for as our own. Within our lines they may plow and sow and reap and go about the affairs of peace with absolute liberty. And yet all this kindness was misunderstood, or rather not understood. Senators must remember that we 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 eould not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of sav agery, other hundreds of years of Orientalism, and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and cus-

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 experienced in Oriental revolt. Before the outbreak our general in command appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the world which we could occupy for the commission well-General Hughes, any purpose. Our commerce was daily Colonel Crowder, and General Smithturning toward the Orient, and geog- moderate, kindly, tactful men of the world; an ideal body for such negotia-

tion. It was treated with contempt. We smiled at intolerable insult and insolence until the lips of every native in Manila were curling in ridicule for ocean possession of the globe, located the cowardly Americans. We reat the most commanding commercial, frained from all violence until their armed bravos crossed the lines in violation of agreement. Then our sentry shot the offender, and he should have own resources than any equal body been court-martialed had he failed to of land on the entire globe, and shoot. That shot was the most fortupeopled by a race which civilization | nate 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 hot brought little understands the instincts of our | this attack prematurely on. He arrace, who thinks we will not hold it | ranged for an uprising in Manila to massacre all Americans, the plans for which, in a responsible officer's handwriting are in our possession. This burden and lessen our opportunity; but | shot and its results made the awful scheme impossible. We did not strike We may tangle conditions by applying | till they attacked us in force, without provocation. This left us no alternative but war or evacuation. 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 ure to comprehend the immensity of the country and people and also Genour acquisition; and second, by insuf- eral Otis and Admiral Dewey. These ficient force; and, third, by our efforts | men exhaused the expedients of peace. for peace. In February, after the and always were met with the Malay's ready evasion, the Spaniard's habitual 3,722 officers and men whom he had a | delay. I am personal witness that no effort was neglected by our commission terms of enlistment of the rest of his to assure the Filipino people of our troops had expired, and, they fought good intentions and beneficent purvoluntarily and not on legal military poses. The commission entertained the mestizos of Manila in a way that would have honored the Senate of the United States; the brown faces of the common people sneered. The commission treated natives, accustomed to blows, with kindest consideration: the agents of Aguinaldo told tales of our was not finished before it could fairly pusillanimity to the ignorant rural be commenced; and I pray we may not | masses. This remarkable man sent soadd that other element of disaster. | called commissions, ostensibly to treat. but really to play with ours. His commissions were composed of generals gravest mistake we could possibly in uniform. The populance gaped in make, and that is the only danger be- open admiration when they appeared fore us. Our Indian wars would have in Manila. Our representatives of been shortened, the lives of our soldiers | peace talked to them. argued with them, entertained them; the peop'e themselves benefited had we made con- were impressed with their importance. tinuous and decisive war; and any President Schurman even rode with other kind of war is criminal because them through the city. The mastes were confirmed in their reverence for dians as though we feared them, loved | their brothers who were thus honored them, hated them-a mingling of fool- and distinguished. Then the beish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and spangled representatives of the Malay paralytic purpose. Let us now be in- dictator return to their lord, and the sole effect of these pacific efforts was This, too, has been Spain's course in to make 250,000 natives in Manila think the Philippines. I have studied Spain's | that the only way to win the respect painful military history in these isl- of the American Republic is to fight

No, Senators, the friendly methods of peace have been thoroughly tried only to make peace more difficult. The Oriental does not understand our at tempt to conciliate. Every effort a our commission which did its work & hundred years, until insurrection has | Manila so earnestly, so honestly, so become a Filipino habit. Never since | thoroughly, and which, with Ameri-Magellan landed did Spain put enough | cans or Europeans, would have so briltroops in the islands for complete and liantly succeeded. only delayed the peace it attempted to hasten. There telligently, justly, firmly, administer is not now and never was any possible course but ceaseless operations in the