# HIS LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

## President McKinley Gives to the Public the Document Eagerly Looked For.

## DEALS WITH ALL THE REAL ISSUES

### Country Has Prospered Under Republican Rule and the Party is Ready to Come Before the People on the Record It Has Made in Following the Path of Duty—The Philippine Question and Our Foreign Dependencies in General.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON.—Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman Notification Committee: My Dear Sir: The nomination of the republican national convention of June 19, 1900, for the office of president of the United States, which as the official representative of the convention you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give to it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and endorses the legislation of the present congress by which that standard had been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is therefore secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government. In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first were fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, 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.

As in 1896 the three silver parties are united under the same leader, who, immediately after the election of that year, in an address to the bimetallists, said:

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the moneychangers against the welfare of the human race, and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The silver democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says, "we reiterate the demand that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level and as a part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration 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.

Turning to the other associated parties we find in the populist national platform adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the people's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the banknotes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by the law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

The platform of the silver party adopted at Kansas City July 6, 1900 makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the constitution itself, and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate. It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is therefore the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue. Will the American people, through indifference or fancied security, hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the last year and revive the danger of the silver standard with all of the inevitable evils of scattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896.

WORK OF REPUBLICAN CONGRESS.

The republican party remains faithful to its principle of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers; and of reciprocity which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of republican victory to be written into public law.

The present congress has given to Alaska a territorial government, for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy. In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of $25,000, for the benefit of villages and rural communities and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

During the last year more than $43,000,000 of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the treasury and in addition $25,000,000 of 2 per cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific railroad bonds issued by the government in aid of the roads in the sum of nearly $44,000,000 have been paid since December 31, 1897. The treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on September last $135,419,000, in addition to the $150,000,000 gold reserve held in the treasury. The government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, $124,423,000 being received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been. It was $21.10 in 1896. It has increased to $26.50 on July 1, 1900, and $.85 on September 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was $1,506,434,966; on July 1, 1900, it was $2,062,425,409, and $2,056,663,042 on September 1, 1900.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic. I rejoice that the southern, as well as the northern states, are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The moneylender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop, and the labor producing them, have advanced in value.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our expenditures the congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

Five years ago we were selling government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par, bearing 2 per cent interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the last three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever moneyed stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of South Africa the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well known traditional policy. It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the government of the South African republics, to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like request of other powers the United States is the only one which complied. The British government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

EXTENSION OF MERCHANT MARINE

Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign shipowners over $165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of congress to this subject in my several annual messages.

I now reiterate these views.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our eastern and western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government, and it is believed that the next session of congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation. Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several states should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workingmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products employment should continue to wait upon labor and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency. For labor a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessens the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation. Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican war and while many of the veterans of the civil war are still spared to us their numbers are rapidly diminishing and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence. These, with the soldiers of the Spanish war, will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered and will be. Preference should be given to the soldiers, sailors and marines, their widows and orphans, with respect to employment in the public service.

AS TO FOREIGN DEPENDENCIES.

We have been in possession of Cuba since January 1, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquility. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 45,000 soldiers to less than 6,000. An election has been ordered to be held on September 15, under a fair election law, already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention, under the same order, is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guaranties to the people of Cuba.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation and in those respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on May 1 last, 85 per cent of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent on March 1, 1902, or earlier if the legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of 15 per cent of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The duties thus paid and collected, both in Porto Rico and the United States, are paid to the government of Porto Rico and no part thereof is taken by the national government. All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of $2,250,523.21, paid at the custom houses in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above mentioned act of congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this we have expended for relief, education and improvement of roads the sum of $1,513,084.95. The United States military force in the island has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500 men, and native Porto Ricans constitute for the most part the local constabulary.

Under the new law and the inauguration of civil government there has been a gratifying revival of business. The manufacturers of Porto Rico are developing; its imports are increasing; its tariff is yielding increased returns; its fields are being cultivated; free schools are being established. Notwithstanding the many embarrassments incident to a change of national conditions, Porto Rico is rapidly showing the good effects of its new relations to this nation.

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question, and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing. It will be seen that the power of the government has been used for the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

On the 25th of April, 1898, congress declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila bay. On May 19, 1898, Major General Merritt, U. S. A., was placed in command of the military expedition to Manila, and directed among other things, to immediately "publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any part or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose, will receive the reward of its support and protection."

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish fleet in attempting to escape from Santiago harbor, was destroyed by the American fleet, and on July 17, 1898, the Spanish garrison in the city of Santiago surrendered to the commander of the American forces.

Following these brilliant victories, on the 12th day of August, 1898, upon the initiative of Spain, hostilities were suspended and a protocol was signed with a view to arranging terms of peace between the two governments. In pursuance thereof I appointed as commissioners the following distinguished citizens to conduct the negotiations on the part of the United States: Hon. William R. Day of Ohio, Hon. William P. Frye of Maine, Hon. Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, Hon. George Gray of Delaware and Hon. Whitelaw Reid of New York. In addressing the peace commission before its departure for Paris, I said:

"It is my wish that throughout the negotiations entrusted to the commission the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations. We had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest. Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle and in the final arbitrament of force this country was impelled solely by the purpose of relieving grievous wrongs and removing long existing conditions which disturbed its tranquillity, which shocked the moral sense of mankind and which could no longer be endured.

"It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action.

"Our aim in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization, rather than to ambitious designs.

"Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our alms in Manila imposes upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the ruler of nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

The treaty of peace was concluded on December 10, 1898. By its terms the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands was ceded by Spain to the United States. It was also provided that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the congress." Eleven days thereafter, on December 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, in 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."

PHILIPPINE COMMISSION.

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands and to secure with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman of New York, Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N., Hon. Charles Denby of Indiana, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan and Major General Elwell Otis, U. S. A.

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 Tagalos, representing the so-called insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered to them which they would accept. 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, Manila: Yours of the 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 electors to be carefully considered and determined 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."

In the latter part of May another group of representatives came from the insurgent leader. The whole matter was fully discussed with them and promise of acceptance seemed near at hand. They assured our commissioners they would return after consulting with their leader, but they never did.

As a result of the views expressed by the first Tagalog representative favorable to the plan of the commission it appears that he was, by military order of the insurgent leader, stripped of his shoulder straps, dismissed from the army and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The views of the commission are best set forth in their own words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat.

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by 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 honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission until 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.

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

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands, and participate in their government, I directed General 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 February 4, 1899, 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 hereof, formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States and over the Philippine islands. The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation 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. * * *

"In order to mitigate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances 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 military 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 guaranty the most faithful intelligence and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish stable government under civil control, in which the inhabitants shall participate, giving them opportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared for self-government.

This commission, under date of August 21, 1900, makes an interesting report.

The commission is confident that "by a judicious customs law, reasonable land tax and proper corporation franchise tax, imposition of no greater rate than that in the average American state, will give less annoyance and with peace will produce revenues sufficient to pay the expenses of efficient government, including militia and constabulary." They "are preparing a stringent civil service law, giving equal opportunity to Filipinos and Americans, with preference for the former where qualifications are equal, to enter by lowest rank and by promotion reach the head of the department. * * * Forty-five miles of railroad extension under negotiation will give access to a large province rich in valuable minerals a mile high, with strictly temperate climate. * * * Railroad construction will give employment to many and communication will furnish market to vast stretches of rich agricultural lands."

The report states that there are "calls from all parts of the islands for public schools, school supplies and English teachers, greater than the commission can provide until a comprehensive school system is organized. Night schools for teaching English to adults are being established in response to popular demand. Native children show aptitude in learning English; Spanish is spoken by a small fraction of the people and in a few years the medium of communication in the courts, public offices and between different tribes will be English; creation of a central government within eighteen months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the federal constitution, are to be secured to the people of the Philippines and will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education and political enlightenment."

THERE WAS NO ALLIANCE AT ALL.

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation. Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization and for the protection of the vast majority of the population, who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

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 should 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 in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have independence. To such let me repeat the facts. On May 26, 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 squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession."

In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on November 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said:

"No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

General Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington said: "Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical in Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army." Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgents as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

On August 13 Manila was captured and of this and subsequent events the Philippine commission says: "When the city of Manila was taken August 13 the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to looting the city and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of General Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. All these demands were refused.

Generals Merritt, Greene and Anderson, who were in command at the beginning of our occupation, and until the surrender of Manila, state that there was no allegiance with the insurgents and no promise to them of independence. On August 17, 1898, General Merritt was instructed that there must be no joint occupation of Manila with the insurgents. General Anderson, under date of February 10, 1900, says that he was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader, and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promises whatever. He adds: "He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity; that I could not acknowledge his government, because I had no authority to do so."

Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the Orient was opened to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable moment?

And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name?

Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the senate of the United States?

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 alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other and the president had no authority to do either if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

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 Tagal 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 the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on February 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 self-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. 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 of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrase-making of this electoral contest, we are in danger of 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. 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 give them self-government when 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 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 evil can result from the hopes raised by our 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, the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized and the powers of government over all the other peoples of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

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 General MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

The American people are asked by our opponents to yield the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines to a small fraction of the population, a single tribe out of eighty or more inhabiting the archipelago, a fraction which wantonly attacked the American troops in Manila while in rightful 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 cruelties of the guerilla insurgent bands. 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 stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty 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 Philippines and still more in excess of what will be necessary 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 offensive form.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the peaceful Filipinos and would place at the mercy of dangerous adventurers the lives and property of the natives and foreigners. It would make possible and easy the commission of such atrocities as were secretly planned to be executed on the 22d of February, 1899, in the city of Manila, when only the vigilance of our army prevented the attempt to assassinate our soldiers and all foreigners and pillage and destroy the city and its surroundings. In short, the proposition of those opposed to us is to continue all the obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety. Our responsibility is to remain, but our power is to be diminished. Our obligation is to be no less, but our title is to be surrendered to another power, which is without experience or training, or the ability to maintain a stable government at home and absolutely helpless to perform its international obligations with the rest of the world. To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title while our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly preserve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice and stable conditions as ours. Neither congress nor the executive can establish a stable government in these islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority and our flag. And this we are doing.

We would not do it as a protectorate power so completely or so successfully as we are doing it now. As the sovereign power we can initiate action and shape means to ends and guide the Filipinos to self-development and self-government. As a protectorate power we could not initiate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity yet to go alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from being involved in dangerous complications; in the other we could not protect even the Filipinos until after their trouble had come. Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government 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 conflicts and possibly costly wars. Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference and will continue so in our present relation. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guaranty 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. 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 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.

There are those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequences, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treaties must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the republican party was builded and now rests. Liberty is the great republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which 1,000,000 lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it a lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave. There is a strain of ill-concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guaranties to the people of the Philippines, while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponents may distrust themselves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and patriotism of the majority of the people, who are opposing them; they may fear the worst form of imperialism with the helpless Filipinos in their hands; but if they do, it is because they have parted with the spirit and faith of the fathers and have lost the virility of the founders of the party which they profess to represent.

Te republican party does not 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 promises into fulfillment. It wrote into the constitution the amendments guaranteeing political equality to American citizenship and it has never broken them or counseled others in breaking them. It will not be guided in its conduct by one set of principles at home and another in the new territory belonging to the United States.

If our apponents 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 rightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats.

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 imperialism?

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 imperialism.

The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag and the common sacrifices for its honor so conspicuously shown by the men of the north and south in the Spanish war, have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever again divide us. The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions and with high resolves that they "shall not perish from the earth."

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM M'KINLEY.