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Democratic Party and Philippine Independence

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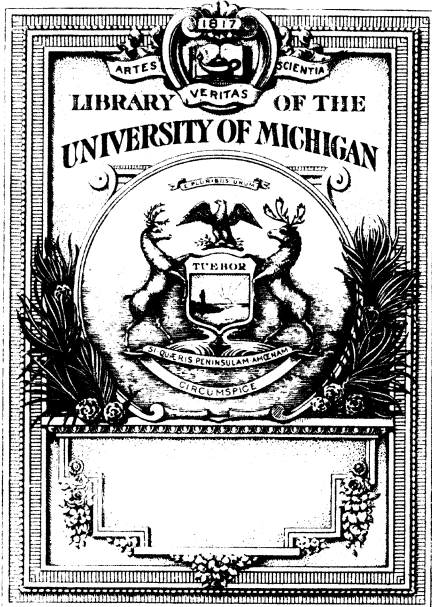
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THE GIFT OF
United States Senate



63D CONGRESS }
1st Session }

SENATE

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

AN ARTICLE

ENTITLED, "THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND
PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE"

BY

MOORFIELD STOREY



PRESENTED BY MR. SHAFROTH
August 9, 1913.—Ordered to be printed

WASHINGTON
1913

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

What will the Democratic Party do for the Philippine Islands?

This is one of the questions which presses for immediate consideration, and which should be dealt with now while the party is in power and before new issues arise to divert public attention and divide its councils.

THE PARTY'S PROMISES.

The promises of the party have been clear and explicit. When the treaty with Spain was ratified by which the United States acquired the islands, the votes of the Democratic Senators, without which the treaty would have been rejected, were given upon the theory that the treaty would end the rights of Spain in the islands, and that we should give them their independence.

The first Democratic national convention after the treaty met on July 4, 1900, and its declarations were positive. These were its words:

We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic.

We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration.

The Filipinos can not be citizens without endangering our civilization; they can not be subjects without imperiling our form of government; and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization nor to convert the Republic into an empire we favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to give the Filipinos, first, a stable form of government; second, independence, and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America.

The next national convention, which met on July 6, 1904, used these words:

We opposed as fervently as did George Washington himself an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary, and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised. We believe, with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, that no government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies." All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is. If they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever

there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws in consonance with the American Constitution the territory of that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now, and upon suitable guaranties of protection to citizens of our own and other countries there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent to work out their own destiny.

In 1908 the national convention repeated its declaration in the following form:

We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandoning a fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us as we guarantee the independence of Cuba, until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Finally, in 1912, the platform on which President Wilson was nominated and elected contained this language:

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder, which has involved us in enormous expenses, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our Nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the Nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers.

In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our Government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Long antecedent to these declarations is the immortal declaration drawn by Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party—the declaration of which Americans have always been proud, and which has been read annually to the people on the 4th of every July as the best statement of the fundamental principles upon which our political structure rests, those “self-evident truths” that “all men are created equal” and that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.” In its successive platforms the Democratic Party has planted itself firmly upon these great principles, and it could not have done otherwise without being false to its traditions.

Upon these statements of policy and these promises the Democratic Party has sought the support of the voters, and it has now received that support and is in full control of the Government. If words means anything, it has promised to give the Filipinos their independence, and no man can trust it if this promise is broken. Why should any Democrat suggest that the policy which his party has so uniformly and so repeatedly pledged itself to adopt be now abandoned and the Republican policy which it has “condemned and denounced,” which it has characterized as “an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary, and vague absolutism,” which it has called “an inexcusable blunder,” be now adopted or by delay continued in operation?

THE DEMAND FOR INVESTIGATION.

Just as the friends of protection, defeated at the polls, fill the newspapers with lamentations and prophecies of disaster, repeating with tireless iteration the familiar arguments in favor of their unjust privileges and urging that an investigation by a tariff commission, never deemed necessary when the tariff was to be raised, should now be had before it is lowered, so all the opponents of Philippine independence with like prophecies of calamity ask that the President and his Cabinet institute an inquiry into the condition of the islands before taking any step to carry into effect the policy to which the party stands pledged.

In each case the motive is the same. It is the old policy of delay by which Fabius conquered Hannibal. It is the attempt to postpone action on any ground in the hope that meanwhile something may occur to divert attention or to discredit and divide the party in power and so enable our opponents to recover the control of the Government. Delays are dangerous, and therefore they urge delay and are fertile in suggesting reasons for it.

But what a confession is this demand for an investigation of Philippine conditions! What is there to learn? Has not the commission made regular reports? Have not the War Department and its Insular Bureau told us all that there was to know about the islands and their people? If they have, investigation is a useless waste of time. If they have not, what facts have they concealed? What truth have they kept back? If indeed the American people are ignorant of what has been going on in the islands, that fact is the strongest possible argument for Philippine independence. It is hard enough for people to govern themselves with personal knowledge of their own affairs. It is far more difficult for one people to govern another, even if it has the fullest knowledge of all that concerns the subject people. It is absolutely impossible for one people to govern another if the governing people has not this knowledge, and if after governing the Philippine Islands for 15 years we have now to make an investigation in order to learn what has been done there and what are the present conditions, we have never had the information without which we could not direct the affairs of the islanders.

As long ago as April 21, 1904, Mr. Taft said to the Chamber of Commerce in New York:

The people of the United States have under their guidance and control in the Philippines an archipelago of 3,000 islands, the population of which is about 7,600,000 souls. Of these 7,000,000 are Christians and 600,000 are Moros or other pagan tribes.

In the same speech, referring to a petition for Philippine independence signed by Cardinal Farley, more than 50 bishops, more than 60 judges, Grover Cleveland, Charles W. Eliot, President Schurman, ex-Senator Edmunds, Andrew Carnegie, Wayne MacVeagh, Charles Francis Adams, and thousands of others among our leading men, Mr. Taft said:

Why should the good people who signed the petition intermeddle with something the effect of which they are very little able to understand?

He did not seem to realize that if the very best Americans could not understand what we were doing in the Philippine Islands it was

idle to say that the American people were guiding and controlling them, and that his two statements meant that the guidance of the Filipinos by the American people was the merest farce.

Now, nine years later we are told that Congress does not know enough about Philippine conditions to legislate, and as they need a tariff commission to teach them how to reduce the tariff, so they need, not the present Philippine Commission, but a new commission, to tell them the facts and give them advice as to what they should do for the islands. I say again, What a confession!

This at least is true: We have heard all that can be said in favor of retaining the islands. Those who have been responsible for their administration have made the best case possible: President McKinley, President Roosevelt, and President Taft, the commissioners and other American officials in the islands, the War Department and its Insular Bureau, the Republican leaders in Congress and out who have favored the retention of the islands have presented year after year all the arguments which they urge now, and these arguments have been perfectly familiar to the men who framed and the conventions which adopted the Democratic platforms that have been quoted, and notwithstanding these arguments the party year after year has denounced the policy of the Republicans and pledged itself to Philippine independence.

Now that the case is won, the Democratic Party can not afford to stultify itself by admitting that its language did not mean what it said, that its oft-repeated declarations have been made ignorantly or recklessly, and now adopt as its own the policy which it has always condemned. This is to break faith with the voters who have believed its promises and placed it in power because they believed. We have a right to say that the case has been decided after full argument and to ask for execution. Delay and hesitation now would be an admission of failure by the Democratic Party, an admission of reckless and ignorant speech, like the admission of concealment implied in the Republican suggestion of investigation, and in this would be found a fresh argument for Philippine independence, since, after 15 years, both parties would admit that the American people have never understood the situation in the islands, which all these years they have in theory been governing. I say again, What a confession!

THE SOURCES OF OPPOSITION.

We can not expect that the defeated party will cease to argue, to protest, and to prophesy all manner of evil, but we have no right on that account to falter. Those men who like President Taft are responsible in large measure for the retention of the islands, and who like him have been especially prominent in their administration, naturally will not admit that they have been wrong. They are committed too strongly to recede now, but we must remember that they are not impartial. They are pleading their own case, they are insisting that they have succeeded, and their own reputations are at stake. All their arguments must be taken with that allowance.

The opposition to the policy of the Democratic Party is largely inspired by them, as is susceptible of proof, and they are able to

rally the officials who are concerned in the present government of the islands and those who profit by it—important elements in the Catholic Church, but in the islands themselves only the foreign elements of the church, not the native priesthood; some of the Americans in the islands, but by no means all; many excellent people who believe that missionary enterprise in the islands will be set back; many who think that our Government is conferring great benefits on the Filipino people which will be lost if we withdraw, and many men who have never given the question any serious thought, but go with their party.

When we find in the columns of certain newspapers day after day articles opposing Philippine independence and repeating in various forms the arguments which have been answered so often—the statements about illiteracy, diversity of language, savage tribes, which have so often been proved untrue; when we find a society formed to advocate not the ultimate freedom of the islands, but their “retention,” officered by former and present members of the insular government, and apparently supplied with abundant funds—we can not help seeing that a combination exists to obstruct and defeat the policy of the Democratic Party. When in addition we find the National City Bank of New York, the very citadel of the “interests” which have so long sought to influence the Government of the United States for their private gain, issuing a long circular against Philippine independence, in which it presents the familiar arguments, financial and humanitarian, and urges the administration to make it clear that “there is no serious difference of opinion in the United States” as to the continuance of the existing relationship, we can entertain no doubt as to the source whence comes the money that supports this combination. The National City Bank is not a philanthropic institution, nor was it organized for the discussion of abstract political questions, nor yet to promote any theories of government. It is severely practical, and exists solely to make money for those who own it. Its appearance in this field betrays the body of practical men who hope to make money for themselves by persuading this Government to retain the islands at the expense of the great body of taxpayers, against the will of the Filipino people, and in disregard of every principle that we have prized.

But in what a position would the National City Bank place the Democratic Party if after 15 years of indignantly denouncing its opponents and asserting its own high purpose it were now to admit that “there is no serious difference of opinion in the United States” as to the Republican policy in the Philippine Islands.

The following paragraph from the New York Journal of Commerce, alluding to the banquet which the new Philippine society proposes to have in New York on June 12, exposes the naked truth and the real source of opposition:

The banquet will be under the auspices of the Philippine Society, of which both Mr. Taft and Mr. Wright are officers. The society has lately been organized with an avowed nonpartisan purpose for the object of promoting Philippine welfare. The most influential of those now in control of it are men who have been connected with the Philippine Government in one way or another.

The discussion of the relation between the United States and the Philippines is considered specially important now, because of the fact that the so-called “Fallows Syndicate,” which is understood to be backed by Standard Oil capital, is preparing to begin the development of the islands. Announcements lately

made place the sum available for the operations of the concern at about \$10,000,000. The plan appears to be that of building sugar "centrals" in order to increase the production of sugar, and in various ways to apply American capital to insular industries. There has been a statement that this concern would take over the work of exploiting Standard Oil products in the Philippines, but this remains to be verified.

American business men are taking the position that they can not invest largely in the Philippines unless they are assured that the Government will continue upon practically the same basis as at present, and will assure them undisturbed possession of such investments as they may make. It could not be learned yesterday whether the syndicate will refuse to go into business and to place its funds in the islands unless such assurance is given, but the assumption in well-informed quarters is that it will so refuse. It is believed that the present administration can not give that assurance in set terms consistently with its platform pledges, and this seems to be recognized, but there is a prevalent opinion that it might be forced to assume an attitude which would make practically certain its abstention from any Executive interference tending to change the basis of government in the islands during the coming four years.

It is not surprising that Bishop Fallows, who visited the islands with his son, the head of the Fallows Syndicate, and others, to consider the chances for investment, and whose travels with the party and a representative of the Philippine Commission are chronicled in the New York Times, returns home ready to testify that the Filipinos are unfit for independence. It is an inauspicious combination of religion and dollars.

An opposition made up of so many elements, backed by the capitalists who have investments in the islands, having full access to the newspaper press, can and naturally will talk a great deal, and make many assumptions and allegations of fact which accord with its views but which are none the less unfounded. It is well to consider the character of these witnesses before we deal with their positions.

THE OPPOSITION FROM OFFICIALS.

Let us take first the officials and their dependents, all of whom have been in a greater or less degree responsible for or connected with our government of the islands. If it has been good, they are entitled to the credit. If it has been in any respect bad, they are liable to be blamed. When the question is considered whether our administration has been good or bad, they are on trial. With some it is purely a question of reputation. With others it is also a question of money, since their salaries are at stake. They are not different from other men, and are influenced by the same motives that affect our officials at home. We have been governing ourselves for nearly a century and a quarter, and during that time parties and candidates have come and gone, and at election after election they have been tried by the people. During that whole period has there ever been a candidate who has not praised his own past and who has not condemned the acts and the policy of his opponent? Has there been a party once trusted with power that did not "point with pride" to its record? If the people believed this self-praise, no man would ever be defeated for reelection, no party would ever be driven from power. Lorimer, Becker, Quay, Cox, and others like them would rank with Washington and Lincoln, and no suspicion of corruption would attach to any official in the United States.

That the Democratic Party is now in power with its great majority is proof that the people do not believe these self-serving statements at

home. Why should they assume that they are not equally fallacious when made in the Philippine Islands? Add to this natural and human reason for resisting a change of policy the material considerations, salaries, power, and the other benefits which the retention of the islands secures to those who share in or hold office under the present Philippine Commission, or who profit by the advertisements and other business which it can distribute, and it is not surprising that there is a body of Americans, including the editors of American papers in the islands who can not be persuaded that the Filipinos should ever be given their independence.

The capitalists who have bought sugar lands, or made other investments in the islands, would naturally always prefer a government by their own fellow countrymen to any other. The foreign investors, English and others, do not share their fear that the Filipinos will treat the foreign capitalist unjustly, but, whatever the danger, the investors have no right to insist that we shall depart from our settled policy and abandon our principles for them. They went there with their eyes open. Even Mr. Taft has always until now asserted that our purpose was embodied in the phrase, "The Philippines for the Filipinos." His Secretary of War, echoing very clearly his chief's views, said only last December in his annual report that our "policy may be expressed as having for its sole object the preparation of the Filipinos for popular self-government in their own interest and not in the interest of the United States."

THE AMERICAN INVESTORS.

But Cardinal Gibbons in his letter says:

To withdraw from the Philippines at a fixed time in the future, regardless of conditions in those islands, would work a serious injustice to the many Americans and farseeing citizens of other countries who have invested their money in developing the resources of those islands. * * * It would work great harm to those investors as well as to the Filipinos themselves for this country to withdraw and witness a resultant reign of anarchy.

Yet, as has been said, Cardinal Farley, and many other eminent Catholic prelates a few years ago, signed a petition urging Congress to grant the Philippine Islands their independence; and Cardinal Gibbons wrote:

It appears to me that we can not retain them (the Philippines) indefinitely, since such retention is so opposed to our traditional policy.

Has the investment of American capital caused a change of view, or have the years of American rule rendered the Filipinos less fit to govern themselves? In either case we can not afford to delay action. Every dollar of American capital will strengthen the cardinal's argument in favor of investors. Every year of continued American rule will enhance the unfitness.

The opponents of independence have long foreseen the effect of this argument, and have done their best to stimulate investment, all the while veiling their purpose with hypocritical talk of ultimate independence. Their real feeling finds private expression, however, and it is clearly expressed in a letter written by a Government employee in the Philippines, a college man who won distinction in his undergraduate days as an able student, and who has earned promo-

tion in the insular service by his executive ability. The letter appeared in the *Nation*, and in it he said, after referring to the visit of Secretary Dickinson and the disappointment of the Filipinos that a magnificent petition for independence "with thousands of signers from every Province" was not cordially received by the Secretary:

You will infer that the political horizon is pretty dark, but it must not be imagined that we Americans oppress our minds very much with the doleful situation. We go on about our work and think about it as little as possible. It really doesn't matter what the natives think or do about politics. American capital is being invested here to such an extent that independence is not in the slightest degree a present menace, and the more capital comes, the further off is independence.

This states the case in a nutshell. Every month that the Democratic administration allows the officials now in power to remain and pursue their avowed policy increases the difficulty of granting the islands independence and furnishes the enemy with fresh arguments. The time to act is now.

Well does Señor Quezon meet the argument when he says:

Supposing that 250 business men of Manila, of whom 225 are Americans and other foreigners and 25 are Filipinos, were against Philippine independence; is that a good reason for withholding from us our inherent right? Should 225 outsiders and 25 natives have more right than 7,000,000 Filipinos in the affairs of the latter's land? Supposing that there may be business unrest because of change of government, is this enough reason for not establishing an independent Philippine government?

To establish the Republic of the United States cost almost the total destruction of business in this country for several years, and yet this was not considered a serious objection to American independence.

The statement of Cardinal Gibbons that a reign of anarchy will result if independence is granted is the purest assumption. It is like the gloomy prophecies of ruin with which the friends of protection greet the new tariff, and to be as little regarded. Let Señor Earnshaw, the new Delegate from the Philippines, himself a business man with large interests, answer it:

All this fuss about insurrection, revolution, and destruction of property is pure talk. The Filipinos are not fools, and it takes a great deal more than a change of government to make us change our prosperity. When we are ready to elect our officers—that is, the officers for the Philippine Republic—we expect no racial troubles or efforts to prevail one over another. We are now ready to govern our own affairs, and eight years more, as is planned by the Jones bill, with the present system of education and all other forces which are bringing up the Filipinos to a well-advanced people, will entirely fit us to assume our rôle among the nations.

We believe that solid business conditions will endure under a Filipino government, and we base our belief upon our knowledge of the Filipino character.

Señor Earnshaw stated that the people of the islands were unanimous in favor of independence; the feeling was not confined to the irresponsible, but men of property are among those most eager for the change. He said:

The main thing, the essential thing in the whole matter is this, that something definite be given us. We want something specific in the way of time, not "when we are fit for self-government" or "when it shall seem best" in the eyes of somebody. We want the year, month, and day, and until that date is set there will be unrest and disquiet in the Philippines—nothing at all like revolution or rebellion, but an unhealthy unrest.

The Philippines are in an ideal condition at present to inaugurate the beginning of this change, and I am going to devote my time to bringing it about.

To the suggestion that our tutelage is needed to prepare the Filipinos for independence, reply may be made in the words of President Roosevelt to the Negro Business Men's Association:

It is as true of a race as of an individual that while outsiders can help to a certain degree, yet the real help must come in the shape of self-help.

Men learn to be independent by being independent—by their own mistakes. Centuries of English rule in India have carried the Indians further from self-government. Mr. Roosevelt's statement is sound. No one can read history and doubt it. Why are we not wise enough to recognize the truth and act upon it?

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

But the change of opinion by certain representatives of the Catholic Church and their opposition as Catholics to Philippine independence may bring that church into an attitude dangerous alike to the church and to the people of the United States. Men of other churches, who oppose independence, and the missionaries of other denominations, as the writer knows by personal experience, urge as a reason for believing that the islanders are unfit for independence that they have been under Catholic influence for centuries. It is a fact that an enormous majority of the Filipinos, some seven or eight millions against six hundred thousand, are Catholics. Can that church afford to admit the argument of its religious opponents and agree that centuries of Catholic teaching leave a people so ignorant, so uncivilized, so destitute of self-control that they are unfit to govern themselves? It is a dangerous admission.

Again, it is well known that the Filipinos were driven into their last rebellion against the Spaniards by the course of the friars in dealing with the tenants on their large estates, and that the United States saw no way out of the difficulties caused thereby except the purchase of these estates at the expense of the Filipino people. If the Filipinos now find the Catholic Church arrayed among the opponents of their independence, is it likely to increase their love for that church or strengthen the hold of its representatives upon them? This is a question which the Catholics of the United States will do well to consider.

Yet, again, it is perhaps the first time in the history of the United States when the Catholic Church has undertaken to throw its influence into the scale when a great question of national policy was under discussion. Can it afford to insist that the great principles of American liberty shall be set aside and despotic government be maintained over millions of people?

If it is dangerous to the church, is it not also dangerous to the country? Is not the attempt of a church to influence the state one of the very things which drove our fathers to America? Is not the separation of church and state a corner stone of our institutions? Is the attempt to establish ecclesiastical influence over our political action one effect of the imperialism which the Democratic Party has denounced? Every true American is willing that every other man may choose his own faith and worship God in his own way, but when any religious belief controls a man's action as a citizen and destroys his independence it becomes a danger not to be disregarded.

Whatever our individual faith may be, we are all American citizens, bound to maintain the principles which have made our Government great and powerful. It will be a sad day for both church and state when Catholics as such are arrayed against Protestants, or when the members of any church vote as their clergymen direct.

The attitude of the Americans who have had experience in the islands, and the arguments that we are conferring benefits on the Filipinos which will be lost if independence is granted, will be dealt with later in this paper.

THE QUESTION STATED.

Now what is the Philippine question? We are holding against their will some eight millions of people thousands of miles from our shores, having overcome their resistance by force of arms. We do not propose ever to make them American citizens, for it is inconceivable that the result of a contested presidential election should ever depend on the returns from Manila or the vote of Iloilo. The choice is between giving them the right to govern themselves or holding them in subjection governed by officers of our selection as such officers see fit.

The present experiment costs us some \$40,000,000 a year, according to the figures given by Hon. W. A. Jones, chairman of the Insular Committee, in his speech to the House of Representatives on January 28 last, and it is to be observed that every dollar of this is spent for military and naval purposes, including the transportation and care of our troops in the islands, some 12,000 American soldiers and 6,000 scouts. "This sum exceeds the total annual value of the commerce between the Philippines and the United States," and not one cent of it is spent for any benefit to the Filipinos. It is what we pay to hold the islands in subjection, and to this may fairly be added no slight portion of the enormous sums which we spend on our Navy, often justified on the ground that we need more ships because of our Philippine possessions. Truly the total amount that we pay for the purpose of holding our new colony against its will is a very considerable addition to the expenditure of the United States.

The Filipinos unanimously desire their independence. Upon this proposition there can be no reasonable doubt. The Filipino Assembly by unanimous vote has insisted upon it. Señor Quezon, their commissioner, at Boston on January 9, 1912, said:

I am just back from a visit to the islands. I have talked with men in all walks of life, and let me tell you how, calling as witness to my words the Heavenly Father, that they all have the one most urgent desire to see their motherland free.

On January 27, 1913, Señor Quezon said:

Aguinaldo attended the monster meeting held at Manila to celebrate Democratic victory in the United States, but so did thousands of other prominent Filipinos and some Americans. Of this meeting Justice Moreland, of the Supreme Court, said to me: "If the American people could have witnessed this great demonstration they would give you your independence to-morrow. It was a most impressive sight to witness such a great gathering, so orderly that not even one policeman was necessary to preserve order." Justices Carson and Trent both indorsed this view.

These are Americans of experience in the islands.

Señor Earnshaw, the newly elected commissioner from the islands, supported by the commission and by the Filipino Assembly, has spoken thus:

The Filipino people have arrived at a point where they believe that, for many reasons, there should be some definite statement of the policy of the United States in regard to the Philippines. Independence has been promised to us, but we are growing, year after year, hampered in our natural development because no one knows what is to come. No great business concern could expect to be prosperous or successful under such circumstances.

The independence of the Philippines is essential to the real future of the islands. A temporary Government was established there since American occupation, but for 15 years we have had no definite statement of what is to become of us. In such condition we can not remain, as it is detrimental to business and unfair to the well-being of the Filipinos. Without a stable government business and capital can not be established.

Señor Osmena, the speaker of the Philippine Assembly, said to a correspondent of the New York Times in an interview published on May 11, 1913:

I can say definitely that the people are all united for independence and the Filipinos as a people really desire it.

If American testimony is needed, it is not lacking. The last investigating committee, the so-called "Taft party," because it was collected by him and saw the islands under his guidance, supplies this testimony in abundance.

Let me quote only two witnesses, both members of the party. James A. Leroy, formerly secretary of a Philippine commissioner, said in a letter to the Boston Transcript:

It need not be said here again, as it is now admitted by all who know the situation in the islands, that independence is the ideal of nearly all Filipinos.

Representative Parsons, of New York, a strong Republican, in a letter to the Tribune said:

There is no question that all the Filipino parties are now in favor of independence.

In 1910 an impartial English observer wrote thus to the London Times:

So far as there are any political parties in the Philippines, their creeds differ only in the degree of their professed animosity to American domination, and the urgency with which they demand independence.

Another, writing of Secretary Dickinson's visit, says this:

Three weeks later, on July 25, Manila was again en fête in honor of Mr. John M. Dickinson, United States Secretary of War, who had arrived in the islands on the preceding day. As one part of the festivities, a body of 5,000 Filipino school children sang American patriotic songs, massed in a huge open-air grand stand. * * * The 5,000 children were dressed some in red, some in white, and some in blue; and they were so seated that the whole grand stand made one great American flag. * * * It was very pretty; and afterwards I spoke to one of the leading Filipino public men and asked him what those children, down in their little hearts, really thought of the flag which they patterned so charmingly and waved with so much enthusiasm, and there was no hesitation in his reply:

"They hate it—every one of them. The Americans will tell you that that is not so; but I tell you that every child is taught at home to hate the Stars and Stripes. The Americans know nothing of our nature; they never will know anything. We are orientals, and we do not show our feelings; and, therefore, you will hear that the mass of the people is indifferent and has no real yearning for independence. It is not true. We wave the flag because, for the present, we must; and we hate it more and more."

Is not this inevitable? We undertake to teach the Filipinos American ideals; to make them over on the American pattern, to turn Asiatics into New Englanders. We tell them "that all men are created equal" and that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" and they learn the lesson readily. They had learned it before we landed. They knew our history and our national principles. Yet when they say, "Why are not we in our own land equal to you?" and "Why should our government not derive its powers from our consent?" We swallow the very ideals that we undertake to teach and reply "We are a superior people and therefore must govern you without your consent." Is not this fatuous? Well may the Filipino answer in the words of Emerson:

United States! the ages plead—
Present and past in under-song—
Go put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue.

For sea and land don't understand,
Nor skies without a frown
See rights for which the one hand fights
By the other cloven down.

We are teaching the Filipinos English. We enable them to read our history and the words of our great statesmen. As a result Señor Quezon, in his address to the House of Representatives last May, is able to say:

In the language of that great apostle of human freedom Daniel Webster—
"No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation, and of his own country, he will not, he can not, and he means not to be happy under its burden."

These words to us, Mr. Chairman, are freedom's text and rallying cry. We feel their truth, deep in our souls, for it is the vital spot of our national hope.

We may rest assured that they want their independence. We do not need an investigating commission to establish that fact. Upon what ground can we deny their request?

The position of those who would deny independence rests in the last resort upon three propositions:

First. The Filipinos are an inferior people, and not fit to govern themselves.

Second. We are doing them great good.

Third. All or most of this good will be lost if they become independent.

And perhaps under this head comes the suggestion that interests to which we owe protection will suffer.

THE CAPACITY OF THE FILIPINOS.

Let us first consider the testimony as to the ability of the Filipinos.

That they organized a government which commended the admiration of Senator Hoar, than whom no better judge could easily be found, and that this government with inferior arms and no warlike experience defended itself against our armies for some three or more years, are facts which can not be denied.

To this fact there is much testimony from various sources to be added:

Admiral Dewey on June 27, 1898, cabled:

In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races.

Gen. Merritt, on his arrival in Paris in October, 1898, was reported as saying:

The Filipinos impress me very favorably. I think great injustice has been done the native population. * * * They are more capable of self-government than, I think, the Cubans are. They are considered to be good Catholics. They have lawyers, doctors, and men of kindred professions, who stand well in the community and bear favorable comparison with those of other countries. They are dignified, courteous, and reserved.

John Barrett saw the government organized by the Filipinos in operation, and described it as "a government which has practically been administering the affairs of that great island [Luzon] since the American possession of Manila, and which is certainly better than the former administration. It has a properly formed cabinet and congress, the members of which in appearance and manner would compare favorably with Japanese statesmen. * * * The congressmen, whose sessions I repeatedly attended, conducted themselves with great decorum, and showed a knowledge of debate and parliamentary law that would not compare unfavorably with the Japanese Parliament. The executive portion of the government was made up of a ministry of bright men, who seemed to understand their respective positions," while among Aguinaldo's advisers were "men of acknowledged ability as international lawyers."

Capt. Hatch, of the Eighteenth Infantry, after serving for more than a year in the islands and being brought in contact with thousands of the people, said:

The Filipinos are Malays softened by contact with the Spaniards. * * * The Filipino is essentially honest. * * * The Filipinos are a deeply religious people. * * * They are a temperate, sober people. During a year's residence among them I never saw a drunken Filipino. They are a cleanly people. They are hospitable, and they are generous in their hospitality. They are not an ignorant people. Their intelligence and educational progress are apt to be underestimated because of failure to understand them. Nearly every adult can read and write in the Tagalo or Viscayan dialect, which the natives of the cities and villages, in addition, can read and write the Spanish language. Moreover, most adults know something of arithmetic, geography, and history. I was surprised one day, in questioning the driver of my quily, an ordinary poor boy of 18, to find that he had studied geometry and had made very material progress.

The Filipinos are not so much different from other people. Their customs, habits, hopes, and aspirations are deep-seated. Their leaders are shrewd, bright men of much ability; the masses are earnest in their loyalty.

An American Congressman, Senator Shafroth, who visited the islands, said:

The general impression exists among many Americans that the Philippine people are savages. A visit to the islands will certainly dispel any such delusion. * * * *

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 as 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 in attendance at the Manila University; 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 vile slander to compare these people to the Apaches or the American Indians. * * *

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 Filipino judges of the supreme court; by selecting about half of the judges of the first instance and nearly all 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 interest of their own people instead of that of a Nation 7,000 miles away.

The Filipinos were finally allowed to choose an assembly, the lower house of the island legislature. The general feeling of Americans in Manila was that the assembly would prove the incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government, but Secretary Taft, after observing its sessions for three weeks, said on leaving in 1906:

From the first I had full confidence in the legislative assembly—a confidence which has been justified by its actions. So far it has taken a conservative form, and I have no doubt it will continue its useful, patriotic, and diligent course. I have yet to see or hear a single member who does not apparently feel a full sense of the responsibility of his duties toward his constituents and country, and I am sure that conservatism rather than radicalism will continue to mark the official conduct of this body. I leave the Philippine Islands with renewed confidence in the future of the islands.

Of what American legislature, municipal, State, or national, could any American speak in terms of equally strong praise?

The session was opened in the presence of 39 governors of Provinces, of whom all but some 6 were Filipinos, and of the Philippine Commission, 3 of whose members were Filipinos. These men were regarded by us as fit to govern their countrymen, and the assembly added its record of “useful, patriotic, and diligent” conduct.

Some seven years have passed since, and the Filipinos have done nothing to disappoint the anticipations of Mr. Taft. In one of his messages to Congress he made a statement which was confirmed by the Secretary of War in his annual report from which the following passage is quoted:

In no way has the progress of the Filipino people been better shown than by their increasing participation in their own Government. Under the Spanish control the native Filipinos were practically excluded from all share in public affairs. Within 10 years they have been given, and now exercise, the right of electing all of their municipal officers. Native Filipinos also now compose 90 per cent of the officials and employees of the provincial governments and nearly 60 per cent of the officials and employees of the central Government. They have been given their own assembly—the lower house of the Philippine Legislature, which is composed wholly of native members, chosen at popular election. They have representation on the Philippine Commission, which forms the upper house. They divide with Americans the direction of the various executive departments. The chief justice and two of the associate justices of the supreme court, about half of the judges of the higher courts, and all of the justices of the peace are Filipinos. There is no branch of the Government, executive, legislative, or judicial, where Filipinos are not represented in increasing numbers and where their influence is not important.

Let me add the testimony of Americans who have lived in the islands and known the people.

Dr. J. N. McDill, of Milwaukee, on April 9, 1913, said in an address to the Milwaukee Press Club:

The census of 1903 shows the population of the islands to consist of 7,600,000 people. Of these, 7,000,000 are Christians and 600,000 are non-Christians. Of these non-Christians half are Moros or Mohammedans living in Mindanao and the Jolo group, and the other half are uncivilized people of the mountains, in tribes living in widely separated districts. These 600,000 people are really a negligible quantity in the general political equation, but, unfortunately, these are the people who, for political reasons, have been the most widely advertised feature of the Philippine Islands.

Their repulsive pictures and habits have been persistently and officially portrayed in the leading magazines of this country and by lecturers until the majority of Americans regard them as typical of the Filipino people. The lecturer in vogue just now in America flashes on the screen a life-size rear view of a geestring-clad Bontoc Igorot at the bat, to show how the Filipinos have taken to baseball. This picture furnished to the dignified Woman's Club of Milwaukee last week their most vivid memory of a lecture on the Philippines. Contrasted with this are pictures depicting the wonderful possibilities of the islands in hemp, copra, sugar, and tobacco cultivation, with suggestions as to what has been and can be done under American management. The entire issue of last September's National Geographic Magazine was devoted to the Head Hunters of Northern Luzon, and evidently has made a great impression all over the country. This article of 100 pages and 106 wonderful illustrations, portraying the most horrid habits possible to human kind, was written by a prominent Government official, an American member of the Philippine Upper House, the man mentioned in Judge Blount's recent book as "the official digger-up of non-Christian tribes" and as "the direct calamity that has befallen the Filipinos since the American occupation." This writer's official reputation for honesty is protected in the inconspicuous closing sentence, which states that "the sometimes highly objectionable customs which have prevailed or still prevail among the million non-Christian inhabitants must not be credited to the Filipinos, the civilized and Christianized inhabitants of the Philippines, of whom there are some 7,000,000." But this obscure note fails to remove the false impression conveyed. The expense of the collection of this and similar damaging propaganda is paid for out of the pockets of the helpless Filipino people.

An exuberant magazine article of last year, referring to Brig. Gen. Clarence B. Edwards's achievements in Philippine affairs, spoke of "the strides we have made in the development of the 8,000,000 naked savages, gory head hunters, grinning Moros, and what not that Dewey pulled out of the wet under our star-spangled umbrella." This is the sort of popular trash with which Americans are blinded to the importance of this great national problem. The Filipino people are not the collection of ethnological curiosities they have been represented to the popular mind. This is a cruel calumny.

My personal experience with the Filipinos extended over a period of 13 years, the first 3 years of which I spent in the Army; during the last 5 years I was connected with the civil government as professor of surgery on a semiofficial basis in the University of the Philippines. In the Provinces and in Manila I met men and women of all classes, and I doubt if many Americans came to know them better.

What impresses one on first meeting a Filipino is his self-possession, dignity, and courtesy; he has an exalted idea of good breeding and an intense appreciation of elegance of manner and of dress. Even the ordinary Tao of the lowest class is quick to perceive the difference between the person of breeding and the boor. Their judgments in this regard are unerring. You have frequently heard of their universal love of music as a racial characteristic; among the educated this reaches a high degree of development. An appreciation of and familiarity with the best things in not only music, but art, is much commoner than in the corresponding social class in America.

The women of the upper and middle classes are notably characterized by an exquisite manner, and in graciousness and poise are unexcelled by the women of any country. If, as John Adams has said, "the manners of women are the surest criterion by which to determine whether a republican government is practicable in a nation or not," the Filipino people are preeminently fitted to govern themselves. * * *

It is nonsense to say that the Filipinos are inscrutable or mysterious; they are nothing of the sort; they are quite understandable and will talk freely and frankly if allowed to be on such terms as permit of freedom and frankness. * * * As laborers and artisans, they are capable of high efficiency, if properly handled, and will take a personal pride in their work. Although the lower classes are subject to impulses of a violent nature, often resulting in personal injuries, it is doubtful if they are more so than the same class in this country.

As a race, the Filipinos are conservative; their decisions are arrived at only after a careful consideration of every phase of a question. They are clever lawyers, and their jurists are notably impartial, upright, and profound; their decisions reviewed by superior courts compare most favorably with those of the American members of the bench.

In conclusion let us look at this question fairly. It seems evident that our Philippine policy has been a mistake. We subjugated these people in what we thought were the interests of trade expansion and the strengthening of our influence in the Orient; we justified our doing so by a hypocritical assumption which the Filipinos resent, namely, that of their inability to govern themselves. We have lost the opportunity of earning a nation's gratitude and love and of assisting them in the proper development of their wonderful country. Our failure to avow authoritatively our intentions has instilled in their minds suspicion and distrust. The great American Republic is holding 7,000,000 people against their will and governing them by a theoretically benevolent but essentially despotic oligarchy of five royally salaried American officials, who firmly insist on our retention of the islands for the betterment of their people. The successors of these officials 100 years from now will sing the same song.

With the radical change in the administration, which the people so emphatically decreed, there is hope that the question will be treated honestly, without hypocrisy, without a stultification of American ideals, and that the Filipinos will be given a square deal.

L. M. Southworth writes from Jacksonville, Fla., as follows, under date of December 9, 1912:

MY DEAR SIR: I am an American citizen, but have been living in the Philippine Islands for eight years, going there in September, 1904, and returning to the United States in September of the present year.

During my entire residence in the Philippines I have been engaged in the private practice of law, with the exception of two years spent in the office of the prosecuting attorney of the judicial district of Manila. While engaged in the practice of my profession, my business carried me to every section of the islands and brought me in contact with the people of all classes.

During my service as prosecuting attorney of the judicial district of Manila, containing approximately 500,000 inhabitants, the duties of my position brought me into intimate relations with many of the people of the district, including all of the native lawyers, all of the native judges, and most of the native employees of the Government.

In the course of my private practice and in the discharge of my official duties I have come in contact with native lawyers of the highest talent and legal attainments; physicians and surgeons, learned and skillful in their profession; merchants who employ the latest commercial methods and observe the strictest business integrity; and people in the private walks of life of the highest intellectual attainments, educated in the best universities and colleges of Europe, speaking, in many instances, as many as five foreign languages.

From my intimate knowledge of the Filipino people, gained in the manner above stated, and from my social intercourse with them, I do not hesitate to say they are capable of self-government.

If granted their independence, I believe that they will maintain a government which will be not only more satisfactory to them, but one which will more nearly meet their needs and demands than the government under which they have lived for the past 14 years or any government which could be given them in the future by the United States or any other foreign power. In saying this, I am not unmindful of the great improvements which have been made in these islands since American occupation, nor do I intend to underestimate the able and faithful services rendered these people by many American officials. However, I do mean to say that the United States has maintained a government in these islands too expensive and far beyond the needs and resources of these people and, at times, extravagant and wasteful.

But, regardless of all these considerations, the people of these islands never have been and never will be satisfied to be governed by the United States or any other foreign power.

They want independence. It is the one dream and aspiration of their lives. It is the only gleam of sunshine that cheers their dark fate, the result of war, pestilence, and famine.

With a strong religious sentiment underlying the lives of these people, a virtuous womanhood from whom must spring their future citizens, a high regard for law and official authority, a fair amount of general education now and a wonderful aptness for learning, and a patriotism which is so lofty and pathetic that it should touch the heart of every unselfish American in the islands, there is no reason on earth why these people should not be granted independence.

I do not believe that any American who does not like the Filipino people is qualified to speak with any degree of impartiality regarding their capacity for self-government, and I believe the fundamental mistake into which the Republican Party has led the American people during the last 14 years has been due to the circumstances that the reports of its agents have always been tinctured with the residuum of the early hostility and a strongly acquired taste for official life in the Philippine Islands.

Upon this testimony can anyone say that the Filipinos can not govern themselves? Isn't it at least worth while to give them a further trial such as Mr. Jones proposes in his bill?

WHAT WE HAVE DONE FOR THE ISLANDS.

The next proposition is that we have governed them well. Our position is described by Mr. Taft and Mr. Stimson in identical language when they speak of "the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining."

It may be worth while to ask what this burden is. It is not a burden on the thought or time of the American people, since in the words which I have quoted he bids the best of them not "inter-meddle" with the Philippine question. There is no honest American who does not know that he has given little or no time or thought to Philippine affairs. Our burden is not intellectual.

Is it financial? Mr. Taft says, "No," since in his speech at New York last winter he said:

The Philippines have cost the United States to date [January, 1913] \$3,000,000 for civil expenses, and this money was appropriated to keep them from starving. The expense of maintaining troops in the islands is practically nil.

Mr. Taft doubtless greatly underestimated the expense, but his own statement answers any claim from him or his friends that the burden to which he referred is financial.

It is not the expense of schools, roads, sanitation, and the other like benefits which we claim to have given the islanders. These are all paid for by Filipino money, raised by taxation. Secretary Stimson, in his report on the subject last winter, recapitulated these benefits, and added "and the cost of all this and of the much more that has been similarly done has been borne by the Filipino people themselves." The Filipinos pay the salaries of the commissioners and all the other American officials; they pay the teachers, and, in a word, all the expenses of our Government. For all the benefits which we claim to have given the Filipinos, they owe us not a dollar.

What, then, is "the heavy and difficult burden which thus far we have been bravely and consistently sustaining?" Is it the labor im-

posed upon the few Americans who hold office in the islands? They do not seem anxious to lay it down, and, if they do, there are many anxious to take their places and their emoluments. This burden is like the "white man's burden" of the poet, which differs from every other burden in that the white man never wishes to throw it off, and is always anxious to increase it; it is a pure poetic fiction. So much for the burden which they impose on us. Before proceeding to show what sort of government we have in fact been giving them, let me first indicate what a burden we have been imposing on them.

I will pass over all the slaughter and destruction of property which we inflicted on the islands during the war of conquest. That can never be pleasant to recall. Let me begin with the restoration of peace, and ask what was the class of Americans whom we left in the islands. Let Mr. Taft describe them.

In his speech to the New York Chamber of Commerce, already referred to, he said:

The American merchants there easily caught the feeling of hostility and contempt felt by many of the soldiers for the Filipinos, and were most emphatic in condemning the policy of the Government in attempting to attract the Filipinos and make them, so far as might be, a part of the new civil order.

The American newspapers which were established readily took the tone of their advertisers and their subscribers, and hence it is that the American community in the Philippines to-day is largely an anti-Filipino community, prone, apparently, in dealing with the natives to call them names, to make fun of them, and to deride every effort toward their advancement and development.

He added with reason:

This is unfortunate, and there must come into the islands a new set of merchants who shall view the situation from an entirely different standpoint.

He said also:

Were I assured that the present attitude of the majority of American merchants and the American press would be permanent, and if I did not confidently hope that there must be a great change in the future, I should be very much discouraged in respect to the result of the experiment which the United States is making in these islands.

It is perhaps permissible to add in confirmation of Secretary Taft's statement a few passages from the letters of Denzil H. Taylor. This young man, brought up in New Hampshire, and graduating at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1899, went to the Philippines in 1901 and was made one of the provincial board which governed the Province of Ilocos Norte, in Luzon, where he held the place of provincial supervisor with high praise from his associates until he died at his post. On May 12, 1902, he wrote:

I have a few words to say about teachers. Of course, there are many good and faithful ones to whom nothing but praise should be given, but of the majority, at least as far as this province is concerned, this must be said: Never before have such a number of incapables and cranks been deported from any country as we sent here as teachers. They are here simply for what they can get out of it—have neither principles nor morals. They domineer over and oppress the natives. Three in the province—two of them Harvard graduates—we have been obliged to take arms from, as being unfit to use firearms. They would enter towns in the dead of night and fire right and left to frighten the natives.

In another letter he said:

As to morals and right living, what sort of an example are many of our soldiers, our officers, and even our school-teachers setting to the to-be-uplifted brother? Many a man when he leaves America seems to leave behind all ideas of right living—anything and everything is allowable.

Later Mr. Leupp, a strong friend of Mr. Roosevelt, in the New York Evening Post of June 11, 1904, quoted from a well-known traveling newspaper correspondent, who writes from anything but an anti-imperialistic point of view, the following words in reference to American residents:

These men are the loudest and most bitter in their criticisms of the conduct of affairs. They disapprove most vigorously the friendly attitude of our Government toward the natives, and denounce the policy of "benevolent assimilation" as preposterous and visionary. They complain because Judge Taft and his associates have shown so much solicitude for the welfare of the natives and so little for the American residents. They object to the appointment of so many Filipinos to office, and instead of cultivating the good will of the native population and creating a demand for American goods they spend their time and energy finding fault and making gloomy predictions.

The people here described have sent some emissaries to Washington to convince the authorities that things are all wrong in the Philippines, that the iron hand of white supremacy should replace the Taft policy of the "Philippines for the Filipinos." What they call a chamber of commerce in Manila is really an organization for bringing about conditions more favorable to the exploitation of the islands without reference to the welfare of the natives. The admission of Chinese labor is the first thing the chamber of commerce wants in this program.

The relations between the "American element" there and the Filipinos are mostly seriously strained; the newspapers which cater to it never say a word for the Filipinos, nor for that matter, of the civil government. The despicable "little brown brother" poem has been widely circulated. It is about as true a picture of the Filipinos as The Leopard's Spots is of the negro in America. No one can read its fierce arraignment of the natives and learn that it is almost a national hymn with our soldiers here and then imagine that relations between the two races are very cordial.

Six years after Mr. Taft spoke, one of his successors, Governor General Smith, pointed out with regret "the growing gulf between the two peoples," saying that "an era of ill feeling has started between Americans and Filipinos, and, I hesitate to say it, 'race hatred.'"

How is it to-day? Let me quote from an article written by a United States official who is bitterly opposed to Philippine independence, Herbert N. Witt, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, who in a letter to the Boston Transcript published within a month says:

But the thing which the Philippines need most is a better class of Americans interested in welfare of the islands. When the best class of Americans can be induced to give two or three years to a residence in the islands, a residence which is not without its charm, they may dispel the erroneous impression of Americans which the present American population has given to the Far East.

The greater part of our population in the islands is made up of social outcasts from our big cities, a host of political parasites, a small army of camp followers who came out with the army of occupation, and a great number of ex-enlisted men who thrive on saloons and dance halls and the slimy affairs that cluster around these institutions in Manila. These make up a huge percentage of the Americans in the Philippines, and affect the moral tone not only of Manila but the whole archipelago.

When the small colony of the right kind of Americans in Manila becomes large enough to color and tone Manila society, then that society may cease to be the lamentable farce that it is now, and may offer inducements to a longer residence in Manila than is now comfortable for those who hold the best ideals of civilized society.

When we are told that the Americans in the islands oppose independence, we can judge by this description how much importance to give their testimony.

But if you want further testimony let the American residents themselves speak. I quote from speeches made at a mass meeting of

Americans held in Manila after the Filipinos had celebrated the result of an election for the assembly by a procession in which Filipino flags as well as American were carried.

One speaker expressed his belief that "our Government has been weak and vacillating in its policy as to these islands," adding:

Now, I believe in "benevolent assimilation." [Which quotation was received with laughter.] I believe in it so strongly that I would, if necessary, pin it to these islands with the bayonet.

From another speech I quote these extracts:

We may cover it up, put it out as smoothly and nicely as we can and make it as easy as possible, but the fact remains we came as an armed force and remained as conquerors.

A little independence—a very little—is sometimes good for a people, and too much is very bad.

Strange words from an American. Then comes this ambitious claim:

They did not realize that we, who are here to-night, are the Government, and that that Government could not have been here without us, and can not stay here without us. * * * I believe in peace and harmony. I always did, and when I had a battalion of volunteers behind me I felt awful peaceful. * * * I believe that if we could put about 100,000 American troops over here it would be very peaceful [laughter], exceedingly so; and you would not see any more Katipunan banners, 8 or 10 feet long, with their designs emblazoned in silk, going along the streets with a little 6-cent American flag carried underneath it. It would be too peaceful for that.

Some 10 years ago Mr. Taft said in words which have been quoted that, unless the character and attitude of the Americans in the islands changed for the better, he "should be very much discouraged" about the success of our experiment in the islands. It evidently has not and will not change, and the reasons are suggested by an ardent supporter of Mr. Taft's policy, Prof. Hart, of Harvard College, writing from the islands, who said in the summer of 1909:

If the hope of making big money in the western Pacific was the thing that turned the scale in favor of ratifying the treaty in 1899, the United States was indeed buncoed, for the islands, though reasonably rich by nature, are no foundation of wealth either for the natives or the newcomers. * * * The really fertile area of level land in the islands is probably not larger than the State of Alabama and not so valuable. * * * Whatever wealth there is in the Philippines can be had by working for it, or by working still harder in the effort to get the yellow man to work for the white man. * * * It is hopeless to look for immigration into the Philippines by any considerable number of American farmers or mechanics, * * * we must expect that for many years to come few Americans will go out to settle in the Philippines except government officials, including the Army and Navy, missionaries, and people of the missionary spirit, foremen and superintendents and business men who have something to invest. * * * The race feeling seems due to the inexorable fact that the few foreigners are in power, and the many and the native must obey. * * * It has been hoped that the Philippine Assembly, by exercising part of the governmental authority through elected representatives, would heal the breach; that a sizable majority would be found in that body which would accept the American Government as a fixture, but hardly a member stands for the things that are. * * * There is a fundamental difficulty here upon which time has little effect; the possession of some power seems to the Filipinos—as it did to our ancestors in 1776—a reason for claiming more.

Mr. Hart, moreover, tells us that "The Negro problem here is on the whole an easier one than the Philippine," and adds:

Here is the final fallacy of the whole situation. Americans are trying with the best will in the world to prove to the Filipinos that the political morals which fit America do not fit those parts of the outlying world which have

become incorporated with America. There is no logic, and no benefit to those governed which makes self-government the only conceivable thing on the continent of America, and a dangerous thing in the islands of the Pacific.

This certainly betrays no enthusiasm for the Philippine adventure.

Let me cite another very recent witness, Dr. George A. Dorsey, who writes from the islands thus:

What a farce we are over here, anyway! Our government of the islands is worthy of, we will say, Nevada. We do not know what we are trying to do, and we do not know how to do it; especially is our government here not a government of experts. There are some good men, but they are in a minority, and they owe their appointment not to eternal fitness but to fortuitous circumstances. Our improvements are not commensurate with the neglect, decay, and indifference which are to be seen on every hand, and the Filipinos despise us and have no respect for us.

The wild tribes are interesting, and the mountains and valleys of the interior are glorious, but Manila and the whole fringe of so-called Christian coast is enough to make one sick. The Old Flag gains no added luster in flying aloft over the Philippine Islands. We have introduced slovenliness and decay, and we neither foster native industries nor encourage foreign capital. And each day increases the bitterness between the white and the brown; and the newspapers in Manila, instead of devoting themselves to the legitimate sphere of a newspaper, carry on a perpetual cat and dog fight, adding to the bitterness of the racial hatred. * * *

Why can not we let the natives alone? They are the best agriculturists in the world; they build far better houses than the Christians, and live a much saner, cleaner, more wholesome life. What in the name of Abraham Lincoln do they want with a few stale crumbs of our educational system?

But what is the use? On this boat is one, just only one, other white passenger. He has been in the civil service in Manila for four years; he is leaving a \$2,200 job to take one in Canton for \$1,500. He says, "Manila is no place for a white man."

WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENT HAVE WE REALLY GIVEN THE FILIPINOS?

A few quotations from reliable sources may throw some light on the subject. On July 4, 1902, peace was declared officially to have been restored and civil government was established. Let us go on chronologically. During the Christmas season of 1901, six months before the restoration of peace, Gen. Bell reported as to his operations thus:

I am now assembling in the neighborhood of 2,500 men, who will be used in columns of about 50 men each. I take so large a command for the purpose of thoroughly searching each ravine, valley, and mountain peak for insurgents and for food, expecting to destroy everything I find outside of towns. All able-bodied men will be killed or captured. Old men, women, and children will be sent to towns. This movement begins January 1, by which time I hope to have nearly all the food supply in the towns. These people need a thrashing to teach them some good common sense, and they should have it for the good of all concerned.

This was war; but what followed? In the year 1902 reconcentration was used to suppress insurrection in Laguna and Batangas. It then affected not less than 100,000 people in camps holding from 8,000 to 14,000 people each, according to the official report of Col. Wagner. In 1903, when every Filipino is said to have had all the civil rights secured to an American citizen by the Bill of Rights save the right to bear arms and to trial by jury, 300,000 persons were driven from their homes into reconcentration camps in Albay, where very large areas were entirely denuded of population. Fifteen thousand people in Tayabas suffered a like fate. In 1904 some 20,000 people in Samar and 16,000 in Cavite, close to the walls of Manila,

were dealt with in like manner. In 1905 we heard from Bakoor that "its unfortunate reconcentrated people, the inhabitants of the districts of Ligas and St. Nicholas, a pleasant land situated by the seaside, are subjected to vigorous surveillance, not allowed to walk abroad with impunity, obliged to snatch their sleep in motley heaps of men, women, and children, exposed by night and day to the elements," and every hardship which the terrible word "reconcentration" implies. Like reports came from Batangas, but these found no place in the dispatches from the Philippine Islands. The facts were given in the Manila press.

The following order was issued May 24, 1906, by Capt. Walter A. Smith, senior inspector of the constabulary of Negros, to the commanding officer of a squad consisting of 15 or 20 men detailed to capture an outlaw named Isio:

All country around Masasoh, Manjuija, Magtacay and other sitios in that locality must be covered and everything destroyed by cutting down or by fire. * * * All people caught in these places should be turned over to Lieut. Mohler for work. * * * Have your men take lots of ammunition and kill everything that runs from the constabulary except women and children.

Yet Mr. Taft, about that time, said at Grand Rapids that the Filipinos "are now enjoying the right to life, liberty, and property and the pursuit of happiness and freedom from deprivation of any of those rights, except by due process of law."

Does Mr. Taft, as an eminent lawyer, assert that the men whose property is destroyed and whose lives are taken under such an order as this lose them by "due process of law"?

This last order was issued in time of peace, and is an illustration of our tenderness in dealing with a weaker people. This order was printed in the Manila Opinion, an American newspaper, on December 7, 1907. Has the officer who gave that order been punished? Could Aguinaldo's government have been more arbitrary?

The massacre of Mount Dajo, in March, 1906, where admittedly 600 men, women, and children, and, as I am informed, many more were slaughtered, was military, but hardly "due process of law."

My figures are unofficial because no official figures are furnished. When the British in time of war applied reconcentration in South Africa, a blue book issued every month informed the British people how many camps were established, where they were, how many men, women, and children were in each, and what the mortality had been in each camp and in each class during the month. No similar record exists, as I am credibly informed by the Insular Bureau, of what we have done in the Philippines, but if it exists anywhere it has never been disclosed to the American people. Our leaders did not dare to tell us the truth.

And they had good reason to fear. The truth was fatal to their cause. What is reconcentration? When Spain in the midst of war resorted to it, President McKinley said, "It was not civilized warfare," but "a new and inhuman phase happily unprecedented in the modern history of civilized Christian people." By a curious coincidence he was speaking of its application to 300,000 people, just the number who suffered by it in Albay, and he concluded: "It was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave"—a "wilderness" such as Gen. Smith sought to make of Samar. The people of the United States were roused to

interfere, and made war upon Spain, and, while President McKinley hesitated to adopt this remedy for cruelties perpetrated by a Spanish commander, Theodore Roosevelt said, as we are told:

The steps of the White House are slippery with the blood of the reconcentrados.

If the blood of those whom Spain killed was on our doorsteps, on whom rests the guilt for the innocent lives that were lost by the same methods in the Philippines?

After his visit to the islands, Mr. Leroy, already quoted, wrote as follows:

Of all the departments of government wherein race prejudice is exhibited toward the Filipinos and the Americans employed are of the least cultured and most intolerant sort the constabulary is by far the worst. Many noncommissioned officers of the Regular Army, of scant education, poor manners, and a contempt for the natives imbibed during their service in the Army, have been made officers of the Philippine Constabulary. Too often the so-called Filipino officials of the corps are men of so large a share of Spanish blood, former non-commissioned officers in the Spanish insular army or civil guard, that they are decidedly hostile to the Filipinos and are hated by the people, being identified with the Spanish side of internal strife in the past. The secret police, again, is largely recruited from men who turned informers in behalf first of Spain and then of the United States—spies upon their own people. This fact in itself is enough to disqualify them for service under a new civil government; but they are in addition, in a very considerable proportion of cases, disreputable characters of the worst sort, who keep out of jail only by serving the Government. Many of the soldiers of the constabulary rank and file are of the same class of informers, spies, and other former servants of the American military government who have frequently their private vengeance to pay and do not scruple to do so under the cover of the terror which their uniform inspires. Worse yet, the hands of certain of the Filipino constabulary subordinates do not seem to be clean of torture in getting and arraying witnesses for the Government in this case. The charges, indeed, go to the extreme of instancing one case of murder committed by a file of soldiers after seizing an humble Filipino who refused to testify to what he was ordered to say, as is so often the case with witnesses on both sides of a trial in the Philippines.

Mr. Taft spoke thus of executive interference with the courts in a speech at Manila:

It is said that the trials in the courts of first instance are too much a matter of executive regulation and that the defendants do not receive justice. * * * Speaking of my personal and intimate acquaintance derived from close investigation, I am able to say that I think no case can be successfully established in which there was an undue interference on the part of the executive.

This is a careful statement in a careful speech. No case can be proved of "undue interference." Who shall decide what is "undue interference"? Here is no denial that there was interference, only that no interference "undue" in Mr. Taft's opinion can "be established." Is this merely from lack of evidence?

He proceeded: "That there is under the present system an opportunity for such interference can not, I think, be denied"; and so great is the danger that he declared himself "strongly in favor" of giving the President alone the power to remove judges, and then only for cause, and of giving to the court itself the power of assigning judges to particular districts.

The visiting Congressmen of the Taft party heard statements like these about the conditions then existing. A sugar planter of Iloilo said:

Our situation at the present time is, therefore, a very deplorable one. Seven years of calamities, with a war and plagues, failures of crops, etc., have re-

duced us to a state of misery to such an extent that in many plantations of Negros and Panay the cultivation of sugar has been entirely abandoned. Owing to the low price secured by the farmer for his product during the past few years a great many planters have been unable to meet their obligations and to-day are on the eve of losing their property. They are unable to get credit any longer. There are planters both in the island of Panay and in that of Negros who, having the deeds of their property in their hands, apply to the money lenders and to the bankers for a loan, offering to secure the loan by mortgaging their entire property, and are unable to secure even sufficient money to attend to their most pressing personal wants.

A tobacco planter said:

There has never been as severe a crisis in the industry in the Philippine Islands as that which at present prevails. The Philippine tobacco industry in cigars has lost the markets of England, India, and Australia on account of the duties imposed upon that article, and I wish to give these figures to prove my assertion. These figures refer to the exportation of manufactured tobacco. In the year 1901 it was 1,559,780 kilograms; in 1902, 1,063,069; in 1903, 1,235,257; in 1904, 705,827; and for the first six months of the year 1905, 149,828; and the proof of the decadence of the industry is that at the present day we have but 10 per cent of the number of women formerly employed in our factories and but 50 per cent of the number of men.

Mr. Macleod, in behalf of the Manila Chamber of Commerce and the Ship Owners' Association, read the report of a committee, of which he was one. Its character is indicated by the following passages:

The country, generally speaking, is in a state of financial collapse. The agriculturists and merchants are passing through the worst crisis ever known in the annals of Philippine history. A series of calamities had contributed to bring the country to this deplorable state.

Consequent on this ruined state, the farmers have had to borrow money to live on, money to plant their crops and cultivate their lands, and money to bring their harvests to market, so that almost the entire agricultural land throughout the islands is mortgaged for more than its full value. Where the money has been advanced by the merchant or middleman who buys the produce the rate of interest has been 8 per cent, which is considered moderate for this country, but where the farmer has had to have recourse to other sources the usurer has taken advantage to charge anything from 1 to 3 per cent per month, and the farmer has year by year sunk deeper into the mire.

As a natural sequence to the ruined state of the farmers, the merchants and middlemen who acted as bankers have lost many millions by bad debts and have still many millions outstanding of doubtful recovery. This has naturally turned all their paper profits into real and actual losses, so that, generally speaking, the commercial firms are a great deal worse off to-day than they were five years ago.

Second. Following on conditions such as above described, the country was by no means prepared to meet a tax on land already burdened by debt. The people therefore naturally felt very sore when the territorial tax was imposed, to pay which they had in most cases to raise money at usurious rates of interest. There is a provision in the law governing this tax whereby the Government may order the sale of the land for overdue taxes, and we are under the belief that this has happened in several cases where the owners were unable to raise the money. We are strongly of the opinion that the imposition of this tax and mode of procedure has caused and is causing much of the distress now prevalent throughout the islands.

We beg to draw attention to the necessity of revising the present internal-revenue law. The tax of one-third of 1 per cent on sales falls unequally, and in the case of sales of native produce there is a clear discrimination against the middleman, who is one of the most useful and necessary members of the mercantile community in his capacity of banker and agent for the producer.

We consider the present taxation to be excessive for the producing power of the islands. The amount raised for insular purposes alone is estimated at 23,000,000 pesos for the present fiscal year. This does not include municipal and other taxes which we have not been able to estimate.

Mr. MACLEOD (interrupting the reading of the report). While we all appreciate the great improvements that are going to be brought about and have been brought about by the American Government and the policy they have been carrying out, the increase in the budget from what it was in Spanish times—from 13,000,000 pesos to approximately 30,000,000 pesos—has been too high; the country is not able to support it.

Senator FOSTER. Do you mean to say that the aggregate of taxation has raised from 13,000,000 pesos to approximately 30,000,000 pesos?

Mr. MACLEOD. Yes; the Spanish budget of 1894-95, which was the highest ever known in normal times, was 13,579,900 pesos.

Representative HEPBURN. Did that include all of the exactions levied by the Spanish Government upon the people?

Mr. MACLEOD. Yes; I will give you a list of them.

Of the internal-revenue tax Prof. Paul S. Reinsch said:

Outside of Italy it would be hard to find a system of taxation that so efficiently scours the whole field of business. The merchants and professional men of a country like the United States would look upon it as a most unbearable burden.

The practical effect of our policy may be judged from these statistics, which are taken from a letter addressed by representatives of Batangas to Secretary Taft on August 26, 1905. They show what had been going on in the municipality of Balayan, in the Province of Batangas.

In 1896 the number of inhabitants in that municipality was 41,308; in 1905 it was 13,924. The area of cultivated land, in hectares, was 19,500 in 1896, and 1,700 in 1905—not 10 per cent. Products: Rice, 39,020 cavanes in 1896 and 12,500 cavanes in 1900; sugar, 520,000 picos in 1896, now 12,300 picos; maize, 110,000 cavanes in 1896, now 10,000 cavanes; the oxen then were 10,000, now 427; the cows then were 3,650, now 80; carabaos, oxen, 4,110 in 1896, now 433; carabaos, cows, 1,350 in 1896, now 92; there were 11,000 hogs then, there are now 2,800; there were 96,000 hens, there are now 5,000. Consider what a story these figures tell.

Yet Mr. Taft in a speech at Manila on August 8, as reported in a dispatch published in the Boston Transcript, alluding to the taxes, said that "people refusing just taxation were unfitted for self-government." Had Mr. Taft forgotten the causes of the American Revolution, or did he think that the question whether a tax is just is settled by the opinion of the men who impose it?

It may be said that this was some nine years ago. How is it now? That we have strayed very far from the principles on which our Government rests may be gathered from Gov. Forbes's words in describing the manner in which some Filipinos are governed. I quote from an article written for the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1911, in which he points out to what careers Harvard men may aspire, and describes "Gallman, who rules with a rod of iron 120,000 savages, whom nobody before has ever been able to deal with or bring under control, whose least word is now their law," and Gov. Pack, who rules 350,000 people, described as "industrious, honest, faithful, and extremely dirty," as "gradually persuading by reason and by force, if necessary, the savages to desist from their warfare and reprisals and to engage in the arts of peace."

Despotic power, "rods of iron," the government by one man of thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands of his fellow men, have no place under our flag. No man in the United States would intrust

another with absolute power over him. By what right do we give that power to one man over thousands of others?

I might allude to the manner in which the friar lands were sold to American exploiters and to fraudulent corporations in evident disregard of law.

There is, however, another question of very great importance, to state which I shall borrow freely from the speech of Mr. Jones, already referred to:

The legislature since 1907 has consisted of two houses, this appointive commission, which is known as the upper house, and an elective assembly. This body legislates for the civilized, Christianized people, but the commission, under the organic act, is the sole legislative body for the non-Christian and uncivilized tribes, and exercises supreme and exclusive legislative authority over all their territory, their lives, their property, and their public revenues. Let us see what has been the practical operation—some of the actual, tangible results—of this anomalous condition of affairs. In the first place, no measure originating in the assembly can become a law unless it meets the approval of the commission, and, of course, the reverse of this proposition is also true. Realizing that disagreements would inevitably arise between the commission and the assembly, and that the annual appropriation bills for the support of the government might thus fail of passage, the organic act provides that in such event “an amount equal to the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for such purposes shall be deemed to be appropriated, and until the legislature shall act in such behalf the treasurer may, with the advice of the governor, make the payments necessary for the purposes aforesaid.” The purpose of this law is, as has been said by another, to provide for the contingency of an honest difference of opinion between these two houses as well as for unreasonable or factious attempts on the part of either house to embarrass the government by withholding the supplies necessary for its existence.

THE SUPPLY BILLS.

Twice has the legislature failed to pass these supply bills. One of the causes for the disagreement which led to the deadlock between the two branches of the legislature and which resulted in these failures to pass appropriation bills was that the assembly insisted that the salaries of the members of the commission, who were also heads of executive departments, should be so reduced as to make them more nearly correspond to those received by members of the American Cabinet. But the chief cause of disagreement was the insistence of the commission upon the right which it claimed to appropriate large sums of money out of the public revenues of the insular treasury, to be expended upon what is known as the Benguet Road, without the concurrence and despite the earnest opposition of the other coordinate branch of the legislature.

BENGUET ROAD.

The Benguet Road is a highway less than 20 miles in length, built at a cost of several millions of dollars in gold through a mountain gorge to a health resort or residential park, called Baguio, to which place, at great expense, the seat of government is transferred from Manila for several months each year, and where American officials have handsome homes, clubhouses, polo grounds, and other sources of recreation and amusement. The Filipinos have from the beginning been violently opposed to these vast and absolutely inexcusable expenditures. Not only has it cost millions to build this automobile road through rugged mountains, a highway that is used solely for purposes of recreation and pleasure, but the cost of its upkeep is perhaps not less than \$100,000 a year, and in times of great freshets it has been necessary to rebuild entire sections at an enormous cost. Nothing that our Government has done in the Philippine Islands has aroused more feeling and created more resentment on the part of the helpless Filipinos of every station in life than this wanton and indefensible disregard of their wishes and interests. [Applause.] This one act of the Philippine Commission has greatly shaken, if not destroyed, the confidence of the Filipino people in the American sense of justice and fair dealing. It has removed every vestige of any sentiment which may have existed in favor of American annexation.

The pretext for the commission's action was that the Benguet Road traversed a part of a non-Christian Province, and that inasmuch as the commission exercised exclusive legislative functions over non-Christian territory it was empowered to expend any amount of the public funds it might desire in the construction and maintenance of that road, and that without either the concurrence or approval of the assembly. The members of the assembly claimed, on the other hand, and with reason, that the commission was only empowered to expend the public money in non-Christian Provinces for the use and benefit of the non-Christian and uncivilized tribes residing therein, and that it was a flagrant violation of law and a perversion of public funds to use them in the construction of an enormously expensive automobile road leading to a mountain summer resort maintained exclusively for the benefit of themselves and other rich residents of Manila.

Acting under the authority of the provision of law which I have just quoted, the Governor General has ordered the appropriation of a sum equal to the total appropriations made in the previous year for the support of the Government. Having thus gotten into his hands more than \$12,000,000 in 1911 and a little less than \$14,000,000 in 1912 of the public revenues of the Filipino people, the Governor General proceeded to expend these large sums, according to his own will and as in his sole judgment seemed desirable, and with an utter disregard for the purposes for which the prior legislative appropriations had been made.

The commission may have been wrong or right in differing with the assembly, and the governor may have been wrong or right in his claim of power—though I think him wrong—but it is obvious that, if he is right, it is always in the power of the commission, by refusing to concur with the assembly, to obtain the absolute control of the Philippine treasury and to spend the money raised by taxation from the Filipinos without consulting their representatives. It is strange that such doctrines should prevail under the American flag, and it is not strange that men thus subjected to taxation without representation should desire their independence. This claim of right and the approval of arbitrary government by Gallman show how the views of even the best Americans are distorted by the possession of power, and confirm Lincoln's statement that "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

Mr. Jones states:

It is stated by a former member of the commission that there were as many as 123 new offices thus created, among them a secretary to the Governor General at an annual salary of \$4,500, and it is a most amazing and stupendous fact that the expenditures on account of bureaus and offices for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1912, were \$9,638,369.80, as against \$8,318,051.56 for the next preceding year, the excess being a mere bagatelle of \$1,320,318.24 in gold.

The facts touching the new offices and the expenditure should be matters of record in the War Department, and if these figures are not accurate they can be corrected. It is impossible to doubt, however, that our government of the islands is altogether more expensive than the wealth of the people warrants, and it is certainly an anomaly that the heads of Philippine departments should be paid higher salaries than the Cabinet ministers of the United States receive. Under the present system these abuses can not be corrected, since the commission which spends the money controls the legislature.

But it is said that we have given the Filipinos good schools, good roads, good water, better sanitary regulations, and the like. Let us admit that we have spent their money in providing these things. What we have contributed is advice and direction; the Filipinos have contributed the money and the labor. Our officials have given time and thought to their problems, and have been paid for both by the

Filipinos. Is it necessary to make them pay the enormous expenses of our administration and in addition to pay out of our own treasury \$40,000,000, more or less, for maintaining our armed force in the islands, in order that the Filipinos may have somewhat better schools, roads, and other things than they would provide themselves? We could give advice and they could take it for far less money.

It must be borne in mind, when we measure what we have done, that Mr. Taft and his supporters compare present conditions with what existed in 1902, when the Philippines had been subjected to nearly four years of desolating warfare, in the course of which roads, bridges, towns, villages, and crops of every kind had been laid waste and the flower of the Filipino youth had perished in great numbers. We have been replacing what we destroyed. If they go further back, they compare with conditions existing under Spanish rule, which had driven the islanders to revolt. It would be strange indeed if there had not been a marked improvement since those days.

The Japanese, who were to our thinking just as backward in 1850 as were the Filipinos in 1898, have made themselves the equals of the great civilized nations by their own exertions. They have had advice and instruction, but they have done their own thinking and have improved themselves without foreign masters.

If our Government was withdrawn, the money which it costs would provide schools for Filipino children who now have none, and would pay for more roads and wells. Do either they or we under the present system get an equivalent for the money that we spend, if we consider money alone? How much more do we pay when we consider the surrender of our principles and the loss of our ideals?

The expense of our present policy has been enormous in blood and in money. It is enormous still. Is it worth while to pay so much for the assumption that the Filipino of all men on earth can not be trusted to do for himself what is clearly beneficial?

Even if we admit that every dollar of Filipino money which has been spent has been used for good ends, is it not possible that there were other uses equally desirable for which the taxpayers would have preferred to spend it? Can we be sure that there are not, and should not those who pay have the right to decide? It was for this right that we fought the Revolution. Were we wrong? It would be an excellent thing if every child in America were taught to speak French, German, and Spanish. He who forced them to learn it might justly say he had done a good work; but should we welcome a combination of foreign powers who took our taxes and spent them for this beneficent end, leaving other things which we had more at heart to suffer? If we were not holding the Philippines, the money spent in teaching them English might have been put into something which they need more. They only need English in order to communicate with us; and when we go, the need goes too.

GOOD GOVERNMENT CAN NOT BE ASSURED.

Mr. Taft's policy is founded on the assumption that the American people are and will continue to be unselfish in their attitude toward the Filipinos, and that they can be trusted to keep men in office

anxious to carry out this unselfish policy. Does he not see that the existing situation is typical, and, such as it is, it always will be?

There will always be a body of resident Americans anxious to make money quick and looking down upon the natives, despising them, misinterpreting them, and trying to profit at their expense, just as the resident Americans are doing now. There will always be governors naturally solicitous for the success of their administration and never willing to disclose the facts which might lead to criticism or condemnation. They will always tell the American people, as Mr. Taft tells us now, that they are "very little able to understand" the situation. There will always be the busy, good-natured American people, knowing little and caring less about their distant subjects, taking, as the Hartford Courant says, less "interest in these people" than "in the fading American Indians," believing what Americans say because they are of their own flesh and blood, and content to let the Government manage the islands.

The American people will no more resist the selfish demands of American adventurers or protect the Filipino against them than they have protected the Indians against spoliation, or than they protected the Southern States from northern "carpetbaggers." We shall deal with the Filipinos as the English have dealt with the people of India, who, after centuries of English rule, are not so near independence as they were at the beginning.

Let us assume, however, for the sake of the argument, that we have sent out exceptionally able and wise men, that they have devoted themselves to the work of helping the Filipinos up, and that they have made no mistakes. Surely I can not concede more.

Who will assure us that those conditions shall continue? At a time when in our own country we are insisting that our own officials, judges, mayors, governors, our own fellow citizens elected by us, directly exposed to public opinion, criticized in the newspapers and magazines and on the stump, can not be trusted to do their duty well during the brief periods for which they are elected, but that our safety requires that we must have the power to recall them at pleasure; when we can not trust our legislators even for a single year, but most have the initiative and referendum; when the representatives of the defeated party are prophesying all sorts of evil because their opponents, men of the same blood, education, and ability as themselves, are placed in power by a large vote; when Americans will not trust Americans at home, how can we confidently assert that they can safely be trusted with absolute power over millions of aliens, whom they consider inferior, 10,000 miles away, though the men whom they govern can not displace them by their votes; though there is no public opinion which they respect to control them, no press which they fear, no initiative, no referendum, no recall? Does the "graft" which disgraces every city at home disappear in the Philippines? Is this the only one of our practices that changes "under a tropic sun"? Does human experience show that the possession of absolute power over others makes man better, more honest, and more considerate?

It is to such questions as this that our forefathers made answer in the Declaration of Independence, when they announced as a self-evident truth that no Government should derive power from any source but the consent of the governed.

Our presence there is not even a protection to the islanders against foreign aggression, for we have been assured by the head of the Insular Bureau that in case of a war with any foreign power our troops and ships would at once be withdrawn and no attempt would be made to defend the islands. Our troops are there, and an expense of some \$40,000,000 a year is incurred to keep the Filipinos down, and yet our opponents assert that only a very few among them desire their independence. Is this expense incurred for their benefit? Is this altruism? If so, we must revise our views, and rank Russia in Poland, Austria in Italy, Spain in Mexico and Peru, high among human altruists. Were they not all striving to introduce the blessings of civilization, or a knowledge of the true faith, or some other inestimable good among their victims?

THE PROPHECIES OF DISASTER.

In dealing with the last proposition of our opponents, we enter the realm of pure prophecy, and they see the downfall of all that is good in the Philippine Islands in case of our withdrawal as clearly as they see the ruin of American industry in case the tariff is reduced. They have as little ground for their gloomy views in the first case as in the last.

The testimony of Secretary Stimson as to Filipino ability has been quoted. It will bear repetition:

Within 10 years they have been given, and now exercise, the right of electing all of their municipal officers. Native Filipinos also now compose 90 per cent of the officials and employees of the provincial governments and nearly 60 per cent of the officials and employees of the central Government. They have been given their own assembly—the lower house of the Philippine Legislature, which is composed wholly of native members, chosen at popular election. They have representation on the Philippine Commission, which forms the upper house. They divide with Americans the direction of the various executive departments. The chief justice and two of the associate justices of the Supreme Court, about half of the judges of the higher courts, and all of the justices of the peace are Filipinos. There is no branch of the Government, executive, legislative, or judicial, where Filipinos are not represented in increasing numbers and where their influence is not important.

Mr. Taft thinks this progress is due to "constant support and supervision at every step by Americans." This again is assumption. This is what every leader is apt to think of his pupil's achievement, but the pupil does not always think so. Men who can govern all their towns and cities, who can show such capacity for legislation as the Philippine Assembly has shown, who fill such high judicial offices, and furnish all the inferior judges, "who divide with Americans the direction of the various executive departments," have not shown incapacity for self-government, but marked capacity. They have been trusted not over few, but over many things, and no one charges that they have been found wanting. On the contrary, they are trusted more every year. The proof of their capacity might be amplified very greatly, but for present purposes the evidence of our opponents is enough. We want no better testimony than that of Mr. Stimson when he says:

There is no parallel to the material, mental, and moral progress shown in these 10 years of civil government by so many millions of people, held for centuries in ignorance and in effect in political and economic bondage.

This is strong testimony to Filipino capacity.

But Mr. Taft says that to confer independence upon "the Filipinos now is to subject the great mass of their people to the dominance of an oligarchical and probably exploiting minority." Where are they now? Under the domination of five oligarchs, the American commissioners, who control the legislation and the administration of the islands. This oligarchy is a stubborn fact, the Filipino "oligarchical minority" a fancy. We know the first. We imagine the second. That there will be leaders among the Filipinos is undoubtedly true, as there are leaders and "bosses" here, and the leaders, like all leaders, will be a minority of the people, but they will be men of the same blood, the same aspirations, the same traditions, as their followers. The leaders and the followers will understand each other, and have common sympathies and mutual respect. This is a very different thing from the government of millions of people by five foreigners who look down upon the governed as members of an inferior race, and upon that assumption rest their right to govern. Such a relation between governor and governed can not fail to end in disaster. As Mr. Curry, of New Mexico, who served eight years in the Philippines as governor of three Provinces, chief of the Manila police, and in other capacities, has well said:

The government which the Filipinos will establish may not be approved by the ordinary American citizen, but it will suit the Filipinos themselves.

And that is the final test. The best government for any people is the government which they like.

Bishop Brent sneers at all the great statesmen of the country, from those who framed the Declaration of Independence through Lincoln and his associates to Edmunds, Reed, Harrison, Hoar, and all the leaders of the Democratic Party, when he speaks of the "tone of infallibility which characterizes the utterances of those doughty champions of the Filipinos, who, clothed in the soft raiment of homespun theories, view the battle from afar," adding, "I have no solution of the Philippine problem to offer." Yet with a tone of greater infallibility he does not hesitate to assert dogmatically:

If our rule were removed at this juncture, at any rate the Philippines would at once become a prey to the strongest of the sectional aggregations, and they in turn would ultimately be devoured by intruders from outside the borders of the Philippines. (Statement in Boston Transcript, Apr. 21, 1913.)

One hardly knows which to marvel at most, the lofty conceit with which the bishop describes the fundamental principles of free government as "homespun theories," the modesty with which he admits that he has no solution of our problem to offer, or the serene confidence with which he foretells the fate of the Filipino. His language confirms our belief in the necessity of separating church and state, and the unwisdom of preachers when they undertake to deal with politics.

The danger from foreign interlopers can be guarded against by a treaty between the great powers which shall assure the neutralization of the islands, as Switzerland and other countries are neutralized. This is the tendency of modern international statesmanship, and it is for a Democratic administration to make the proposition on behalf of the United States, which without doubt the other powers will accept. This is surely better in every way than the present plan of holding them down by force in peace and abandoning them in war.

What is meant by the statement that they "would fall a prey to the strongest of the sectional aggregations" is perhaps a question. It may mean only that the strongest party will carry the elections, and it can hardly mean anything else than a majority rule described in the language of the pulpit. The defeated Republicans feel in the same way that the country has "become a prey" to the Democrats.

Whatever, however, the bishop means, he knows no more of the future than do his fellow-citizens, and as his prophecies do not frighten the people most interested, they need not frighten us.

When we read them, we remember that for years the Republicans have described the Democratic Party as unfit to be trusted with power and have foretold every sort of disaster as sure to follow its success at the polls. Only the other day Mr. Taft was bidding his party associates "have patience," confident that the Democrats would soon demonstrate their folly and so far injure the country as to insure their expulsion from power. An old Massachusetts Member of Congress left home last autumn, expressing his deep sense of the approaching calamities which the Democrats were sure to inflict on us all. There is no statement of belief in Philippine incapacity, no matter how positive, that can not be paralleled with an equally positive statement of belief in Democratic incapacity, both taken from Republican speeches and often the speeches of the same men. Least of all people in the world should Democrats attach any importance to such statements or deny independence to the Philippines because of gloomy prophecies from men who would, if they could, for the same reasons deny the Democrats themselves any hope of controlling the Government of their own country.

The theory that the Filipinos will give up all that is good and take to mutual slaughter is intrinsically improbable. They have learned that good water is healthy, that good roads are useful, and they have no more desire to die of disease or to be killed in battle than we have. The instinct of self-preservation is as strong in them as in ourselves. Our schools have been pronounced a great success. Why? Because the Filipinos have sent their children to be taught. Why did they do this? No law compelled it. The children went and studied because they wanted to learn. We did not implant that desire in their breasts, and it will not perish when we withdraw. All over the world men are governing themselves, not always as we would have them, but as they prefer. Our own eyes are not free from beams. We have only to read the morning paper to see things proposed and too often done by our own governors, legislators, and statesmen, municipal, State, and national, that we deplore. The remedy is not to invite some other nation in to govern us, but to correct the abuses ourselves.

To whatever is said as to the probability of mistakes, quarrels, corruption, or even bloodshed among the Filipinos if independent, we may reply in the strong words of President Eliot:

Political freedom means freedom to be feeble, foolish, and sinful in public affairs as well as freedom to be strong, wise, and good.

Let the nation now free, whose way to freedom has not been made through dissension, folly, bloodshed, and civil war cast the first stone at Filipino quarrels.

Let me quote the words of Judge Norris, of Washington, for a number of years a judge of the United States court in the Philippines, who in a speech at Springfield, in Massachusetts, on March 9 last, after expressing his opinion that the Filipinos were not prepared for republican government in 1898, continued as follows:

I feel equally justifiable in the assertion that they possess the inherent capacity for free government and will be capable of exercising it at the present or at some future day. I feel justified in making this assertion because their American associates in the insular government bear abundant testimony to their ability. With almost unanimous voice they enthusiastically commend the ability manifested by the Filipinos in official positions in the performance of their public duties. All the governors general, with perhaps one exception, all the members of the Filipino Commission, with perhaps one exception, have been loud in their praises of their native associates. The Filipinos have, from the beginning been admitted to a liberal participation in the government. They have been tried and not found wanting. Not only have they been heartily commended by their American associates, but they have received the more substantial recognition of not only being retained in office, but their number has been constantly augmented until to-day the insular government is largely in their hands.

The Filipinos are natural republicans. They possess the democratic instinct. Whenever or wherever the opportunity has been presented since the Aguinaldo insurrection, they have availed themselves of it to attempt the establishment of a republic or a nonmonarchical government. When we first became acquainted with them, they were fighting Spain for national independence with the intention, if successful, of establishing a representative government. For this purpose they dared the power of Spain, and, when disappointed at the nonrecognition of the Aguinaldo government by the United States, rose in rebellion against and defied the Nation that conquered Spain. The Filipinos have fought for national independence. The cause has had its heroes and martyrs, like other patriotic causes. The earnest desire of the Filipino for national independence is not that he may establish a monarchical form of government, but a republic. His strenuous attempts to achieve his independence and create a republic are presumptive evidence that he possesses, if not a genius for self-government, an innate capacity therefor which when properly trained will enable him to administer his own government with credit to himself and to his American instructors and sponsors. * * *

Now, when China, Turkey, Persia, and other Asiatic powers are striving to emerge into a higher and better life, when the Orient is looking for a sign of hope from the Occident, and especially from the United States, is it not well for the American people to consider when the appointed day shall arrive to cheer the oriental world with the object lesson of an Asiatic republic administered by an Asiatic people by launching the Republica Filipina among the nations of the civilized world?

Judge Elliott, late a member of the Philippine Commission appointed by Mr. Taft, adds his testimony:

I never had any sympathy with the party which opposed the retention of the Philippines. But the Filipinos have been promised independence and have been led to believe that American occupation was temporary and only for the purpose of training them for self-government. They are competent to-day to conduct a fairly good government, such a one as they desire to live under. They can maintain law and order and can protect the lives and property of foreigners, and that is about all that we can expect or rightly demand. I am therefore in favor of keeping the faith with these people and passing a law somewhat similar to the Jones bill.

And, as to probabilities, let me conclude with the words of Mr. Taft himself in his message vetoing the New Mexico and Arizona statehood bill:

In the long run each class of individuals is apt to secure better provision for themselves through their own voice in government than through the altruism of others, however intelligent and philanthropic.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

The Jones bill fixes a time when, if all goes well, the United States will withdraw from the islands. If all does not go well further legislation may be had. If the bill is so drawn as to make further legislation necessary before this withdrawal takes place the battle will have to be fought over again. Let us cut the knot now as far as possible. Let no one invest money or change his position on the theory that independence is doubtful. Let everyone have full notice that the decision has been made, and let the burden to show cause be on those who wish postponement for any reason. It is time that this question was settled in accordance with the oft-repeated promise of the Democratic Party by the passage of the Jones bill.

To insure the success of the Democratic policy the government of the islands should at once be intrusted to men who believe in it. Officers who, like the present Governor General, are bitterly opposed to independence, can do much to obstruct, but are not likely to forward the policy. They will see what happens through the spectacles of their prepossessions. Those things that make for independence will not seem to them important and will not be mentioned. Whatever helps their cause will be emphasized. They have made themselves the leaders in the movement against independence. They are engaged in an active propaganda against the Jones bill, or any like measure. They are not judges, but parties, and, without impugning their honesty, their presentation of the facts is not to be trusted. Is proof desired?

Let me first give a newspaper statement of the commission's report for the year 1911:

Unprecedented prosperity is being enjoyed by the Philippine Islands, principally as a result of free trade between them and the United States, and the cry of "hard times" there no longer can be raised, say the members of the Philippine Commission in their report for 1911. The United States has shared in this prosperity by increasing its exports to the archipelago to \$49,800,000, or more than \$12,500,000 during the year. Free trade has resulted in increased revenues to the Filipinos in sugar and tobacco and an improvement in the market for copra.

The opening of new railway lines in various parts of the islands has resulted in stimulating industry and fostering production, the territory through which they pass having awakened to the development of agricultural industries. A steady and healthy growth of the postal savings bank, Filipino depositors having increased 171 per cent over the number of the previous year. Health conditions of the entire islands never have been better than during the past year.

But now let us read the statement of *El Ideal*, a Manila newspaper, about the year 1911:

Great fires, hurricanes, floods, shipwrecks, epidemics among work animals, and other calamities have sown desolation, weeping, and ruin in fields and cities. The history of the year is like a Sibylline chapter of *Madame de Thebus*.

It is to be noted that in this report among exports from the United States were for the first time included Government supplies and free railroad supplies, so that the increase pointed out with such pride was not a real increase.

In like manner a great increase of imports has been claimed the present year. The fact that this was in part due to the importation of "millions of dollars worth" of rice from China, owing to the failure of the crop in the islands, was not given equal prominence.

A much more glaring case of both *suppresio veri* and *suggestio falsi* is the statement that slavery exists in the Philippine Islands, given out by Dean C. Worcester, one of the Philippine commissioners, in a letter published in the *National Humane Review*, and his assertion that this is because the Filipino Assembly refuses to pass laws which will end it.

This charge is in large part founded on a decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, from the syllabus of which he quotes.

Fortunately for the truth, Judge Tracey, the judge who wrote the opinion in this case, saw the statement, and in a letter published on May 3 last contradicts the charge. I quote his words:

It happens that to me, as one of the justices of the supreme court for the Philippine Islands at the time, was assigned the writing of the opinion of the court in the case, which is reported at page 64 of the eighth volume of the Philippine Reports, now before me. Without desiring a controversy with Mr. Worcester or Gen. McIntyre, also mentioned in your Washington dispatch, I feel it incumbent on me to promptly call attention to the substance of this decision. The record before the court shows not that slavery exists in any form throughout the Philippine Islands, but only a custom of child servitude or apprenticeship in certain mountain regions. The opinion says:

"It is proved in the case that it is an Igorot custom to dispose of children to pay the debts of their fathers, the transaction in the native language being termed a sale, and the defendant appears to have engaged in the business of buying in Nueva Vizcaya children to sell in the lowlands of Isabela. * * *

"The name applied to it by the custom of the Igorots is not enough to establish that in truth and in effect it was a sale, or anything more than a contract for services. * * *

"The employment or custody of a minor with the consent or sufferance of the parents or guardian, although against the child's own will, can not be considered involuntary servitude."

It is likened to an indenturing of children, in accordance with custom, unprotected by statutory safeguards. After calling attention both to the American constitutional declarations against servitude and the humane provisions of the Spanish codes prohibiting the abuse of minors, as well as the declaration of the Spanish law of the thirteenth century that "slavery is a thing that all men naturally abhor," the court suggests that any remedy is for the consideration of the legislature further than action by the criminal courts.

The further inference is to be drawn from Mr. Worcester's letter that anti-slavery laws were thereafter passed applicable to the mountain Provinces and the Moro Province, and the offense which he finds is that the legislature refuses to apply a similar law to the civilized parts of the islands. The reason for the refusal is plain. The assembly does not consider that slavery exists in the civilized parts of the islands. It is stated in the letter that "there are Negrito slaves held to-day in the city of Manila." If this is so, their liberation can be enforced any day through a writ of habeas corpus. I am too well aware of Mr. Worcester's skill as a seasoned controversialist to believe that he has ventured upon a specific assertion without holding some proof of it in reserve. I can only say that having been some years a resident of Manila in official position, such a condition of things is unknown to me, as it was unknown to my colleagues, some of whom have resided in the Philippine Islands all their lives. The condition must be exceptional and abnormal, as it is illegal, existing in the islands, as phrased by Gen. McIntyre: "Just as crime exists everywhere."

It may also be observed that for years before the organization of the Philippine Assembly the legislation of the Philippine Islands was in the hands of a commission, dominated by Americans, having in its power the passage of an antislavery law on any day at any hour. The reproach, if it be genuine, lies with far greater force against the American Commission than the Philippine Assembly, in view of the existence of this species of servitude in the mountain Provinces, which are immediately under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior.

It has passed into an adage that "you can not indict a whole people." All history proves that by innuendo you may calumniate a whole people. I may

be permitted to say that, while not one of those who think Philippine independence a timely or tenable thing to-day, I deplore the creation of a public opinion in this country based on misconception of a subject that truly needs all the light that can be shed on it by men holding official places.

In view of these facts, it is clear that a man capable of making so false a statement as this of Dean C. Worcester is unfit longer to be trusted with office. How many like statements have passed unchallenged, how many more will follow, can only be conjectured.

The present officials must go. It is not safe to leave this great cause at the mercy of their prejudices or to leave them in charge of a people whom they look down upon as incapable of self-government. In this as in everything else the opponents urge delay in the hope that thereby they may compass our defeat.

The American people in their hearts know that they have no right to hold the Philippines. Their consciences have always been uneasy, and they have therefore been willing to catch at every excuse or justification for the abandonment of their principles. They will hail with delight and a profound sense of relief the passage of any measure which restores their self-respect by setting the islanders free. A volume would not contain the expressions of this feeling that might be quoted. Their most respected leaders, Edmunds, Hoar, Harrison, Thomas B. Reed, McCall, and many another, have joined with every great Democrat in condemning the retention of the islands, and the longer we postpone their liberation the greater the cost to everybody.

Our true course is to give the Filipinos their independence. Self-government is the right of every nation because no other surely regards the interests of the governed. Men are essentially selfish, and power is always used to benefit him who wields it. The king aims to preserve and strengthen his dynasty. The oligarchy clings to its privileges at the expense of the people. The "boss" governs in his own interest. It is only when the power is in the hands of the people that the rights and interests of the people are secure, and this is the truth which the founders of this Nation declared.

I think it is Prof. Jenks who, in a report, said that the Filipinos were unfit to govern themselves because "they are readily bribed." How should we Anglo-Saxons stand this test? Shall we disfranchise St. Louis, many of whose elected governors were lately in prison or on the way to it for bribery? Shall we deal likewise with Minneapolis, whose mayor and chief of police administered a whole system of corruption? Shall every State ever represented in the Senate by a man who bought his seat be driven from the family of States? Is bribery unknown in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York? What was the story of Adams County, and how did the contribution of Mr. Harriman affect the vote of New York in 1904? What municipal legislature, what State legislature, indeed, is to-day above suspicion, if great corporations are seeking legislation? Let New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston tell us whether bribery is unknown to them, and when these questions are answered we may decide how great is the mote in our brother's eye.

But it is said they would kill each other and that anarchy would ensue if we left the islands. When our troops reached the islands there was no anarchy, and the Filipinos were governing themselves.

The only anarchy that has been known there is the anarchy which we introduced. It is pure assumption that the Filipinos would have engaged in internecine war. The Japanese, also Malays, and far less civilized than the Filipinos when we first knew them, have grown in 50 years into the greatest eastern power. We did not feel bound to annex them, lest they should kill each other, nor to stop such wars as they have known since. We have aided them by teaching them here and in Japan, and we have let them develop on their own lines. Why should not their fellow Malays be as successful?

It may be doubted whether Asiatics are more prone to civil war than Europeans, or whether, in proportion to their numbers, more men have been killed in any Asiatic country than fell in the wars of the Roses, in the Revolution, in the subjugation of Ireland, and in the wars with Scotland, while the British Nation was in making. When we reflect that the Crimean War, the wars between France and Austria, Prussia and Austria, Germany and France, Russia and Turkey, and our own Civil War, to say nothing of many minor wars, have occurred within 50 years, can we justly claim that we are more peaceful than the Asiatics, or deny to them for this reason the independence which we claim for ourselves? Sebastopol, Gettysburg, Solferino, Sadowa, Sedan, Plevna—what are our associations with these names? Asiatic nations have endured as long as man's memory extends, undestroyed by civil war. Why should we assume that the Filipinos would develop a passion for slaughtering each other which would exceed the measure allowed to civilized nations?

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

Are these words of Lincoln true? They have the support of much human experience. A republic finds its only secure foundation in the belief of the people that men have equal rights. Once shatter that belief, once teach them that the stronger or the wiser or the better men have the right to rule others against their will, and the stronger are easily persuaded that they are also the wiser and the better. Let them once see the easy methods of despotism applied to one part of the people under their flag, and they ask themselves why they should not apply the same methods to others whom they dislike or distrust.

There comes a time in the history of most governments when internal differences make men feel insecure. Let me illustrate my meaning by an extract from a letter written by Guizot to Henry Reeve after Napoleon III had overthrown the French Republic. He wrote:

The great bulk of the people, those to whom their private interests is the sole consideration, are satisfied. The expectation of the crisis of 1852 weighed upon these interests like a nightmare. The President delivered them from it; he is fighting against socialism and demagogism. By his triumph, manufacturers, merchants, honest artisans, and peasants may look for some security in their work and business for some time to come. They ask nothing more of him.

Is there nothing in this line of thought which seems familiar?

When Guizot asked Lowell how long our Republic would last, he replied, "As long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant." They are the foundation of our Government, and whatever weakens them endangers it. We have learned how the republics of the ancient world successively fell, and we have seen the overthrow of a republic in France. To meet our problems here, to restrain the

power of capital and the excesses of labor, we need a deeply rooted faith in our own institutions, a passionate love of justice. We can not destroy the ideals of the Nation; we can not insist that the Declaration of Independence is wrong; we can not govern millions of men outside the Constitution—and hope to preserve, in full strength, that faith in the equal rights of men which is the soul of this Nation. Every man who defends these things has begun to lose his belief and, while years may elapse without a change in the external form of government, no one can tell when some crisis will find our people as glad to welcome a strong man as the French were to receive a new Napoleon. Let us cling fast to our faith, and regard him who would weaken it as an enemy to his country.

The time will come, if this Republic is to endure, when an overwhelming public sentiment will make itself felt, and we shall do what every true American in his heart would like to have his country do—give the Filipinos their freedom, and thus regain that proud position among the nations of the world which we have lost—the moral leadership of mankind—becoming again, in the words of Aguinaldo, “the great nation, North America, Cradle of Liberty,” beneath whose flag, wherever it floats in this wide world, there is no room for a subject, but a sure refuge for every man who desires that freedom which is the birthright of every human being.

Has not that time come now? The Democratic Party has given its promise, and the people have placed it in power. Can it now turn back? If it does, upon its head will rest all the disastrous consequences which have ever followed the attempt of one people to hold another in subjection.



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