SUPPLEMENT TO

The Republican

Broken Bow, Nebraska

PROBLEM OF THE PHILIPPINES

The Question of the Hour.

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

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

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

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

Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanks-giaing 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 ladn left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irrretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

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

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

public. VALUE OF CHINA'S TRADE.

China's trade is the mightiest commercial fact in our future. Her foreign commerce was \$285,738,300 in 1897, of which we, her neighbor, had less than 9 per cent, of which only a little more than half was merchandise sold to China by us. We ought to have 50 percent, and we will. And China's foreign commerce is only beginning. Her resources, her possibilities, her wants, all are undeveloped. She has only 340 miles of railway. I nave seen trains loaded with natives and all the activities of modern life already appearing along the line. But she needs, and in fifty years will have, 20,000

miles of railway.

Who can estimate her commerce then? The statesman commits a crime against American trade-against the American grower of cotton and wheat and tobacco, the American manufacturer of machinery and clothing-who fails to put America where she may command that trade. Germany's Chinese trade is increasing like magic. She has established ship lines and secured a tangible footbold on China's very soil. Russia's Chinese trade is growing beyond belief. She is spending the revenues of the Empire to finish her rallroad into Pekin itself, and she is in physical possession of the imperial province of Manchuria. Japan's Chinese trade is multiplying in volume and value. She is bending her energy to her merchant marine, and is located along China's very coast; but Manila is nearer China than Yokohama is. The Philippines command the commercial situation of the entire East. Can America best trade with China from San Francisco or New York? From San Francisco, of course. But if San Francisco were closer to China than New York is to Pittsburg, what then? And Manila is nearer Hongkong than Habana is to Washington. And yet American statesmen plan to surrender this commercial throne of the Orient where Providence and our soldiers' lives have placed us. When history comes to write the story of that suggested treason to American supremacy and therefore to the spread of American civilization, let her in mercy write that those who so proposed were merely blind and nothing more.

RESOURCES AND IMMENSE SIZE OF THE 18LANDS.

But if they did not command China, India, the Orient, the whole Pacific for purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I

a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. tion of vegetable and mineral riches. No land in America surpasses in fer-

hemp and tobacco, and many products dealing, disorder in habits of industry, of the Temperate as well as the Tropic | and cruelty, caprice, and corruption in zone grow in various sections of the archipelago. I have seen hundreds of bushels of Indian corn lying in a road fringed with banana trees. The forests of Negros, Mindanao, Mindora, Paluan, and parts of Luzon are invaluable and intact. The wood of the Philippines can supply the furniture of the world for a century to come. At Cebu the best informed man in the island told me that 40 miles of Cebu's mountain chain are practically mountains of coal. Pablo Majia, one of the most reliable men on the islands, confirmed the statement. Some declare zone grow in various sections of the it is better steamer fuel than the best coal of Japan.

I have a nugget of pure gold picked posits of copper exist untouched. The mineral wealth of this empire of the ocean will one day surprise the world.

sonal observation, but chiefly on the a Filipino Washington. testimony of foreign merchants in the wealth of these islands.

Luzon is larger and richer than New Mindanao is larger and richer than all tive wealth and resources. Nothing is so natural as trade with

us the nearest neighbors of all the among many other things: is the nearest neighbors of all the East. Nothing is more natural than to trade with those you know. This is the Philosophy of all advertising. The Philippines bring us permanently face to face with the most sought-for customers of the world. National prestige, national propinquity, these and commercial activity are the elements of commercial success. The Philippines give the first; the character of the American second success with the last. It is the principal business men of the spot can fail to see that this would be their fate if we retired.

PHILIPPINE CLIMATE. The climate is the best Tropic climate countries, with scores of whom I have been exhaustive; yet, speaking from burning rock of Hongkong our con- mitted to take a practical part in municipal afstructing race has builded one of the structing race has builded one of the Self-government is out of the question. I fear for from Hongkong's heights civilization is irradiating all the Orient. If this be imperialism, its final end will be the empire of the Son of Man.

post of empire was a smooth and tree- any man now living, said: less mountain, blazing like a ball of fire beneath the tropic suns. The season, under severest conditions, I found the weather tolerable and often sun and rain without protection from with the insurgents: either for hours at a time, traveling from place to place on horseback, on foot, or in a boat, rising at dawn, re-

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

scribed. have cruised more than 2,000 miles CHARACTER OF THE PEOPE-AGUINALDO. Hollo said:

I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revela- modified by three centuries of contact tility the plains and valleys of Luzon. process of three hundred years of su-Rice and coffe, sugar and cocoanuts, perstition in religion, dishonesty in

firmed the statement. Some declare preme court, is a profound lawyer and that the coal is only lignite; but ship a brave and incorruptible man. Macaptains who have used it told me that | bini, who, before his capture, was the literary and diplomatic associate of Aguinaldo, is the highest type of subtlety and the most constructive mind up in its present form on the banks of hilippine creek. I have gold dust is a clever, popular leader, able, brave, washed out by crude processes of care- resourceful, cunning, ambitious, unless natives from the sands of a Philip-scrupulous, and masterful. He is full pine stream. Both indicate great de- of decision, initiative, and authority, posits at the source from which they and had the confidence of the masses.

In one of the islands great degovernment are absolute orders, implicit obedience, or immediate death. He understands the character of his base this statement partly on per-countrymen. He is a Malay Sylla; not

These conclusions were forced upon Philippines, who have practically in- me by observing the people in all walks vestigated the subject, and upon the of life in the different islands, and by unanimous opinion of natives and conversations with foreign merchants. priests. And the mineral wealth is but a small fraction of the agricultural every variety of mind, character, and opinion from San Fernando, in Luzon, And the wood, hemp, copra, and on down through the entire archipelago other products of the Philippines supply what we need and cannot ourselves sations were had informally at dinner produce. And the markets they will tables, on journeys, and the like, and themselves afford will be immense, always under conditions favorable to Spain's export and import trade, with entire frankness and unreserve. Their the islands undeveloped, was \$11,534. chief value is that they are the real 731 annually. Our trade with the opinions of their authors and not preislands developed will be \$125,000,000 pared and guarded statements. I will annually, for who believes that we can read to the Senate salients points from not do ten times as well as Spain? a few of my notes of these conversa-Consider their imperial dimensions, tions, reserving the names of the per-

sons interviewed, except that of Pablo York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Ohio. Majia, of Cebu, who was assassinated a week after I met him, and whose fate New England, exclusive of Maine. I will not risk bringing down on oth-Manila, as a port of call and exchange, ers. Their names and residences are will, in the time of men now living, far surpass Liverpool. Behold the exhaustless markets they command. It in executive session. The conversais as if a half dozen of our States were tions themselves, of course, are many set down between Oceanica and the of them quite extended. I give here Orient, and those states themselves un- only the brief extracts, which may be developed and unspoiled of their primi- helpful to a correct understanding of the subject immediately in hand.

One of the principal merchants of the one's neighbors. The Philippines make Philippines and the far East said,

American people supply the last. It is One of the principal business men of a providential conjunction of all the Philippines and the far East said: a providential conjunction of all the diements of trade, of duty, and of power. If we are willing to go to war rather than let England have a few feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no market and commands none, what should we not do rather than let England, Germany, Russia, or Japan have all the Philippines? And no man on the spot can fail to see that this would. into their hands at all, except the minor and village courts, of course. You might give them municipal self-government in the smaller mu-nicipalities, but even then only under careful

supervision. The most eminent educator in the in the world. This is the belief of Philippines, of very wide information those who have lived in many Tropic about the people and the country, said: talked on this point. My own experience with tropical conditions has not been exhaustive: yet, speaking from moderate distance from Manila, in the province been exhaustive; yet, speaking from that experience, I testify that the climate of Iloilo, Sulu, Cebu, and even of Manila, greatly surpasses that of Hongkong. And yet on the bare and

noblest cities of all the world, and the insurrection will last for months. The namade the harbor it commands the focus tives are like buffalo bulls—they get mad and of the commerce of the East. And the world then want to light, no matter whether right or of the commerce of the East. of the commerce of the East. And the glory of that achievement illumines with a rarer splendor than that of Waterloo the flag that floats above it, for from Hongkong's heights civiliz-

The most eminent scientist of the far East, better informed on the Phil-Yet fifty years ago this English out- perienced in the whole situation than

The climate is the best tropical climate in the world. My health is excellent and has been for years. Nearly everything can be raised in the Philippines are beautiful and rich, with the healing seas pouring round and through them and fanned by a thousand winds. Even in the hottest limits and the winds are beautiful and rich, with the healing seas pouring round and through them and fanned by a thousand winds. Even in the hottest limits everything must for years be limit controlled by the Americans. firmly controlled by the Americans.

One of the large planters and busidelightful; and in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, ness men of the interior of Luzon, a Negros, and Sulu I have been in the pure Filipino, with intimate relations

It is hard to say how long the contest will last. The very common people care little about the matter, but have been told and believe foot, or in a boat, rising at dawn, retiring at midnight, week after week, without injury to health.

General MacArthur, commanding a force which had been fighting continuously for three months and which was under fire practically every hour, was in excellent health every time I saw him not know anything about government except that Spain gave them, which was most corrupt. If you gave those islands a government where justice would be administered freely and without price, property protected, and free speech secured, you ask me if the common people would be satisfied. I do

The common people do not know what they rat. Are they capable of self-government— I voting intelligently? What difference does hat make? They would vote just exactly as he better classes say. I employ several hun-red men. Well, I expect and would see to it hat they have the same opinions I have. Humph t would be impossible otherwise. What the fillpino leaders talk about and insist upon is quaranty. By this they mean Filipinos to hav xelusive government in the islands, the United exclusive government in the islands, the United States to keep a fleet here to protect that government and the islands generally in every possible situation, and this agreement witnessed by a third nation, strong enough to compet the United States to carry out its contract. The people are not capable of self-government, but the leaders are, or will be after some practice; so it is just the same thing.

A pure Filipino, a physician, a man of wealth, in the interior of Luzonone of the most intelligent men of the

It is hard to say how long this struggle will

It is hard to say now long this struggle will continue. The leaders say they want independence: the common people probably want socialism. To be definite and particular, they probably do not know what they want. No, hey are not capable of self-government. If you rive them pure government, free speech and all hat, they would not understanp and appreciate that, they would not understang and appreciate it at first; would not believe it, as it were.

But when, after a while, three or four years, say, they come to understand your good intentions and actually experience good government, there will be no trouble. Oh, yes; the islands are marvelously rich. After good government is once in operation, they will pay their way many times over. My people are not a bad people; they don't understand; they are children yet.

The principal British merchant of

through the archipelago, every moment | It will be hard for Americans who | The climate is simply splendid, even here on | worked them yet. There is gold here, too.

have not studied them to understand the people. They are a barbarous race, modified by three centuries of contact with a decadent race. The Filipino is the South Sea Malay, put through a process of three hundred years of superstition in religion, dishonesty in dealing, disorder in habits of industry, and cruelty, caprice, and corruption in government. It is barely possible that I,000 men in all the archipelago are

A highly educated and bright Span sh mestizo claiming to be pure Fiti-

pino, employed in Iloilo, said: No one can tell when the fighting will cease. It all depends upon what Aguinaldo says. The common people have absolute faith in him. His order among those now in rebellion in this island would be promptly obeyed. The common people say they are lighting for their independence. They mean by this the right to manage their own government; make and execute their own laws. Their lideas of a proper relation between the Philippine Islands and people of the United States is that of a protectorate. The leaders absolutely control the people. A man of property expects his working people to have the same opinion as he has. I do myself.

It is, perhaps, true that the masses do not understand what self-government means. I think that that there are enough capable and educated men among our people to centrol government, but i do not believe that the great mass of the people are at all fitted for self-government now and will not be for a long time. You should have uniform laws over the entire archipelago. If you have one thing at one pince and another No one can tell when the fighting will cease

If you have one thing at one pince and another at another place, each will think and say that the other is better treated, and you will have constant and serious disturbance. Already the people of this island are very angry because Ne gros is given a United States constitution. That is a profound mistake. Don't experiment. Se-lect your plan and execute it. English ought to be myde the one language of the island.

A rich planter of Panay, pure Fili

pino, but moderate in views, said: The common people have no opinions and are not capable of voting. If the Filipinos estab-lished a government, of course the property and educated class would, beyond doubt, run such government. Not more than 25 per cent of the people are fitted to take part in the selection of public officers. The people are at present in capable of self-government, though they might be intrusted with purely municipal affairs. Esbe intrusted with purely imminipal analys. Establish precisely the same laws through the archipelago. English should be universally taught. The common people know and care nothing about self-government or any other government. They are principally interested in simply living. Self-government can only mean government by the upper classes.

A prominent but very conservative business man of Panay:

You may be a long time subduing this iusus You may be a long time subduing this iusurrection. The people are not yet capable of selfgovernment in the archipelago. It is well,
though, to trust them with muhicipal administration, provided everything is under your final
supervision. The proposition to have the same
commercial laws everywhere is to plain for argument. The climate is not bad at all. You
see that for yourself. It is very cool here, you
see this evening. My own health has been excellent, and is now. There is very little sickness among the English here.

A leading meetico of Negros:

A leading mestizo of Negros: The island of Negros is far ahead of any other The island of Negros is far aread of any other island in the culture of its people. Our chief desire now is to get utterly away from Spanish customs, laws, and traditions. I think we are quite capable of self-government under American protection. If the Philippine islands are made into a Federal system we would expect to be one of the States. Certainly we can manage the local affairs of the Island. Exclusive of the savages of the mountains, I should say that 4 or 5 per cent of the people are now capable of in-

telligenly voting.

I think the voting should be by those who own property, can read and write or are established householders and heads of samilies, with defiproperty, can read and write or are established householders and heads of amilies, with defi-nite residences. I would find out who should vote by having a committee in each town make out a list and then notify the ones chosen. Cer-tainly I would expect the common people to follow the advice of the leaders and vote for whom the leaders said. I should think my own employes would take my view of a situation. If you give us a government where justice is ad-ministered without corruption or delay, proper-ty protected without a fee, free speech lissured, commercial language provided, the people will Spain did none of this, but the reverse. That

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

I have working for me about 400 men. They are good, average examples of the common people of the island. I should say that not over 3 or 4 per cent of them are capable of self-government or in any true sense understand the term. If the ballot were given them, or even if it were restricted to those 3 or 4 per cent, I should expect them to vote as the leaders might indicate. I think the English language should be immediately adopted throughout the entire archipelago. It would simplify matters incalculably. No, I do not believe the same laws should prevail I do not believe the same laws should prevail everywhere. We of Negros are more cultivated than in Panay. We deserve better laws.

Very large planter and influential man of Negros, claiming to be pure ippines and their people and more ex- | Filipino, but with some Chinese blood: The climata is most excellent. The wealth of these islands is beyond imagination. We have these islands is beyond imagination. We have only begun to develop our resources. For ex-ample, we have not touched our ininerals prac-tically. Lands you see yonder are really better for agricultural purposes than this low, flat coast land. No; it is not yet occupied, and the title to it is still in the government.

I have several American plows. They do good work. We do not use more because they are not brought to us. The native plow has

served our purpose and our inertia makes it in convenient to change, if effort is necessary Yes; enterprising agency would sell many plows. I have several carriages made in Ameri ca. I have from 1,000 to 1,500 men working for me. Of these practically all are capable of self-government. Would they vote as I wished self-government. Would they vote as I wished;
Most assuredly they would. By all means make
English the language of these islands as speedily as possible. It will increase commerce and
get us further away from the old and lated re-

I regard these islands as a commercial unit, and think uniform laws should prevail through-out the archipelago. Your young men could some here and buy land and soon get enormouscome here and buy kind and soon get chormous-ity rich. You need not fear that we leaders would be able to control elections. The government liself would nominate all the officers or candi-dates; so you see, the people would have to vote for good men. What would I do if any man spoke against or criticised the government? Why, anyone rising against the government would be tried and shot if condemned.

Pablo Majia, pure Fillpino, rich, able honest, and moderate. He was stabbed to death in Cebu, and this is why I

withhold the names of the others: I do not think anyone could ask for a better climate than this. It is much better than Hongkong. The resources of this island have not begun to be developed. Our coal is very good, much better than Japsif coal. There is copper too, on this island, not yet worked. I am sorry to say that very few of our population are capable of self-government. are capable of self-government

are capable of self-government.

Of course the wealthy and educated classes are entirely competent to run the government. I do not expect nor desire any government except one founded on and directed by America. Oh, yes; to such extent as the ballet may be given there is no doubt that we of the upper classes can control. I employ 100 men now—in good times more. All these would vote as I say.

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

tions I consider this climate unexcelled in the world. When I left Europe twenty-live years ago and came here my health was wretched. Here I am never iit. The resources of these islands are simply marvelous. Think of the agri-cultural richness of Negros! Think of the min crai wealth of Cebu. For 40 miles this chain of mountains back of us is one continuous coal mine. The coal is excellent. It is far better than the Japan coal. And there are very rich

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

To the upper classes it means rule and domin-

archy, or, rather, socialism.

To the upper classes it means rule and domin ion. If the bullot were placed in the hands the opeople, they would vote as their leaders said. It would be well to make English the language of would be well to make English the language of all the islands—but, dear me, what a fearful time you will have teaching it. Why, my dear friend, we have been teaching them Spanish for three hundred years—working hard, too— and yet they speak it very badly even now. They are not bright; really, they are stupid. They resemble very much the carlison. They learn with great difficulty. Come into the islands with practical common sense, not scholastically, theoretically, or experimentally. The islands can be made a griat blessing to you, and you to them, and they also can be made a great curse.

A gentleman living in Sulu and who has spent his entire life in various

tropical countries said: tropical countries said:

The resources of these islands are not even guessed. This land we stand on grows cocon, sugar, rice, cofee, and hemp, and all of the finest quality. As to the health the conditions are perfect. I am thoroughly acquainted with Asiatic and Pacific Tropies, and I consider this the ideal climate of them all. I hope you are not contemplating such a thing as self-government for the archipelago. It would be a hideous mistake. They are utterly incapable of participating in government.

May be in some places municipal government, might, to a limited extent, be put in the hands of the more competent natives, but even then, I fear, it would work badly. But government of the archipelago by natives would mean continuous civil war. I want you people to succeed,

the archipengo by natives would mean continuous civil war. I want you people to succeed, but you will ignominiously and frightfully fail if you put up a weak or a half-hearted government here. I have spent my life here, in Borneo, Java, Straits Settlements, and other such places, and I know this people thoroughly. You have a glorious opportunity here and you must not ruin it.

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

You must establish government over the Islands, because it is incalculably to your interest in the future, and because, if you do not, an-other power will undoubtedly take them, in-volving the world in a war for which you will be

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

Make English the language of the courts, schools, and everything else. Let me impress on you the necessity of conferring your benefits on them quite gradually. If you give them too much they can not appreciate nor understand nor rightly use It, and it will thus be thrown away; but if you give them the blessing of free institutions gradually, you furnish a source of

institutions gradually, you furnish a source of constant gratitude. In the other way you ex-haust yourself at the beginning, and besides fail in your good intentions.

WE WILL HOLD IT FAST, AND HOLD IT

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 possession of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the castern 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, little understands the instincts of our race, who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; but they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

MILITARY SITUATION -OTIS DEFENDED.

The military situation, past, present, and prospective, is no reason for abandonmeut. Our campaign has been as perfeet as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of the country and people and also Genour acquisition; and second, by insuferal Otis and Admiral Dewey. These ficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 1,722 officers and men whom he had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and, they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. It was one of the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

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 been shortened, the lives of our soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians themselves benefited had we made continuous and decisive war: and any other kind of war is criminal because ineffective. We acted towards the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them-a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and paralytic purpose. Let us now be instructed by our own experience.

This, too, has been Spain's course in the Philippines. I have studied Spain's painful military history in these islands. Never sufficient troops; never vigorous action, pushed to conclusive results and a permanent peace; always treating with the rebels while they fought them; always ernel and corrupt when a spurious peace was arranged. This has been Spain's way for three hundred years, until insurrection has become 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. tion in August, 1896, Spain had only home.

1,500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Ma-nilla. In November of that year she had only 10,000 men. The generals in command of these were criticised and assailed in Spain. It is characteristic of Spain that the people at home do not support, but criticise their generals in the field. The Spanish method has always been a mixed policy of peace and war, a contradiction of terms, an impossible combination, rendering war ineffective and peace impossible. 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. To halt before 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 purposes of the hour, it is not to salve a present situation, that peace should be established. It is for the tranquillity of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Fili-pines for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled; not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American Republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

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

OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE PEACE.

Our mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness. It has been the application to Spanish Malays of Methods appropriate to New England- Every device of mercy, every method of conciliation, has been employed by the peace-loving President of the American Republic, to the amazement of nations experienced in Oriental revolt. Before the outbreak our general in command appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the commission well-General Hughes. Colonel Crowder, and Gener Smith-moderate, kindly, tactful no of the world; an ideal body for such negotia-

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

WORK OF THE COMMISSION. The patience of our peace loving President was not even then exhausted. A civil commission was sent to Manila, composed of the president of one of our great universities, a distinguished diplomat and an eminent college professor who had special knowledge of men exhaused the expedients of peace, and always were met with the Malay's ready evasion, the Spaniard's habitual delay. I am personal witness that no effort was neglected by our commission to assure the Filipino people of our good intentions and beneficent pur-The commission entertained poses. the mestizos of Manila in a way that would have honored the Senate of the United States: the brown faces of the common people sneered. The commission treated natives, accustomed to blows, with kindest consideration; the agents of Aguinaldo told tales of our pusillanimity to the ignorant rural masses. This remarkable man sent soealled commissions, ostensibly to treat, but really to play with ours. His commissions were composed of generals gravest rustake we could possibly in uniform. The populance gaped in make, and that is the only danger be-open admiration when they appeared fore us. Our Indian wars would have in Manila. Our representatives of peace talked to them, argued with them, entertained them; the people were impressed with their importance. President Schurman even rode with them through the city. The masses were confirmed in their reverence for their brothers who were thus honored and distinguished. Then the bespangled representatives of the Malay dictator return to their lord, and the sole effect of these pacific efforts was to make 250,000 natives in Manila thlnk that the only way to win the respect of the American Republic is to fight

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