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Phillipine Tariff -
Imperial Policy

1901

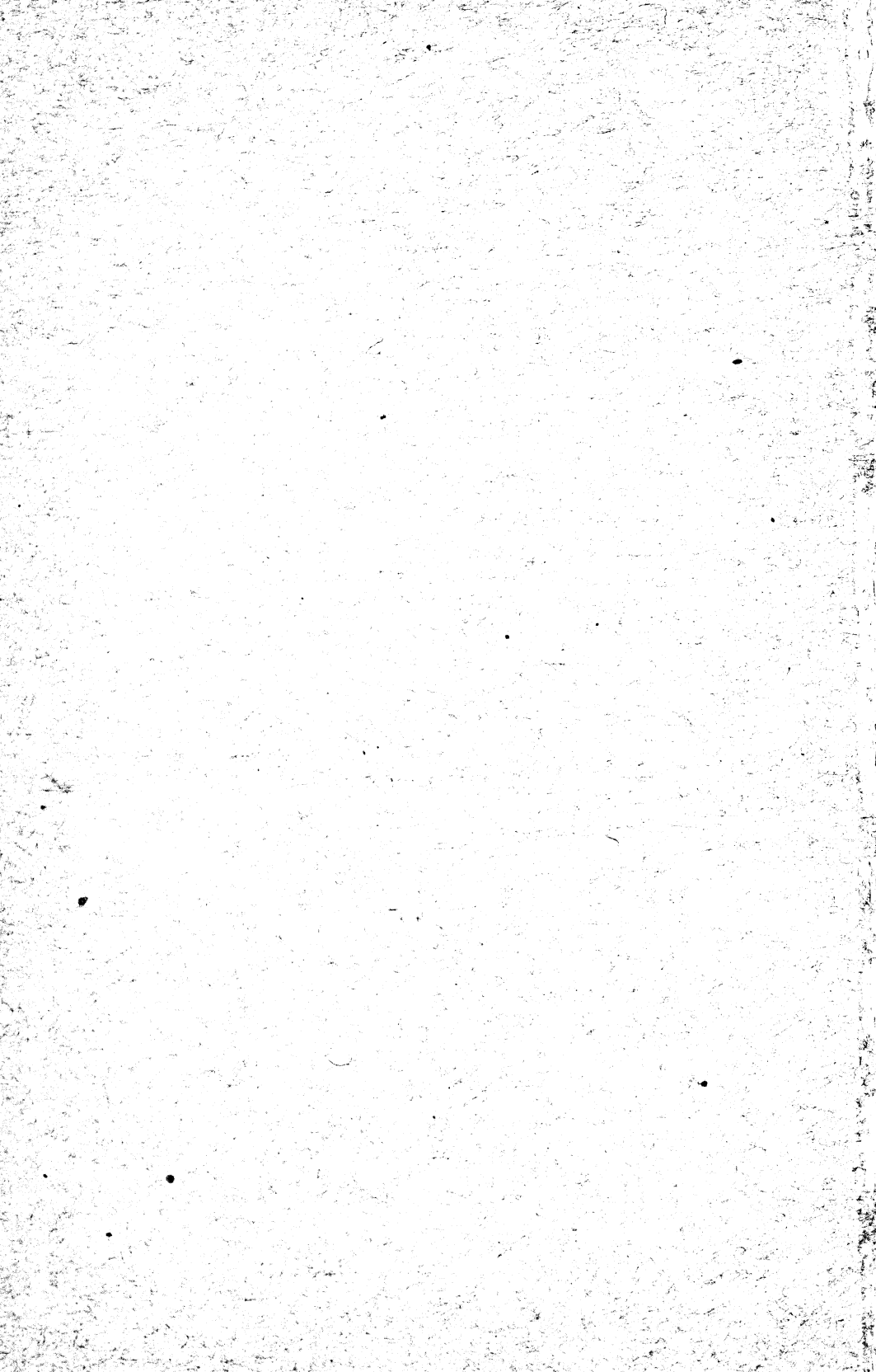
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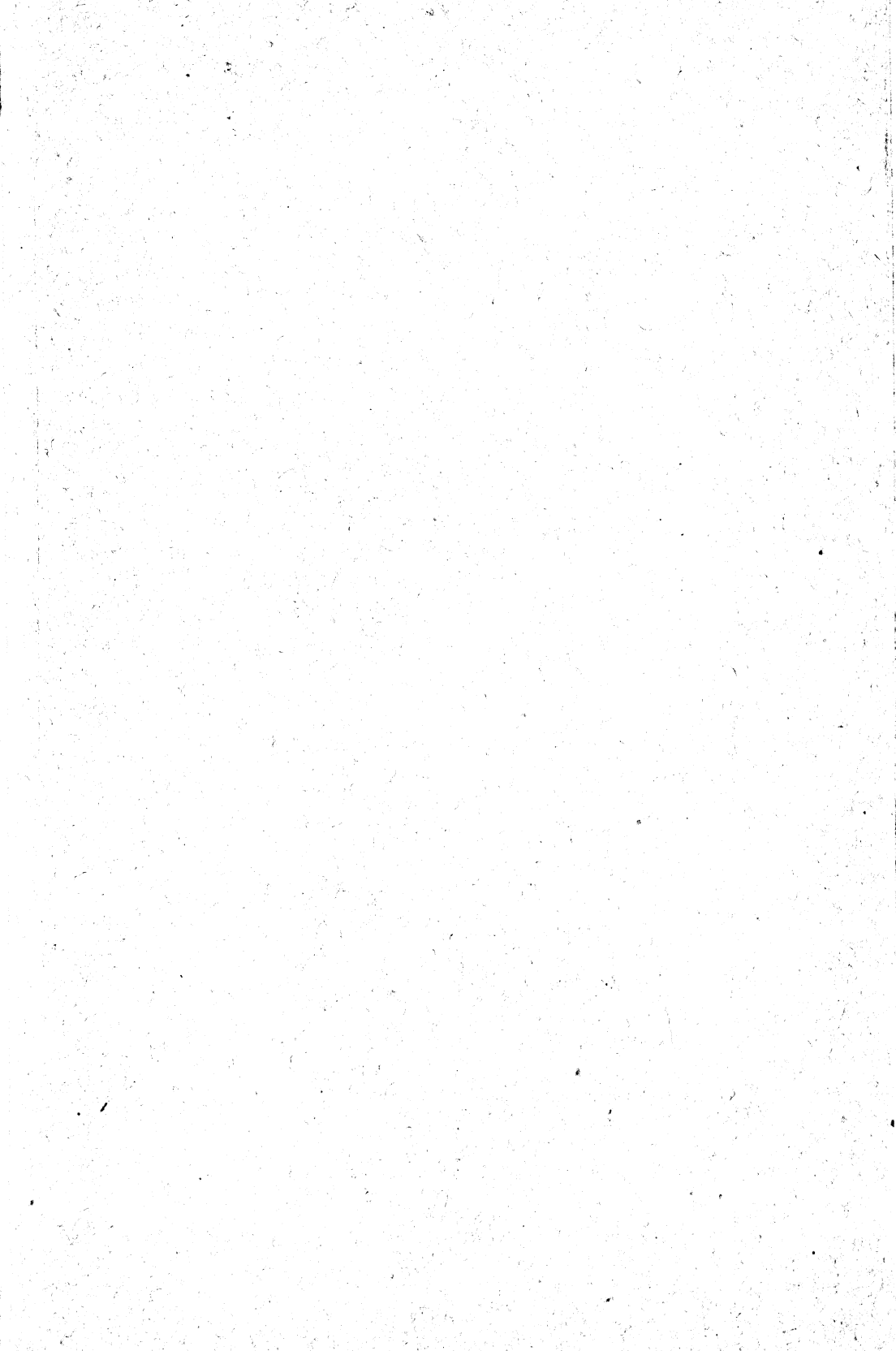
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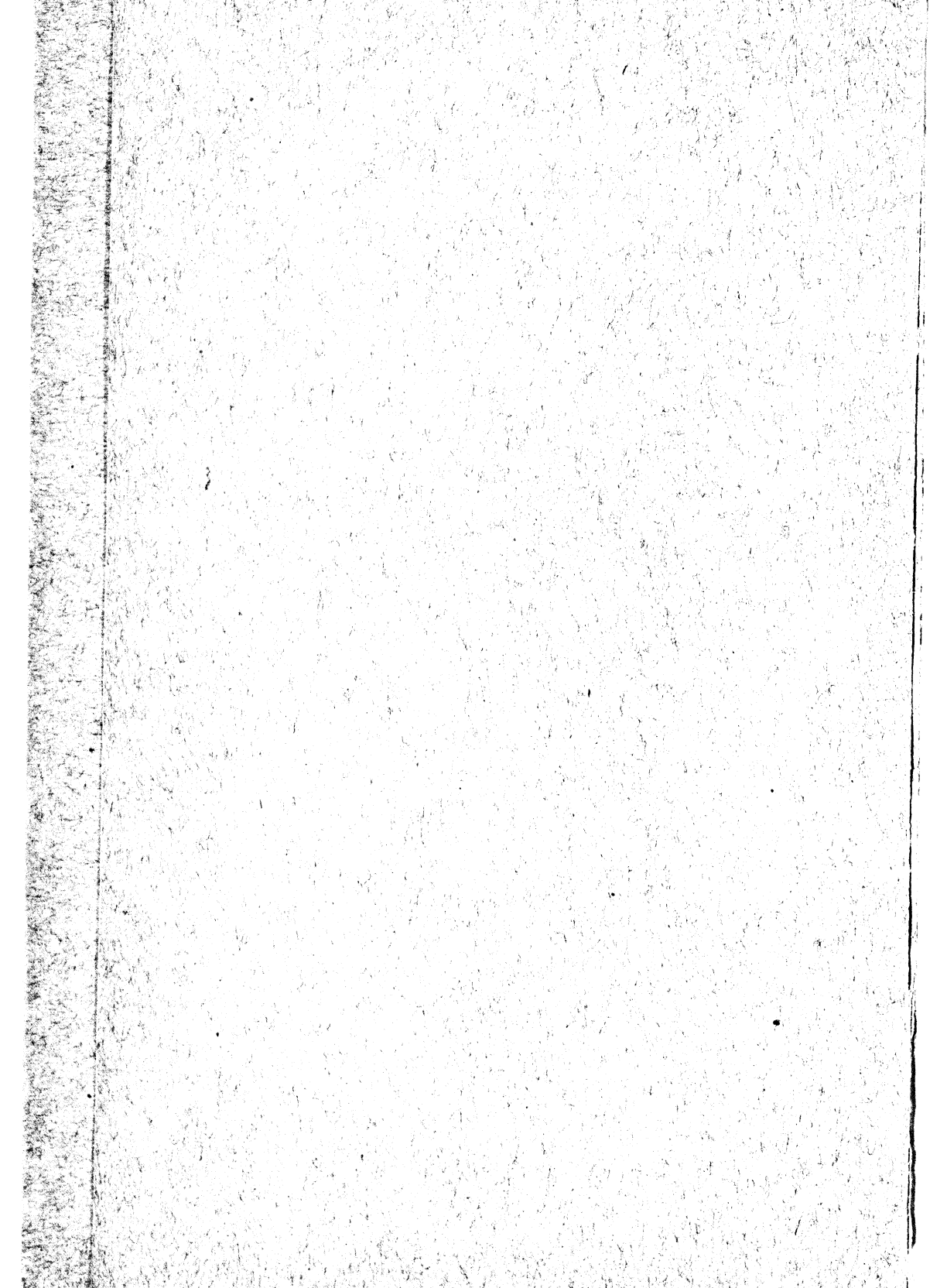
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PART I.

Philippine Tariff—Imperial Policy.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 17, 1901.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 5833) temporarily to provide revenue for the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. SHAFROTH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is with a feeling of sadness that I behold men whom I know to be honest, intelligent, and patriotic who can not see in this measure anything more than a matter of revenue or of tariff rates and schedules. To my mind, there underlies this proposition a violation of the very cardinal principles of our Declaration of Independence and of the moral law itself.

Sir, it is a peculiar coincidence that in the establishment of the colonial empire of our country the first revenue tax to be imposed by an American Congress upon the Philippine people is identical in principle and more burdensome in terms than that which was imposed by Great Britain upon her thirteen colonies.

It was Burke, Chatham, and other great statesmen of the British Empire who then denounced that tax as unjust and oppressive. It was a united people upon this side of the waters who saw in the measure a death blow to liberty itself and who preferred to die rather than submit to such tyranny.

The pending measure is still more reprehensible than that of England in view of the fact that Great Britain was a monarchy, which of itself indorses the right of some people to govern others, while we are a republic, founded upon the broad doctrine that the just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed.

PROVISIONS OF PHILIPPINE TARIFF BILL.

Mr. Chairman, this bill recognizes the Philippine Islands as American territory, and then proposes to impose the same duties upon products and goods shipped therefrom to our shores as if they were a foreign country. The object of a protective tariff is

without representation was tyranny, and I believe it is as much tyranny to-day as it was in 1776. This is but one of the many results from the policy of the Administration in the acquisition and retention of the Philippine Islands. This bill naturally brings before us the question of the justice and wisdom of that entire policy. Whether we had not better now recognize the wrong and inexpediency of that policy, instead of legislating upon lines which are diametrically opposed to our form of government. Whether, instead of this measure, we had not better now promise to the people of the Philippine Islands their independence, and substitute legislation which will help them establish a government of their own, based upon the principles of a republic.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to examine that policy.

First, as to the moral aspect.

Second, as to the practical aspect.

Moral Aspect.

Mr. Chairman, at the time of the Revolutionary war there was practically but one form of government in existence. It recognized that all powers of government were vested in one man—the monarch—and that he would grant such rights and privileges to his subjects as he deemed proper. In order to fasten such a doctrine upon the people, an appeal had been made to their religious zeal in the claim that God himself had vested the power in the ruler. That doctrine was called “the divine right of kings.” When tyranny and oppression were exercised to such an extent as to make conditions intolerable, the people had at times risen in their might and forced from the crown some privileges and rights. Such governments were then known as limited monarchies, but the source of power, as shown from the grant itself, was always recognized as existing in the monarch.

It was in the colonial days that a people inured to the hardships and privations of frontier life and far removed from the influences of the crown, breathing the air of freedom and self-reliance which isolation always produces, began to reason why one man on account of birth should have power to govern another. Their reasoning after years produced a firm conviction in the principles enunciated in the Declaration of Independence. The war to enforce those principles was truly called the Revolutionary war, because it completely revolutionized the theory of government then exercised by man. That declaration was not a mere war document, but promulgated a doctrine for all time, founded upon the right of every person to prevent tyranny and oppression—founded upon the moral law itself.

That declaration enunciated that “all men are created equal,” not in intellect, not in color, not in size, but equally entitled to the inalienable rights of man.

It further declared that "man is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," not by the grace of a President or the American Congress, but as an inalienable right by the grace of God Almighty himself. It further declared that "to attain these ends governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers" not from kings, presidents, or congresses, but "from the consent of the governed."

These principles are declared to be self-evident truths. They form the ethics of the establishment of order in society called government. They are principles of right as binding on the conscience as the commandment "Thou shalt not steal." They should be more binding, because they relate to a human right, while the commandment relates to a property right.

A violation of this moral law brings a punishment as certain and as severe as a violation of the commandment itself. It was Abraham Lincoln who said:

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not themselves, and under a just God can not long retain it.

We can not justify the government of another people without their consent unless we justify the doctrine that might is right, and that is anarchy. When we sanction that doctrine in affairs of government we are teaching each inhabitant to apply it in individual affairs. A nation is but an aggregation of individuals, and a violation of the principles of justice is even more reprehensible in it than in the individual. When as a nation we trample under foot the rights of men, how can we expect different action among those who compose that nation?

The lynchings and other acts of violence which lately seem to be increasing at an alarming rate, both in numbers and atrocity, are but the logical results of the nations violation of the law of its own being.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT WILL PRODUCE EMPIRE AT HOME.

Sir, continued violation by the nation of the fundamental principles of a republic can not result otherwise than in a change in our form of government. We can not have a republican government for ourselves and imperial government for our colonies. Sooner or later republican government must extend over the colonies or imperial government over the States.

Why? Because such a condition produces two schools of politics—one proclaiming the right of some men to govern, the other advocating the equality and rights of man. They will be unequally matched. The imperial school will contain nearly all the people of wealth and their dependents. The other will contain the humble citizens. These schools of politics will battle not only for the supremacy of their respective doctrines, but also for the

extension of the same. This contest will be as was that for the extension or suppression of slavery, which spread not only to the States both slave and free, but to all the territory acquired by the United States, and which dominated every question in American politics for half a century, even as to the acquisition of territory itself.

Republics are formed only after revolution. The change to the empire is slow and gradual. One of the saddest lessons of history is that whenever these schools of politics have met in the republics of old the imperial school, with its dazzling influence of wealth and power, has always won. Let us hope that our love for the principles of the Declaration of Independence will prevent any such calamity to our beloved country.

It was Lincoln who said:

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements and our bristling seacoasts, the guns of our war steamers, or the strength of our gallant and disciplined army. These are not our reliance against a resumption of tyranny in our fair land. All of them may be turned against our liberties without making us stronger or weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere. Destroy this spirit, and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage, and you are preparing your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of those around you, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.

James Russell Lowell was once asked by the historian Guizot how long the Republic would endure. He replied, "So long as the ideas of its founders continue dominant."

Buckle, in his *History of Civilization in England*, has in these words shown why it was best for Great Britain herself that she lost the Revolutionary war:

Such were the fruits of the policy of George III, but the mischief did not stop there. The opinions which it was necessary to advocate in order to justify this barbarous war recoiled upon ourselves. In order to defend the attempt to destroy the liberties of America, principles were laid down which, if carried into effect, would have subverted the liberties of England.

The historian Froude has said:

If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches, it is this—that free nations can not govern subject provinces. If they are unable or unwilling to admit their dependencies to share their own constitution, the constitution itself will fall in pieces from mere incompetence for its duties.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

It used to be denied in this Hall that Congress would ever exercise imperial power over the Philippines, but I do not hear any such denials now. Ever since the enactment of the Spooner amendment, which vested "all military, civil, and judicial powers

necessary to govern the Philippine Islands in such person or persons as the President shall direct," there has been an abandonment of that position, and the contention made that it is no worse than some other law that has been enacted by Congress.

The plea that is now urged is that the Spooner amendment is similar to the act vesting in President Jefferson the authority to govern the territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase. Of course, when territory is bought a provisional government must be authorized to take possession. The distinction between the two acts is that one was limited to a few months and was a step in carrying out the intention to give citizenship and statehood, while the other was unlimited in time and was a step in carrying out the intention never to give citizenship or statehood. Mr. Jefferson, in the treaty ceding the territory of Louisiana, had inserted a clause which provided that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." He and all other Americans intended to give to the people of Louisiana not only the benefits of the Constitution, which they did as soon as possible, but also statehood, which they did within five years after the purchase. Whereas no one of the majority even pretends that they will give to the people of the Philippines either the benefits of the Constitution or statehood, now or at any time in the future.

The Spooner amendment, enacted by the Congress of a nation 7,000 miles from the Philippine Islands, vested in one man for an unlimited period of time unlimited power to govern another people without their consent.

Sir, it is impossible to conceive of a more arbitrary or despotic power vested in a monarch than that granted to the President of the United States.

Under that authority five men of the Anglo-Saxon race, all citizens of the United States of America, were appointed to govern a people of another race, to pass all the laws, impose all the taxes, appropriate all the moneys collected, and appoint all the officers in the archipelago.

Great Britain prides herself on the fact that she is an empire and exercises imperial power, but she has never yet imposed upon a single one of her colonies such an arbitrary form of government. George III never imposed such government upon the American colonies even in the period of a hundred and twenty-five years ago, but always permitted each colony to have a legislative body, elected by the people, who imposed the taxes to be collected and made the appropriations of the same.

Paradoxical as it may appear, it took the United States, a Government of the people, to impose the most arbitrary form of government known to man upon the people of a poor and alien race.

Sir, it is useless to say that satisfactory government will be given by such power. No government would be satisfactory to us which prevented our people from having a voice in the same, even if the men who governed us were the best on earth and of our own nationality, and how can we expect satisfaction from the people of an alien race as to government imposed by us?

Daniel Webster expressed this sentiment most forcibly when he said:

We may talk of it as we please, but there is nothing that satisfies mankind in an enlightened age, unless man is governed by his own country and the institutions of his own government. No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it be not imposed by the voice of his own nation and his own country he will not, he can not, and he means not to be happy under its burdens.

It is said you will give them the blessings of our civilization. You can not do it, no matter how benevolent your intentions might be. The foundation of civilization is justice, and you can not instill a sense of justice while you govern men without their consent. It was Dr. Jose Risal, the Filipino patriot, who said that in his visits to the countries of the world he had noticed that civilization prevailed in each nation in the exact proportion that liberty prevailed.

Unless we give them a government of their own, unless we give them independence, there can be no administration that will be satisfactory to them or would be satisfactory to you if you were in their place. The spirit of freedom, of liberty, and of independence lived not alone in the hearts of our forefathers, but lives in the little brown men as well. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

WOULD ANARCHY PREVAIL UNDER PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE?

As an excuse for the imposition of such arbitrary government upon the Philippine people it is said that they are not capable of self-government, that anarchy would result from their control of affairs, and that we will give to them "the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties."

Ah, Mr. Chairman, that is the same excuse which every tyrant has made for enslaving his subjects since the world began. Such statements, predictions, and promises have always been made to conceal the infamy of oppressive measures, and the strenuousness with which they have been urged has been in the exact proportion to their infamy. No monarch thinks his people capable of self-government.

It was General Gage who wrote, after the battle of Bunker

Hill, that the Americans had exchanged liberty for anarchy. It was George III who said:

I am desirous of restoring to them [the American colonists] the blessings of law, which they have fatally and desperately exchanged for calamities of war and the arbitrary tyranny of their chiefs.

The contention that if the Filipinos were given self-government anarchy would ensue—that they would proceed to cut each others throats—is the boldest and most unfounded assumption. But, even if true, it would not have wrought such destruction as we have inflicted upon them.

During the existence of their government the Philippine forces captured the city of Iloilo, the second largest city in the islands. Although that city had a large percentage of Spaniards and foreign residents, yet no massacre occurred, no looting took place. Life and property were protected, and both foreign and native inhabitants admitted that the city had never been better governed.

Mr. Leonard R. Sargent, who, with Paymaster Wilcox, traveled over 600 miles through the interior of Luzon during October and November, 1898, in his report says:

At that time the military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed farther. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government with Aguinaldo at its head. Although this government had never been recognized, * * * it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. It was the opinion at Manila during this period, and possibly in the United States, that their condition was something akin to anarchy.

We found the conditions to be much at variance with this opinion.

As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under their new régime. * * * We traveled first across the province of Nueva Ecija, by far the poorest and least interesting of all the provinces we visited. And yet even here we were greatly surprised by the intelligence and refinement of the inhabitants.

The maintenance of law and order by the Philippine government during the trying times following the battle of Manila was truly wonderful. As we can only judge the future by the past, it seems to me as conclusive as can be that anarchy would not prevail under Philippine independence.

ARE THE FILIPINOS CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT?

Mr. Chairman, let us see whether the Philippine people are not capable of establishing and maintaining a government of their own, not as perfect as ours, but far better and more satisfactory than any we can impose upon them.

If the intelligence of the Americans be taken as the standard

by which the capacity for self-government is to be determined, then it is very doubtful whether any other people are capable of establishing and maintaining a republican form of government. Every country has peoples of high and low order of intelligence, and if we are to assume that the men of lowest order of civilization are to rule we might exclude from self-government every nation on earth. It is the experience of mankind, however, that the intelligent classes in all countries rule. Capacity to perform public duties is one of the highest qualifications for office in the mind even of the most ignorant. That being true, there are very few peoples who are not capable of self-government. It was Henry Clay who said that it was impossible for him to conceive of a people who were incapable of self-government.

It was Secretary Hay, in his preface to *Castilian Days*, who said:

There are those who think the Spaniards are not fit for freedom. I believe that no people are fit for anything else.

Of the republics of Central and South America it is safe to say that, although they may not be as perfect in the administration of affairs as the United States, yet they have given to the people governments far better and freer from acts of tyranny and oppression than the governments which preceded them.

The general impression exists among many Americans that the Philippine people are savages. A visit to the islands will certainly dispel any such illusion. The members of the uncivilized tribes of the archipelago are few in number, compared to the total population; they are fewer in proportion than were the Indians in America at the time of the establishment of our Republic. They rove in bands and are as hostile to the Filipinos as were the red men to our forefathers. When I find behind the prescription desks of the numerous drug stores of the islands, even when kept by Americans and Englishmen, Filipinos compounding medicines taken from bottles labeled in Latin; when I see behind the counters of banks, having large capital, natives acting as bookkeepers and receiving and paying tellers; when I find them as merchants and clerks in almost all lines of business, as telegraph operators and ticket agents, conductors and engineers upon railroads, and as musicians rendering upon almost all instruments high-class music; when I am told that they alone make the observations and intricate calculations at the Manila observatory, and that prior to the insurrection there were 2,100 schools in the islands and 5,000 students at the university at Manila; when I find the better class living in good, substantial, and sometimes elegant houses, and many of them pursuing professional occupations, I can not but conclude that it is a base slander to compare these people to the Apaches or other American

Indians. Even the civilizing test of Christianity is in their favor, as a greater proportion are members of the church than among our own people. Of the 8,000,000 of inhabitants Mr. Sawyer, in his work on the Philippine Islands, asserts that 5,869,000 are Christian natives.

But, sir, even as to the Indians, as uncivilized as they may be, our Government recognizes that it produces a better condition of affairs to let them govern themselves, and thereby we even recognize in them a capacity of self-government. We do not rule them. We make treaties with them as we do with nations. We do not appoint a governor or commission to govern them, nor judges to administer laws among them, nor a police force to maintain order. We let them select their own chiefs, punish their own criminals, and in every way govern themselves so long as they remain on their reservations.

The instinct of self-interest implanted in man makes him ordinarily a better agent in managing his own family and affairs than would be one of greater ability or higher attainments without that interest. And as with man so with nations, that same principle of self-betterment ordinarily makes each nation most capable of managing its affairs to the advancement of its own people.

No better illustration of this can be found than in the action of the representatives of our Government in fixing salaries of officials in the Philippine Islands to be paid out of funds collected from the people of that poor and alien race.

I hold in my hand the Washington Post of December 6, 1901, which gives a list of the salaries paid to these officials.

The chief executive receives an annual salary of \$15,000 as governor and of \$5,000 as member of the Philippine Commission, and is allowed the use of a fine residence in Manila. Each of the American members of the Commission receives \$5,000 per annum for acting in his legislative capacity and \$10,000 per annum in addition for acting as head of a bureau. The salary of the chief justice of the supreme court is \$7,500, and of each of the six associate justices (an exceedingly large number for a Territorial court) is \$7,000. The salary of the secretary of the Commission is \$7,500; of the treasurer, \$6,000; of the auditor, \$6,000; of the collector of customs, \$6,000; of the director of posts, \$6,000; of the chief of education, \$6,000, and of the chief of the health bureau, \$6,000, all payable in gold.

Let each citizen of this Republic contrast with these amounts the salaries paid to similar officials in his own State and he will be appalled at the great difference between the same.

I do not wish to impugn the honesty of the men who fixed these salaries—they no doubt think the salaries are fair—but to call at-

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Prof. Ferdinand Blumentritt, of Bohemia, who spent a long time in the Philippine Islands, has said:

The excuse that they, the Philippine people, are not ripe for independence is not founded on facts. The Filipinos number more educated people than the Kingdom of Servia and the principalities of Bulgaria and Montenegro. They have fewer illiterates than the States of the Balkan Peninsula, Russia, many provinces of Spain and Portugal, and the Latin republics of America. There are provinces in which few people can be found who do not at least read. They pay more attention to education than Spain or the Balkan States do. There is no lack of trained men fit to govern their own country, and indeed in every branch, because under the Spanish rule the official business was entirely transacted by native subalterns. The whole history of the Katipunan revolt and of the war against Spain and America serves to place in the best light the capability of the Filipinos for self-government; for, even in Polavieja's time, excesses occurred only exceptionally, and they were always punished. The history of the Philippine revolution is not stained with a long series of cruelties like those of the revolutions of the great civilized nations of Europe. That their tendency is toward European standards is evident from the respect which they showed to the lives and property of foreigners as well during the Katipunan revolt as since. The existence of a spirit of discipline and subordination and of respect for authority is shown by the morale of the Philippine army and its obedience to Aguinaldo's orders. Whoever is familiar with the history of the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies will remember how much discord there was among the rebels, and how they betrayed, deserted, and even in the presence of the enemy fought one another; but in the Filipino army all was harmonious, just as in a loyal and well-disciplined European army.

Therefore, no one can deny that the Filipinos have more right to form an independent government than many European and American countries.

It was Gen. Henry W. Lawton who is reported to have said:

Among the Filipinos there are many cultured people who would ornament society anywhere in the world, ladies who have studied and traveled, men who have had a good education and a fine brain. Take them as a class, there can as many of them read and write as the inhabitants in many places in America. As for their treachery, you would not have to come so far as this to find that. There is plenty of it in North America. All nations are treacherous, more or less. Some men and nations have treachery trained out of them more than others. What we want is to stop this accursed war. It is time for diplomacy, time for mutual understandings. These men are indomitable. At Bacoor bridge they waited till the Americans brought their cannon to within 35 yards of their trenches. Such men have the right to be heard. All they want is a little justice. I established a civil government at Belinag, with the government entirely in the hands of the natives. It worked to perfection. All these people need for self-government is the protection of our troops till affairs have quieted, and then they will, I have no doubt, advance as rapidly as the Japanese, perhaps more rapidly.

But if the Filipinos were incapable of self-government we could not prepare them for that condition by legislation such as this or any other legislation we would impose upon them. Because as long as we rule them we are endorsing that might is right, the very principle that is opposed to self-government. History records no instance of a people being prepared for self-government by

the rule of another. You might as well expect a person to learn how to swim without going into the water.

The best evidence of the ability of the Philippine people to govern themselves is that they possess a large intelligent class, thoroughly identified in interest with the islands, and capable of administering good government. The Civil Commission has recognized this ability by recently adding three native members to that governing body; by appointing three Filipinos judges of the supreme court; by selecting about half of the judges of the first instance and nearly all of the governors of the provinces from that race, and by appointing a solicitor-general and many other officers from the natives. Are these officials not in the governing business, and do they not perform their work as well as the Americans? Is it possible that they are capable of governing because they were appointed by the representatives of a distant nation? Would they lose that ability if elected or chosen by properly constituted authority of their own? In the latter event they would make far better officers, because they would consult only the interests of their own people instead of that of a nation 7,000 miles away.

It was Abraham Lincoln who said:

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man or the other man, this race, and that race, and the other race being inferior and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position, discarding the standard which has been left to us. Let us discard all these things and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal. * * * I leave you hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created equal.

I therefore contend that the Philippine people are far more capable of governing themselves than we are capable of governing them, and that when we impose upon them a government by force we transgress the moral law itself.

In my judgment there is but one solution of this problem, and that is to treat them exactly as we promised to treat the Cubans.

PART II.

Philippine Tariff—Imperial Policy.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,

OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, December 17, 1901.

Practical Aspect.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Having examined the question of the acquisition and retention of the Philippine Islands from the moral aspect, I now wish to examine it as to the practical aspect. Is it best for our own country?

In treating of this phase of the question I wish to look at it, first, from the political standpoint; second, from the commercial standpoint, and third, from the military standpoint.

I. From the Political Standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, from the political standpoint I mean as it will affect the great political policies of our Government.

We are compelled to treat the Filipinos either as subjects or citizens. There is no half way ground on which to stand. The denial to them of any rights of citizenship makes them subjects.

If we treat them as subjects, they will read in our Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." They will ask the questions: Are we not men? Was this statement intended to apply only to the Anglo-Saxon race? Was the principle intended to be limited to the confines of the thirteen colonies?

Then they will read from the speech of Abraham Lincoln this immortal statement:

Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that, when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, * * * so that no man should thereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

Then they will say, as we would say under similar circumstances, that there are no such limitations in the instrument.

They will further read in the Declaration of Independence that to secure the inalienable rights of man, "governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." They will ask, Why is not our consent asked in the government of our own islands and of our own people? And they will further ask, Why is it that a distant nation that we never heard of prior to four years ago now declares that It Will Give to our people the largest measure of self-government consistent with our welfare, but to be determined by them and not by us? Then they will read from Lincoln the following terrible arraignment of such a position:

These arguments that are made that the inferior races are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; that they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. Turn it whatever way you will, whether it come from the mouth of a king, an excuse for enslaving the people of the country, or from the mouth of men of one race for enslaving the men of another, it is all the same old serpent.

Then they will read from the Declaration of Independence "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

And then they will ask, Why does not this Declaration give us the right to have a government of our own to attain these ends?

Sir, there can be no answer to these questions, from the standpoint of the Administration, that will be satisfactory to them or would be satisfactory to us if we were in their place. Therefore to treat them as subjects is to give them cause for discontent and for violence.

Our government of the islands under these conditions will be a miserable failure. It will require thousands and thousands of soldiers, which will make the cost of holding the islands far out of proportion to the benefits we will receive. It will require an increase of the soldiers in the exact proportion that we educate them to understand the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

What political difficulties do we get into if we treat them as citizens? We say that the products of the cheap labor of the Philippine Islands can be brought to this country to compete freely with the products of the labor of the American citizens, and that the Filipino can come to the country to which he owes allegiance and can himself here compete with the labor of our

own people. We know that the American laborer will never stand the competition of the cheap labor of the Orient, and they should not be compelled to compete with men who live on 3 cents a day and whose daily wage is between 20 and 30 cents. We have had an exhibition of the spirit of the American workman upon this question. The permission of this Government to let Chinese immigrate to our shores produced among our own workmen discontent and violence, and if restrictive legislation had not speedily followed it would have resulted in revolution itself.

So that when we treat the Filipinos as citizens and let them compete with our own workmen we do our own laborers a wrong and give them cause for discontent and for violence. Thereby we simply transfer the storm center of discontent from the Philippine Islands, where it will exist if we treat them as subjects to our own country, where it will exist if we treat them as citizens. Nor can we ever solve this problem during annexation, because we invoke principles which are against human nature. The only solution is in treating them as we do the Cubans—help them establish a government of their own and give them their independence.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

Mr. Chairman, another great political objection to holding the Philippine Islands is that it violates a doctrine which has been maintained and held sacred by the people of this country ever since 1823.

It was in 1815, after the downfall of Napoleon, that an alliance was formed among some of the continental powers of Europe, by which they sought to perpetuate the principles of absolute monarchy as against the growing tendency for republican forms of government. In recognition of the idea of "the divine right of kings" this combination was termed the "Holy Alliance."

Spain was a party to that combination, and at a meeting of their diplomatic representatives held at Verona, Italy, in October, 1822, it was proposed that there be restored to Spain, as her colonies, the Spanish-American republics of South and Central America, which had asserted and established their independence. It was an alignment of powers in behalf of monarchies against republics, in behalf of oppression against liberty. As part compensation to France, one of the nations to the alliance for this proposed interference in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, it was suggested that the princes of the restored Bourbons of France be placed over some of the Spanish-American empires.

When President Monroe announced that we would consider any attempt on the part of European monarchies to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, there was unquestionably an implied promise

that we would not interfere with the affairs of the Eastern Hemisphere.

The announcement of this policy elicited the greatest excitement in Europe, and received a most enthusiastic indorsement from the people of the United States.

Sir, it was an ultimatum to the monarchs of Europe in behalf of liberty and independence.

Mr. Chairman, no Presidential message in the history of this Government has produced such far-reaching and beneficial results to the Republic as that of December 2, 1823. Truly it has been said that it was the second Declaration of Independence. Although the doctrine enunciated therein has not been recognized by the powers of Europe as a principle of international law in express terms, yet it is nothing more than the same principle they all acknowledge in the doctrine of the balance of power, and it has in numerous instances been acknowledged by their conduct. France, in withdrawing its support to the claims of Maximilian to the crown of Mexico, and Great Britain, in consenting to arbitration of the Venezuelan boundary dispute, in answer to the demands of the United States, acquiesced in the clearest manner to this American doctrine.

OUR OWN SAFETY INVOLVED.

First, the principle of the Monroe doctrine is based on the safety of our Government. There is no power in North or South America that can endanger our national existence, even if it so desired. The rival powers are all located across the Atlantic Ocean. There is no danger from those powers as long as they have no footing on the Western Hemisphere. Hence our safety and self-protection dictate a policy which prevents them from obtaining paramountcy in any part of the New World.

The blessings which have flowed and must continue to flow from such a policy are inestimable. Instead of the constant disputes and wars which must arise between rival nations possessing contiguous or threatening territory, we are bound to have the blessings of almost universal peace.

Sir, the difference between the development of a country which has peace and one which has wars at frequent intervals is the difference between wealth and poverty, prosperity and depression.

To deplete the productive forces of a country at frequent intervals, in order to supply soldiers for war and for large standing armies, must, in a long series of years, affect most seriously the development of that country.

By adhering to this doctrine and confining our acquisitions of territory to this hemisphere, and to those only with the consent of the governed, we will not only have peace, but we will remove

the necessity of a large standing army, which contiguous rival nations are compelled to maintain in order to insure peace.

The progress of a nation is, in the long run, determined by the amount that is levied upon its industries. Its development is inversely in proportion to the amount of the taxes imposed.

In the nineteenth century there was expended by the nations of Europe in maintaining wars and standing armies more than \$100,000,000,000. On account of the large military and naval establishments made necessary to preserve peace the taxes of Great Britain are 10 per cent, of France 13 per cent, and of Germany 10½ per cent of the earnings of their peoples. In the United States the taxes were, previous to the engagement in Manila Bay, only 5 per cent of the earnings of our people.

At the beginning of the century we possessed none of the accumulated wealth which made the European nations at that time powerful, and yet, by adhering to the policy enunciated by President Monroe, which insures peace and low taxation, we have built a nation which in wealth surpasses any one of our rivals, and in productive power is equal to Great Britain, France, and Germany combined.

For our own safety and prosperity we can not be too careful in further scrupulously guarding the principles of the Monroe doctrine.

THE PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN RIGHTS INVOLVED.

The second great result of the Monroe doctrine was its benefit to mankind. At the time it was announced, republics other than the United States had not firm footing among the nations of the world.

They were scorned and ridiculed by all the monarchies. The Holy Alliance expected to extinguish all the republics of the Western World except the United States, and at one time it even intimated that it might assist Great Britain in restoring to her dominion the States of this Union.

Sir, that message called a halt to the movement of the European monarchies and assured the protection of our Government to the liberties of the people of North and South America.

It was an important step in the forward march of civilization and a great movement in behalf of human rights. It made the New World a refuge for the oppressed of every nation and the home of freedom and liberty.

The European nations have no use for republican institutions; and if the Monroe doctrine is modified or compromised it will not be long until they get such a footing upon the Western World as will endanger the republics of this hemisphere. When we hold territory in the Orient we are in justice bound to give to the

European nations the privilege of acquiring territory on this continent. I for one am not willing to abandon or jeopardize the wholesome effect of the Monroe doctrine.

RACE PROBLEMS.

The history of the world shows that race problems have been the most difficult of all to solve. While people have been willing to acknowledge the equality of men of their own race, they have generally in practice denied it as to other races. While man will suffer the bitterest enemy of his own race to exercise authority over him, he will not quietly permit men of other races to do the same.

Race wars will surely ensue, and they are the most cruel and unrelenting of all conflicts. Why jeopardize the peace and quiet of our contented people, and invite the violation of the laws of our Government by adding to our country a people of a tropical clime, who are not homogeneous with us in either manners, customs, or character?

From the political standpoint, therefore, it seems to me foolish for the United States to attempt to hold the Philippine Islands.

II. From the Commercial Standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, I wish now to examine this question from the commercial standpoint. That the Philippine Islands can never become a source of profit, either to the United States Government or to the American people, seems susceptible of demonstration. Peace exists in nearly all the islands, but it is a pacification resulting from fear, and the smoldering fire of insurrection still burns in the hearts of the people. The losses of the Philippine forces in the late war were exceedingly large, and it is but natural, where death has visited so many homes, that animosity to American rule should exist for at least a generation. While that feeling continues it will be unsafe to withdraw our soldiers from the islands. Organized resistance is over, yet 43,000 of our troops still remain in the archipelago, and we are sending more. In my judgment, the time will never come when a less force than 30,000 men will be required to preserve order in the 1,000 islands, divided from each other by waterways, wide and dangerous, and inhabited by 8,000,000 people of an alien race.

Gen. Wesley Merritt, in a recent interview, said:

Doubtless the American people will be sorry to be assured that a permanent army of 40,000 soldiers will be required to hold the Philippines; but conservative officers on the spot are convinced that this view of the situation is correct.

The following extract is from a recent letter from General Chaffee to Major Heath:

You ask me when, in my opinion, the greater part of the troops will be withdrawn. I wish I could but answer you with any degree of definiteness.

The same query was propounded by General Corbin when he was here. In reply he was told that the force should not be reduced below the 30,000 level for at least five years. I am of the opinion that at least that number of men will be required for a much longer time—perhaps for a quarter of a century.

The revenues collected from the Philippine people are not more than sufficient to meet the expenditures of the civil government, nor are they likely to exceed that amount if the improvements so greatly needed are to be made. Except in the vicinity of the larger cities there are no public roads or bridges, and in cities and towns outside of Manila water and sewer systems, school-houses, and proper public buildings, electric light and gas plants are unknown. Nearly every harbor in the islands requires large improvements. The Civil Commission, in their last report, used the following language:

In view of the very great burdens which will be placed upon the public civil funds, the moment a satisfactory school system is inaugurated and the needs for internal improvements are supplied, the revenue, unless materially increased, will be insufficient.

The people are poor and unable to pay higher taxes than those required to meet the expenses and urgently needed expenditures of the civil government.

Mr. Chairman, for a quarter of a century the War Department has estimated the average cost of a soldier in times of peace, including his food, clothing, equipment, ammunition, and transportation, at \$1,000 per annum, and the appropriations of Congress have accorded therewith. The cost of the army in the Philippines, however, is fully 50 per cent higher, on account of the additional pay to officers and men, the greater prices of supplies, and the increased cost of transportation. As it is dangerous to keep our troops in a tropical climate for a period longer than three years, the long distance must be traversed often. The maintaining of 30,000 soldiers in the Philippines in times of peace therefore means an expenditure on the part of the National Government of \$45,000,000 per annum.

OUR COMMERCE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Such expenditure can not be justified on the ground that the islands will largely increase our commerce. I hold in my hand the annual report of the Secretary of War, dated November 27, 1901. According to that report the imports to the Philippine Islands for the fiscal year 1901 came from the following countries:

United States	\$2,855,685
United Kingdom	6,956,145
Germany	2,135,252
France	1,683,929
Spain	2,161,352

China.....	\$4,359,941
Hongkong.....	2,340,585
British East Indies.....	2,182,892
All other countries.....	5,623,625
Total.....	30,279,406

The exports of the islands went to the following countries:

United States.....	\$2,572,021
United Kingdom.....	10,704,741
Germany.....	81,526
France.....	1,934,256
Spain.....	1,655,255
China.....	73,701
Hongkong.....	2,697,276
British East Indies.....	759,286
All other countries.....	2,736,886
Total.....	23,214,948

Sir, I regard that statement as the most powerful and potent argument, from the commercial standpoint, against the retention of the Philippine Islands that has ever been made. It truly tells a wonderful tale.

Although the flag of our country has been floating over the ports of the archipelago for nearly three years, yet it will be seen from that statement that the United States has acquired not one-tenth of the imports to the islands. It will be noted that the total imports from the United States was only \$2,855,685, and a large part of that consisted of goods demanded and purchased by our own soldiers. It is asserted that the average exporter, after paying transportation charges and insurance, does not make a profit of more than 10 per cent upon his goods. Ten per cent of the imports to the islands from our country was simply \$285,568. That is the total profit in an entire year which was made to our commerce by the holding of the Philippine Islands.

What an absurd proposition that the National Government should make an annual expenditure of \$45,000,000 in order for commerce to make a profit of \$285,568. Who gets the profit—the United States Government? Oh, no. The profit is to the exporter. Who pays the \$45,000,000 a year? The Government. And who pays the Government? The people of the United States.

It must be borne in mind that these figures are predicated upon a peace basis, the expenses now being fully 50 per cent greater.

How long will the American people stand the expenditure of \$45,000,000 a year out of moneys collected from the people for the purpose of putting into the pockets of a few of the exporters of goods a profit of \$285,568 a year?

Divide the \$45,000,000 by the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year and you will find that the Government, on a peace basis, must spend \$123,287 each day. An expense every sixty hours of

more than the total profit in an entire year to the exporter of goods. An expense of \$157 for each dollar of profit to commerce.

It is said, however, that our commerce with the Philippines will increase, and so it may, but it will require years to make this increase substantial. The United States with its phenomenal record only doubled its exports in twenty-odd years. Our exports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, were \$335,638,658, and for 1901 were \$1,487,656,544. Suppose our exports to the islands double, treble, or even increase tenfold (surely that is a sufficiently optimistic estimate), still we would have the expenditure on the part of the Government of more than \$15 for every dollar of profit made by our exporters.

Mr. Chairman, these figures state much more favorably to the Government the situation than in reality exists. They do not take into consideration the payment of pensions to soldiers and widows for disease and death accelerated by a tropical climate, nor the cost of fortifying the seaboard cities of the islands, nor the large appropriations needed for an additional navy to defend distant possessions, so vulnerable to attack. The cost of imperialism is far greater than I have stated. It is shown in the appropriations of Congress for each of the last two years as contrasted with those for the year immediately preceding the Spanish war. The appropriations were:

For the fiscal year ending June 30—	
1897	\$469,499,010
1901	710,150,862
1902	730,338,575
Official estimates for the year ending June 30, 1903.....	743,374,804

After allowing the average percentage for increased service required by growth of population, these appropriations demonstrate that the cost of imperialism has been more than \$200,000,000 each year.

If we could take the hundreds of millions of dollars which are worse than thrown away in the Philippines and apply them to the reclamation of the 73,000,000 acres of public arid lands of the West capable of being irrigated, more lands would be opened for settlement for our people than in all the islands and countries of the tropical zone.

But greater than all cost is the loss in life of many of the flower and youth of our land. The deadly effects of a tropical climate, even in times of peace, will continue to deplete the ranks of our soldiers as long as we hold the islands.

TRADE DOES NOT FOLLOW THE FLAG.

The report of the Secretary of War tells another mighty truth with relation to the imports to the Philippine Islands. It says:

The imports from the United Kingdom, from Germany, from France, and from the British East Indies have increased in a greater proportion than the imports from the United States.

We have heard of the claim that trade follows the flag, yet this statement shows that the Philippine people are increasing their trade with other countries more than they are with the country whose flag floats over the archipelago. It will be observed that the imports from Spain were \$2,161,352. What does it mean? It means that the people of the island bought from hated Spain, the country with whom they had been at war for many years, almost as many goods as they purchased from the United States. It demonstrates that trade does not follow the flag, but does follow the price list; that the Filipinos, like the Americans, will buy where they can buy cheapest and sell where they can sell dearest.

In the past ten years England, with all her colonies, has lost in trade, while the United States, with no colonies, has, within the same period, increased her trade by more than 50 per cent. Yea, more, while England has lost trade with her own colonies, the United States has gained trade in the same colonies.

Mr. Courtney, president of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain, says that nine out of every ten Europeans going to tropical colonies are either buried or return home invalided within three years; that the largest of the 120 Belgian trading companies maintain a service of only seven months out of every twenty-four. Against such a death rate no commercial profit can be shown.

No one who has visited the Philippine Islands has ever claimed that it is a white man's country; that our farmers or laborers could do manual labor there. Although we have been occupying the islands for nearly three years, not a single white man can be found engaged in raising agricultural products. The only chance is for the rich white man, who can utilize the cheap labor of the islands, and even as to that, it is doubtful whether money can be made thereby. They can never become colonies in the true sense of the word, but only military settlements and places of residence for officeholders of the islands.

WE CAN NEVER CONTROL CHINESE TRADE THROUGH MANILA.

The idea that we can obtain the trade of China through Manila is most chimerical. That port is not on the way from our Pacific coast cities to China. The line of travel of steamships is and always will be by Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hongkong to Manila. It must be remembered that the earth rounds to the north, and the shortest route is the one which goes within 200 miles of the Aleution Islands. Manila is 630 miles from the nearest Chinese port, with a freight rate on general merchandise of \$4 per ton against her. There must also be added the cost of unloading and reloading the ship at Manila by lighters, as ocean steamers, on account of the shallow water, can not anchor within a mile of

that city. With what ridicule would the New Yorker receive the intelligence that English merchants proposed to capture the trade of the United States by establishing large wholesale and jobbing houses at Halifax! Yet it is not so absurd as that we can control the trade of China through Manila. If we want the trade of China, we must seek it at the great seaboard cities of that Empire. China is anxious to sell us small concessions for trade purposes.

I was told at Canton by the American consul that for \$250,000 our Government could obtain a concession, across the river from that city, large enough for all our trade and manufacturing purposes. For years we have had a concession at Shanghai extending along the water front for 2 miles. For local governmental purposes it has been included in what is termed the international concession, which is governed by the joint powers having interests there. Although more than 200,000 Chinese live within the international concession they have a voice neither in the government thereof nor as to the imposition of taxes therein. Such a concession, situated near the mouth of the Yangtze, the greatest river in China, running through one of the richest and most extended valleys of the world, is worth more to us for Chinese trade than a hundred Manilas. We have recently acquired rights in international concessions at Amoy and Tientsin, and I hope the good work will continue; Manila, however, is worth nothing to us for controlling Chinese trade.

From whatever view we examine the question, it seems clear that the Philippine Islands can never become of great commercial advantage to us, and will continue to be a source of large expenditure on the part of the National Government.

III. From the Military Standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, from the military standpoint I mean, does the annexation of the Philippine Islands strengthen or weaken our nation?

It is related that after the signing of the treaty which ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States, Señor Sagasta, the Spanish prime minister, said: "Now is Spain avenged." How true has this prediction proved. The Philippine Islands have already cost our Government more than \$300,000,000, and many of the best of the youth of our land. Their acquisition may transform us from a peaceful into a warlike nation. Victor Cousin was not without reason when he said: "Tell me the geography of a country, and I will tell you its future."

Continuous territory is the least vulnerable form of possessions. It is a rule of warfare, as unerring as the instinct of self-interest,

that the enemy should always be attacked at its weakest point. We followed that rule in the late war with Spain. We did not engage her upon her home territory because we knew it would require ten times the men and ships to enforce submission. We made our assaults upon her most vulnerable possessions, namely, Cuba and the Philippines, 3,000 and 13,000 miles, respectively, from her base of operations. We attacked her in the two colonies where the people were in open revolt against Spanish tyranny and oppression, and where we knew we should receive cooperation and assistance.

Foreign powers have hitherto hesitated to make war upon us because of the knowledge that, even if successful, they could not permanently hold any of our territory. The rulers of foreign nations knew with certainty that even if they could accomplish the difficult feat of occupying and annexing a portion of our continuous territory the succeeding years would undoubtedly be spent by our nation, as well as by the inhabitants of the annexed territory, in preparing to overthrow the rule of the foreign power. The fear of such a result and the knowledge of the enormous advantage possessed by those who fight in defense of home and country have prevented even the dream of a war of conquest against us. The continuity of our territory not only prevents attack, but also enables us to determine at our will when we shall go to war. If we are not ready when the cause arises, we can wait in our impregnable country until we are prepared, as we did just before the late Spanish war. It also gives us the choice of the place of battle. As Mr. Gladstone once said:

The distinction between a continuous empire and one severed and dispersed over the seas is vital.

Sir, with the acquisition of islands 7,000 miles from our shores, how changed becomes the situation! In our first conflict with a European nation the scene of action will be shifted to the Philippines. Our foe will see the importance of attacking our weakest point, and will take advantage of the fact that the people of those islands have recently been in arms against us, knowing full well that where death in such a conflict has embittered so many families the spirit of insurrection will continue for at least a generation. On account of these disadvantages some difficulties with foreign powers are likely to develop into wars, which would probably never have occurred had not the vulnerability of these far-away islands been an allurements to the aggressive spirit of warlike nations.

If we are to retain the Philippines, what must be done to overcome the disadvantage of their situation? We want no such surprises as Spain received from us. It becomes necessary to fortify

the seaboard cities and towns and to retain in the islands a force sufficient not only to prevent insurrection but to repel foreign attack. It will be further necessary to nearly double the proper strength of our Navy, so that in case of war we may be able to retain on our own coast the ships essential to our defense, and also to have in the archipelago fleets sufficiently large to meet and successfully engage the enemy. Although the total area of the Philippines is about the same as that of Arizona, it is divided into so many islands that the seacoast to be defended must nearly equal that of all the States bordering upon the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

But what will be the cost of all this? The numerous seaboard cities can not be fortified for less than tens of millions of dollars. The army of occupation scattered among these many islands to prevent foreign aggression and domestic insurrection can not be safely reduced below 30,000 men. The cost of such an army can not be less than \$45,000,000 per annum.

The Government expends about \$3,000,000 for the building of each battle ship, and a large amount each year to repair it, although after fifteen or twenty years it will become antiquated and useless.

Sir, the great wealth and development of our country have arisen from the fact that we have had peace, and that we have not been compelled to impose a constant tax on our industries and people to maintain large armies and navies. With our sovereignty removed from the Philippines, and with our sources of income practically unlimited, we should still be able to pursue our policy of peace and good will without fear of foreign aggression.

THE ARCHIPELAGO OF NO STRATEGIC VALUE TO US.

In view of the situation in China, the Philippine Islands are supposed by some to be of great strategic value to us. It is very improbable that we shall ever have any difficulty with the Chinese, because our interest is identical with theirs, namely, the preservation of the integrity of the Chinese Empire. But even if it were otherwise, why keep soldiers 600 to 1,500 miles from the possible scene of action, with a very limited transport service—and it is suggested, by the way, that this should be sold—when we could place them on our own concession at Shanghai, as the French, Germans, and English have done?

It was in these words that Lord Macaulay so eloquently denied the military advantage of colonies:

There are some who assert that from a military and political point of view the West Indies are of great importance to this country. This is a common but a monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its

fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in governments, and indigence among the people.

Mr. Frederic Harrison, an eminent English writer, has in the following vigorous language showed the weakness of the British Crown colonies:

But an aggregate of dependencies which is forever disturbed and menaced and forever awaiting or forestalling attack, which contributes nothing to the home government in money or men or resources of any kind, is not a strength but an increasing weakness. It must pull down the strongest race that ever trod the earth; and as it pulls them down it will hurry them from one crime to another.

Mr. Chairman, the decision as to whether we are to hold the Philippine Islands involves, therefore, the question whether we are willing to relinquish concentration for diffusion; to exchange land power, our natural strength, as to which we have enormous advantages, for sea power, as to which we have no peculiar advantage; and to give to the enemy in each conflict the choice of weapons, as well as of time and place of battle. With our military power upon land we need neither a large army nor a large navy, and require only light taxation upon the industries and people of the nation, which means prosperity. Exchanging this for sea power, we shall need a navy equal or superior to that of any warlike nation, and also a large army to sustain the results of our naval engagements, involving taxation which will so cripple many of our industries that they will be unable to compete for trade in the markets of the world, which means adversity.

Why pursue a course which will weaken the military strength of our nation? Why give up the advantages of a peaceful people for the disadvantages of a warlike people? "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." That judgment threatens not man alone, but also every nation that indulges the dream of universal empire.

It seems to me, therefore, that from a military standpoint the acquisition of the Philippines is weakening instead of strengthening to our nation.

CONCLUSIONS.

Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to show that the policy of forcibly annexing and holding the Philippine Islands is a violation of the moral law itself—wrong to the Philippine people, because it deprives them of God-given rights; wrong to our own people, because it makes us inequitable in crushing inalienable rights; wrong to any government we will impose upon them, because it is bound to produce a rule in our interest instead of theirs, and wrong to our own Government, because it destroys the foundation upon which it is built.

I have endeavored to show from the practical aspect—

First. That the political difficulties produced by annexation can never be solved with satisfaction either to them or to us.

Second. That commercially the islands can never reimburse us for the enormous expenditures required to hold them.

Third. That their retention is weakening instead of strengthening to our military power.

In my judgment the annexation of the Philippine Islands was the most stupendous blunder ever committed in American politics. We have taken hold of a red-hot poker and the longer we retain it the severer burn we will receive.

It seems to me that each of these positions is well taken. Then why not avoid the terrible consequences to our people and Government of the permanent retention of these islands? Why not recommit this bill to the committee from which it came, with instructions to report a measure promising to the Philippine people their independence and providing means for helping them establish a government of their own, based upon republican principles? The Spanish war was started for the freedom, liberty, and independence of the Cubans. Let not its final result be the subjugation, tyranny, and oppression of the Philippine people.

It is said by some that the Filipinos do not want independence. I do not believe it, but if it were true it should make no difference. It is not for the Filipinos we plead, but for the people of our own country. This question should be determined by what is best for our own Government. We can not give them citizenship without imperiling our civilization. We can not permanently deprive them of citizenship without destroying our republican institutions.

Mr. Chairman, it is said that the people of the United States in the election last year settled the policy of the Government for the future with respect to the Philippines, and that we ought to submit to that verdict; that the sentiment in behalf of the same is so strong that he who puts himself in its way will surely go down to defeat.

The election of 1900 did not settle the question. Other principles were involved in that contest. But even if the Philippine policy had been the only question, the result would not have reflected the matured judgment of the American people. The war fever engendered by the Spanish and Philippine wars was then at its height; such a time is never propitious for conservative action. Peace must rule before reason rules the mind.

But, sir, there are some principles for which a man should be willing to go down to defeat, and the policy of holding the Philippine Islands, in my judgment, involves such a principle. What would the world have thought of Abraham Lincoln if, after the

defeat of the Republican party in 1856, he had acquiesced in the result and concluded that the question of slavery had been settled forever? Great moral questions are never settled in one election, nor are they ever definitely determined until they are settled right.

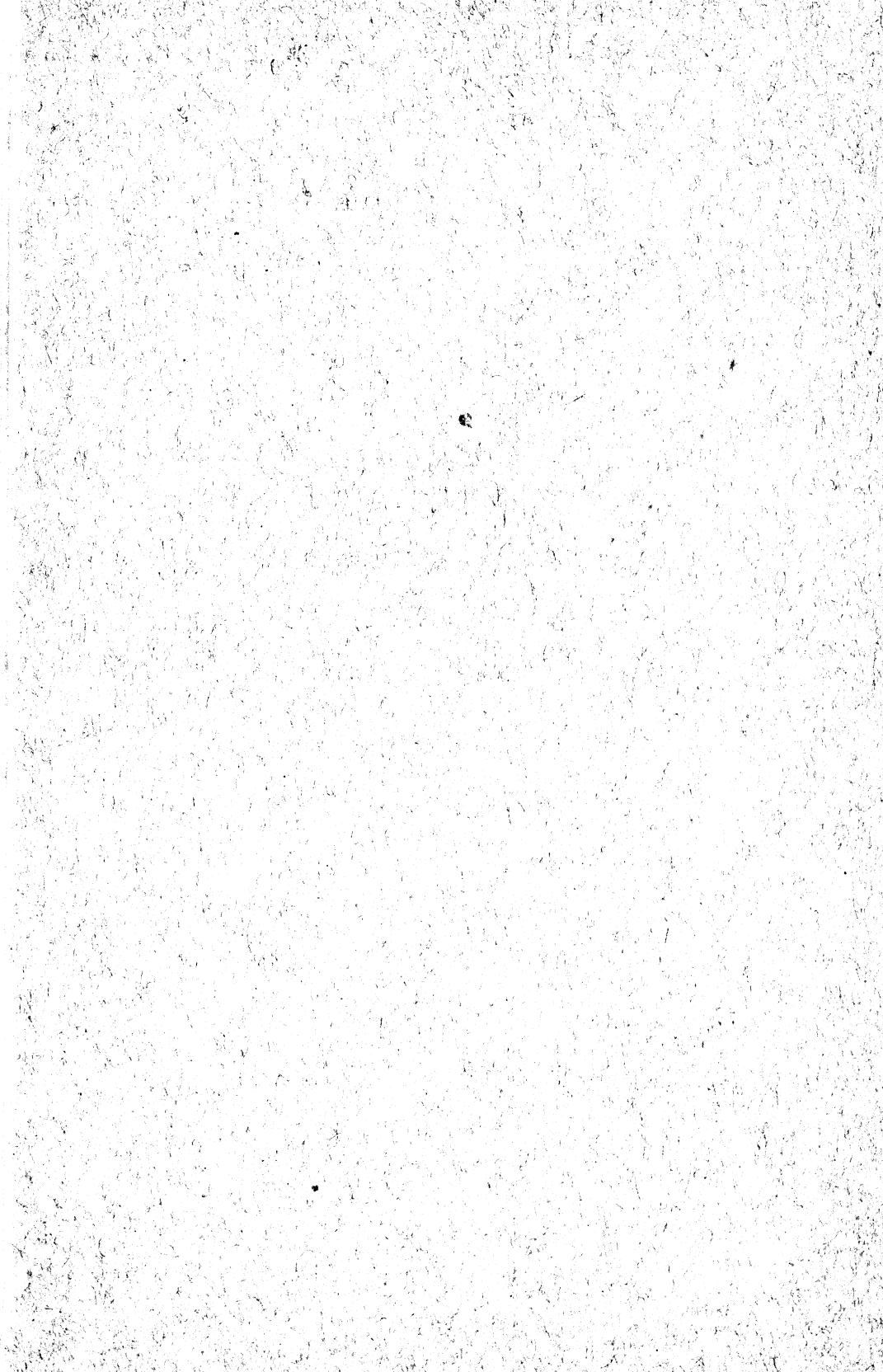
Mr. Chairman, the departure from the fundamental principles of our Government is far-reaching in its consequences. We can not deny to men the right of self-government without in time it affecting not only the morals of our people, but the very form of government under which we live. It was truly said the Republic could not endure half slave and half free, and I believe it can not endure half republic and half empire.

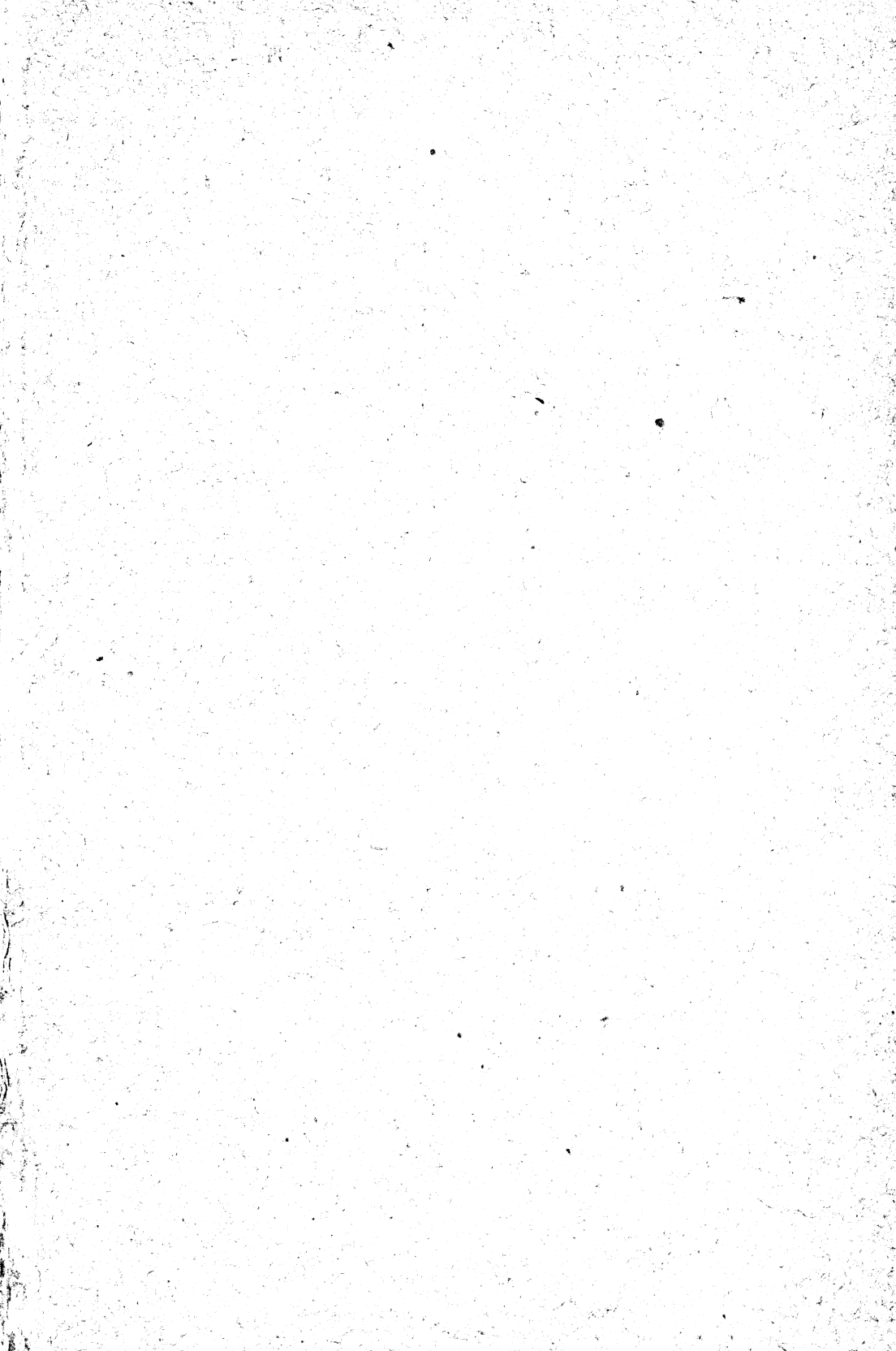
That is the lesson taught us by the history of the republics of old. That was the judgment of all the grand characters of our country from Washington to Lincoln, from Jefferson to Sumner. That was the decision of the Republican party itself in 1860, when it resolved—

That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, that governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions.

Our forefathers founded the most benign government ever established by man. The progress and advancement of its people under its administration have been unequalled in the history of the world. Its example has done more for downtrodden humanity than all the acts of charity since the beginning of time. Its principles of liberty have produced a civilization more splendid than could have been fancied or dreamed.

To jeopardize those principles, in my judgment, would be the most fatal error ever committed by the American people. Others may vote for measures which tend to change the Republic into an empire, but, as for me, I am for the Republic forever and for the empire never. [Great applause.]





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