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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 Islands, as follows:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Philippine 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 archipelago as the situation may demand.

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

Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever. "territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiaing to Almighty God that He has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.

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, 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.

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 foothold on China's very soil. Russia's Chinese trade is growing beyond belief. She is spending the revenues of the Empire to finish her railroad 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 ISLANDS.

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 have cruised more than 2,000 miles through the archipelago, every moment a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches.

No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon. Rice and coffe, sugar and cocoanuts, hemp and tobacco, and many products of the Temperate as well as the Tropic 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 that the coal is only lignite; but ship captains who have used it told me that it is better steamer fuel than the best coal of Japan.

I have a nugget of pure gold picked up in its present form on the banks of a Philippine creek. I have gold dust washed out by crude processes of careless natives from the sands of a Philippine stream. Both indicate great deposits at the source from which they come. In one of the islands great deposits of copper exist untouched. The mineral wealth of this empire of the ocean will one day surprise the world. I base this statement partly on personal observation, but chiefly on the testimony of foreign merchants in the Philippines, who have practically investigated the subject, and upon the unanimous opinion of natives and priests. And the mineral wealth is but a small fraction of the agricultural wealth of these islands.

And the wood, hemp, copra, and other products of the Philippines supply what we need and cannot ourselves produce. And the markets they will themselves afford will be immense. Spain's export and import trade, with the islands undeveloped, was $11,534,731 annually. Our trade with the islands developed will be $125,000,000 annually, for who believes that we can not do ten times as well as Spain? Consider their imperial dimensions. Luzon is larger and richer than New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, or Ohio. Mindanao is larger and richer than all New England, exclusive of Maine. Manila, as a port of call and exchange, will, in the time of men now living, far surpass Liverpool. Behold the exhaustless markets they command. It is as if a half dozen of our States were set down between Oceanica and the Orient, and those states themselves undeveloped and unspoiled of their primitive wealth and resources.

Nothing is so natural as trade with one's neighbors. The Philippines make us 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 people supply the last. It is a providential conjunction of all the elements 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 be their fate if we retired.

PHILIPPINE CLIMATE.

The climate is the best Tropic climate in the world. This is the belief of those who have lived in many Tropic countries, with scores of whom I have talked on this point. My own experience with tropical conditions has not been exhaustive; yet, 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 burning rock of Hongkong our constructing race has builded one of the noblest cities of all the world, and made the harbor it commands the focus 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 civilization is irradiating all the Orient. If this be imperialism, its final end will be the empire of the Son of Man.

Yet fifty years ago this English outpost of empire was a smooth and treeless mountain, blazing like a ball of fire beneath the tropic suns. 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 season, under severest conditions, I found the weather tolerable and often delightful; and in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Negros, and Sulu I have been in the sun and rain without protection from either for hours at a time, traveling from place to place on horseback, on 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 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 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 European 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 described.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPE—AGUINALDO.

It will be hard for Americans who 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 1,000 men in all the archipelago are capable of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon sense.

My own belief is that there are not 100 men among them who comprehend what Anglo-Saxon self-government even means, and there are over 5,000,000 people to be governed. I know many clever and highly educated men among them, but there are only three commanding intellects and characters—Arellani, Mabini, and Aguinaldo. Arellano, the chief justice of our supreme court, is a profound lawyer and a brave and incorruptible man. Mabini, who, before his capture, was the literary and diplomatic associate of Aguinaldo, is the highest type of subtlety and the most constructive mind that race has yet produced. Aguinaldo is a clever, popular leader, able, brave, resourceful, cunning, ambitious, unscrupulous, and masterful. He is full of decision, initiative, and authority, and had the confidence of the masses. He is a natural dictator. His ideas of government are absolute orders, implicit obedience, or immediate death. He understands the character of his countrymen. He is a Malay Sylla; not a Filipino Washington.

These conclusions were forced upon me by observing the people in all walks of life in the different islands, and by conversations with foreign merchants, priests, mestizos, pure Filipinos, and every variety of mind, character, and opinion from San Fernando, in Luzon, on down through the entire archipelago to the interior of Sulu. These conversations were had informally at dinner tables, on journeys, and the like, and always under conditions favorable to entire frankness and unreserve. Their chief value is that they are the real opinions of their authors and not prepared and guarded statements. I will read to the Senate salients points from a few of my notes of these conversations, reserving the names of the persons interviewed, except that of Pablo Majia, of Cebu, who was assassinated a week after I met him, and whose fate I will not risk bringing down on others. Their names and residences are here in this book, and will be gladly given to any Senator or to the Senate in executive session. The conversations themselves, of course, are many of them quite extended. I give here only the brief extracts, which may be helpful to a correct understanding of the subject immediately in hand.

One of the principal merchants of the Philippines and the far East said, among many other thiugs:

The whole country is incalculably rich. With only ordinary good government commerce would be immense. Spanish rule was corrupt, but commerce accustomed itself to the conditions and flourished in spite of them. So rich is the country that commerce will survive any situation, however bad, if it is only fixed and certain. The people are incapable of self-government. The few exceptions are no examples of the masses. For years to come a very strong government will be necessary. The climate is very good. I have lived here eighteen years, and my health was never better.

One of the principal business men of the Philippines and the far East said:

I have no fault to find with the climate. My health is very fine. Business here, large as it is, is only a hint of what will be under a good government. I think it folly to talk of giving the natives any part in the government. They are incapable. Of course there are, possibly, half a dozen who might be capable, but I doubt the result of such an experiment, even with the best. Anything but a strong government at first will result in disaster. Do not put courts into their hands at all, except the minor and village courts, of course. You might give them municipal self-government in the smaller municipalities, but even then only under careful supervision.

The most eminent educator in the Philippines, of very wide information about the people and the country, said:

It is a most marvelous country. The climate is the ideal tropical climate of the world. Also, it presents every variety of climate. Only a moderate distance from Manila, in the province of Benguet, there are oaks, pines, frost, and you must use blankets at night. It is the richest and most variegated portion of the earth's surface. My health has always been good. You must introduce a strong, decisive, and pure government. The natives might possibly be permitted to take a practical part in municipal affairs.

Self-government is out of the question. I fear the insurrection will last for months. The natives are like buffalo bulls—they get mad and then want to fight, no matter whether right or wrong. You cannot successfully deal with them by gentle means; they absolutely misunderstand such treatment. While in arms they must be fought, fought ceaselessly and remorselessly. Otherwise they will keep it up forever.

The most eminent scientist of the far East, better informed on the Philippines and their people and more experienced in the whole situation than any man now living, said:

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 islands. Also nearly all climates can be had in the various altitudes practically accessible. It will take a long time to prepare the people for self-government. Certainly they are not so now. I think everything must for years be firmly controlled by the Americans.

One of the large planters and business men of the interior of Luzon, a pure Filipino, with intimate relations with the insurgents:

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 many bad things about the Americans. What Filipinos want is to govern themselves. No, of course, they do 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 not know.

The common people do not know what they want. Are they capable of self-government—of voting intelligently? What difference does that make? They would vote just exactly as the better classes say. I employ several hundred men. Well, I expect and would see to it that they have the same opinions I have. Humph! it would be impossible otherwise. What the Filipino leaders talk about and insist upon is a guaranty. By this they mean Filipinos to have 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 compel the United States to carry out its contract. The people are not capable of self-government, but the leaders are, or will be after some practice; so it is just the same thing.

A pure Filipino, a physician, a man of wealth, in the interior of Luzon—one of the most intelligent men of the many I met and talked to:

It is hard to say how 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, they are not capable of self-government. If you give them pure government, free speech and all that, they would not understanp and appreciate it at first; would not believe it, as it were.

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 Iloilo said:

The climate is simply splendid, even here on the sea. A very short distance inland you must have fire every night. I have been here more than twenty years, and my health is and always has been most excellent. The only time I ever felt heat badly was in New York last September. It goes without saying that the country is enormously rich. Its resources have not yet even begun to be developed. Vast as commerce is or was, it is only a suggestion to what may be. The natives are a kind, affectionate people when properly treated. They are suspicious, though, and once aroused, very obstinate. Surely they are capable of self-government in municipal matters. Further than that I think it not safe to go at present. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government as we do.

There is no doubt that they would be completely dominated by their leaders. I should think it a very risky business to put the courts in the hands of the natives, even if you allow them a large measure of self-government otherwise. You see; they do not understand the just and pure administration of law through courts. How should they? The whole secret of your success will be to adopt some definite plan, stick to it, govern justly and firmly, be patient, do not expect everything in a day, and very gradually and wisely introduce them into the government. But all will fail if you send any but pure and incorruptible men here.

A highly educated and bright Spanish mestizo, claiming to be pure Filipino, 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 fighting for their independence. They mean by this the right to manage their own government; make and execute their own laws. Their ideas 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 control 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 place 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 Negros is given a United States constitution. That is a profound mistake. Don't experiment. Select your plan and execute it. English ought to be myde the one languge of the island.

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

The common people have no opinions and are not capable of voting. If the Filipinos established 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 incapable of self-government, though they might be intrusted with purely municipal affairs. 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 insurrection. The people are not yet capable of self-government in the archipelago. It is well, though, to trust them with municipal 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 mestizo of Negros:

The island of Negros is far ahead 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 intelligenly voting.

I think the voting should be by those who own property, can read and write, or are established householders and heads of families, with definite 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. Certainly 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 administered without corruption or delay, property protected without a fee, free speech insured, commercial language provided, the people will be satisfied.

Spain did none of this, but the reverse. That is, and was, our complaint. English should be immediately made the language of the whole archipelago. I do not think the same political laws 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 commercial unit.

Pure Filipino and large planter of Negros:

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 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 Filipino, but with some Chinese blood:

The climata is most excellent. The wealth of these islands is beyond imagination. We have only begun to develop our resources. For example, we have not touched our minerals practically. Lands you see yonder are really better for agricultural purposes than this low, 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 inconvenient to change, if effort is necessary. Yes; enterprising agency would sell many plows. I have several carriages made in America. 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? 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 farther away from the old aud hated regime.

I regard these islands as a commercial unit, and think uniform laws should prevail throughout the archipelago. Your young men could come here and buy land and soon get enormously rich. You need not fear that we leaders would be able to control elections. The government itself would nominate all the officers or candidates; 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 Japafi 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.

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 ballot 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 met:

For general health and for all human conditions I consider this climate unexcelled in the world. When I left Europe twenty-five years age and came here my health was wretched. Here I am never ill. The resources of these islands are simply marvelous. Think of the agricultural richness of Negros! Think of the mineral 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 copper deposits over yonder; nobody ever worked them yet. There is gold here, too.

Here, I will make you a present of this gold dust; it was scooped up from one of our streams here. It proves the existence of very heavy deposits at the point from which these fragments were washed down. In another Island there are very rich gold deposits. Let me present you with this nugget. It was picked up just as you see it. I have seen nuggets from there as large as your thumb—pure, solid gold. Why are they not worked? Oh, we have been so far out of the world, you know, the world has forgotten us. 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 dominion. If the ballot were placed in the hands the of people, they would vote as their leaders said. It would be well to make English the language of all the islands—but, dear me, what a fearful time you will have teaching it. Why, my dear friend, we have been teaching them Spanish for three hundred years—working hard, too—and yet they speak it very badly even now. They are not bright; really, they are stupid. They resemble very much the caribou. They learn with great difficulty. Come into the islands with practical common sense, not scholastically, theoretically, or experimentally. The Islands can be made a grial 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:

The resources of these islands are not even guessed. This land we stand on grows cocoa, sugar, rice, coffee, and hemp, and all of the finest quality. As to the health the conditions are perfect. I am thoroughly acquainted with Asiatic and Pacific Tropics, and I consider this the ideal climate of them all. I hope you are not contemplating such a thing as self-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, 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, another power will undoubtedly take them, involving the world in a war for which you will be responsible.

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 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 constant gratitude. In the other way you exhaust yourself at the beginning, and besides fail in your good intentions.

WE WILL HOLD IT FAST, AND HOLD IT 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 ot the three great ocean possession 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, 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 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 immensity of our acquisition; and second, by insufficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 3,722 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 gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. Our Indian wars would have 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 cruel 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.

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 Manilla. 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. 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. 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 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 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 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 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 General 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 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. He arranged 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 the country and people and also General Otis and Admiral Dewey. These men exhausted 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 purposes. The commission entertained the mestizos of Manila in a way that would have honored the Senate of the United States; the brown faces of the common people sneered. The commission treated natives, accustomed to blows, with kindest consideration; the agents of Aguinaldo told tales of our pusillanimity to the ignorant rural masses. This remarkable man sent so-called commissions, ostensibly to treat, but really to play with ours. His commissions were composed of generals in uniform. The populace gaped in open admiration when they appeared 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 think that the only way to win the respect of the American Republic is to fight it.

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 field and loyal support of the war at home.