

ON THE PHILIPPINES.

Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, Makes a Great Speech.

Value of the Islands—Military Situation—The American Policy—Powers of the Constitution.

On Tuesday, January 9, Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, gave the senate and the people the benefit of his visit to the Philippine islands, and in a lengthy and forceful address voiced his approval of President McKinley's policy in handling the situation, and set forth a wise plan for the future government of the new addition to United States territory. Following is Senator Beveridge's speech almost in its entirety:

"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 limitless 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 thanking to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

Philippines Command the Pacific.
"This island empire is the last land left in all the ocean. If it should prove a mistake to abandon the islands, once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will; every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

"But to hold it will be no mistake. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia.



SENATOR BEVERIDGE.

The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture all it needs—secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than England, Germany or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases in her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the east. Lines of navigation from our ports to the orient and Australia; from the Isthmian canal to Asia; from all oriental ports to Australia, converge at and separate from the Philippines. They are a self-supporting, dividend-paying fleet, permanently anchored 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 republic."

Senator Beveridge here set forth the value of China's trade and the resources and immense size of the islands.

"We Will Hold It Fast, and Forever."

"Here, then, senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval or military base. To-day we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval and military points in the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it? That man little knows the common people of the republic, who thinks we will not hold it fast, and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; we may avoid us by making but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our only life in the end.

Military Situation—Ours Defended.

"The military situation, past, present and prospective, is no reason for abandonment. Our campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immediacy of our acquisition, and, second, by insufficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, Ota had only 3,722 officers and men whom he had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of an enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. Those who complain do so in ignorance of the real situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means; we became impatient that it was not finished before it could fairly be commenced; and I pray

we may not add that other element of disaster, pausing in the work before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. Our Indian wars would have been shortened, the lives of soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians themselves benefited, had we made continuous and decisive wars; and any other kind of war is a crime against humanity. We acted towards the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them—a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought and paralytic purpose. Let us now be instructed by our own experience.

"This, too, has been Spain's course in the Philippines. Never sufficient troops; never vigorous action, pushed to conclusive results with a permanent peace, always treating with the rebels while they fought them; always cruel and corrupt when a spurious peace was arranged. This has been Spain's way for 300 years, until insurrection became a Filipino habit. Never since Magellan landed did Spain put enough troops in the islands for complete and final action in war; never did she intelligently, justly, firmly, administer government in peace. At the outbreak of the last insurrection in August, 1896, Spain had only 1,500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Manila. In November of that year she had only 10,000 men. The generals in command of these were criticized and assailed in Spain. It is characteristic of Spain that the people at home do not support but criticize 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 failure.

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 inflicted on the enemy. Every armed force, every guerrilla band opposing us is dispersed or exterminated, will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection. Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will curse us. It is not to serve the purpose of the hour, it is not to have 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 Filipinos for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled, not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American republic over the Pacific and throughout the east till the end of time.

"It has been charged that our conduct of the war has been cruel. Senators, it has been the reverse. I have been in our hospitals and seen the Filipinos 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 are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with orientals. We are dealing with Malays who are instructed in Spanish methods. They mistake kindness for weakness; forbearance, for fear. It could not be otherwise unless you could erase hundreds of years of savagery, other hundreds of years of orientalism and still other hundreds of years of Spanish character and custom.

Our Efforts to Secure Peace.

"Our mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness. It has been the application to Spanish Malays of methods appropriate to New England. Every device of mercy, every method of conciliation has been employed by the peace-loving president of the American republic to the amazement of nations experienced in oriental revolt. Before the outbreak our military governor of the islands appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the commission well—Gen. Hughes, Col. Crowder and Gen. Smith—moderate, kindly, tactful men of the world—an ideal body for such negotiation. It was treated with contempt. We smiled at intolerable insult and insolence until the lips of every native in Manila were curling in ridicule for the cowardly Americans. We refrained from all violence until their armed bravos crossed the line in violation of agreement. Then our sentry shot the offender, and he should have been court-martialed had he failed to shoot. That shot was the most fortunate of the war. For Aguinaldo had planned the attack upon us for two nights later; our sentry's shot brought this attack prematurely on. He had arranged for an uprising in Manila to massacre all Americans, the plans for which, in Sandiego's handwriting, are in our possession; this shot made that awful scheme impossible. We did not strike till they attacked us in force, without provocation; this left us no alternative but war or evacuation.

Senator Beveridge here stated that the Filipinos are utterly incapable of self-government, that they are an indolent people and would not enter into competition with our labor. He outlined a plan of government, saying that the English or Dutch systems would be impossible and a protectorate impracticable. Continuing, he said:

"Our government and our administrators must be examples. You cannot teach the Filipino by precept. An object lesson is the only lesson he comprehends. He has no conception of pure, orderly, equal, impartial government, under equal laws justly administered, because he has never seen such a government. He must be shown the simplest results of good government by actual example in order that he may begin to understand its most elementary principles.

"Such a government will have its effect upon us here in America, too. Model administration there will be an example created by ourselves for model administration here; and our own example is the only one Americans ever heed. It is not true that charity begins at home. Selfishness begins there; but charity begins abroad and ends in its full glory in the home. It is not true that perfect government must be achieved at home before administering it abroad; its exercise abroad is a suggestion, an example and a stimulus for the best government at home. It is as if we expected ourselves upon a living screen and held our selves at work. England to-day is the home of ideal municipal governments. England's administration of Bombay did not divert attention from Glasgow, and Glasgow is to-day the model for all students of municipal problems. England's sanitary regeneration of filthy Calcutta made it clearer that Birmingham must be regenerated, too, and to-day Birmingham is the municipal admiration of all instruct-

ed men. England's miracle in Egypt, surpassing the ancient one of turning rods into serpents because the modern miracle turns serpents into men, deserts into gardens, famine into plenty, England's work in the land of the Sphinx has solved its profound riddle, exalted not England only, but all the world, by its noble example, and thrilled to the soul every citizen of Great Britain with civic pride in the achievements of the greatest civilizing empire of the world. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters and after many days it shall return unto you.' 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be meted unto you again.'

Dominant Notes of Our First and Second Centuries.

"Mr. President, self-government and internal development have been the dominant notes of our first century; administration and the development of other lands will be the dominant notes of our second century. And administration is as high and holy a function as self-government, just as the care of a trust estate is as sacred an obligation as the management of our own concerns. Our aim is the first, to violate the Divine law of human society which makes of us our brother's keeper. And administration of good government, that exalted estate toward which all civilization tends. Administration of good government is not denial of liberty. For what is liberty? It is not savagery. It is not the exercise of individual will. It is not dictatorship. It involves government, but not necessarily self-government. It means law. First of all, it is a common rule of action applying equally to all within its limits. Liberty means protection of property and life without price, free speech without intimidation, justice without purchase or delay, government without favor or favorites. What will best give all this to the people of the Philippines? American administration developing them gradually toward self-government, or self-government by a people before they know what self-government means?

True Interpretation of Declaration of Independence.

"The declaration of independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the declaration would be wrong, just as the articles of confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the declaration, was found to be wrong. The declaration has no application to the present situation. It is written by self-governing men, for self-governing men. It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate. The declaration applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very elect of self-governing peoples to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas? And you, who say the declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian? And if you deny it to the Indian at home, how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

Phrase, "Consent of the Governed," Misunderstood.

"The declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's inalienable rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. 'Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' are the important things; consent of the governed is one of the means to those ends. If 'any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it,' says the declaration. 'Any form' includes all forms. Thus the declaration itself recognizes other forms of government than those resting on the consent of the governed. The word 'consent' itself recognizes other forms. For 'consent' means the understanding of the thing to which the 'consent' is given; and there are people in the world who do not understand any form of government. And the sense in which 'consent' is used in the declaration is broader than mere understanding; it means participation in the government 'consented' to. And yet these people who are not capable of 'consenting' to any form of government must be governed. And so, the declaration contemplates all forms of government which secure the fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is not the consent of the governed, but the consent of the people, that will best secure these ends, as in the case of people capable of self-government; other appropriate forms when people are not capable of self-government. And so the authors of the declaration themselves governed the Indian without his consent; the inhabitants of Louisiana without their consent; and, ever since, the sons of the makers of the declaration have been governing not by theory, but by practice, after the fashion of our government, now by one form, now by another, but always for the purpose of securing the great, eternal ends of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, not in the savage, but in the civilized meaning of those terms—life according to orderly methods of civilized society; liberty regulated by law; pursuit of happiness limited by the pursuit of happiness by every other man. If this is not the meaning of the declaration, our government itself denies the declaration every time it places a representative of any but a republican form of government, such as that of the sultan, the czar or other absolute autocrats, whose governments, according to the opposition's interpretation of the declaration, are spurious governments, because the people governed have not 'consented' to them?

Constitutional Power to Govern as We Please.

"Senators in opposition are stopped from denying our constitutional power to govern the Philippines as circumstances may demand. For such power is admitted in the case of Florida, Louisiana, Alaska. How, then, is it denied in the Philippines? Is there a geographical interpretation to the constitution? Do degrees of longitude fix constitutional limitations? Does a thousand miles of ocean diminish constitutional power more than a thousand miles of land? The ocean does not separate us from the field of our duty and endeavor. It joins us, an established highway needing no repair and landing us at any point desired. The seas do not separate the Philippine islands from us or from each other. The seas are highways through the archipelago, which would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to construct if they were land instead of water. Land may separate men from their desired ends, but Russia has been centuries in crossing Siberian wastes; the Puritans crossed the Atlantic in brief and flying weeks. If the Boers must have traveled by land, they would never have reached the Transvaal; but they sailed on Liberty's ocean; they walked on civilization's untaxed highway, the welcoming sea. Our ships habitually called around the cape and anchored in California's harbors, before a single trail

had lined the desert with the whitening bones of those who made it. No! No! The ocean unites us; steam unites us; electricity unites us; all the elements of nature unite us to the region where duty and interest call us. There is, in the ocean, no constitutional argument against the march of the flag, for the oceans, too, are ours. With more extended coast lines than any nation of history; with a commerce vast and greater than any other people have ever dreamed of; and that commerce set only in its beginnings; with naval traditions equaling those of England, or of Greece, and the work of our navy only just begun; with the air of the ocean in our nostrils and the blood of a sailor ancestry in our veins; with the shores of all continents calling us, the great republic, before I die, will be the acknowledged lord of the world's high seas. And over them, the republic will hold dominion by virtue of the strength God has given it, for the peace of the world and the betterment of man.

Words of Empire Expressly in Constitution.

"No; the oceans are not limitations of the power which the constitution expressly gives congress to govern all territory the nation may acquire. The constitution declares that 'Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States.' Not the northwest territory only; not Louisiana or Florida only; not territory on this continent only, but any territory anywhere belonging to the nation. The founders of the nation were not provincial. Theirs was the geography of the world. They were soldiers as well as landmen, and they knew that where our ships should go our flag might follow. They had the logic of progress and they knew that the republic they were planting must, in obedience to the laws of our expanding race, necessarily develop into the greater republic which the world beholds to-day, and into the still mightier republic which the world will finally acknowledge as the arbiter, under God, of the destinies of mankind. And so our fathers wrote into the constitution these words of growth, of expansion, of empire if you will, unlimited by geography or climate or by anything but the vitality and possibilities of the American people; 'Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States.'

Power Implied to Govern as We Please.

"The power to govern all territory the nation may acquire would have been in congress if the language affirming that power had not been written in the constitution. For not all powers of the national government are expressed. Its principal powers are implied. The written constitution is but the index of the living constitution. Had this not been true the constitution would have failed. For the people in any event would have developed and progressed. And if the constitution had not had the capacity for growth corresponding with the growth of the nation, the constitution would and should have been abandoned as the articles of confederation were abandoned. For the constitution is not immortal in itself, it is not useful even in itself. The constitution is immortal and even useful only as it serves the orderly development of the nation. The nation alone is immortal. The nation alone is sacred. The army is its servant. The navy is its servant. The president is its servant. This senate is its servant. Our laws are its methods. Our constitution is its instrument. This is the golden rule of constitutional interpretation: The constitution was made for the people; not the people for the constitution. Hamilton recognized this golden rule when he formulated the doctrine of implied powers. Marshall recognized it when he applied that doctrine to constitutional interpretation, in McCulloch vs. Maryland. Congress recognized it when it provided for internal improvements. The supreme court of the republic recognized it when it confirmed the act of congress in making the promissory notes of the republic legal tender for debts. Washington recognized it when he sent the nation's soldiers to suppress local riot in 1794; and Lincoln, the soul and symbol of the common people, recognized the doctrine of implied powers in every effort he made to save the nation. There is no power expressed in the constitution to charter a bank; and, although the subject was familiar to the framers of the constitution who still remained silent on it, Marshall said that this power was implied. There is no power expressed in the constitution to make internal improvements; and although it was a subject painfully before the framers of the constitution who yet remained silent upon it congress said it is implied. There is no power expressed in the constitution, by almost the reverse, to make anything but gold and silver legal tender for payment of debts; the supreme court declared it is implied. There is no power expressed in the constitution to maintain order in a state with the nation's soldiers unless the state first calls for aid; Washington, Lincoln and Cleveland said it is implied. The legislative, the executive and the judicial departments of our government have recognized and confirmed the doctrine of implied powers by which alone the constitution lives, the people make progress and the republic marches forward to its imperial destiny. 'The letter killeth; but the spirit giveth life.'

May Govern Under Any Form We Please.

"The nation's power to make rules and regulations for the government of its possessions is not confined to any given set of rules or regulations. It is not confined to any particular formula of laws or kind of government or type of administration. Where do we find the constitutional warrant for any special kind of government in 'territory belonging to the United States'? The language affirming our power to govern such territory is as broad as the requirements of all possible situations. And there is nothing in the constitution to limit that comprehensive language. The very reverse is true. For power to administer government anywhere and in any manner the constitution demands would have been in congress if the constitution had been silent; not merely because it is a power inherent in and an attribute of nationality; not even because it might be inferred from other specific provisions of the constitution; but because it is the power most necessary for the ruling tendency of our race—the tendency to explore, expand and grow, to sail new seas and seek new lands, subdue the wilderness, revitalize decaying peoples and plant civilized and civilizing governments over all the globe. For the makers of the constitution were of the race that produced Hawkins, and Drake, and Raleigh, and Smith, and Winthrop, and Penn. They were of the great exploring, pioneering, colonizing and governing race who went forth with trade or gain or religious liberty as the immediate occasion for their voyages, but really because they could not help it; because the blood within them commanded them; because their racial tendency is as resistless as the currents of the sea or the process of the suns or any other elemental movement of nature, of which that racial tendency itself is the most majestic. And when they wrote the constitution they did not mean

to negative the most elemental characteristic of their race, of which their own presence in America was an expression and an example. You cannot interpret a constitution without understanding the race that wrote it. And if our fathers had intended a reversal of the very nature and being of their race, they would have so declared in the most emphatic words our language holds. But they did not, and in the absence of such words the power would remain which is essential to the strongest tendency of our practical race, to govern wherever we are, and to govern by the methods best adapted to the situation. But our fathers were not content with silence, and they wrote in the constitution the words which affirm this essential and imperial power.

The Whole Question Elemental.

"Mr. President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country, even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this, the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race, He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the Divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress; guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us. 'Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things.'

"What shall history say of us? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted our American glory, forgot our sacred profit even because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter's eye and the quibbler's mind? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined that great commission? Our fathers would not have had it so. Not they founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration. They planted no sluggish people, passive while the world's work calls them. They established no reactionary nation. They unfurled no retreating flag.

God's Hand in All.

"That flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares halt it now—when history's largest events are carrying it forward, and when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow. How comes it that our first century closes with the process of consolidating the American people into a unit just accomplished, and quick upon the stroke of that great hour presses upon us our world opportunity, world duty, and world glory which none but a people welded into an indivisible nation can achieve or perform? Blind, indeed, is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary, indeed, is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven, indeed, is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that dares not win a glory so immortal.

Do you tell me that it will cost us money?

"When did Americans ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremendous toll required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves, has ever been done with ease? Even our bread must be earned by the sweat of our faces. Why are we charged with power such as no people ever knew, if we are not to use it in a work such as no people ever wrought? Who will dispute the Divine meaning of the fable of the talents? Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is indeed a heavier price than all combined. And yet as a nation every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished, has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who have died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men and women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing. Who would tear from that sacred banner the glorious legends of a single battle where it has waved on land or sea? What son of a soldier of the flag, whose father fell beneath it on any field, would surrender that proud relic to the custody of a king? In the cause of civilization, in the service of the republic anywhere on earth, Americans consider wounds the noblest decorations man can win and count the giving of their lives a glad and precious duty. Pray God that spirit never fails. Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend, like the story of the Old American faith in our mission and our might a dream dissolved, and the glory of our mighty race departed.

"And that time will never come. We will renew our youth at the fountain of new and glorious deeds. We will exalt our reverence for the flag by carrying it to a noble future as well as by remembering its ineffable past. Its immortality will not pass, because everywhere and always we will acknowledge and discharge the solemn responsibilities our sacred flag, in its deepest meaning, puts upon us. And so, senators, with reverent hearts, where dwells the fear of God, the American people move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of His work.

His Final Appeal.

"Mr. President and Senators: Adopt the resolution offered that peace may quickly come and that we may begin our saving, regenerating and uplifting work. Adopt it and this bloodshed will cease when these deluded children of our islands learn that this is the final action of the representative of the American people in congress assembled. Reject it and the world, history and the American people will know where to forever fix the awful responsibility for the consequences that will surely follow such failure to do our manifest duty. How dare we delay when our soldiers' blood is flowing?"