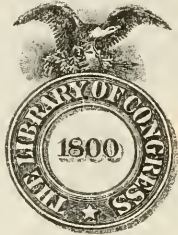


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ACQUISITION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

“Trade follows the price list, not the flag.”

“No nation ever retained its own liberty that denied it to others.”

SPEECH

OF

HON. CLAUDE A. SWANSON,
OF VIRGINIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1899.

WASHINGTON.

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, January 6, 1899.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 11414) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, and for other purposes—

Mr. SWANSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Last April, after much excitement, after much discussion, after much vacillation and effort at delay by the present Administration, Congress passed the following resolutions, which were signed and became law:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, First. That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

Mr. Chairman, these resolutions clearly defined the purpose of the United States when declaring war against Spain. The clear object therein expressed is the freedom and the independence of the island of Cuba. The people of that unfortunate island had been for years afflicted with Spain's merciless tyranny and oppression. Spain's rule and acts there had become so shocking to humanity, so revolting to every sense of Christianity and of civilization, that this country could not longer remain an idle spectator of such horrors. Being our neighbor, within a few miles of our shores, the Monroe doctrine preventing outside aid or interference, and seeing our commerce and business seriously disturbed by the dreadful civil war that looked as if it would never cease, we felt that an obligation rested upon us to interfere in Cuba and terminate the struggle and give liberty to her suffering people.

Our determination to settle finally and righteously the Cuban matter met with the almost universal approval of this nation. Party lines were forgotten, and each and all were eager to aid an

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oppressed people to gain the full enjoyment of liberty. Vast appropriations for the consummation of this noble purpose were made without party divisions, without a dissenting vote. A patriotic people responded to the call for volunteers to enlist in this noble cause, and in less than a month an army of over 200,000 men was organized and ready to move for the achievement of this commendable end. Thrice that number responded to the call and were desirous of enlisting in the just cause.

Sir, as I have said, for the accomplishment of the noble purposes embodied in these resolutions, there was practical unanimity in this country. The aims therein declared are in accord with the noblest traditions and the highest aspirations of the people.

Our highest resolve was to destroy in Cuba a colonial system of government and then let her people create such government as they desired. This would be a repetition of our achievements in our own Revolutionary war, when we destroyed a pernicious system of colonial government and announced as a fundamental principle that all government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. These resolutions, breathing in every line the highest humanity and the fullest liberty, added new luster to our fame as a nation and gave greater splendor to our national character.

Sir, in less than four months after these resolutions had been passed Spain, humbled in pride, bankrupt in finance, destroyed in naval and military power, sued for peace and was willing to grant every demand made in the resolutions. But, sir, in these few months what a wonderful change had been made from our high purposes by those who have had the conduct of affairs. An Administration that could scarcely be forced into waging war for humanity and for liberty became bent upon a war for conquest and for aggression; an Administration that had unwillingly consented to be the liberator of the Cubans gladly became the despoiler of the Philippines; an Administration that was loath to destroy colonial government in Cuba now seeks in the Philippine Islands to create a counterpart of the vicious one there destroyed; an Administration that tolerated for nearly a year the military government of a Weyler now intends to inaugurate indefinitely a military government for the people of these islands; an Administration that pretends to represent a free people who glory in the doctrine that all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed has bargained to purchase with money from the Spanish tyrant 9,000,000 people in utter disregard of their consent, and an Administration, we are told, willing to become one of the vultures hovering around China, prepared to devour her when she becomes a carcass. All this is announced as a new evangel. It is proclaimed as a new policy. It proposes to dethrone Washington as a teacher and a guide and to elevate McKinley as a priest and as a prophet. It marks, say its apostles, the ending of the old and the beginning of the new. Mr. Chairman, I do not favor the new departure. I stand for the old Republic. I am opposed to the new empire. I prefer taking the Philippine Islands and creating out of them a republic to enlighten the East rather than to use them to destroy the Republic which we have made in the West.

Sir, I am bitterly and unalterably opposed to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, as proposed by the advocates of this new policy. I do not believe, sir, that Congress has the constitutional power to acquire these islands, to hold and to govern them as is intended. It is broadly asserted that the purpose is to annex these islands, to hold and to govern them permanently as colonies, and

to never permit them to participate in the privileges of statehood. I do not believe that we have, under the Constitution, the power to acquire territory for such purposes.

The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that the Federal Government, possessing under the Constitution the absolute power of making war or treaties, has the power to acquire territory either by conquest or by treaty. This is not denied. But still the Government, in the exercise of this power, must do so in accordance with the spirit and purpose of our Constitution.

Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case (19 Howard, 432), said:

There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies, bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure.

Further in the same opinion, discussing the unquestioned power of Congress to acquire territory, he says:

It is acquired to become a State and not to be held as a colony and be governed by Congress with absolute authority.

The Supreme Court, in the celebrated Slaughterhouse Cases, said that the decision in this case had never been overruled. But this question of constitutionality is one which can address itself only to the political department of our Government and not to the judicial, for the judiciary has no power to pass upon the ultimate intentions of Congress.

Hence it has been declared by the courts in the same case that—

Whatever the political department of the Government shall recognize as within the limits of the United States, the judicial power is also bound to recognize and administer on it the laws of the United States.

Thus, there being no appeal from the action of the political department of the Government to the courts in annexing territory, it is more incumbent upon it to act in that matter strictly in accordance with the Constitution. An obligation to obey the Constitution rests as much upon the members of the legislative department as upon the judiciary. Our Supreme Court has announced that this Government has no power to acquire, hold, and govern territory as colonies.

Who can believe that the statesmen who wrote and adopted the Federal Constitution, and who had themselves denounced as tyranny colonial government and had risked their lives and their all to overthrow it, would immediately create a Government permitting an exercise of the very tyranny which they abhorred and had destroyed? Who can believe that the American patriots who denied the right of the British Parliament to tax their colonies, and who asserted that taxation without representation was tyranny, would, as soon as they made their declarations good, form a Government with power to reach forth its hand and impose taxation forever upon nine millions of helpless people, thousands of miles from our shores, without a semblance of representation or of consent on their part? The advocates of the new order would have us believe that our Revolutionary fathers maintained that colonial government was tyranny when imposed on them, but justice when they imposed it on others, and that they thought taxation without representation or their consent was tyranny when inflicted on them, but was justice when they inflicted it on others.

Mr. Chairman, this is a blasphemy upon the memory of these patriotic, liberty-loving men. Every utterance of their lips, every act of their lives, belies this slander. No, sir; the constitutional Government formed by their hands neither by letter nor by spirit

gives room for the pernicious system of colonial government which, with its despotic military rule, has, everywhere it has gone, cursed and oppressed mankind.

Sir, not only do these latter-day saints, with the new light, claim that we can hold and govern the Philippine Islands permanently as colonies, but they insist that Congress has over them unlimited power of legislation and can govern them at its pleasure, unrestrained by the provisions of the Federal Constitution. They assert that the Constitution extends only over the States and not over the Territories. They further insist that section 3, Article IV, of the Constitution, providing that "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States," gives Congress unrestricted power of legislation in the Territories. But these contentions can not be maintained. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that while the power of Congress to legislate for the Territories is full and plenary, it must be subject to the guarantees, restraints, and provisions of the Federal Constitution.

Chief Justice Taney, in the *Dred Scott* case quoted above, says:

The Territory being a part of the United States, the Government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the Federal Government can exercise no power over his person or property beyond what that instrument confers nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved.

Chief Justice Waite, in *National Bank vs. Yankton* (101 U. S., 132), in discussing the power of Congress over territory, says:

But Congress is supreme, and for the purpose of this department of its governmental authority has all the power of the people of the United States, except such as has been expressly or by implication reserved in the prohibitions of the Constitution.

In *Reynolds vs. United States* (98 U. S., 162) the court said:

Congress can not pass a law for the government of the Territories which shall prohibit the free exercise of religion. The first amendment to the Constitution expressly forbids such legislation.

In *Springville vs. Thomas* (166 U. S., 707), a case from the Territory of Utah, the court said:

In our opinion the seventh amendment secured unanimity in finding a verdict as an essential feature of trial by jury in common-law cases. The act of Congress could not impart the power to change the constitutional rule and could not be treated as attempting to do so.

In *Thompson vs. Utah* (170 U. S., 346) Justice Harlan says:

That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the right of trial by jury in suits at common law apply to the Territories of the United States is no longer an open question.

In *Murphy vs. Ramsey* (114 U. S., 15) the court says:

The people of the United States as sovereign owners of the national Territories have supreme power over them and their inhabitants. In the exercise of this sovereign dominion they are represented by the Government of the United States, to whom all the powers of government over that subject have been delegated, subject only to such restrictions as are expressed in the Constitution or are necessarily implied in its terms.

If there was further doubt that the Constitution of the United States extends to all territory subject to the authority of the United States it would be removed by the case of *Callam vs. Wilson* (127 U. S., 550). Congress had passed an act permitting justices in the District of Columbia to inflict punishment in certain cases without providing for jury trial, as guaranteed in the Federal Constitution. It was insisted by Callam that the act was void, being repugnant to the Federal Constitution. It was insisted by

the Attorney-General that Congress had unlimited power over the District, and that the provisions of the Federal Constitution could not restrain it, since section 8, Article I, of the Constitution, in enumerating the powers of Congress, provided:

To exercise exclusive legislation over such District (not exceeding 10 miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States.

Yet the court held that Congress did not have power to legislate for the District unrestrained by the Federal Constitution, but that the Constitution extended over the District, and that the act of Congress permitting the infliction of punishment without jury trial was contrary to the sixth amendment, and hence void.

Thus the Supreme Court has uniformly and repeatedly held that the Federal Constitution extends to all territory subject to the authority of the United States, and that Congress, in legislating for this territory, is restrained by the provisions of the Federal Constitution; that wherever goes the power of our Government there goes the restraint of our Constitution. Hence, if the Philippine Islands were annexed and the authority of the United States established, the Constitution would immediately become operative there, and all of the inhabitants there who were in the jurisdiction and subject to the authority of the United States Government would be entitled to all the rights and privileges given by the Constitution.

Thus, since any government that we should create for these islands would be under and subject to the Constitution, it renders us powerless under our form of government to devise a system suited to the conditions of the inhabitants of these islands. Our Constitution requires the right of trial by jury for all crimes. This form of trial would be impossible with the savages of the islands. It would be a travesty upon law and justice. Our Constitution preserves the trial by jury in all common-law cases where the amount in controversy exceeds \$20. There would be no protection to property when the title to it was dependent upon the verdict of unlettered and depraved savages.

The Constitution furnishes a great many cases similar to these, which conclusively show that it is impossible to form under it a government which can successfully rule the wild and uncivilized tribes of these islands. To endeavor to apply a constitution formed for a highly civilized, a free, and a liberty-loving people to the needs of barbarians and of savages must end in complete failure.

But, Mr. Chairman, this is not the only disappointment that awaits those who urge the new venture. Those gentlemen have ever been advocates of a high protective tariff. They have always proclaimed the necessity of protecting by high import duties the products of the American laborer against those of the pauper laborer of Europe. They perceive that there will be a complete abandonment of this doctrine when the Philippine Islands are annexed, unless Congress has the power to impose an import duty on goods brought into this country from them. Thus they assert that when the Philippines are annexed Congress will have power to enact laws imposing customs duties there different from the rest of the United States, and can exact payment upon goods from these islands when imported into this country. But, sir, this position is wholly untenable. As has just been shown, as soon as the Philippines are annexed the Constitution of the United States immediately extends over them.

Now, section 8, Article I, of the Constitution provides:

But all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

The meaning of this provision and the extent of its application have been fully determined by the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Marshall, in *Loughbough vs. Balke* (5 Wheat., 317), in rendering the opinion of the court upon the question, says:

The eighth section of the first article gives Congress the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises for the purposes therein mentioned. This grant is general, without limitation as to place. It consequently extends to all places over which the Government extends. If this could be doubted, the doubt is removed by the subsequent words, which modify the grant. These words are, "but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

It will not be contended that the modification of the power extends to places to which the power itself does not extend. The power, then, to lay and collect duties, imposts, and excises may be exercised, and must be exercised, throughout the United States. Does the term designate the whole or any particular portion of the American empire? Certainly this question can admit of but one answer. It is the name given to our great Republic, which is composed of States and Territories. The District of Columbia or the territory west of the Missouri is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania, and it is not less necessary on the principles of our Constitution that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties, and excises should be observed in the one than in the other.

The case of *Cross, etc., vs. Harrison* (16 Wall., 164), is equally as decisive in determining that if the Philippines are annexed, the imposts, duties, and excises collected there must be uniform with those of the United States. The facts in that case are as follows: The treaty of peace was made between the United States and Mexico on the 3d of February, 1848. By that treaty California was ceded to the United States. As soon as this was done the Government authorities at Washington directed its subordinates in California to at once collect the customs duties there on goods from foreign countries, as provided by the laws of the United States.

Congress did not pass an act extending the customs laws of the United States to California, and designating therein a port of entry until the 3d of March, 1849. Between the 3d of February, 1848, and the 3d of March, 1849, Cross brought to the port of San Francisco goods upon which Harrison, the Government subordinate, demanded payment of duties under the laws of the United States. Cross paid under protest, and afterwards instituted suit to recover the amount paid. His contention was that the customs laws of the United States did not extend to California until the act of Congress extending them was passed, and hence the amount was illegally collected, having been paid before the act was passed. The courts held that the customs laws of the United States extended to California as soon as it was ceded and that the amount was properly collected.

Mr. HEPBURN. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. SWANSON. Certainly.

Mr. HEPBURN. Were not these duties collected by the military officers of the United States?

Mr. SWANSON. They were collected by officers that had been designated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Mr. HEPBURN. They were designated by the President as Commander in Chief.

Mr. SWANSON. They were designated by Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury. He issued instructions to collect the duties, Mr. Walker being Secretary of the Treasury at that time; and the

specific question decided was that the minute California was ceded it became a part of the territory of the United States, and being a part of the territory of the United States, as all customs and impost duties of the United States must be uniform, consequently the laws went there. So that when the Philippine Islands are annexed, you gentlemen who believe in protection must abandon that theory and see that that labor comes in competition with the labor of this country.

In delivering the opinion in that case, Justice Swayne says:

To permit these goods to be landed in the port at San Francisco would be a violation of that provision of the Constitution which enjoins that all duties, imports, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. Indeed, it must be clear that no such right exists, and that there was nothing in the condition of California to exempt importers of foreign goods into it from the payment of the same duties which were chargeable in the other parts of the United States. * * * That the ratification of the treaty made California a part of the United States, and that as soon as it became so the territory became subject to the acts which were in force to regulate foreign commerce with the United States after those had ceased which had been instituted for its regulation as a belligerent right.

Thus under these decisions the ratification of the treaty just made with Spain will make the Philippine Islands a part of the United States from the time of cession, and being a part of the United States, all of the customs laws of the United States will immediately extend over them, and, under the Constitution, the duties, imports, and excises imposed there must be uniform with those imposed in the other portions of the United States. Thus the United States will have absolute free trade with the Philippine Islands if annexed and the customs laws must be the same as ours.

Thus we see that those who heretofore have decried competition in production with the laborers of Europe now invite competition with the laborers of Asia, where the cost of living and the rate of wages are not one-tenth those of Europe. You Republicans will now have to tell the farmers and laborers of the country that you have reversed your policy; that you now favor and think it wise and just that the products of the factories and of the farms of this country should be sold in free and open competition in the home market with the products of Asiatic laborers who work for from 5 to 10 cents per day, whose only clothing is a cotton shirt, whose chief food is rice and bananas, and whose greatest delicacies consist of grasshopper soup and lizards.

Mr. Chairman, there is yet another position taken by the advocates of annexation which can not be sustained. They insist that when the Philippine Islands are annexed Congress will still have power to pass laws prohibiting emigration here of the large and undesirable population there. But, sir, the power to do this will not then exist, for the inhabitants of those islands will then have become citizens of the United States and will be entitled to this as one of their privileges, which neither the State governments nor the Federal Government can deprive them of.

Before the enactment of section 1, Article XIV, of the amendments to the Constitution there had been much discussion and much difference of opinion as to who were citizens of the United States. Many eminent persons claimed that no person was a citizen of the United States unless he was a citizen of some State composing the Union. This was never judicially decided prior to the enactment of the fourteenth amendment. That amendment provides that—

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.

Justice Miller, in the celebrated Slaughterhouse Cases (16 Wall., 73), in construing this amendment, said:

It declares that a person may be a citizen of the United States without regard to their citizenship of a particular State, and it overturns the Dred Scott decision by making all persons born within the United States and subject to its jurisdiction citizens of the United States. * * * Not only may a man be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of a State, but an important element is necessary to convert the former into the latter. He must reside in the State to make him a citizen of it, but it is only necessary that he should be born or naturalized in the United States to make him a citizen of the Union.

In *United States vs. Wingkin* (169 U. S., 649) it was held that a child born of Chinese parents who did not hold allegiance to this country, but were foreigners, if born in territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, was a citizen of the United States and that the acts of Congress excluding Chinese could not deprive him of his rights as a citizen.

The case of *Miner vs. Happersett* (21 Wall., 166) holds that "citizen" is a term used in a republic, and means the same as "subject" and "inhabitant" used in other places, and that each person associated in the nation is a citizen.

In *United States vs. Cruikshanks* (92 U. S., 549) the court says:

Citizens are members of the political community to which they belong. They are the people who compose the community and who in their associated capacity have established or submitted themselves to the dominion of a government for the promotion of their general welfare and the protection of their individual as well as their collective rights.

The case of *Boyd vs. Thayer* (143 U. S., 135) holds that the nationality of the inhabitants of territory acquired by conquest or cession becomes that of the government under whose dominion they pass, and that it is not necessary for them to take out naturalization papers. Thus these cases decide beyond question that if the Philippine Islands are annexed the children born there afterwards are citizens of the United States. They seem also to decide clearly that such as were subjects of Spain before cession become citizens of the United States after cession, except such as under the treaty provisions manifest a desire to remain subject to Spain.

As citizens of the United States, they are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens, which can not be denied them by either the Federal Government or by any of the State governments. It has been decided that among these privileges and immunities thus secured is the right to come to its seat of government, free access to its seaports, right to use its navigable waters, the rights secured by treaties with other nations, and the right to work and acquire property. (Slaughterhouse Cases, 16 Wall., 75.) Thus upon the ratification of the treaty the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands will become citizens of the United States, entitled as citizens to emigrate here, work here, and remain here so long as they choose, and neither the Federal Government nor the State government can prevent them.

Sir, this presents a serious matter to those of our fellow-citizens who live by the sweat of the brow. It means that every toiler in this country must compete with millions of Asiatic laborers, who are content with wages of less than 10 cents per day. It means reduced wages, and consequently less comforts and less opportunities to the laboring masses. It means the crowding of the labor market of this country with a class of laborers far inferior to the Chinese, whom we have excluded. We are told that in Manila, the capital of these islands, the most intelligent, the wealthiest, and the most influential class of natives are the 50,000 Chinese

residents there. We have had our experience with the Chinese as emigrants, and we know what a great peril they were to labor. Self-preservation demanded the exclusion of the Chinese.

With the danger from the invasion of the Chinese laborers still fresh in our memories, there are those who favor annexing to this Union nine millions of people inferior in every respect to the Chinese, and who will then become a perpetual menace to every wage earner in this country. When this is accomplished, then the vast trusts, combines, and corporations will either employ this cheap labor or else force the American laborer to accept the same rate of wages. If American laborers refuse to accept the reduced rates and organize to prevent the employment of their Asiatic competitors, then the great army created in this vast imperial scheme will be called out to protect the "new Asiatic citizens," and will, if necessary, use the bayonet against Americans struggling only to put bread in the mouths of their children.

Sir, in the great number of negroes, in the mixed classes which for years have come here from all parts of the globe, exist sources of danger which must be met with courage, wisdom, justice, and forbearance, or else great disaster awaits us. It seems to me that to add new dangers to the ones we already have before we have disposed of them is the supremest folly.

But, sir, there are other troubles besides these which will come with this new policy. Heretofore wars and revolutions in other countries have not affected us. Foreign strife has not at any time interfered with our progress. All this will be reversed. In the future our commercial, financial, and political affairs must be complicated with those of Europe and Asia, and we must feel every disturbance there.

As the Hawaiian Islands were but a starting point for the Philippines, so we are told now that the Philippines are but a stopping place on our start for possessions in China and in Asia. In the future our business men, like those of Europe, will have each day to scan the papers to ascertain whether there have been insurrections among our new subjects, or whether the war clouds are gathering in Asia or in Europe, before they will know how to conduct their affairs. Thus in the place of present certainty we bring boundless doubt; in the place of prosperous repose we bring ceaseless turmoil. In the past immense sums of money have sought investment in the United States. It has come because it was secure from the dangers of sudden and frequent wars which beset it elsewhere, and because it was not subjected to heavy taxation to support great naval and military systems, which are inseparable incidents to imperialism.

With the new order we abandon these advantages, and in the future money and capital will be subjected here to the same dangers and the same burdens which are inflicted on it elsewhere. This change of policy will have a very serious effect upon investments of foreign capital here and hence upon the future development of our country.

This new policy has also behind it far more than appears upon the surface. I believe that the main support to it comes from those who favor an offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain. It is evident to any thoughtful mind that Great Britain will some day have to fight for her Indian empire and her supremacy in the Orient. The collapse of the Chinese Empire, which must come soon, will hasten that day. The sooner this conflict comes the better it is for Great Britain. Now her navy is strong enough

to defeat the combined navies of any three other European powers. Ten or twenty years from now this will not be true. Hence her interest demands an early conflict so she may destroy the navies of Russia, Germany, and of other enemies before they have attained dangerous proportions. When she has accomplished this then she will have security for the next century. She desires to make us a party to this terrific struggle when it comes. She is anxious to create for us some interests in these parts, so that these interests can be used to embroil us and to unite us as her ally when the time comes. When we have become located at the Philippines we will then be invited to enter China. Already are the new imperialists ready and anxious to go.

They tell us that our destination is there. Already we are urged to adopt the British open-door policy in the Orient. When the conflict comes it will be said that our possessions, our trade, and our commerce in the East demand our participation, and as our policy is similar to that of England we should make common cause with her. The present imperialists will be found then as the firm advocates of that alliance. If they then prevail in the councils of this nation we will then be engaged in a great war, costing us millions of dollars and the loss of many men, and all for interests trifling in comparison to the sacrifices we must make. I am opposed to this. I am opposed to acquiring these islands, which will be used to inveigle us into wars which will cost us more in one year than we can make out of them by centuries of possession.

Mr. Chairman, while discussing this matter it is pertinent to determine what will be the cost of these new dangers and difficulties. Military authorities have estimated that it will take from fifty to one hundred thousand men to subdue the inhabitants of these islands. Spain, after over three centuries of blood and strife, has extended her authority over less than one-third of the whole group. In Luzon, which is the largest and in which is situated Manila, the capital, one-third of the people have never acknowledged the Spanish Government or submitted to it. All efforts to conquer them have proved fruitless. In many of the other islands Spanish rule is entirely confined to one or two fortified seaport towns.

Our difficulties in the Philippine Islands will be greater than were those of Spain. Among the nine millions of people the United States has not a friend, not a supporter. The Spaniards and their sympathizers, whom we conquered, will hold us in eternal hatred. The insurgents already defy us and bear us great enmity for not permitting them to establish a free and an independent government. The fierce men of the interior, constituting a majority, who have never been subdued, will contest to the bitter end all efforts to extend our government over them. In the Philippine Islands we will be strictly in the enemy's country. We can get only what we conquer and hold only what our military power will enable us to hold. Hence that it will take 50,000 men to subdue the islands and establish our authority there is a very conservative estimate. I fear it will take far more.

To the cost of these must be added the increased expense of the Navy, harbor improvements, fortifications, means of communication, and transportation for the troops. The cost of these and of the maintenance of the soldiers and of the sailors will be greatly enhanced by the distance from home. It is safe to say that the cost of all these will exceed seventy-five millions per year. This

will be the expenditure for the Philippine Islands until they have become subdued. The military authorities estimate that it will take an army of 30,000 men to hold them in subjection and keep peace and good order. It will require also the presence of a large navy. Each year will witness large expenditures out of the Treasury for their improvement and development. Each soldier in the Regular Army at present costs us about \$1,000. This cost will be greatly increased in the Philippine Islands.

The mortality among the soldiers there will be very great, and hence there will be a large increase of pensions from the military and naval establishments there. It is safe to say that the annexation of the Philippines will impose an annual additional charge upon the Treasury of the United States of about \$50,000,000. In the last twenty years, from 1878 to 1897, it has cost each year on an average for each citizen \$4.97 to administer the Federal Government. During this time we had a small Navy and a Regular Army of only 25,000 men. When we reflect that the Philippine Islands are to be governed by a military government, which is far more expensive than a civil one; that the standing army there will be six times larger in proportion to the population than we have had here in these same twenty years; that it is an undeveloped country, needing vast expenditures; that a large navy must be kept there continually, and that the people are wild and unsubdued, it is evident that if it has cost us \$4.97 for each citizen in this country annually, it will cost at least \$6 to govern each citizen in the Philippine Islands, which would make about \$55,000,000 annually for a permanent peace basis.

Sir, the advocates of this new policy claim that the expense can be borne by the revenues derived from the islands, but this is far from true. The Statesman's Year-Book for 1898, the most reliable of authorities, states that the revenues of these islands for the year 1895, the last year before the revolution and in which there were normal conditions, was £2,715,980 and that the expenditures were £2,656,026. Thus the revenues of the islands were about \$13,000,000, and after paying the costs of local administration there were only about \$300,000 left to the Spanish treasury to pay the expenses it had incurred.

A vast amount of this revenue duty was derived from an export duty on tobacco and other products, which, under our Constitution, we are prohibited from levying. Much of it is derived from sale of lottery tickets, which our Government would not tolerate. Much of it is derived from direct taxation, the most exacting and iniquitous ever imposed upon a people—this, under a liberal government, will have to be reduced more than half. Much of this is obtained from customs duties, which will be lost by annexation and free trade with us.

Besides, the Spanish taxation was so exorbitant, so excessive, that this country could not think of imposing half as much as Spain exacted. Thus it is plain that the revenues of the islands must be reduced over half, and consequently will not be sufficient to meet the demands of local administration. Thus, instead of receiving any money from the Philippine Islands to pay the expenses that will be incurred by the government there, this Government will be called upon not only to pay all of the expense of the naval and military establishments, but also for much of the local administration. The possession of these islands can not fail to bring upon us an annual tax of at least \$50,000,000.

Mr. Chairman, this means an increase of our present taxes.

The Secretary of the Treasury has estimated that there will be a deficiency of revenue next year of \$112,000,000 and for the succeeding year of about \$30,000,000. The deficiencies for these years will exceed the amount named for each year. Our customs duties have been decreasing each year. They will continue to do so. The Secretary in his estimates of revenue calculated a large increase from customs duties. Besides, with the annexation of the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico, sugar and tobacco will come in free and we will thereby lose about \$60,000,000 annually, which is included in the Secretary's estimate of revenue that will be collected.

Besides, in the Secretary's estimate for expenditures, he reduces the appropriations for pensions, when everyone knows that they will be greatly increased on account of the late war and from the fearful sickness that must prevail among the troops stationed in the tropical countries. Nothing is included for harbors, fortifications, public buildings, and other innumerable expenses which must be incurred in the new possessions. A careful analysis of our present receipts and of our future expenditures must convince anyone that if the imperial policy prevails there will be a deficit in our revenue under the present laws of over \$125,000,000 a year. Mr. Edward Atkinson, a noted and careful statistician, in a recent article estimates that the annual deficit will be \$178,000,000 if the imperial policy prevails.

Thus, if we decide to go into this policy, we must submit to an enormous increase of Federal taxes. If we abandon it and return to conservative and economical government, there can be a repeal of many of the taxes which now exist. Imperialism means greatly increased taxation; its defeat means greatly reduced taxation. Let the issue be made, and let the people determine whether they want additional burdens or whether they desire relief from many of those which now oppress them.

Mr. Chairman, what bright promises are held out to induce us to encounter these new difficulties, embrace these new dangers, and endure these new burdens? We are told that the acquisition of the Philippine Islands will give a great impetus to our trade and commerce. Glittering possibilities of untold wealth are pictured to the imaginations of the people. But these will be like Dead Sea apples—they will wither in the grasp.

The statistical abstract prepared by the Treasury Department shows that in 1897 we exported to and sold in the Philippines only \$94,597 worth of products. The largest amount we ever sold there was in 1889, when we sold \$179,647 worth of goods. We have had an equal chance there with Great Britain, and our sales have never exceeded the above amounts. For those few paltry thousands of dollars we are called upon to assume all of the risks and to bear all of the great expense.

But, suppose the most sanguine expectations of the imperialists should be realized and we should absorb the entire trade of the islands, what would be our benefits? The Statesman's Year-Book for 1898 shows that the entire imports into the Philippine Islands for 1896, the last year prior to the revolution, amounted to only £2,187,500. Thus if we should sell all of the goods imported there it would be only about \$10,000,000—\$40,000,000 less than the cost of holding them. The same year the exports from them amounted to £4,151,250, about \$20,000,000. Thus if all the imports and exports were given us free (not the profits on them) they would amount to \$10,000,000 a year less than the cost of keeping the islands.

But we are told that the possession of the Philippines will give us an entrance into China, with great development of trade. Last year our exports to China were \$11,924,433. If our trade in China can rival that of Great Britain it is as much as the most sanguine can expect. Great Britain has near there her Straits Settlements and vast possessions in India, which give her a great advantage over all competitors. She has in China Hongkong, which is fast becoming a great trade emporium. She has nearly a monopoly of the carrying trade of the world. She has done everything that diplomacy, force, energy, and capital could accomplish for the last fifty years to develop her Chinese trade. She has loaned them vast sums of money and been almost supreme in the councils of the Empire: yet last year her imports into the Chinese Empire were less than \$43,000,000, her profits less than \$10,000,000. Thus, should our trade equal that of Great Britain, which is far more than the most sanguine expect, the profits upon it would be less by \$40,000,000 than the costs incurred.

The entire import trade itself, if absolutely given us, would be less than the costs. Mr. Chairman, the people of China, like all those in the Orient, are poor and have very little with which to purchase goods. The accounts of its great wealth are fabulous and not real. Great Britain has spent millions upon millions of dollars to develop India, yet the trade and commerce of these 255,000,000 of people are only double that of Canada, with her 5,000,000. There are more possibilities of beneficial trade for us with Canada than with all the Orient combined. We are contemplating spending millions of dollars upon a wild venture for trade which must end in disaster, while we are foolishly throwing away by tariff restrictions a vast trade at our doors which would enrich us.

Mr. Chairman, we are at present fast gaining the position of commercial supremacy in the world. Our exports to-day exceed those of any other nation except Great Britain. Next year British exports will not exceed ours by 25 per cent. Not a great many years ago they were double. British exports are decreasing each year, while ours are increasing by leaps and bounds. If we make no mistake, in a few years our exports will exceed Britain's.

Our exports have increased from \$695,954,507 in the year 1888 to \$1,231,482,330 for the year 1898, being an increase of about 77 per cent in ten years.

This wonderful achievement has been due not only to our superior natural advantages, but also to the absence here of imperialism and of militarism, which, with their heavy burdens, have injured industry and production elsewhere.

It is estimated by the most careful statisticians and economists that the United States collects in taxes $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual product of her people; the Government of Great Britain about 7 per cent; Germany, 10 per cent; France about 17 per cent, and Italy about one-third of the annual product.

Thus, in taxation on products the United States has $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advantage over Great Britain, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over Germany, $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent over France—her three great rivals for the commerce of the world. To this great advantage is due, in a great measure, our wonderful increase in foreign trade. People will trade with those who can sell the cheapest. Those can sell the cheapest who have the least of their annual profit taken from them for taxation. Low prices, not armies, not navies, control the currents of commerce.

As has been well said, trade follows the price list, and not the flag. Three-fourths of the trade of Great Britain is with foreign countries, and not with her own possessions.

The adoption of the imperial policy by us, with its colonies, its navies, its armies, its vast expenditures, means a surrender of our present advantage over our competitors, which is fast giving us the markets of the world. Then the taxes and exactions upon our industry and products will equal those of other countries, and with this will disappear our coming commercial supremacy.

Mr. Chairman, these are some of the special reasons that induce me to oppose the new policy; but, sir, I am opposed to it on general principles—to this Government creating a colonial empire. These are the easiest of all empires to create; the easiest of all to destroy. They are as uncertain as the inconstant waves that hold them together. Their permanence is dependent upon naval supremacy. The proud billows of the ocean, with cruel fickleness, disdain for any length of time to acknowledge a master.

First, Portugal, with bold, skillful mariners, ventured forth upon the mighty deep and explored unknown regions. Supreme upon the ocean, she established colonies and made conquests all along the coasts of Africa, had vast possessions in America, erected an empire in India, and extended her dominion over the East. This magnificent colonial empire existed for years, but the home resources were finally exhausted in preserving the externals of the empire, and Portugal's power departed, never to return. In poverty and in wretchedness she reads the sad lesson of her wild ambition. Holland seized the scepter of naval power from Portugal, and in every clime were seen her sails, in every country were her colonies. Herself a child of the sea, snatched, as it were, from the waves, she thought her fickle mother would give her eternal sway. But vain hope! At last her garnered wealth was gone, consumed in colonial costs, and Holland, held by Spain's iron hand, experienced all of the vicissitudes and sorrows of vaunted ambition.

Then shone the unrivaled splendor of Spain. Continents were her colonies, and hemispheres did not limit the extent of her sway. This gorgeous glory continued for centuries. But at the beginning of the new year the flag of crimson and gold, planted by Christopher Columbus more than four hundred years ago, disappeared from America, and with it ended Spain's glittering career. In her present humiliation and helplessness she furnishes another melancholy instance that teaches that the paths of colonial conquest end in disaster.

Now the fickle waves obey Britain and she rides mistress of the seas. She has colonies on every continent and possessions in every clime. Her subjects include every race of mankind. One-fourth of the habitable globe receives as law her will. The splendors of all empires, past or present, are dimmed by those of Britain. This mighty magnificence can be maintained so long as the resources of the British isle are sufficient to sustain the splendid burden. But the time will surely come when these resources will have been exhausted in these vain glories, and then will come the collapse of Britain's colonial empire.

All nations are vain enough to think themselves exempt from the causes that brought about the overthrow of other countries. It seems that nations can learn only by sad experience that peace, liberty, and justice are the principles of national prosperity, and

that glory and conquest ultimately lead to misfortune. A great poet well expressed this truth when he said:

There is the moral of all human tales;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
 First freedom, and then glory; when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last;
 And history, with all her volumes vast,
 Hath but one page.

Mr. Chairman, these lines clearly present our past history and our present temptation.

After many sacrifices we won freedom. Freedom brought us great prosperity and happiness. Now comes the temptation for glory. The poisoned chalice is now pressed to our lips. Shall we dash it away or drink the exhilarating draft which ends in death?

Mr. Chairman, let us resist this temptation and let us continue to boast, as did our fathers, that the glory of our country does not consist in vast colonies, in great armies or navies, in the pomp or luxury of rulers, but that it consists of myriads of happy homes dotting the fair bosom of our land, whose inmates, possessed of plenty and blessed with the refining influence of education and Christianity, surround government with a strength greater than that derived from armies or from navies and more enduring than fortresses. Let us learn this profound truth, taught by history, that the nation is wisest, is best, that neither aspires to foreign conquest nor submits to foreign control. Before we enslave 9,000,000 people let us reflect that no nation ever retained long its own liberty which denied it to others. [Applause.]



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