NOMINATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, SEPT

status of the native inhabitants of the terri- and enthusiastic army. No alternative was tories hereby ceded to the United States left to us except ignominious retreat. shall be determined by the Congress."

Eleven days thereafter, on Dec. 21, the following direction was given to the commander of our forces in the Philippines:

The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, it severing the former political relations of the Inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights."

Sent a Commission.

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with | archipelago at the present time. The most the least possible delay, the benefits of a that can be expected of them is to co-oper Denby of Indiana, Professor Dean C. Wor- and municipal affairs. . . . cester of Michigan, and Major General Elwell S. Otis, U. S. A. Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of this duty the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the liy lapse into anarchy, which would excuse earliest possible day in the city of Manila, and to announce by public proclamation their presence and the mission intrusted to the islands among them. Only through them, carefully setting forth that, while the | American occupation, therefore, is the idea military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as pine commonwealth at all conceivable. . . necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

Given Careful Instructions.

"The commissioners will endeavor, without interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report . . . the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive informa tion or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose. . . .

Avoided Harsh Measures.

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the government of the United

'It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American Republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation.'

On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States, and the Congress Immediately appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out its provisions. The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th

of April, 1899. As early as April, 1899, the Philippine commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, endeavored to bring about peace in the islands by repeated conferences with leading Tagalogs representing the so-called government for the islands contemplated in insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered them which they would accept.

Pleased the Natives.

So great was the satisfaction of the insurgent commissioners with the form of government proposed by the American commissioners that the latter submitted the proposed scheme to me for approval, and my action thereon is shown by the cable message following:

"May 5, 1899, Schurman, Manile: Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that, under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a governor general appointed by the President, cabinet appointed by the governor general, a general advisory council elected by the people, the qualifications of elect-

order.

Had to Remain.

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obigations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our fing demanded that force should be met with force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission.

"The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with houor to our selves or with safety to the inhabitants."

After the most thorough study of the peoples of the archipelago the commission reported, among other things:

"Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the wise and generous protection of life and ate with the Americans in the administraproperty to the inhabitants, I appointed in tion of general affairs, from Manila as a January, 1899, a commission consisting of center, and to undertake, subject to Amer-Jacob Gould Schurman of New York, Ad- | lean control or guidance (as may be found miral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Charles necessary) the administration of provincial

Would Invite Anarchy.

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedif it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers, and the eventual division of of a free, self-governing and united Philip-

Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the people of the Philippine Islands."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission antil the rebellion was suppressed, and desiring to place before the Congress the result of their observations, I requested the commission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report, was submitted to Congress.

Duties of the Commission.

In March, 1900, believing that the insurrection was practically ended and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission: William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C Worcester of Michigan, Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Bernard Moses of California. My instructions to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the commission . . . to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, orler and loyalty. . . .

Awalts the Report.

Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the isl ands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War), with their personal recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the

"Beglaning with the 1st day of Septembeginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the litary governor of the islands to this com mission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military gov the last foregoing paragraph or until Con-gress shall otherwise provide.

Legislative Authority.

"Exercice of this legislative authority will actude the making of rules and orders having the effect of law for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds of the Islands; the establish-ment of an educational system throughout the Islands; the establishment of a system secure an efficient civil service; the or ganization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature of which the other matters of a civil nature of which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character. The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided."

Rules for the Interim. Until Congress shall take action I directed

ors to be carefully considered and deternihed, and the governor general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent, principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness.

"The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.

"Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules. "Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules." That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty of property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the Philippine smust be imposed these inviolable rules." That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty of property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules." Plans Native Militia.

"Tagalogs alone active in leading guerrilla warfare. In Negros, Cebu, Rombion, Masbate, Sibuyan, Tabias, Bohol and other philippine Islands little disturbance exists, and civil government eagerly awaited.

"Four years of war and inwiessness in parts of islands have created unsettled conditions.

Native constabulary and militis, which should be organized at once, will end this and the terrorism to which defenseless people are subjected. The natives desire to enilst in these organizations. If judiciously selected and officered, will be efficient forces for maintenance of order, and will permit early material reduction of United States troops.

"Turning islands over to coterle of Tagaleg politicians will bright fair prospects of enormous improvement, drive out capital. quired, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreason-Nigns of Treachery.

In the latter part of May another group of representatives came from the issurged leader. The whole matter was fully because a significant them and promise of acceptance cases with the same offense, or be compelled in any standards, and offerse, or be conspicing the city and state and subscription considerable body of conservative plan for the commission, it appears that he was, by military order of the insurges of the compelled in the state of the insurative plan of the commission, it appears that he was, by military order of the insurative plan of the commission are best set forth in their own words.

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of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people of the duties of citizenship, and for the ordinary avocations of a civiled community of the ordinary avocations of a civiled community of the people of the bilinist of acquire the use of the people of the bilinist of acquire the use of the people of the control of the people of the control of the people of the stands of acquire the use of the people of the control of the people of the stands of acquire the use of the people of the stands of t

be effectively restrained.

consequences resulting from the various dis-turbances which since 1896 have succeeded

turbances which since 1896 have succeeded each other so rapidly, and to provide in some measure for destitute Filipino soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably succeed a general peace, the mili-

tary authorities of the United States will pay 30 pesos to each man who presents a rifle in good condition." Under their instructions the commission.

composed of representative Americans of different sections of the country and from different political parties, whose character

and ability guarantee the most faithful in-telligence and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish stable government un-

der civil control, in which the inhabitants shall participate, giving them epportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared

Quotes the Commission.

This commission, under date of Aug. 21, 1900, makes an interesting report, from which I quote the following extracts:

which I quote the following extracts:

"Hostility against Americans was originally aroused by absurd falsehoods of unscrupulous leaders. The distribution of troops in 300 posts has by contact largely dispelled hostility, and steadily improved temper of people. This improvement is furthered by abuses of insurgents. Large numbers of people long for page 1.

pers of people long for peace and are willing to accept government under the United

"Insurgents not surrendering after defeat divided into smail guerrilla bands under gen-eral officers or became robbers. Nearly all

of the prominent generals and politicians of the insurrection, except Aguinaido, have since been captured or have surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance. "All northern Luzon, except two provinces, substantially free from insurgents. People

busy planting, and asking for municipal or-ganization. Railway and telegraph lines from Manila to Dagupan, 122 miles, not mo-lested for five months.

Plans Native Militia.

for self-government.

Striking Physics from President McKinkey's Letter

Striking Phrases from President McKinley's Letter.

It will be noted that the (Democratic) demand is for the immediate restora-tion of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

We accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and we hope a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it.

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or allenate a foot of the territory thus acquired.

Every effort has been directed to their (Filipinos) peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement or for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization.

The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the republic against both anarchy and

and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combina-tions intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should

For labor a short day is better than a short dollar.

Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions,

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our ex-

We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we

signs.

Civil Service to Rule.

on the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey

Denies Any Compact.

with Aguinaldo nor was any promise of in-dependence made to him at any time." General Merritt arrived in the Philippines

n July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Ad-piral Dewey to the government at Wash-

here is revealed the spirit of the insur-gents as early as July, 1818, before the pro-tocol was signed, while we were still en-gaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

Filipinos Took No Part.

penditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very ma-

. . .

ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sallors.

[mannen mannen

Amnesty Proclaimed.

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands and participate in their government, I directed Gen. MacArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, to issue a proclamation of amnesty, which contained among other statements the following:

"Manila, P. I., June 21, 1900.—By direction of the President of the United States the undersigned announces amnesty, with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future, to all persons who are now, or at any time since Feb. 4, 1809, have been in insurrection against the United States in either a military or civil capacity, and who shall, within a period of ninety days from the date thereof, formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a dec-

Began by Insurgents.

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if Congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagai insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of Congress. They assumed the offensive, they opened fire on our army.

Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the Senate, and while it was being debated in that body, and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on Feb. 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army, after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred. before it occurred.

Only One Course Open.

Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the Senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind where the responsibility rests for the shedding of

American blood. Mith all the exaggerated phrasemaking of this electoral contest, we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention. We being diverted from the real contention. We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

ported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government sultable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and the Congress which added its treaty and the Congress which added

directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for vation whatever, excepting that persons who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty.

Pay Offered for Rifles.

"In order to mitigrate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various dissigns."

In order to mitigrate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various dissigns. Nobody who will avail himself of the facts

Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved, if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the the nece search army, they would later turn upon army. that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Maulia they had resolved, if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army, they would later turn upon us, which they did murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification.

There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were assured them that they should have independence. To such let me repeat the facts:

On the effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by Gen. MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippoines and the realization of a stable on the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898:

"Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This soundron full possession under the protocol with date of June 6, 1898:

"Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces ful possession under the protocol with Spain, awaiting the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Senate, and which has since been in active, open rebellion against the United States. We are asked to transfer our sovereignty to a small minority in the Islands without consulting the majority and to abandon the largest portion of the population, which has been loyal to us, to the crueitles of the guerrilla insurgent bands. In the report of the first Philippine com-mission, submitted on Nov. 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said: "No alliance of any kind was entered into

Demands Cannot Be Met. More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government, and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a sta-ble government in the interest of those who ngton said:

Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may urrender at any moment. Merritt's most lifficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening to-

and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereighty and fired upon our soldiers, and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitious designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philipplaes and still more in excess of what will be accessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. A military support of authority not our own, as thus proposed, is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which by their policy would of necessity be established in its most officnsive form.

No Premium on Murder.

Sufferers in Pekin.

The nation is filled with gratitude that the little band, among them many of our own blood, who for two months had been subjected to privations and peril by the attacks of pittless hordes at the Chinese capital, exhibiting supreme courage in the face of despair, have been enabled by God's favor to greet their rescuers and find shelter under their own flag.

The people not alone of this land, but of all lands, have watched and prayed through the terrible stress and protracted agony of the helpless sufferers in Pekin. On Aug. 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine

No Premium on Murder.

ernment of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable govern-ment for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflict and possibly costly wars.

wars. wars.
Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference and will continue so in our present relations. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the Senate of the United States for its ratification. The Senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the Congress seems not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated \$20,000,000 provided by the treaty. provided by the treaty.

Title Is Unquestionable.

If any who favored its ratification believed

If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title they were not sincere. Our title is practically identical with that under which we hold our territory acquired since the beginning of the government, and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession. What, then, is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not, it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines, with the sovereignty and authority which enables us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety and progress, or whether we shall be responsible for the forcible and arbitrary government of a minority, without sovereignty and authority on our part, and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate, which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them. ing them.

Obligations of War.

so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the Insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only opponents in the minds of the Filipinos, that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

Prolongs the Rebellion.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnester of master of strain of Hypocrisy.

There is a strain of ill-concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guarantees to the people of the Philippines, while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponent may distrust them selves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and partiolism of the majority of the people who are opposed to them. They may fear the worst form of imperial-its my with the spirit and faith of the fathers of the people who are opposed to them. They may fear the worst form of imperial-its my with the spirit and faith of the fathers of the people who are opposed to them.

The Republican party doesn't have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence. That immortal instrument of the fathers remained unexecuted until the people, under the lead of the Republican party in the awful clash of battle, turned its promise.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolon

belonging to the United States. Doctrine of Lincoln.

If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their frightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats. Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico

and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperial-

ism?
The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the Republic against both anarchy and imperial-

ism.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to as already

age grateful to our own soldiers and sailors and marines, and to all the brave men who, though assembled under many standards.