

Also, papers in support of House bill for the relief of John G. Hunt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers in support of House bill to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of James Dunlap—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROBERTS of Massachusetts: Petitions of clerks in the post-offices at Everett and Malden, Mass., asking for the passage of House bill No. 4351, for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of the Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Company, of Lynn, Mass., relating to the stamp tax on medicines, perfumery, and cosmetics—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RUSSELL: Petition of post-office clerks at Willimantic, Conn., favoring the passage of House bill No. 4351, for the reclassification of postal clerks—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, resolutions of the Presbytery of Westchester, N. Y., for the anti-polygamy amendment to the Constitution—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of druggists of New London, Conn., urging the repeal of the internal-revenue tax on proprietary medicines—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Norwich, Conn., concerning constitutional rights of citizens and punishment of mob violence or interference with such rights—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolutions of tobacco growers of Hartford County, Conn., against any reduction of duty on importations of tobacco from Puerto Rico and the Philippines—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SHACKLEFORD: Petition of citizens of Laclede County, Mo., to accompany House bill to correct the military record of W. F. Carter—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SIMS: Resolution of the Chamber of Commerce of Chattanooga, Tenn., favoring the passage of a bill granting a competing submarine cable line between the United States and Cuba—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of the Druggists' Association and others, of the State of Tennessee, urging the repeal of the internal-revenue tax on proprietary medicines—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPERRY: Petition of Lincoln Command, No. 1, Union Veterans' Union, of Meriden, Conn., and A. H. Terry Command, No. 3, Union Veterans' Union, of New Haven, Conn., protesting against the passage of House bill No. 3988—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, petition of post-office clerks of Middletown, Conn., and of Derby, Conn., for the passage of House bill No. 4351—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. SPRAGUE: Petition of clerks at Hyde Park, Mass., post-office, asking that the pay of post-office clerks be readjusted—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. STEWART of Wisconsin: Resolutions of the Bar Association of Eau Claire County, Wis., against a division of the western district of Wisconsin—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, resolutions of M. W. Heller Post, No. 166, Grand Army of the Republic, of Rice Lake, Wis., protesting against any amendment to the pension laws providing for biennial examination of pensioners—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of the Literary Association of Wisconsin, urging legislation giving authors' manuscripts the same rates of postage as is given to third-class mail matter—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. THROPP: Petition of William S. Sutters, to accompany House bill for his relief—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill for the removal of the charge of desertion against Joseph Hartman, alias John Wolf—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill to remove the charge of desertion against John Houpt—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill for the relief of Martha Irwin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill for the relief of Frederick Hillegass—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of post-office clerks of Tyrone, Pa., for the passage of House bill No. 4351, for the classification of post-office clerks—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. WADSWORTH: Petition of 36 farmers of Niagara County, N. Y., to amend the act to regulate commerce—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Also, petition of George N. Stoddard, to repeal the stamp tax on proprietary medicines—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, petition of post-office clerks at Niagara Falls, Batavia, Albion, and Medina, N. Y., asking for the passage of the bill No. 4351, for the classification of clerks in the first and second class post-offices—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

Also, petition of 20 bee keepers, farmers, and fruit growers, of Genesee County, N. Y., asking specific appropriation in agriculture—to the Committee on Agriculture.

Also, resolution of the city council of Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, for the passage of a general railroad law for Puerto Rico—to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. ZENOR: Papers to accompany House bill No. 4906, for the relief of Ellen Quinn, hospital nurse during the war of the rebellion—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Petitions, etc., against the seating of Brigham H. Roberts as a Representative from Utah were laid on the Clerk's desk, and severally referred to the Special Committee on the B. H. Roberts Case, as follows:

By Mr. BURLEIGH: Petitions of George W. Dorr, E. A. Dinslow, and others, of the Third Congressional district of Maine.

By Mr. BURTON: Petitions of the Calvary Baptist Christian Endeavor Society, Brooklyn Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, East Madison Avenue Congregational Church, and numerous societies and citizens of Cleveland, Ohio.

By Mr. CLARK of Missouri: Protest of a Sunday school rally at Middletown, Mo.

By Mr. DAYTON: Petitions of C. W. Cox and others, of Evansville, W. Va., and vicinity, and F. M. Huffman, J. R. Idleman, and others, of West Virginia.

By Mr. GASTON: Petitions of citizens of Erie, Pa., and vicinity.

By Mr. HEPBURN: Petitions of Bishop John F. Hurst, Bishop Henry W. Warren, Bishop John F. Goucher, committee; G. W. Westfall and 50 others, and F. M. Beall and 79 citizens of Shannon City, Iowa.

By Mr. POWERS: Remonstrances of the Friends' Church of Monktonridge, Vt., and citizens of Eden and North Hyde Park, Vt.

By Mr. RAY of New York: Petition of citizens of Binghamton, N. Y.

By Mr. RUSSELL: Resolutions of the Windham County, Conn., Association of Congregational Ministers.

By Mr. SPERRY: Petitions of the Methodist Episcopal Church of East Pearl Street and of the Congregational Club, of New Haven, Conn.

By Mr. TAYLER of Ohio: Petitions of W. R. Hearst and numerous other citizens.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, January 9, 1900.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. TELLER, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Journal will stand approved, without objection.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the report of the Nicaragua Canal Commission, provided for in the act of Congress approved June 4, 1897, entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for other purposes."

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, January 9, 1900.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The report is voluminous; and it will be referred to the Committee on Printing, under the rule.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HANNA presented resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of sundry Holland-American citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, expressing sympathy with the people of the Transvaal and praying for Congressional action; which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented the petitions of Thomas C. Pollock and 28 other citizens of Cambridge, D. B. Weiss and 75 other citizens of Chatham, Charles S. Mills and 39 other citizens of Cleveland, James W. Rain and 15 other citizens of Dayton, and of A. K. Thompson and 15 other citizens of Salineville, all in the State of Ohio, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BUTLER presented a petition of sundry railway mail clerks of Wilmington, N. C., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. McMILLAN presented a memorial of sundry members of the Medina Farmers' Club, of Michigan, remonstrating against

any polygamist holding office in the United States; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of the Sulphur Pharmacal Company, of Detroit, Mich., praying for the repeal of the stamp tax upon proprietary medicines, perfumeries, and cosmetics; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented petitions of sundry railway mail clerks of Adrian, Pontiac, Iron Mountain, Calumet, Saginaw, and Mount Clemens, all in the State of Michigan, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. ALLEN presented a memorial of the Nebraska Improvement Live Stock Breeders' Association, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation for the prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. PENROSE presented a petition of the Shoe Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the removal of the present duty on raw hides; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of 51 citizens of Kittanning, Pa., and a petition of sundry citizens of Neal, Pa., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

He also presented a petition of sundry railway mail clerks of Towanda, Wilkesbarre, and Kittanning, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the Board of Trade of Philadelphia, of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, and of the Maritime Exchange of Philadelphia, all in the State of Pennsylvania, praying that the proposed dry dock at the League Island Navy-Yard be constructed of stone and concrete instead of timber; which was referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. THURSTON presented a petition of sundry railway mail clerks of South Omaha, Nebr., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a memorial of the Nebraska Improved Live Stock Breeders' Association, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation to provide for the further prevention of cruelty to animals in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. COCKRELL presented a petition of sundry railway mail clerks of Kansas City, Mo., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. CHILTON presented the petition of W. B. Dohoney and sundry other citizens of Paris, Tex., and the petition of A. C. Hall and sundry other citizens of Corsicana, Tex., praying for the enactment of legislation providing for the classification of clerks in first and second class post-offices; which were referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented the petition of Rev. R. M. Loughbridge and 55 other citizens of Waco, Tex., and the petition of R. D. Carter and sundry other citizens of Cottonwood, Tex., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy; which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. TELLER, from the Committee on Claims, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 468) for the relief of the Catholic Church at Macon City, Mo., and

A bill (S. 446) for the relief of St. Charles College.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (S. 1329) granting a pension to Mary Jackman;

A bill (S. 1796) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca P. Quint; and

A bill (S. 35) granting a pension to Louise Donath.

STATISTICS RELATING TO THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. LODGE, from the Committee on the Philippines, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by himself December 19, 1899, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That there be compiled under the direction of the Committee on the Philippines, for the use of the Senate, the best statistics available in regard to the area, population, agricultural and mineral resources, export and import trade of the Philippine Islands, together with such other information on the subject as the committee may deem desirable.

REPORT ON AFFAIRS IN CUBA.

Mr. PLATT of New York. I am directed by the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution submitted by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] on the 3d instant, to report it without amendment, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 7,000 copies of so much of the civil report of Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke, military governor of the island of Cuba, made to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army, with accompanying papers and documents, as is in the English language, together with a prepared index; of which 2,000 copies shall be for the use of the Senate, 4,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,000 copies for the use of the War Department.

Mr. CULLOM. I should like to ask the Senator from New York whether this is simply the last report or all the reports made by Major-General Brooke?

Mr. PLATT of New York. It is the last report.

Mr. CULLOM. I have no objection to the resolution.

The concurrent resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

STATISTICS RELATIVE TO CRIME.

Mr. PLATT of New York, from the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution submitted by Mr. HOAR on the 4th instant, reported it without amendment, and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed 4,500 copies of the report transmitted by the Secretary of State of the Commissioner for the United States on the International Prison Commission on "Crimes, misdemeanors, and penalties" in the United States; of which 1,000 shall be for the use of the Senate, 2,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, and 1,500 for distribution by the Department of State.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FAIRBANKS introduced a bill (S. 2244) to extend the immigration, contract-labor, and Chinese exclusion laws of the United States to the Hawaiian Islands; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2245) directing the issue of a duplicate of a lost check, drawn by William H. Comegys, major and paymaster, United States Army, in favor of George P. White; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2246) to correct the military record of Lake B. Morrison; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. RAWLINS introduced a bill (S. 2247) to reimburse George W. Young, postmaster at Wanship, Utah, for loss of postage stamps; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. HANNA introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs:

A bill (S. 2248) to correct the military record of Thomas Toomey;

A bill (S. 2249) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Charles A. Bell (with an accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 2250) to correct the military record of John Hill (with an accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 2251) to amend the muster roll of Company F, Forty-eighth Regiment Ohio Volunteer Infantry, so as to place thereon the name of William Donely.

Mr. HANNA introduced the following bills; which were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Pensions:

A bill (S. 2252) granting a pension to Peter D. Smith (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 2253) granting an increase of pension to William Dunn (with an accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 2254) granting an increase of pension to Henry W. Schroder (with accompanying papers).

Mr. PENROSE introduced a bill (S. 2255) appropriating \$5,000,000 for the building of public roads in the several States of the United States of America; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2256) for the relief of John W. Gummo; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2257) for the relief of Robert Brigham; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2258) to authorize the Union Railroad Company to construct and maintain a bridge across the Monongahela River; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. PLATT of New York introduced a bill (S. 2259) for the relief of Jeronemus S. Underhill; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. CULLOM introduced a bill (S. 2260) to refer the claim of

Joseph W. Parish to the Secretary of the Treasury for examination and payment of any balance found due; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2261) granting a pension to Mahala Bliss; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McBRIDE introduced a bill (S. 2262) granting a pension to Mrs. C. A. Lester; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2263) for the relief of E. A. Seeley; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. FORAKER introduced a bill (S. 2264) to provide a government for the island of Puerto Rico, and for other purposes; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico.

Mr. McMILLAN introduced a bill (S. 2265) for the extension of Vermont avenue; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. BATE introduced a bill (S. 2266) for the relief of the heirs of James W. Fennell, deceased, and to give the Court of Claims jurisdiction, and to remove the bar of statute of limitations; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2267) for the relief of the heirs of Susan N. Moore, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. TURLEY introduced a bill (S. 2268) to carry into effect a finding of the Court of Claims in favor of Pamela B. Finney, administratrix of T. C. Finney, deceased; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a bill (S. 2269) for the relief of O. F. Adams; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2270) appropriating \$10,000 to inclose and beautify the monument on the Moores Creek battlefield, North Carolina; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. FOSTER introduced a bill (S. 2271) for the relief of John T. Heffernan; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2272) for the relief of Mathias A. Young; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. THURSTON introduced a bill (S. 2273) for the relief of Charles L. Wood; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2274) granting a pension to Michael Curtin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WOLCOTT introduced a bill (S. 2275) for the relief of T. J. Cranford; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2276) granting an increase of pension to George W. Ragland; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. STEWART introduced a bill (S. 2277) for the relief of George W. Chedic; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. QUARLES introduced a bill (S. 2278) to prevent the desecration of the American flag; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2279) declaring Cuivre River to be not a navigable stream; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also introduced a bill (S. 2280) granting a pension to Horatio N. Cornell; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present, to accompany the bill, the petition of the claimant, with the affidavits of Dr. Jacob Geiger, Robert H. Wade, Fred P. Halsey, and Thomas H. Assbrook, with naval record, three letters from the Commissioner of Pensions, and one petition with seven signers. I move that the bill and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Pensions.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2281) for the relief of Charles Stierlin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. LODGE introduced a bill (S. 2282) to purchase a painting of the several ships of the United States Navy, known as the "Squadron of Evolution," and entitled "Peace;" which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Library.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut introduced a bill (S. 2283) relating to section 61 of the revenue act of August 28, 1894; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 2284) extending the time for the completion of a wagon and motor bridge across the Missouri River at St. Charles, Mo., as provided by an act approved

June 3, 1896; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Commerce.

Mr. BUTLER introduced a joint resolution (S. R. 57) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of Senators by the votes of the qualified electors of the States; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

FRANK J. BURROWS.

Mr. PENROSE. A bill introduced by me (S. 1845) for the relief of Frank J. Burrows was referred inadvertently to the Committee on Claims. It should be referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. I ask unanimous consent that the reference be changed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIMINAL PROCEDURE.

Mr. PETTUS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on the District of Columbia be requested to inquire into the manner in which preliminary examinations in criminal cases are conducted by courts or magistrates in the District of Columbia, and whether in such preliminary examinations evidence for the defense is not allowed. And the said committee will consider and report what remedy, if any, should be provided by Congress.

ISLAND SURVEYS.

Mr. PERKINS submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, directed to submit to the Senate of the United States a report on—

First. The present condition and progress of the topographical and geological surveys, if any, which may have been inaugurated on the islands now under the jurisdiction of the United States.

Second. His recommendation as to further topographical and geological surveys on said islands.

TRANSPORT SHIPS.

Mr. ALLEN submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and he hereby is, directed to furnish to the Senate a list of all transport ships and other vessels purchased or chartered by the War Department since March 4, 1897; their names respectively, if named; the name of the person, persons, company, or companies from whom purchased or chartered; the value of each transport ship or other vessel, whether purchased or chartered, as estimated by Lloyd's Register at the time of the purchase or charter thereof; the price paid for each transport ship or other vessel, and, where acquired under the terms of a charter party, the amount paid the owner, owners, or agents of the transport ship or other vessel so acquired while under charter; the amounts expended by the War Department in fitting up and repairing said transport ships and other vessels, whether chartered or owned by the United States during the period they have been used by the War Department; also the number and names of transport ships or other vessels sold by the War Department, the name of the person or persons or company or companies to whom sold, the price for which each transport ship or other vessel was sold, and why the same was sold.

INQUIRIES RELATIVE TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Mr. HOAR. I offer a resolution for which I ask immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the President be requested, if in his judgment not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate all communications which have been received by him, or by any department or officer, civil or military, from Aguinaldo or any other person undertaking to represent the people in arms against the United States in the Philippine Islands, or any alleged government or public authority of said people; and all replies to such communications.

Also the proclamation sent by him to be issued to the people of the Philippine Islands, as actually directed by him to be issued, and the same as actually proclaimed by General Otis if in any respect it was altered or any part of it was omitted.

Also to inform the Senate whether any approval or disapproval was expressed by his authority, or that of the War Department, of such change, if any.

Also all constitutions, forms of government or proclamations issued by Aguinaldo, or any congress or legislative assembly, or body claiming to be such, or convention of the people of the Philippine Islands or any part thereof, or claiming to represent them or any part thereof, of which information may have come to him, or to any department of the Government.

And that the President be further requested to communicate without delay so much of said information as is now in his possession or in that of any department at Washington, without waiting to obtain so much of said information as may require considerable delay or communication with the Philippine Islands; and to communicate the remainder of the information as soon thereafter as it can be obtained.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to state, if I may, before unanimous consent is asked, that this resolution proposes that we shall have by itself in a distinct shape the State papers, the proclamations, constitutions, and other documents of that kind in which the Philippine Islanders have undertaken to establish and proclaim a government, and the communications they have made or sought to make to the United States Government declaring their purposes and the replies. A great deal of the information which I ask is to be found scattered already in military reports and in other documents, but it will be convenient to all of us to have it in one shape by itself. Probably there may be some little matters which they would have to send out to the Philippine Islands for, but with that exception it can all, I presume, be sent to the Senate within a few days.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

Mr. SPOONER. I believe we are to consider to-morrow a resolution which has gone over until that day which involves in some of its phases the general subject of inquiry by the Senate into matters relating to the Philippines; and I think the resolution had better be printed and go over until to-morrow.

Mr. HOAR. Well, unless the Senator sees for himself on the statement made that it is one of those things which, according to the unbroken usage of the Senate, is granted on the request of any Senator. I think it is. If the Senator objects, the resolution goes over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution goes over under the rule.

Mr. PETTIGREW. To-morrow is to be devoted, after the routine morning business, to eulogies on the late Vice-President of the United States, and therefore it seems to me proper that the resolution of inquiry which I offered, together with the amendment offered by the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], be put over until the next day and that in the meantime it shall lie on the table. I therefore ask unanimous consent that that be done.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. LODGE. I hope that request will be granted, Mr. President. I think it better that all the resolutions of inquiry relating to the Philippines should go over until Thursday.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HOAR. What is the order?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is ordered, by unanimous consent, that the resolution of the Senator from South Dakota, with the amendment of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], which was assigned for consideration after the routine business for to-morrow morning, be postponed until Thursday.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. My colleague stated that it was his desire that all such resolutions of inquiry should stand over in the same way; and the Chair announced that that was the consent given. I wish to know whether the consent embraces all such resolutions or only the one just stated by the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It did not, as the Chair put it; but the Chair will put it in the other form, that the consideration of all the resolutions will be postponed until Thursday, if there be no objection.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I was intending to ask in addition that the same order may be made as to all other resolutions.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be so ordered, if there be no objection.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

Mr. RAWLINS submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Philippines, and ordered to be printed:

Be it resolved by the Senate, That the Committee on the Philippines is hereby instructed to inquire into and report to the Senate:

1. What, if any, form of government, insurgent or revolutionary, or in the form of a dictatorship, other than the Kingdom of Spain, existed in the Philippine Islands on and prior to December 10, 1898; and to what extent did such government have and exercise dominion, control, or influence in said islands, and to what extent the Kingdom of Spain had actual possession or control therein at and prior to said date.

2. Can sovereign power be justly and in accordance with international law claimed in the absence of actual power of control?

ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE.

Mr. LODGE submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, and ordered to be printed:

Resolved, That the Committee on the Philippines be, and it is hereby, authorized to employ an assistant clerk, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate at the rate of \$1,800 per annum until otherwise provided by law.

HENRY W. LEE.

Mr. NELSON submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, directed to report to the Senate what action has been taken by him under the act of Congress of August 23, 1894 (28 Stats., 1013), for the relief of Henry W. Lee, with copies of all the papers in the case.

INDIAN LANDS IN MINNESOTA.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut submitted the following resolution; which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and hereby is, directed to furnish to the Senate the reports made to his Department under authority of statute, approved March 1, 1899, providing for an investigation of affairs connected with the estimating and sale of the pine timber and lands of the Chippewa tribe of Indians in the State of Minnesota, and other data bearing upon the same subject, together with any orders or directions issued by him relating to the estimating or sale of such timber and lands, and the future management thereof.

THE FINANCIAL BILL.

On motion of Mr. ALDRICH, it was

Ordered, That there be printed for the use of the Senate and delivered to the Senate document room 1,000 copies of H. R. 1, with amendments as proposed January 4, 1900.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, some days ago I introduced a bill for the Government ownership of the railroads of the United States. I now present an article on public ownership by Prof. Frank Parsons, which I wish to have printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce to accompany the bill which I introduced.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota asks that a statement submitted by him may be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. Is there objection?

Mr. SEWELL. Before that order is made, I should like to have some knowledge as to what it is. The practice of printing at the public expense the ideas of some cranks in the country is getting to be a little too common. I object to the printing.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Jersey objects.

Mr. SEWELL. I have no objection to the reference of the paper without printing.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not ask for its reference without printing. It is simply an essay upon the subject of the Government ownership of public utilities in the United States by Prof. Frank Parsons. He is one of the ablest writers in this country and one of the soundest, and he does not belong to the list of cranks under any circumstances. Further than that, there can be cranks on both sides of this question and quite often there are, and they are as liable to represent the great corporations of the country as not to represent them.

Mr. SEWELL. I object, Mr. President, anyway, to the printing of articles by individuals.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I wish to make a personal appeal to the Senator from New Jersey not to object. I am in receipt from time to time of letters from young men connected with our colleges who are debating this question, or who desire to debate it, asking me for data, which I have found it very difficult to supply. One document, I think, that emanated from the Interstate Commerce Commission contains some information on the subject, but it is rather difficult to obtain it.

While I do not know precisely what this professor, who is vouched for by the Senator from South Dakota, may have contributed to this subject, and while I have heretofore been opposed to the Government going into the business of buying railroads and telephones and telegraphs, yet it is a great public question; one that has formerly concerned other countries. There has been some legislation on the subject abroad, and I think we are entitled to all the information we can obtain. In view of the fact that we have been printing almost anything and everything Senators have heretofore asked for, I think it is in the line of the public interests that this document should be printed and become available for distribution.

I hope the Senator from New Jersey will withdraw his objection.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I am not disposed to do so at the present time. If these articles have anything to commend themselves to the people of the United States, they will appear in public prints and in the magazines. The owners of the magazines are very anxious to print able articles on any subject. I do not think we ought to order such printing to be done at the public expense, because then the matter is distributed with a frank. The Senator from South Dakota has made two or three of these requests in the last few days, and I think it is about time that we stopped the practice.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Mr. President, there are many public questions that are of great interest to the entire people. The opinions of members of the House and Senate are printed as documents and go in the RECORD and can be franked to the people of the country. There are men outside of Congress just as competent to discuss these questions as the men inside, and for one, when a member of the Senate believes that an expression given to the public by any citizen is worthy of especial attention and care, I can see no reason why it should not be printed and distributed through the mails and read by the people. It seems to me that only a fear of having the people educated on these great questions can inspire a disposition to suppress this sort of information. I have seen a number of instances of refusal here, especially refusals to the Senator from South Dakota, to have papers printed which were of unusual interest and deserved to be printed as public documents. For one I do not understand the spirit with which this crusade is made against the printing of such information. I should like to see the old order of things, that has stood here for years without doing anybody any harm, restored, so that whenever any Senator has a paper which he believes to be of such importance as to justify its printing as a document he may ask unanimous consent to have it so printed, and it may be done.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, is it in order to move to

print the paper as a document? I move that it be printed for the use of the Senate.

Mr. SEWELL. I object to its consideration.

Mr. HOAR. I should like to be allowed, as other Senators have been, to make one suggestion to the Senator from New Jersey. I agree with him entirely that the practice of printing articles composed by persons outside of the Senate ought to be very carefully watched and guarded, but while it is being carefully watched and guarded it is a great advantage to the Senate occasionally, because with our rule of unlimited debate every Senator has a right to address the Chair and incorporate any such article in his remarks, and public business has to stop, no other public business, at any rate, can be transacted, while that is being done.

Every one of the ninety Senators has a right under our rules to do this, and I take it for granted that no Senator will needlessly ask the Senate to print a document in this way, a document which, if it could not be printed in this way under his responsibility as a Senator, he can incorporate in his remarks and have printed in the RECORD at much larger expense, and the power of sending it by mail under frank would still exist. So this practice has grown up, not only out of respect to the character of the Senators and the presumption that no Senator would ask for such information except in a grave and serious case, but also to protect the Senate against what must be an enormous prolongation of our debates.

I hope that these views may impress themselves on the Senator from New Jersey, before the question comes up again, as worthy, at any rate, of his consideration. I do not wish to interfere, of course, with his discretion in the matter and his right to object to the printing. It seems to me that we would find the other rule very awkward and inconvenient.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Of course, under the practice of the Senate, I have a right to ask unanimous consent to have a paper printed as a document. Any Senator has a right to object. Therefore I have no criticism to make of any Senator if he exercises that right. The Senator from New Jersey has chosen to object. It is proper that he should object if he wishes to do so. But the paper which I presented is somewhat outside of the usual rule. I introduced a bill, quite an elaborate bill, which provides for the Government ownership of the railroads of the United States. That bill was referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce. I think it is the first that has been introduced in this body upon that subject; and yet it is a great question, one that is meeting the consideration of the people throughout the world. Most of the governments of the world own the whole or a part of their railroads. Outside of the United States more miles of railroad, many thousand miles more, are owned by the governments of the world than are owned by private corporations.

For the purpose of getting these facts before the Committee on Interstate Commerce, some days ago I introduced and asked to have printed as a document a very elaborate compilation upon this subject, and a very earnest argument in favor of the passage of the bill. I also introduced and asked to have printed as a document the speech of Judge Clark, of North Carolina, before the convention of railroad commissioners at Denver last summer. It was an excellent document, full of valuable information, and this morning I have offered an essay written by Prof. Frank Parsons, who is one of the most distinguished students in America upon this subject and is well known as a writer to almost every one who has studied economic questions. It is full of valuable information; it ought to be printed as a document and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce for their information upon this subject. If it can not be printed in the usual way, I shall try to get it before the Senate in the other proper method, and I shall incorporate it in some remarks which I shall make upon the subject, which will enable me not only to frank it through the mails, but make it part of the records of the Government.

Mr. SEWELL. Mr. President, I objected—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. This discussion is proceeding by unanimous consent. Is there objection to the Senator from New Jersey proceeding? The Chair hears none, and the Senator will proceed.

Mr. SEWELL. I objected to the printing of the paper as a document without any reference to what may be its value, or anything of that kind. I object to printing such papers as public documents so that they may be sent free through the mails. I have no objection generally to the question being taken up tomorrow, if the Senate wish it done.

The Government ownership of railroads is a subject which involves twelve or fifteen billions of dollars, and is something that we are not likely to arrive at for a good many years from this time. But that has nothing to do with the question. The main objection I have to the matter is the idea of offering, as the Senator from South Dakota has on two or three occasions lately, papers written outside and asking to have them printed at the public expense, thereby getting the benefit of the franking privilege.

Mr. CULLOM. The regular order, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is of the opinion that the motion of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] can not be considered at the present time.

Mr. CULLOM. I call for the regular order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The morning business is now completed.

POLICY REGARDING THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I ask for the reading of the joint resolution introduced by me on Thursday last.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the joint resolution introduced by the Senator from Indiana, which was laid on the table subject to his call. The joint resolution will be read.

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

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

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

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

PHILIPPINES COMMAND THE PACIFIC.

This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. If it proves a mistake to hold it, the error can be corrected when we will. Every other progressive nation stands ready to relieve us.

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

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

VALUE OF CHINA'S TRADE.

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

Who can estimate her commerce, then? That statesman commits a crime against American trade—against the American grower of cotton and wheat and tobacco, the American manufacturer of machinery and clothing—who fails to put America where she may command that trade. Germany's Chinese trade is increasing like magic. She has established ship lines and secured a tangible foothold on China's very soil. Russia's Chinese trade is growing beyond belief. She is spending the revenues of the Empire to finish her railroad into Peking itself, and she is in physical possession of the imperial province of Manchuria. Japan's

Chinese trade is multiplying in volume and value. She is bending her energy to her merchant marine, and is located along China's very coast; but Manila is nearer China than Yokohama is. The Philippines command the commercial situation of the entire East. Can America best trade with China from San Francisco or New York? From San Francisco, of course. But if San Francisco were closer to China than New York is to Pittsburg, what then? And Manila is nearer Hongkong than Habana is to Washington. And yet American statesmen plan to surrender this commercial throne of the Orient where Providence and our soldiers' lives have placed us. When history comes to write the story of that suggested treason to American supremacy and therefore to the spread of American civilization, let her in mercy write that those who so proposed were merely blind and nothing more.

RESOURCES AND IMMENSE SIZE OF THE ISLANDS.

But if they did not command China, India, the Orient, the whole Pacific for purposes of offense, defense, and trade, the Philippines are so valuable in themselves that we should hold them. I have cruised more than 2,000 miles through the archipelago, every moment a surprise at its loveliness and wealth. I have ridden hundreds of miles on the islands, every foot of the way a revelation of vegetable and mineral riches.

No land in America surpasses in fertility the plains and valleys of Luzon. Rice and coffee, sugar and coconuts, hemp and tobacco, and many products of the temperate as well as the tropic zone grow in various sections of the archipelago. I have seen hundreds of bushels of Indian corn lying in a road fringed with banana trees. The forests of Negros, Mindanao, Mindora, Paluan, and parts of Luzon are invaluable and intact. The wood of the Philippines can supply the furniture of the world for a century to come. At Cebu the best informed man in the island told me that 40 miles of Cebu's mountain chain are practically mountains of coal. Pablo Majia, one of the most reliable men on the islands, confirmed the statement. Some declare that the coal is only lignite; but ship captains who have used it told me that it is better steamer fuel than the best coal of Japan.

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

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

Nothing is so natural as trade with one's neighbors. The Philippines make us the nearest neighbors of all the East. Nothing is more natural than to trade with those you know. This is the philosophy of all advertising. The Philippines bring us permanently face to face with the most sought-for customers of the world. National prestige, national propinquity, these and commercial activity are the elements of commercial success. The Philippines give the first; the character of the American people supply the last. It is a providential conjunction of all the elements of trade, of duty, and of power. If we are willing to go to war rather than let England have a few feet of frozen Alaska, which affords no market and commands none, what should we not do rather than let England, Germany, Russia, or Japan have all the Philippines? And no man on the spot can fail to see that this would be their fate if we retired.

PHILIPPINE CLIMATE.

The climate is the best tropic climate in the world. This is the belief of those who have lived in many tropic countries, with scores of whom I have talked on this point. My own experience with tropical conditions has not been exhaustive; yet, speaking from that experience, I testify that the climate of Iloilo, Sulu, Cebu, and even of Manila, greatly surpasses that of Hongkong. And yet on the bare and burning rock of Hongkong our constructing

race has builded one of the noblest cities of all the world, and made the harbor it commands the focus of the commerce of the East. And the glory of that achievement illumines with a rarer splendor than that of Waterloo the flag that floats above it, for from Hongkong's heights civilization is irradiating all the Orient. If this be imperialism, its final end will be the empire of the Son of Man.

Yet fifty years ago this English outpost of empire was a smooth and treeless mountain, blazing like a ball of fire beneath the tropic suns. The Philippines are beautiful and rich, with the healing seas pouring round and through them and fanned by a thousand winds. Even in the hottest season, under severest conditions, I found the weather tolerable and often delightful; and in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, Negros, and Sulu I have been in the sun and rain without protection from either for hours at a time, traveling from place to place on horseback, on foot, or in a boat, rising at dawn, retiring at midnight, week after week, without injury to health.

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

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE—AGUINALDO.

It will be hard for Americans who have not studied them to understand the people. They are a barbarous race, modified by three centuries of contact with a decadent race. The Filipino is the South Sea Malay, put through a process of three hundred years of superstition in religion, dishonesty in dealing, disorder in habits of industry, and cruelty, caprice, and corruption in government. It is barely possible that 1,000 men in all the archipelago are capable of self-government in the Anglo-Saxon sense.

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

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

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

The whole country is incalculably rich. With only ordinary good government commerce would be immense. Spanish rule was corrupt, but commerce

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The climate is the best tropical climate in the world. My health is excellent and has been for years. Nearly everything can be raised in the islands. Also nearly any climate can be had in the various altitudes practically accessible. It will take a long time to prepare the people for self-government. Certainly they are not so now. I think everything must for years be firmly controlled by the Americans.

A gentleman connected with the railroad service and thoroughly acquainted with the people said:

The climate of these islands is perfect for the Tropics. I have been here altogether for six years and never enjoyed better health. I think these fellows will keep on fighting for months. They are utterly incapable of self-government as Americans or English understand it. They might, under very careful and firm direction, be allowed to take a little part in municipal government, but not much even there. If they were given self-government, business would almost disappear, until some European power took the matter in hand.

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

It is hard to say how long the contest will last. The very common people care little about the matter, but have been told and believe many bad things about the Americans. What Filipinos want is to govern themselves. No, of course, they do not know anything about government except that Spain gave them, which was most corrupt. If you gave those islands a government where justice would be administered freely and without price, property protected, and free speech secured, you ask me if the common people would be satisfied. I do not know.

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

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

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

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

The principal British merchant of Iloilo said:

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

There is no doubt that they would be completely dominated by their leaders. I should think it a very risky business to put the courts in the hands of the natives, even if you allowed them a large measure of self-government otherwise. You see; they do not understand the just and pure

administration of law through courts. How should they? The whole secret of your success will be to adopt some definite plan, stick to it, govern justly and firmly, be patient, do not expect everything in a day, and very gradually and wisely introduce them into the government. But all will fail if you send any but pure and incorruptible men here.

Another British merchant of Iloilo said:

My health was never better. The weather here is a hundred times more agreeable than some of the summer weather in Chicago. Of course the natives are not capable of self-government. You must establish a strong, honest, firm rule throughout the islands—the same laws, rights, and forms everywhere. Don't indulge in any nonsense about self-government. It is out of the question, at present at least. Don't moralize and theorize. Do. Fix your plan. Let all know definitely just what it is, and then execute it firmly, vigorously. The natives understand strength and justice or injustice. That is as far as they have gotten. Don't palaver with them. Treating with them they construe as fear. Don't be academic.

A highly educated and bright Spanish mestizo, claiming to be pure Filipino, employed in Iloilo, said:

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

It is, perhaps, true that the masses do not understand what self-government means. I think that there are enough capable and educated men among our people to control government, but I do not believe that the great mass of the people are at all fitted for self-government now and will not be for a long time. You should have uniform laws over the entire archipelago. If you have one thing at one place and another at another place, each will think and say that the other is better treated, and you will have constant and serious disturbance. Already the people of this island are very angry because Negroes is given a United States constitution. That is a profound mistake. Don't experiment. Select your plan and execute it. English ought to be made the one language of the island.

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

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

A prominent but very conservative business man of Panay:

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

A leading mestizo of Negros:

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

I think the voting should be by those who own property, can read and write, or are established householders and heads of families, with definite residences. I would find out who should vote by having a committee in each town make out a list and then notify the ones chosen. Certainly I would expect the common people to follow the advice of the leaders and vote for whom the leaders said. I should think my own employees would take my view of a situation. If you give us a government where justice is administered without corruption or delay, property protected without a fee, free speech insured, commercial language provided, the people will be satisfied.

Spain did none of this, but the reverse. That is, and was, our complaint. English should be immediately made the language of the whole archipelago. I do not think the same political laws should prevail throughout the islands. One place should have laws adapted to it; another, laws adapted to it. The reason for this is that the people of the various islands are of different degrees of culture. Of course, though, I think the whole archipelago a commercial unit.

Pure Filipino and large planter of Negros:

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

Very large planter and influential man of Negros, claiming to be pure Filipino, but with some Chinese blood:

The climate is most excellent. The wealth of these islands is beyond imagination. We have only begun to develop our resources. For example, we have not touched our minerals, practically. Lands you see yonder are really better for agricultural purposes than this low, flat coast land. No; it is not yet occupied, and the title to it is still in the government.

I have several American plows. They do good work. We do not use more because they are not brought to us. The native plow has served our purpose and our inertia makes it inconvenient to change, if effort is necessary. Yes; enterprising agency would sell many plows. I have several carriages made in America. I have from 1,000 to 1,500 men working for me. Of these

practically all are capable of self-government. Would they vote as I wished? Most assuredly they would. By all means make English the language of these islands as speedily as possible. It will increase commerce and get us farther away from the old and hated régime.

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

Prominent Filipino of Cebu:

The island of Cebu can yield greatly more than it has. The people are disturbed by what they have been through and what they fear. Very few are capable of self-government now. My brother employs a large number of men. If given the ballot, they would most certainly vote as he said. I am sure the better classes would control the voting of the poorer classes. We should expect to hold positions under any government you establish.

A foreign planter of Panay, then in Cebu:

No, the people are not capable of self-government. You had better beware of giving them too much than too little. If you give them more than in their hearts they expect, you lay the foundation of trouble. No matter what plan you adopt, it all depends on the men you send here to execute it. If they are made political billets, you are irretrievably lost. Your governor-general must be absolutely honest, brave, tactful, broad-minded, and able. Pay him well. He will earn it, if he ought to have the place at all. The strictest supervision should be exercised by him. An impure man could do more damage and more disgrace to the name of America than a hundred men could remedy. Govern firmly and justly and nonpolitically.

Pablo Majia, pure Filipino, rich, able, honest, and moderate. He was stabbed to death in Cebu, and this is why I withhold the names of the others:

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

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

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

For general health and for all human conditions I consider this climate unexcelled in the world. When I left Europe twenty-five years ago and came here my health was wretched. Here I am never ill. The resources of these islands are simply marvelous. Think of the agricultural richness of Negros! Think of the mineral wealth of Cebu! For 40 miles this chain of mountains back of us is one continuous coal mine. The coal is excellent. It is far better than the Japan coal. And there are very rich copper deposits over yonder; nobody ever worked them yet. There is gold here, too.

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

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

A gentleman living in Sulu and who has spent his entire life in various tropical countries said:

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

May be in some places municipal government might, to a limited extent, be put in the hands of the more competent natives, but even then, I fear, it would work badly. But government of the archipelago by natives would mean continuous civil war. I want you people to succeed, but you will ignominiously and frightfully fail if you put up a weak or a half-hearted government here. I have spent my life here, in Borneo, Java, Straits Settlements, and other such places, and I know this people thoroughly. You have a glorious opportunity here and you must not ruin it.

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

You must establish government over the islands, because it is incalculably to your interest in the future, and because, if you do not, another power will undoubtedly take them, involving the world in a war for which you will be responsible.

As to the form of government, you should have a governor-general of great ability, firmness, and purity; under him subofficers of districts, and under

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

Make English the language of the courts, schools, and everything else. Let me impress on you the necessity of conferring your benefits on them quite gradually. If you give them too much they can not appreciate nor understand nor rightly use it, and it will thus be thrown away; but if you give them the blessing of free institutions gradually, you furnish a source of constant gratitude. In the other way you exhaust yourself at the beginning, and besides fail in your good intentions.

WE WILL HOLD IT FAST, AND HOLD IT FOREVER.

Here, then, Senators, is the situation. Two years ago there was no land in all the world which we could occupy for any purpose. Our commerce was daily turning toward the Orient, and geography and trade developments made necessary our commercial empire over the Pacific. And in that ocean we had no commercial, naval, or military base. To-day we have one of the three great ocean possessions of the globe, located at the most commanding commercial, naval, and military points in the eastern seas, within hail of India, shoulder to shoulder with China, richer in its own resources than any equal body of land on the entire globe, and peopled by a race which civilization demands shall be improved. Shall we abandon it? That man little knows the common people of the Republic, little understands the instincts of our race, who thinks we will not hold it fast and hold it forever, administering just government by simplest methods. We may trick up devices to shift our burden and lessen our opportunity; they will avail us nothing but delay. We may tangle conditions by applying academic arrangements of self-government to a crude situation; their failure will drive us to our duty in the end.

MILITARY SITUATION—OTIS DEFENDED.

The military situation, past, present, and prospective, is no reason for abandonment. Our campaign has been as perfect as possible with the force at hand. We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of our acquisition; and, second, by insufficient force; and, third, by our efforts for peace. In February, after the treaty of peace, General Otis had only 3,723 officers and men whom he had a legal right to order into battle. The terms of enlistment of the rest of his troops had expired, and they fought voluntarily and not on legal military compulsion. It was one of the noblest examples of patriotic devotion to duty in the history of the world.

Those who complain do so in ignorance of the real situation. We attempted a great task with insufficient means; we became impatient that it was not finished before it could fairly be commenced; and I pray we may not add that other element of disaster, pausing in the work before it is thoroughly and forever done. That is the gravest mistake we could possibly make, and that is the only danger before us. Our Indian wars would have been shortened, the lives of soldiers and settlers saved, and the Indians themselves benefited had we made continuous and decisive war; and any other kind of war is criminal because ineffective. We acted toward the Indians as though we feared them, loved them, hated them—a mingling of foolish sentiment, inaccurate thought, and paralytic purpose. Let us now be instructed by our own experience.

This, too, has been Spain's course in the Philippines. I have studied Spain's painful military history in these islands. Never sufficient troops; never vigorous action, pushed to conclusive results and a permanent peace; always treating with the rebels while they fought them; always cruel and corrupt when a spurious peace was arranged. This has been Spain's way for three hundred years, until insurrection has become a Filipino habit. Never since Magellan landed did Spain put enough troops in the islands for complete and final action in war; never did she intelligently, justly, firmly, administer government in peace.

At the outbreak of the last insurrection, in August, 1896, Spain had only 1,500 Spanish soldiers in all the Philippines, and 700 of these were in Manila. In November of that year she had only 10,000 men. The generals in command of these were criticised and assailed in Spain. It is characteristic of Spain that the people at home do not support, but criticise their generals in the field. The Spanish method has always been a mixed policy of peace and war, a contradiction of terms, an impossible combination, rendering war ineffective and peace impossible. This was Compo's plan. It was Blanco's plan. Those who would make it our plan will inherit Blanco's fate and failure.

TRUE MILITARY POLICY.

Mr. President, that must not be our plan. This war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. I am prepared to vote either to make our work thorough or even now to abandon it. A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolutely final defeat is inflicted on the enemy. To halt before every armed

force, every guerrilla band, opposing us is dispersed or exterminated will prolong hostilities and leave alive the seeds of perpetual insurrection.

Even then we should not treat. To treat at all is to admit that we are wrong. And any quiet so secured will be delusive and fleeting. And a false peace will betray us; a sham truce will curse us. It is not to serve the purposes of the hour, it is not to salve a present situation, that peace should be established. It is for the tranquillity of the archipelago forever. It is for an orderly government for the Filipinos for all the future. It is to give this problem to posterity solved and settled; not vexed and involved. It is to establish the supremacy of the American Republic over the Pacific and throughout the East till the end of time.

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

OUR EFFORTS TO SECURE PEACE.

Our mistake has not been cruelty; it has been kindness. It has been the application to Spanish Malays of methods appropriate to New England. Every device of mercy, every method of conciliation, has been employed by the peace-loving President of the American Republic, to the amazement of nations experienced in oriental revolt. Before the outbreak our general in command appointed a commission to make some arrangement with the natives mutually agreeable. I know the members of the commission well—General Hughes, Colonel Crowder, and General Smith—moderate, kindly, tactful men of the world; an ideal body for such negotiation. It was treated with contempt.

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

WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

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

No, Senators, the friendly methods of peace have been thoroughly tried only to make peace more difficult. The Oriental does not understand our attempt to conciliate. Every effort of our commission which did its work at Manila so earnestly, so honestly, so thoroughly, and which, with Americans or Europeans,

would have so brilliantly succeeded, only delayed the peace it attempted to hasten. There is not now and never was any possible course but ceaseless operations in the field and loyal support of the war at home.

The news that 60,000 American soldiers have crossed the Pacific; that, if necessary, the American Congress will make it 100,000 or 200,000 men; that, at any cost, we will establish peace and govern the islands, will do more to end the war than the soldiers themselves. But the report that we even discuss the withdrawal of a single soldier at the present time and that we even debate the possibility of not administering government throughout the archipelago ourselves will be misunderstood and misrepresented and will blow into a flame once more the fires our soldiers' blood has almost quenched.

"THE BLOOD OF OUR SOLDIERS."

Mr. President, reluctantly and only from a sense of duty am I forced to say that American opposition to the war has been the chief factor in prolonging it. Had Aguinaldo not understood that in America, even in the American Congress, even here in the Senate, he and his cause were supported; had he not known that it was proclaimed on the stump and in the press of a faction in the United States that every shot his misguided followers fired into the breasts of American soldiers was like the volleys fired by Washington's men against the soldiers of King George his insurrection would have dissolved before it entirely crystallized.

The utterances of American opponents of the war are read to the ignorant soldiers of Aguinaldo and repeated in exaggerated form among the common people. Attempts have been made by wretches claiming American citizenship to ship arms and ammunition from Asiatic ports to the Filipinos, and these acts of infamy were coupled by the Malays with American assaults on our Government at home. The Filipinos do not understand free speech, and therefore our tolerance of American assaults on the American President and the American Government means to them that our President is in the minority or he would not permit what appears to them such treasonable criticism. It is believed and stated in Luzon, Panay, and Cebu that the Filipinos have only to fight, harass, retreat, break up into small parties, if necessary, as they are doing now, but by any means hold out until the next Presidential election, and our forces will be withdrawn.

All this has aided the enemy more than climate, arms, and battle. Senators, I have heard these reports myself; I have talked with the people; I have seen our mangled boys in the hospital and field; I have stood on the firing line and beheld our dead soldiers, their faces turned to the pitiless southern sky, and in sorrow rather than anger I say to those whose voices in America have cheered those misguided natives on to shoot our soldiers down, that the blood of those dead and wounded boys of ours is on their hands, and the flood of all the years can never wash that stain away. In sorrow rather than anger I say these words, for I earnestly believe that our brothers knew not what they did.

THE FILIPINOS ARE CHILDREN, UTTERLY INCAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

But, Senators, it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss, than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children. They are not capable of self-government. How could they be? They are not of a self-governing race. They are Orientals, Malays, instructed by Spaniards in the latter's worst estate.

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel, and capricious rule of Spain. What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule has created? What alchemy will change the oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through their Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are?

Let men beware how they employ the term "self-government." It is a sacred term. It is the watchword at the door of the inner temple of liberty, for liberty does not always mean self-government. Self-government is a method of liberty—the highest, simplest, best—and it is acquired only after centuries of study and struggle and experiment and instruction and all the elements of the progress of man. Self-government is no base and common thing, to be bestowed on the merely audacious. It is the degree which crowns the graduate of liberty, not the name of liberty's infant class, who have not yet mastered the alphabet of freedom. Savage blood, oriental blood, Malay blood, Spanish example—are these the elements of self-government?

We must act on the situation as it exists, not as we would wish it. I have talked with hundreds of these people, getting their views as to the practical workings of self-government. The great majority simply do not understand any participation in any government whatever. The most enlightened among them declare

that self-government will succeed because the employers of labor will compel their employees to vote as their employer wills and that this will insure intelligent voting. I was assured that we could depend upon good men always being in office because the officials who constitute the government will nominate their successors, choose those among the people who will do the voting, and determine how and where elections will be held.

The most ardent advocate of self-government that I met was anxious that I should know that such a government would be tranquil because, as he said, if anyone criticised it, the government would shoot the offender. A few of them have a sort of verbal understanding of the democratic theory, but the above are the examples of the ideas of the practical workings of self-government entertained by the aristocracy, the rich planters and traders, and heavy employers of labor, the men who would run the government.

PEOPLE INDOLENT—NO COMPETITION WITH OUR LABOR.

Example for decades will be necessary to instruct them in American ideas and methods of administration. Example, example; always example—this alone will teach them. As a race, their general ability is not excellent. Educators, both men and women, to whom I have talked in Cebu and Luzon, were unanimous in the opinion that in all solid and useful education they are, as a people, dull and stupid. In showy things, like carving and painting or embroidery or music, they have apparent aptitude, but even this is superficial and never thorough. They have facility of speech, too.

The three best educators on the island at different times made to me the same comparison, that the common people in their stupidity are like their caribou bulls. They are not even good agriculturists. Their waste of cane is inexcusable. Their destruction of hemp fiber is childish. They are incurably indolent. They have no continuity or thoroughness of industry. They will quit work without notice and amuse themselves until the money they have earned is spent. They are like children playing at men's work.

No one need fear their competition with our labor. No reward could beguile, no force compel, these children of indolence to leave their trifling lives for the fierce and fervid industry of high-wrought America. The very reverse is the fact. One great problem is the necessary labor to develop these islands—to build the roads, open the mines, clear the wilderness, drain the swamps, dredge the harbors. The natives will not supply it. A lingering prejudice against the Chinese may prevent us from letting them supply it. Ultimately, when the real truth of the climate and human conditions is known, it is barely possible that our labor will go there. Even now young men with the right moral fiber and a little capital can make fortunes there as planters.

But the natives will not come here. Let all men dismiss that fear. The Dutch have Java, and its population, under Holland's rule, has increased from 2,000,000 to more than 20,000,000 people; yet the Java laborer has never competed with the laborer of Holland. And this is true of England and Germany, of every colonizing, administering power. The native has produced luxuries for the laborer of the governing country and afforded a market for what the laborer of the governing country in turn produced.

In Paluan the natives are primitive. In Sulu and Mindanao the Moros are vigorous and warlike, but have not the most elementary notions of civilization. For example, they do not understand the utility of roads. Nothing exists but paths through the jungle. I have ridden for hours in Sulu over the most primitive paths, barely discernible in the rank grass. They have not grasped the idea of private and permanent property in land, and yet there is no lovelier spot, no richer land, no better military and naval base than the Sulu group. In Paluan, Sulu, and Mindanao the strictest military government is necessary indefinitely. The inhabitants can never be made to work, can never be civilized. Their destiny can not be foretold. But whether they will withstand civilization or disappear before it, our duty is plain.

OUTLINE OF PLAN OF GOVERNMENT NEEDED IN THE PHILIPPINES: "SIMPLE AND STRONG."

In all other islands our government must be simple and strong. It must be a uniform government. Different forms for different islands will produce perpetual disturbance, because the people of each island would think that the people of the other islands are more favored than they. In Panay I heard murmurings that we were giving Negros an American constitution. This is a human quality, found even in America, and we must never forget that in dealing with the Filipinos we deal with children. And so our government must be simple and strong. Simple and strong! The meaning of those two words must be written in every line of Philippine legislation, realized in every act of Philippine administration. A Philippine office in our Department of State; an American governor-general in Manila, with power to meet daily emergencies; possibly an advisory council with no power except that of discussing measures with the governor-general, which council would be

the germ for future legislatures, a school in practical government; American lieutenant-governors in each province, with a like council about him; if possible, an American resident in each district and a like council grouped about him; frequent and unannounced visits of provincial governors to the districts of their province; periodical reports to the governor-general; an American board of visitation to make semiannual trips to the archipelago without power of suggestion or interference to officials or people, but only to report and recommend to the Philippine office of our State Department; a Philippine civil service, with promotion for efficiency; the abolition of duties on exports from the Philippines; the establishment of import duties on a revenue basis, with such discrimination in favor of American imports as will prevent the cheaper goods of other nations from destroying American trade; a complete reform of local taxation on a just and scientific basis, beginning with the establishment of a tax on land according to its assessed value; the minting of abundant money for Philippine and oriental use; the granting of franchises and concessions upon the theory of developing the resources of the archipelago, and therefore not by sale, but upon participation in the profits of the enterprise; the formation of a system of public schools everywhere with compulsory attendance rigidly enforced; the establishment of the English language throughout the islands, teaching it exclusively in the schools and using it, through interpreters, exclusively in the courts; a simple civil code and a still simpler criminal code, and both common to all the islands except Sulu, Mindanao, and Paluan; American judges for all but smallest offenses; gradual, slow, and careful introduction of the best Filipinos into the working machinery of the government, no promise whatever of the franchise until the people have been prepared for it; all this backed by the necessary force to execute it; this outline of government the situation demands as soon as tranquillity is established. Until then military government is advisable.

ENGLISH OR DUTCH SYSTEMS IMPOSSIBLE—PROTECTORATE IMPRACTICABLE.

We can not adopt the Dutch method in Java, nor the English method in the Malay states, because both of these systems rest on and operate through the existing governments of hereditary princes, with Dutch or English residents as advisers. But in the Philippines there are no such hereditary rulers, no such established governments. There is no native machinery of administration except that of the villages. The people have been deprived of the advantages of hereditary native princes, and yet not instructed in any form of regular, just, and orderly government.

Neither is a protectorate practicable. If a protectorate leaves the natives to their own methods more than would our direct administration of their government, it would permit the very evils which it is our duty to prevent. If, on the other hand, under a protectorate, we interfere to prevent those evils, we govern as much as if we directly administer the government, but without system or constructive purpose. In either alternative we incur all the responsibility of directly governing them ourselves, without any of the benefits to us, to them, or to the archipelago, which our direct administration of government throughout the islands would secure.

KIND OF AMERICAN OFFICIALS NECESSARY.

Even the elemental plan I have outlined will fail in the hands of any but ideal administrators. Spain did not utterly fail in devising—many of her plans were excellent; she failed in administering. Her officials as a class were corrupt, indolent, cruel, immoral. They were selected to please a faction in Spain, to placate members of the Cortes, to bribe those whom the Government feared. They were seldom selected for their fitness. They were the spawn of Government favor and Government fear, and therefore of Government iniquity.

The men we send to administer civilized government in the Philippines must be themselves the highest examples of our civilization. I use the word examples, for examples they must be in that word's most absolute sense. They must be men of the world and of affairs, students of their fellow-men, not theorists nor dreamers. They must be brave men, physically as well as morally. They must be as incorruptible as honor, as stainless as purity, men whom no force can frighten, no influence coerce, no money buy. Such men come high, even here in America. But they must be had. Better pure military occupation for years than government by any other quality of administration. Better abandon this priceless possession, admit ourselves incompetent to do our part in the world-redeeming work of our imperial race; better now haul down the flag of arduous deeds for civilization and run up the flag of reaction and decay than to apply academic notions of self-government to these children or attempt their government by any but the most perfect administrators our country can produce. I assert that such administrators can be found.

There is one in Cuba now who, with the words "Money is not everything," refused \$30,000 a year as president of a corporation that he might continue the work of our race in the regeneration of Santiago, and thus announced and typified the new ideal of the

Republic, which pessimists declared had become sordid and base. And among our 80,000,000 we have thousands like him. Necessity will produce them. Let no one fear that our party workers will seek to fill these places without regard to fitness. I know well this most maligned and most valuable class of American citizens—the precinct committeemen and party workers in the country districts of the Republic—and if we truthfully, bravely state the situation at the outset, these very politicians will insist most strenuously of all on the highest possible qualification in the administration of our possessions.

OUR ADMINISTRATORS MUST BE EXAMPLES.

I repeat that our government and our administrators must be examples. You can not teach the Filipino by precept. An object lesson is the only lesson he comprehends. He has no conception of pure, orderly, equal, impartial government, under equal laws justly administered, because he has never seen such a government. He must be shown the simplest results of good government by actual example in order that he may begin to understand its most elementary principles.

Such a government will have its effect upon us here in America, too. Model administration there will be an example created by ourselves for model administration here; and our own example is the only one Americans ever heed. It is not true that charity begins at home. Selfishness begins there; but charity begins abroad and ends in its full glory in the home. It is not true that perfect government must be achieved at home before administering it abroad; its exercise abroad is a suggestion, an example, and a stimulus for the best government at home. It is as if we projected ourselves upon a living screen and beheld ourselves at work. England to-day is the home of ideal municipal governments. Well, England's administration of Bombay did not divert attention from Glasgow, and Glasgow is to-day the model for all students of municipal problems. England's sanitary regeneration of filthy Calcutta made it clearer that Birmingham must be regenerated, too, and to-day Birmingham is the municipal admiration of all instructed men. England's miracle in Egypt, surpassing the ancient one of turning rods into serpents because the modern miracle turns serpents into men, deserts into gardens, famine into plenty—England's work in the land of the sphinx has solved its profound riddle, exalted not England only, but all the world, by its noble example, and thrilled to the soul every citizen of Great Britain with civic pride in the achievements of the greatest civilizing empire of the world. "Cast thy bread upon the waters and after many days it shall return unto you." "With what measure ye meet, it shall be meted to you again."

DOMINANT NOTES OF OUR FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES.

Mr. President, self-government and internal development have been the dominant notes of our first century; administration and the development of other lands will be the dominant notes of our second century. And administration is as high and holy a function as self-government, just as the care of a trust estate is as sacred an obligation as the management of our own concerns. Cain was the first to violate the divine law of human society which makes of us our brother's keeper. And administration of good government is the first lesson in self-government, that exalted estate toward which all civilization tends.

Administration of good government is not denial of liberty. For what is liberty? It is not savagery. It is not the exercise of individual will. It is not dictatorship. It involves government, but not necessarily self-government. It means law. First of all, it is a common rule of action, applying equally to all within its limits. Liberty means protection of property and life without price, free speech without intimidation, justice without purchase or delay, government without favor or favorites. What will best give all this to the people of the Philippines—American administration, developing them gradually toward self-government, or self-government by a people before they know what self-government means?

TRUE INTERPRETATION OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Declaration of Independence does not forbid us to do our part in the regeneration of the world. If it did, the Declaration would be wrong, just as the Articles of Confederation, drafted by the very same men who signed the Declaration, was found to be wrong. The Declaration has no application to the present situation. It was written by self-governing men for self-governing men.

It was written by men who, for a century and a half, had been experimenting in self-government on this continent, and whose ancestors for hundreds of years before had been gradually developing toward that high and holy estate. The Declaration applies only to people capable of self-government. How dare any man prostitute this expression of the very elect of self-governing peoples to a race of Malay children of barbarism, schooled in Spanish methods and ideas? And you, who say the Declaration applies to all men, how dare you deny its application to the American Indian?

And if you deny it to the Indian at home, how dare you grant it to the Malay abroad?

PHRASE "CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED" MISUNDERSTOOD.

The Declaration does not contemplate that all government must have the consent of the governed. It announces that man's "inalienable rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are established among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of those rights, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it." "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the important things; "consent of the governed" is one of the means to those ends.

If "any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," says the Declaration. "Any forms" includes all forms. Thus the Declaration itself recognizes other forms of government than those resting on the consent of the governed. The word "consent" itself recognizes other forms, for "consent" means the understanding of the thing to which the "consent" is given; and there are people in the world who do not understand any form of government. And the sense in which "consent" is used in the Declaration is broader than mere understanding; for "consent" in the Declaration means participation in the government "consented" to. And yet these people who are not capable of "consenting" to any form of government must be governed.

And so the Declaration contemplates all forms of government which secure the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Self-government, when that will best secure these ends, as in the case of people capable of self-government; other appropriate forms when people are not capable of self-government. And so the authors of the Declaration themselves governed the Indian without his consent; the inhabitants of Louisiana without their consent; and ever since the sons of the makers of the Declaration have been governing not by theory, but by practice, after the fashion of our governing race, now by one form, now by another, but always for the purpose of securing the great eternal ends of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not in the savage, but in the civilized meaning of those terms—life according to orderly methods of civilized society; liberty regulated by law; pursuit of happiness limited by the pursuit of happiness by every other man.

If this is not the meaning of the Declaration, our Government itself denies the Declaration every time it receives the representative of any but a republican form of government, such as that of the Sultan, the Czar, or other absolute autocrats, whose governments, according to the opposition's interpretation of the Declaration, are spurious governments, because the people governed have not "consented" to them.

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER TO GOVERN AS WE PLEASE.

Senators in opposition are estopped from denying our constitutional power to govern the Philippines as circumstances may demand, for such power is admitted in the case of Florida, Louisiana, Alaska. How, then, is it denied in the Philippines? Is there a geographical interpretation to the Constitution? Do degrees of longitude fix constitutional limitations? Does a thousand miles of ocean diminish constitutional power more than a thousand miles of land?

The ocean does not separate us from the field of our duty and endeavor—it joins us, an established highway needing no repair, and landing us at any point desired. The seas do not separate the Philippine Islands from us or from each other. The seas are highways through the archipelago, which would cost hundreds of millions of dollars to construct if they were land instead of water. Land may separate men from their desire, the ocean never. Russia has been centuries in crossing Siberian wastes; the Puritans crossed the Atlantic in brief and flying weeks.

If the Boers must have traveled by land, they would never have reached the Transvaal; but they sailed on liberty's ocean; they walked on civilization's untaxed highway, the welcoming sea. Our ships habitually sailed round the cape and anchored in California's harbors before a single trail had lined the desert with the whitening bones of those who made it. No! No! The ocean unites us; steam unites us; electricity unites us; all the elements of nature unite us to the region where duty and interest call us. There is in the ocean no constitutional argument against the march of the flag, for the oceans, too, are ours. With more extended coast lines than any nation of history; with a commerce vaster than any other people ever dreamed of, and that commerce as yet only in its beginnings; with naval traditions equaling those of England or of Greece, and the work of our Navy only just begun; with the air of the ocean in our nostrils and the blood of a sailor ancestry in our veins; with the shores of all the continents calling us, the great Republic before I die will be the acknowledged lord of the world's high seas. And over them the Republic will hold dominion, by virtue of the strength God has given it, for the peace of the world and the betterment of man.

WORDS OF EMPIRE EXPRESSLY IN CONSTITUTION.

No; the oceans are not limitations of the power which the Constitution expressly gives Congress to govern all territory the nation may acquire. The Constitution declares that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States." Not the Northwest Territory only; not Louisiana or Florida only; not territory on this continent only, but any territory anywhere belonging to the nation. The founders of the nation were not provincial. Theirs was the geography of the world. They were soldiers as well as landsmen, and they knew that where our ships should go our flag might follow. They had the logic of progress, and they knew that the Republic they were planting must, in obedience to the laws of our expanding race, necessarily develop into the greater Republic which the world beholds to-day, and into the still mightier Republic which the world will finally acknowledge as the arbiter, under God, of the destinies of mankind. And so our fathers wrote into the Constitution these words of growth, of expansion, of empire, if you will, unlimited by geography or climate or by anything but the vitality and possibilities of the American people: "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States."

POWER IMPLIED TO GOVERN AS WE PLEASE.

The power to govern all territory the nation may acquire would have been in Congress if the language affirming that power had not been written in the Constitution. For not all powers of the National Government are expressed. Its principal powers are implied. The written Constitution is but the index of the living Constitution. Had this not been true, the Constitution would have failed. For the people in any event would have developed and progressed. And if the Constitution had not had the capacity for growth corresponding with the growth of the nation, the Constitution would and should have been abandoned as the Articles of Confederation were abandoned. For the Constitution is not immortal in itself, is not useful even in itself. The Constitution is immortal and even useful only as it serves the orderly development of the nation. The nation alone is immortal. The nation alone is sacred. The Army is its servant. The Navy is its servant. The President is its servant. This Senate is its servant. Our laws are its methods. Our Constitution is its instrument.

This is the golden rule of constitutional interpretation: The Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution.

Hamilton recognized this golden rule when he formulated the doctrine of implied powers. Marshall recognized it when he applied that doctrine to constitutional interpretation in *McCulloch vs. Maryland*. Congress recognized it when it provided for internal improvements. The Supreme Court of the Republic recognized it when it confirmed the act of Congress in making the promissory notes of the Republic legal tender for debts. Washington recognized it when he sent the nation's soldiers to suppress local riot in 1794; and Lincoln, the soul and symbol of the common people, recognized the doctrine of implied powers in every effort he made to save the nation. There is no power expressed in the Constitution to charter a bank; and although the subject was familiar to the framers of the Constitution, who still remained silent on it, Marshall said that this power was implied. There is no power expressed in the Constitution to make internal improvements; and although it was a subject painfully before the framers of the Constitution, who yet remained silent upon it, Congress said it is implied.

There is no power expressed in the Constitution, but almost the reverse, to make anything but gold and silver legal tender for payment of debts; the Supreme Court declared it is implied. There is no power expressed in the Constitution to maintain order in a State with the nation's soldiers unless the State first calls for aid; Washington, Lincoln, and Cleveland said it is implied. The legislative, the executive, and the judicial departments of our Government have recognized and confirmed the doctrine of implied powers, by which alone the Constitution lives, the people make progress, and the Republic marches forward to its imperial destiny. "The letter killeth; but the spirit giveth life."

By the same reasoning that Hamilton, Marshall, Washington, and Lincoln employed we could infer our power to do the work of administering government in the Philippines as the situation may demand, even if that power had not been affirmed in express words. We could infer it from the purpose of the Constitution to "provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare" of the nation and the power given Congress to make laws to secure these ends. For the archipelago is a base for the commerce of the East. It is a base for military and naval operations against the only powers with whom conflict is possible; a fortress thrown up in the Pacific, defending our Western coast, commanding the waters of the Orient, and giving us a point from which we can instantly strike and seize the possession of any possible foe.

MAY GOVERN UNDER ANY FORM WE PLEASE.

The nation's power to make rules and regulations for the government of its possessions is not confined to any given set of rules or regulations. It is not confined to any particular formula of laws or kind of government or type of administration. Where do Senators find constitutional warrant for any special kind of government in "territory belonging to the United States." The language affirming our power to govern such territory is as broad as the requirements of all possible situations. And there is nothing in the Constitution to limit that comprehensive language. The very reverse is true. For power to administer government anywhere and in any manner the situation demands would have been in Congress if the Constitution had been silent; not merely because it is a power not reserved to the States or people; not merely because it is a power inherent in and an attribute of nationality; not even because it might be inferred from other specific provisions of the Constitution; but because it is the power most necessary for the ruling tendency of our race—the tendency to explore, expand, and grow, to sail new seas and seek new lands, subdue the wilderness, revitalize decaying peoples, and plant civilized and civilizing governments over all the globe.

For the makers of the Constitution were of the race that produced Hawkins, and Drake, and Raleigh, and Smith, and Winthrop, and Penn. They were of the great exploring, pioneering, colonizing, and governing race who went forth with trade or gain or religious liberty as the immediate occasion for their voyages, but really because they could not help it; because the blood within them commanded them; because their racial tendency is as resistless as the currents of the sea or the process of the suns or any other elemental movement of nature, of which that racial tendency itself is the most majestic. And when they wrote the Constitution they did not mean to negative the most elemental characteristic of their race, of which their own presence in America was an expression and an example. You can not interpret a constitution without understanding the race that wrote it. And if our fathers had intended a reversal of the very nature and being of their race, they would have so declared in the most emphatic words our language holds. But they did not, and in the absence of such words the power would remain which is essential to the strongest tendency of our practical race, to govern wherever we are, and to govern by the methods best adapted to the situation. But our fathers were not content with silence, and they wrote in the Constitution the words which affirm this essential and imperial power.

THE WHOLE QUESTION ELEMENTAL.

Mr. President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics; deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us: "Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things."

What shall history say of us? Shall it say that we renounced that holy trust, left the savage to his base condition, the wilderness to the reign of waste, deserted duty, abandoned glory, forgot our sordid profit even, because we feared our strength and read the charter of our powers with the doubter's eye and the quibbler's mind? Shall it say that, called by events to captain and command the proudest, ablest, purest race of history in history's noblest work, we declined that great commission? Our fathers would not have had it so. No! They founded no paralytic government, incapable of the simplest acts of administration. They planted no sluggish people, passive while the world's work calls them. They established no reactionary nation. They unfurled no retreating flag.

GOD'S HAND IN ALL.

That flag has never paused in its onward march. Who dares halt it now—now, when history's largest events are carrying it forward; now, when we are at last one people, strong enough for any task, great enough for any glory destiny can bestow? How comes it that our first century closes with the process of consolidating the American people into a unit just accomplished, and quick upon the stroke of that great hour presses upon us our world opportunity, world duty, and world glory, which none but a people welded into an indivisible nation can achieve or perform?

Blind indeed is he who sees not the hand of God in events so vast, so harmonious, so benign. Reactionary indeed is the mind that perceives not that this vital people is the strongest of the saving forces of the world; that our place, therefore, is at the head of the constructing and redeeming nations of the earth; and that to stand aside while events march on is a surrender of our interests, a betrayal of our duty as blind as it is base. Craven indeed is the heart that fears to perform a work so golden and so noble; that dares not win a glory so immortal.

Do you tell me that it will cost us money? When did Americans ever measure duty by financial standards? Do you tell me of the tremendous toil required to overcome the vast difficulties of our task? What mighty work for the world, for humanity, even for ourselves, has ever been done with ease? Even our bread must we eat by the sweat of our faces. Why are we charged with power such as no people ever knew, if we are not to use it in a work such as no people ever wrought? Who will dispute the divine meaning of the fable of the talents?

Do you remind me of the precious blood that must be shed, the lives that must be given, the broken hearts of loved ones for their slain? And this is indeed a heavier price than all combined. And yet as a nation every historic duty we have done, every achievement we have accomplished, has been by the sacrifice of our noblest sons. Every holy memory that glorifies the flag is of those heroes who have died that its onward march might not be stayed. It is the nation's dearest lives yielded for the flag that makes it dear to us; it is the nation's most precious blood poured out for it that makes it precious to us. That flag is woven of heroism and grief, of the bravery of men and women's tears, of righteousness and battle, of sacrifice and anguish, of triumph and of glory. It is these which make our flag a holy thing. Who would tear from that sacred banner the glorious legends of a single battle where it has waved on land or sea? What son of a soldier of the flag whose father fell beneath it on any field would surrender that proud record for the heraldry of a king? In the cause of civilization, in the service of the Republic anywhere on earth, Americans consider wounds the noblest decorations man can win, and count the giving of their lives a glad and precious duty.

Pray God that spirit never fails. Pray God the time may never come when Mammon and the love of ease shall so debase our blood that we will fear to shed it for the flag and its imperial destiny. Pray God the time may never come when American heroism is but a legend like the story of the Cid, American faith in our mission and our might a dream dissolved, and the glory of our mighty race departed.

And that time will never come. We will renew our youth at the fountain of new and glorious deeds. We will exalt our reverence for the flag by carrying it to a noble future as well as by remembering its ineffable past. Its immortality will not pass, because everywhere and always we will acknowledge and discharge the solemn responsibilities our sacred flag, in its deepest meaning, puts upon us. And so, Senators, with reverent hearts, where dwells the fear of God, the American people move forward to the future of their hope and the doing of His work.

Mr. President and Senators, adopt the resolution offered, that peace may quickly come and that we may begin our saving, regenerating, and uplifting work. Adopt it, and this bloodshed will cease when these deluded children of our islands learn that this is the final word of the representatives of the American people in Congress assembled. Reject it, and the world, history, and the American people will know where to forever fix the awful responsibility for the consequences that will surely follow such failure to do our manifest duty. How dare we delay when our soldiers' blood is flowing? [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Applause is not permitted in the United States Senate.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts will suspend for one moment. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, the title of which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (H. R. 1) to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I ask that the unfinished business be informally laid aside, as I understand no Senator wishes to speak upon it this afternoon, and I desire to make a very few observations on the pending resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Massachusetts asks that the unfinished business may be temporarily laid aside. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Massachusetts will proceed.

Mr. HOAR. Mr. President, I have listened, delighted, as have, I suppose, all the members of the Senate, to the eloquence of my honorable friend from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE]. I am glad to welcome to the public service his enthusiasm, his patriotism, his silver speech, and the earnestness and the courage with which he has devoted himself to a discharge of his duty to the Republic as

he conceives it. Yet, Mr. President, as I heard his eloquent description of wealth and glory and commerce and trade, I listened in vain for those words which the American people have been wont to take upon their lips in every solemn crisis of their history. I heard much calculated to excite the imagination of the youth seeking wealth or the youth charmed by the dream of empire. But the words Right, Justice, Duty, Freedom were absent, my friend must permit me to say, from that eloquent speech. I could think as this brave young Republic of ours listened to what he had to say of but one occurrence:

Then the devil taketh Him up into an exceeding high mountain and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them.

And the devil said unto Him, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me."

Then saith Jesus unto him, "Get thee behind me, Satan."

Mr. President, the Senator himself and the evidence coming from our two commanders, General Otis and Admiral Dewey, and witnesses for whom they vouch, refute every one of the propositions of fact on which my honorable friend has built his glittering temple of glass. He describes the impotence and ineffectual attempt of Spain for three hundred years to reduce that people to subjection; tells us that she had failed. He counsels us to avoid the errors and the mistakes and the sins she has committed. If that be true, Mr. President, where did Spain get the right to sell the people of the Philippine Islands to us? They had risen against that effete and impotent and ineffectual effort of Spain; they had driven her from the entire soil of their island, save a single city; they hemmed in her troops in that single city of Manila by a cordon of their troops stretching from water to water; and Spain surrendered to us only because her soldiers could not get out of reach of the American guns without being compelled to surrender to the Filipinos.

I think you will have to enlarge the doctrines of the American Declaration of Independence. I think you will have to build anew a Constitution which, he says, is only an instrument and not a rule of duty, before you can find your right to buy and sell that people like sheep.

My honorable friend, I am sure, when he reflects upon it, will never advise the people of the United States to do a base thing for all this wealth, for all this glory, for all this empire. I say if it be true that that was a people that desired independence and were fit for independence, then it would be a base thing for this young giant in its might to strike down that infant republic. Do you not think so? [Addressing Mr. BEVERIDGE.] If you do think so, I can prove to the Senate every one of these propositions from the testimony of Otis and of Dewey and of Schurman and of the witnesses for whom they vouch.

The Senator said that he said it in the sorrow of his heart, and he would not have said it if he had not been compelled to say it, that all this blood and warfare and loss of life and expense of treasure in this war was occasioned by utterances at home and, he was sorry to say, by speeches in the American Senate. The debate in the American Senate on this subject began—with the single exception of a brief and calm constitutional discussion by the Senator from Missouri [Mr. VEST]—on the 9th of January, 1899.

Now, let us see what happened. I have in my hand the report of Major-General Otis; and without detaining the Senate at this hour in the afternoon, for I shall have occasion to speak more at length on this subject later, all through that report and through that whole summer are found again and again communications to the Government of the United States that the people of the Philippine Islands desire their independence; that is one thing; that they are a people; so the President calls them; and that is the phrase which the Declaration of Independence uses when it says a people have a right to establish their government in such form as they conceive to be necessary for their safety and happiness. Then Aguinaldo was brought over there to a people 30,000 of whom were in arms as an organized army before he went, and he was placed at the head of that people, who were desiring independence, and furnished with arms by the Government of the United States. That was the condition of things until Manila was surrounded, the Spanish army captured, and the surrender of Manila was effected.

I have here the report—and I have seen the original, and it is from the Navy Department—of two naval officers, which Admiral Dewey certifies under his own hand gives the best account of the condition of things in northern Luzon that is in existence. That is the Admiral's own statement. Those officers made a journey through the island of Luzon in the months of October, November, and I think a few days in December, 1898, just before hostilities broke out, and they report everywhere courts, municipal government, peace and order, the Spanish prisoners kindly treated, schools and churches; that they were received with elegance and hospitality, I will not say such as my friend would receive me with if I went to Indiana, but with a very much more gracious and generous hospitality than it would be in my humble power to receive him with if he came to Massachusetts.

They report schoolbooks, and report the constant, eager desire of that people for education. I have all the extracts here before me, and here is the summing up. This is the original report which I have got from the Navy Department, and here is George Dewey's certificate, dated December 1, 1898. I am going to ask the Senate to print it:

Special attention is invited to this interesting and carefully prepared report, which in my opinion contains the most complete and reliable information obtainable in regard to the present state of the northern part of Luzon Island.

DECEMBER 1, 1898.

GEORGE DEWEY.

Everywhere a people in better order than is found at this moment, to say nothing of what was found at the time of their revolution, in some countries on the continent of America between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn. They were a people fitter for self-government than were those of any country on the continent of America from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn when its independence from Spain was achieved, and fitter than some of them are to-day.

Mr. President, it is that which you want to crush out and that from which the American flag is supposed to get new glory if we stamp it out—this young giant of ours in the freshness and the fullness of his strength—and that you call glory!

What happened in regard to this outbreak which was caused by the debate in the United States Senate which began on the 9th of January, 1899? I have General Otis's report here. In December, 1898, the President sent to General Otis a famous proclamation—mark the date, December, 1898—and it contains a statement asserting the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands and our purpose to give them a good government, but that we must take possession of the entire island and keep them, and so on.

Otis read it and he suppressed the President's statement. He said that that language was calculated to create an immediate outbreak of hostilities. I have his exact language here. I will read it:

After fully considering the President's proclamation and the temper of the Tagalos with whom I was daily discussing political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States Government toward them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein, such as "sovereignty," "right of cession," and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., which, though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives. The ignorant classes—

These fellows, incapable of self-government according to my friend—

had been taught to believe that certain words, as "sovereignty," "protection," etc., had peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination, like that from which they had recently been freed.

Now, Mr. President, I have seen in my youth in Massachusetts—I do not know much about Indiana—ignorant fellows who believed that precise thing here at home, and who are undoubtedly unfit for self-government according to him. There are certain men in Massachusetts, and the woods are full of them, who would think that if Great Britain or any other nation should come and propose to assume sovereignty and protection and immediate occupation and take possession of Massachusetts, they would be excited and alarmed and would fly to arms, and they would think even that there was a certain glory in giving their lives to prevent that sort of thing from being done.

But whether that be true or not, whether I misunderstand the temper of this great American people, whether I misunderstand what the American flag stands for or not, that is what I thought it stood for. But I dare say I am mistaken in that belief.

At any rate, that is what General Otis said. So he took the most extraordinary responsibility ever assumed by a military commander in regard to his superior's orders, and suppressed President McKinley's proclamation, a proclamation which would, as he says, have created armed hostilities and an outbreak immediately, as it would have been likely to do wherever there is human nature and human feeling and love of liberty.

But he issued a proclamation in its stead, which he gives here. My honorable friend thinks the Filipinos are not fit for self-government, and he says there are only, as I understand it, about a hundred in the island who are. He cites the evidence of a good many employers of labor who say there are a great many more, but that is his summing up of it. General Otis, instead of this proclamation which the President directed him to issue and which he thought would bring on a war, goes on and issues a proclamation in which he promises them independence. That is the next thing that happened in December. Here it is. I shall have occasion to go into this matter more at length when I have more time. I will read one of his sentences:

It is also my belief that it is the intention of the United States Government to draw from the Filipino people so much of the military force of the islands as is possible and consistent with a free and well-constituted government of the country. * * * I am also convinced that it is the intention of the United States Government to seek the establishment of a most liberal government for the islands, in which the people themselves shall have as full representation as the maintenance of law and order will permit, and

which shall be susceptible of development, on lines of increased representation and the bestowal of increased powers, into a government as free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces in the world.

That is what you told those men through your military commander six weeks before the hostilities broke out.

Mr. TELLER. What is the date of that report?

Mr. HOAR. It is dated January 4, 1899. There is the promise. In another statement he says:

I will assure the people of the Philippine Islands the full measure of individual rights and liberties, which is the heritage of a free people.

Now, what does that mean? What does that mean, Mr. President? My honorable friend says we must hold onto those islands forever; that he is a dastard who does not think so. And yet General Otis, whom the honorable Senator as I have no doubt justly eulogized, as the representative of the honor and the justice of the people of the United States, uttered that promise. Did he utter that promise to a people of slaves, half Spaniards and half savages in character? Did he utter that promise to a people incapable of self-government? He sent home his dispatch, and he is in command there now. Now, what happened?

General Otis states that he sent the original proclamation of the President containing these words, which were sure to bring on an outbreak of hostilities, to General Miller. General Miller was lying with a part of the United States fleet opposite Iloilo, where the Spaniards had been captured and the insurgent forces were in control. He was spoiling for a fight. He was urging Otis all the time to let him make an attack at once, "because," he said, "the insurgents are strengthening themselves every day."

General Otis says that, before having carefully read this proclamation, he incautiously sent a copy of it to Miller, and thereupon Miller, contrary to his desire, made it public, and the Philippine Island people got hold of it as it was originally made. So this document which your great military authority affirmed would bring on instant hostilities if it was published, and which he had taken the liberty to suppress, was published and sent abroad. Then he proceeds to give an account of the effect of the publication. He says:

The publication separated more widely the friendly and war factions of the inhabitants. * * * The ablest of insurgent newspapers, * * * edited by the uncompromising Luna, attacked it with all the vigor of which he was capable. * * * This paper was published in Tagalo; had a considerable circulation. * * * No statement reflecting upon the United States Government * * * was too base, untruthful, or improbable for newspaper circulation.

Was there anything worse for newspaper circulation than substituting a promise of independence for a purpose to take immediate possession, I should like to know?

Aguinaldo met the proclamation by a counter one, in which he indignantly—

I now read from General Otis's report—

in which he indignantly protested against the claim of sovereignty by the United States in the islands which had really been conquered from the Spaniards through the blood and treasure of his countrymen. * * * Even the women of Cavite province * * * gave me to understand that after all the men were killed off they were prepared to shed their patriotic blood for the liberty and independence of their country.

Mr. President, I am proud as any man of the history of the United States. I suppose I feel a special and peculiar pride in the history of my own beloved State of Massachusetts. I have sat at her dear feet, I have looked into her beautiful eyes, I have listened to her high counsel from my earliest childhood. But I should feel prouder still if I could write into her glorious history a statement like that.

Is there any American Senator whose blood is so cold, whose eyes are so blinded by this wretched glitter and glare of empire which Satan is setting before us as he did before the Saviour, that his bosom can not be stirred by such a thing as that, or that he is willing to join in an attempt to trample under foot the liberties of a people like that? Have you read the death song of Rizal? It rises to the loftiest strains. Have you read the state papers of these men—these Filipinos? They will compare favorably with the state papers of any nation on the earth. Have you read their constitution?

Mr. President, I omitted to state one very simple fact given by these naval officers. There came a report into the province where they were being received as guests at the house of the principal magistrate of the village that our commissioners at Paris had rejected the proposition to buy them and had substituted for it what they did in regard to Cuba; and the commander of the military forces, on that report, which turned out to be a mistake, instantly resigned his authority to the civil magistrates and sheathed his sword.

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator please allow me to inquire if that is the statement made by the naval officers to Admiral Dewey?

Mr. HOAR. It was made by the naval officers. I have it in my desk.

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will read it.

Mr. HOAR. Admiral Dewey vouches for it. It would take some time to hunt it up, but I have it here.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Massachusetts is going to print it in his speech.

Mr. HOAR. I am going to print the whole of it in my speech.

Mr. BACON. I will withdraw the request, then.

Mr. HOAR. It is there. I should like to print also two very brief, clear narratives by the same officers, which appeared in two New York publications, if I may have leave.

I was going to ask, not referring to any Senator—I am referring to some outside statements—is it not a little bold to charge with the responsibility of making this war the men who tried to stop it, who protested against it, instead of the men who made it? There has not been a time from the beginning to this hour when assurances of General Otis, given the 1st of January, 1899, if repeated from Washington, that they should be as independent as the most favored provinces of the world, would not have prevented the outbreak. But although they got that, they got at the same time the true proclamation, which affirmed sovereignty and occupation and the right of cession, and pretty soon after it they got the news that they had been bought like a flock of sheep for \$20,000,000.

The mistake of our honorable friends who disagree with me in this matter is that they do not understand that the God who made of one blood all the nations of the world has made all the nations of the world capable of being influenced by the same sentiments and the same motives, and that the love of liberty does not depend on the color of the skin, but that it depends on humanity. These men are God's children, as you are and as I am, and the men who boast that sublime and lofty parentage have had given them by the Universal Father the love of liberty and the sense of justice.

I had no intention of speaking this afternoon; and I have it not before me, but you will find in these reports that one of the officers makes the exact statement that the Filipinos are exceedingly sensitive to any matter of injustice, and all that they need is to know that they are to be treated with justice and righteousness.

I will ask leave also to print these two articles, which are very brief. I am not sure whether the statement I now refer to is in the magazine article or the report written by the same man.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Chair understand that the Senator has asked consent to print the other paper?

Mr. HOAR. Yes; I ask consent to print the report forwarded by Admiral Dewey and articles in the Outlook and New York Independent by Messrs. Sargent and Wilcox, the two naval officers who made the report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. COCKRELL. Let them be printed as a separate document.

Mr. HOAR. Very well. I was going to incorporate them in my speech, but I should also like to have them printed as a document.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then I ask that they be printed as a document.

Mr. HOAR. Let them be printed in both forms.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts and of the Senator from Missouri, that the matter referred to be printed in the RECORD and also as a document? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

[See appendix.]

Mr. HOAR. Now, Mr. President, my honorable friend thought that saying in a very feeble way such a thing as this in the Senate of the United States tended to excite hostilities in the Philippine Islands. If I understood him correctly, he said also that he thought it was not necessary to wait until we could get the very best of government here, but if we established it abroad under some commissioners to be appointed by some executive authority they would govern so well that they would furnish a good example for us at home and we should improve. I suppose, though he did not say it, that he thinks, also, we had better not have free speech here in the United States Senate until they have got it out among the Filipinos, to see whether it works there, and then it may come back to us in a way which gradually would permit us to use it here, in a sort of diluted form.

Mr. President, the Senator gave us his opinion of General Aguinaldo. Mr. Schurman, the president of the Filipino Commission and of Cornell University, says in a speech made to his students last week that he considers Aguinaldo an honest man. The two testimonials must of course stand side by side or one must fall before the other.

The Senator cites a good many witnesses from whom he concludes that the Filipinos are not capable of self-government, but when he reads the testimony of a great many of them the reason they give is that the lower and uneducated classes will take the advice and act under the influence of their leaders. His witnesses say that the self-government will work all right. But it is because the superior will influence the inferior. I looked around to see

whether the Senator from Indiana was likely to have the full assent of my honorable friend the junior Senator from Ohio [Mr. HANNA], or my honorable friend the senior Senator from New York [Mr. PLATT], who happens to be present, to the proposition that it is a sign of absolute unfitness for self-government which justifies us in slaughtering that people and putting them under our heels that the poor ignorant classes are likely to act under the influence of their leaders and follow them. [Laughter.] The late honorable Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Quay] is not present. I trust my honorable friend will not be influenced in his vote on the constitutional question of admitting Senator Quay by any idea that Mr. Quay may possibly be penetrated by that Philippine notion.

Mr. President, I wish to read an extract from a letter which is one of a great many letters I have received. I had one within two days from an eminent general officer thoroughly sympathizing with my position in this matter, a man who came home with a great and a brave record, but who said that while the excited condition exists he does not want to have his name used and he should say nothing. I have here a letter from a soldier, who says:

I am a returned volunteer who believes the United States is pursuing a wrong course in the Philippines. There are thousands of others, I believe, who, in spite of the noisy receptions, the glamor and glory and medal promises, believe the same way. I promised myself before leaving the islands to enlist another two years if necessary to help bring the Government back to the "humanity" policy stated when it enlisted us to fight. Though a private soldier, my word may weigh little, but I feel it will be a source of pleasure in the future to remember that at this critical period in our history I was spending time and money to help in my humble way to bring the nation back to her old-fashioned ideas of liberty.

I would come to Washington if I could be of any service, but you doubtless have plenty of soldiers and others at hand better capable than myself to answer your questions. I hope you will put up the fight of your life against the Administration's policy. It seems to me you can do a great deal of good by acquainting the people with the real condition of things in the islands, which no one knows better than yourself that they do not get through the papers. The death of General Lawton almost in sight of the church steeples of Manila, in a battle that lasted three hours in taking a town our forces captured several times before, but never before found it so hard to take as this time—this of itself should make sensible people doubt that the war is "just over now." The Army of late has been making a good showing, but Congress should realize that every Filipino under arms there to-day means to have and has sworn to have "liberty or death."

Who was it who used that phrase? Is there a Senator from Virginia here who remembers where that expression came from? The miserable Filipino got hold of it somehow. I rather think on the whole we had better charge this whole bloodshed and slaughter and loss of life and treasure to Patrick Henry. The writer of this letter says Congress should realize that every Filipino under arms there to-day—

believes that down under our commercial greed must still smolder in our hearts a feeling that respects him for this resolution.

Just think of this man, who has been so long in the Philippine Islands, actually so far conspiring with the Filipino insurgent cause that he believes, and says the Filipino believes—those savage barbarians believe of the American people "that down under our commercial greed must still smolder in our hearts a feeling that respects him for this resolution."

We may have been more humane to our prisoners, but our Army has been a greater scourge to their country than the Spanish army in a hundred years. But still they dispute every advance and close in in the wake of every retreat. They are not savages, Senator, as you know, of course. I want to tell you how our regiment changed its mind upon this point. We had been taught (the devil only knows why) that the Filipinos were savages no better than our Indians.

But General Lawton took half my regiment with him on the Santa Cruz expedition. The boys came back with different ideas, denied that they were savages, and confessed they did not want to fight them any more. They had seen in their deserted houses schoolbooks everywhere—grammars, geographies, and arithmetics—well thumbed. They had seen schoolhouses, churches, government buildings, halls of justice, paintings, decorations, and all kinds of handiwork; a city paved, cleaned, and drained, happy in peace and plenty, before they came on their mission of distributing the peace commissioners' proclamation. After this trip neither the "nigger" nor "Indian" talk made them enthusiastic soldiers.

One thing more: The papers announce that the Filipinos are to do honor to General Lawton. This, whether intended or not, puts things in a false light. The fact is, there are a lot of Filipinos working for and hanging on to the Americans because of the big wages they pay, and much of this money is sent through the lines one way or another to help the insurgents. Nine out of every ten of these men are at heart in sympathy with the insurgent cause. The people should know these things.

Pardon me, Senator, for addressing one who must at this time be burdened with correspondence, but I felt I must say a word and tell you one soldier at least respects the American traditions, etc.

I shall have occasion, Mr. President, to discuss this question at some length hereafter. I desire to ask leave to print with my speech an appeal made by Felipe Buencamino, setting forth the desires and aspirations of the Filipino people, addressed to the House of Representatives. I suppose it does not come in regularly as a petition, but I should like to have it to refer to. I wish to have it printed in connection with my speech and also as a document.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts desire that it shall be included in the other document or printed as a separate document?

Mr. HOAR. I think it would be well to include it in the other

document. I desire to have it printed with my speech and also as a document. I add, also, this letter from Gen. Charles King:

[Gen. Charles King's letter to Milwaukee Journal.]

THE FILIPINOS AS THEY ARE.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 22, 1899.

To the Editor of the Journal, Milwaukee, Wis.

DEAR SIR: Thinking over your telegram and request of June 7, I find myself seriously embarrassed. As an officer of the Army, there are many reasons why I should not give my "views of situation in the Philippines, how long fighting is likely to continue, and thoughts as to America's part in future of islands."

The capability of the Filipinos for self-government can not be doubted. Such men as Arellano, Aguinaldo, and many others whom I might name are highly educated; nine-tenths of the people read and write, all are skilled artisans in one way or another; they are industrious, frugal, temperate, and, given a fair start, could look out for themselves infinitely better than our people imagine. In my opinion they rank far higher than the Cubans or the uneducated negroes to whom we have given the right of suffrage.

Very truly, yours,

CHARLES KING,
Brigadier-General.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there any objection to the request of the Senator from Massachusetts, that the paper to which he refers be printed as a part of his speech and also as a document? The Chair hears none. It is so ordered.

[See appendix.]

APPENDIX.

[From The Outlook, September 2, 1899.]

THE BACKWOODS FILIPINO.

[By Leonard R. Sargent.]

It has been my privilege to have been intimately associated with the Filipino people for a short time at a most interesting period of their history. With the permission of Admiral Dewey, I spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon.¹ It will be remembered that at that date the United States had not yet announced its policy with regard to the Philippines. The terms of the treaty with Spain were being negotiated by our commissioners at Paris, and the fate of the islands hung in the balance. In the meantime the native population, taking matters into their own hands, had declared their independence from all foreign jurisdiction and had set up a provisional government, with Aguinaldo at its head.

Although this government has never been recognized, and in all probability will go out of existence without recognition, yet it can not be denied that, in a region occupied by many millions of inhabitants, for nearly six months it stood alone between anarchy and order. The military forces of the United States held control only in Manila, with its environs, and in Cavite, and had no authority to proceed further; while in the vast remaining districts the representatives of the only other recognized power on the field were prisoners in the hands of their despised subjects. It was the opinion at Manila during this anomalous period in our Philippine relations, and possibly in the United States as well, that such a state of affairs must breed something akin to anarchy.

I can state unreservedly, however, that Mr. Wilcox and I found the existing conditions to be much at variance with this opinion. During our absence from Manila we traveled more than 600 miles in a very comprehensive circuit through the northern part of the island of Luzon, traversing a characteristic and important district. In this way we visited seven provinces, of which some were under the immediate control of the central government at Malolos, while others were remotely situated, separated from each other and from the seat of government by natural divisions of land, and accessible only by lengthy and arduous travel. As a tribute to the efficiency of Aguinaldo's government and to the law-abiding character of his subjects, I offer the fact that Mr. Wilcox and I pursued our journey throughout in perfect security, and returned to Manila with only the most pleasing recollections of the quiet and orderly life which we found the natives to be leading under the new régime.

Some years ago, at an exposition held at Barcelona, Spain, a man and woman were exhibited as representative types of the inhabitants of Luzon. The man wore a loin cloth and the woman a scanty skirt. It was evident that they belonged to the lowest plane of savagery. I think no deeper wound was ever inflicted upon the pride of the real Filipino population than that caused by this exhibition, the knowledge of which seems to have spread throughout the island. The man and woman, while actually natives of Luzon, were captives from a tribe of wild Igorrotes of the hills; a tribe as hostile to the Filipinos as to the Spaniards themselves, and equally alien to both. It is doubtful to what extent such islanders are responsible for the low esteem in which the Filipino is held; his achievements certainly have never been well advertised, while his shortcomings have been heralded abroad. The actual, everyday Filipino is not as picturesque a creature as the Igorrote. The average human imagination has a remarkable affinity for the picturesque; and the commonplace citizen of Luzon is too often overlooked in the presence of the engrossing savage. If the observer's attention can be drawn to the former, however, much that is of interest will be found in his comparatively homely life.

In our journey we traveled first across the province of Nueva Icija, by far the poorest and least interesting of all the provinces we visited. And yet even here we were greatly surprised by the intelligence and refinement of the inhabitants. While our entertainment at first was meager—for want of the wherewithal to provide a more generous one—we could nevertheless detect the same spirit of hospitality that found vent in elaborate manifestations in the richer towns which we visited later. We were particularly struck by the dignified demeanor of our hosts and by the graceful manner in which they extended to us their welcome. We had unlimited opportunities for conversation with the citizens of the towns, and we found everywhere a class that gave evidence of considerable culture and a certain amount of education. Their education included those branches only which were taught at the schools conducted by the priesthood at the capital towns of the provinces, and was of rather an impracticable nature. The Spanish language,

¹The author of this article, it should be stated, is a naval cadet. The report made by Mr. Sargent and Paymaster Wilcox was regarded by Admiral Dewey as of great value, and the Admiral commended them for "the success of their undertaking, their thoroughness of observation, and the ability shown in their report."—The Editors.

Spanish history (appropriately garbled), church history, and the dead languages evidently formed its leading features.

The natives of this class seemed to have made the most of the opportunities offered them, and they had the subjects above mentioned completely at command. This enabled them to give a trend to their conversation that served at least to indicate their aspirations. On the other hand, their ignorance of modern history and politics, and particularly of current events, was astonishing. What they knew of the United States had been learned, like the Latin, from Spanish teachers, but was not equally reliable. Not only in the backward province of Nueva Icija, but elsewhere throughout our journey, we found the same fund of misinformation on the subject. This related in great measure to the attitude of our Government toward the two races of people that have come under its jurisdiction with an inferior political status, namely, the negroes and the Indians. Of the condition of the negroes since the war, the Filipinos seem not to be aware. They express great curiosity on the subject of the Indian question, and have evidently been taught to see in the unhappy condition of that race the result of deliberate oppression, and a warning of what they may expect from our Government if they submit themselves to its legislation. Of ourselves, the citizens of the United States, they have been told that we possess neither patriotism, honor, religion, nor any other restraining or refining influence. A character has been given us consistent with the acts attributed to our nation. The natives are now undoubtedly becoming enlightened as to our true character, but it will probably be a long time before their last suspicions are removed. In the meanwhile we can not but hope that the good faith of our Government in any proposition it may make to the Filipino people will be accepted in advance. When it becomes a question of our fairness and our honest intentions toward them, the burden of proof must rest on us.

The towns of Nueva Icija are small and unimposing. They are composed principally of "nipa" huts, built on "stilts" to evade the vapors that rise from the marshy ground.

The "stilts" and the frame of the hut are framed of bamboo poles, and an excellent floor is made from long, thin strips of the same wood laid together with their curved surfaces upward. The roof is thatched with grass, and the sides of the hut are formed of leaves of the "nipa" plant plaited together. Screens made of the same material serve in place of windows, sliding back and forth on bamboo guides in front of apertures cut in the walls. A short bamboo ladder gives entrance to the hut, which consists of two rooms, one forward of the other. The front room is raised a step higher than the rear one and is provided with as smooth a floor as possible, to be used principally for sleeping purposes. The back room contains the native stove, the only piece of furniture in the hut. This consists of a section of the trunk of a large tree hollowed out into the form of a bowl and lined with mortar. Many "nipa" huts are far more elaborate, but the one described is of the commonest type and frequently forms the home of a large family.

It will be noticed what an important part the bamboo forms in the construction of these huts. The value of the bamboo tree to the natives of all tropical countries has been too often dilated upon to bear further repetition; but I can not refrain from mentioning one use to which I have seen it put in this province. In the outskirts of one town through which we passed we noticed a number of huts whose owners, having made some attempt at cultivating the land in their immediate vicinity, had built a fence of bamboo to separate their fields from the road. There was nothing particularly remarkable about the fence, except that fences of any kind are not numerous in that country, but we were struck with astonishment on noticing a gate, through which a native had passed, close forcibly behind him without any effort on his part. We proceeded at once to investigate the phenomenon and discovered that the result which had so surprised us had been accomplished by the following unique arrangement: A long bamboo cord had been made fast to the gate and to a point near the top of a bamboo sapling growing in the yard, so that the cord was taut when the gate was shut. The gate opened outward, and could be passed through only by bringing sufficient pressure to bear to bend the sapling. When the pressure was released, the sapling would spring back to its erect position, closing the gate with a slam. With the means at hand a Yankee might well have been at a loss to devise a neater or more effective scheme.

The province of Nueva Icija is low and marshy, and rice is almost the only agricultural product. At the time of our visit the entire population, both male and female, was engaged in the thrashing of rice, which, under their artistic manipulation, becomes a most picturesque proceeding. The implements used resemble, on a large scale, the pestle and mortar of a chemist. The mortar is replaced by a section of a log of hard wood, hollowed out into the shape of a bowl or trough; the pestle by a club about 4 feet long, with ends about 6 inches in diameter and the middle part scraped down to the shape of the hand and worn smooth by constant friction. The rice is thrown into the mortar as it is cut. The club, held in the middle, is raised well above the head in the right hand and cast vertically down upon the rice: caught up with the left hand as it rebounds, thrown again, and caught up with the right.

The workers make an interesting picture, half a dozen of them perhaps beating in the same mortar, their dark skins glistening in the sunlight, and every firm muscle working as their bodies move in the graceful action of their labor. These people are musical by nature, and there undoubtedly is harmony in this rhythmic beating of wood on wood. The sound penetrates to the most distant places and seems never to cease. It comes to you like the beating of a muffled drum, and brings before your mind the supple figures of the native girls casting their clubs in that graceful movement, down with the right hand, up with the left, down with the left hand, up with the right. I only once saw the workmen emphasize the musical element that characterizes their labor. On this occasion a party of four natives, two young men and two young women, were beating at the rice in one long trough, while an old man, sitting near with a musical instrument like a guitar, strummed the time.

In traveling from Nueva Icija into the neighboring province of Nueva Vizcaya, and from there on through the greater part of the latter province, we passed through a rough and mountainous country. Our progress here was deplorably difficult, but the numerous views of magnificent scenery to which we were treated more than repaid us for our labors and hardships. I never before had suspected that Luzon Island contained within its borders such harmonies in landscape as it has been my good fortune to see. There are spots in the mountains of Nueva Vizcaya from which the aspect of the surrounding country overwhelms an observer with all the power of music and thrills his artistic sense into ecstasy. The deep-rooted prejudice that many men possess against all that is tropical, I think, would disappear in every case under the influence of the clear atmosphere and healthful soil of this beautiful province.

From Nueva Vizcaya for the next three weeks of travel we passed from one hospitable town to another, and enjoyed a round of novel entertainments. Our route now carried us through the valley of the Rio Grande Cagayan—probably the largest area of level country in Luzon Island.

With the exception of the region in the immediate vicinity of Manila, and of the narrow strip of land along the western coast, this valley, previous to the revolution, was the firmest and most ancient seat of Spanish authority on the island. Its towns throughout give evidence of the labor that has been expended on them. There are comparatively few "nipa" huts, and many

substantial frame buildings. Each town, moreover, has an elaborate church and convent, usually built of brick. Many of these churches date back into the last century, one which I remember particularly bearing the date 1780 as that of its completion.

Our entertainment in the different towns varied according to the facilities at hand; but in all cases music was a leading feature. In the absence of all accessories the village band would be called into the building in which we were received and would play tune after tune well on into the night, while we conversed at our ease with the village fathers. At the little village of Cordon, which has a population of only a few hundred, we passed one of the pleasantest evenings of our journey. In this instance four accomplished little girls gave the entertainment its particular charm. Soon after our arrival the entire village trooped into the large room of the public building that had been turned over to our party. The floor was cleared for a dance, and the band commenced with a waltz. After the waltz was finished two of the little girls danced a minuet and sang a very pretty dialogue accompaniment. The movement of the minuet was very slow and stately, and the little dancers went through it with charming effect.

As an encore when the minuet was finished, they sang a Spanish love song together. The ages of these little girls were 11 and 12, respectively, and they did not look at all older than their years. They were dressed as grown-up young ladies, however, with their hair elaborately arranged, and with long trains to their cotton gowns. When I asked their mother if this style of dress had been adopted as a masquerade, she said, "Oh, no. I expect both my little girls to be married very soon." After all, some of the customs of the Filipinos are rather picturesque.

After a short rest these girls and two others of about the same age danced the "contrabandista," using castanets. We enjoyed this dance very much. The dancers arranged themselves at starting in the form of a square, and frequently returned to that figure. Passing and repassing each other, twirling unexpectedly about, and posing for an instant, only to resume the rapid step, their tiny, erect figures moved with charming grace and quickness in time with the music, and their castanets kept up a lively accompaniment. When directions were needed, they were received from an old man, who occupied the position of dancing master in the village. A guitar and a flute supplied the only music for the dance. At times even this was dispensed with, and, in its stead, the dancing master sang a plaintive air in his native dialect. The music and dancing continued until we requested an opportunity to rest. On other occasions we have been shown many dances peculiar to the country, and have found that, while they are all graceful and interesting, none are in the least grotesque or barbaric.

The towns of Ilagan and Aparri, with their wealthy and pleasure-loving population, provided the most elaborate entertainment. Ilagan is the capital city of the tobacco-raising province of Isabella, and is situated near the head of navigation of the Rio Grande; Aparri is situated at its mouth, in the province of Cagayan, and is the only seaport of the valley. These towns are laid out in regular streets, and have many squares of substantial frame buildings. They have each a population of between ten and fifteen thousand. We spent three days at Ilagan, and I think that it was here that we were brought into closest touch with the Filipino character. The cultured class, which I have spoken of before, was strongly in evidence; and I think that before leaving we had discussed views with nearly every member of it. They all realized that they were passing through a crucial period in the history of their people, and young and old were eager to acquire all possible knowledge that might assist them to think clearly at this crisis. Their realization of the gravity of their position did not, however, rob their character of its natural gaiety, nor make them forget their duty as hosts. On the evening following our arrival a ball was given in our honor, which was attended by all the elite of the town. There were present about fifty young women and twice that number of men. All were dressed in European fashion. The girls were pleasant and intelligent; the men comported themselves in all respects like gentlemen. It was hard to realize that we were in the very heart of a country generally supposed to be given up to semisavages. At intervals between dances many songs were sung, usually by one or two of the guests, while all frequently joined in the chorus. The national hymn was repeated several times with great enthusiasm. The ball lasted until nearly 3 o'clock in the morning, and broke up with good feeling at its height.

On the second evening we were invited to attend the theater, where two one-act Spanish plays were presented by the young society people of the town. The theater itself had been constructed by the villagers only a few weeks before. It was a large bamboo structure, one end of which was used as the village market, while the stage occupied the other end. The stage arrangements were good; curtain, side scenes, and footlights all en regle. In the performance of the play we saw our friends—these typical young Filipinos—in a light in which very few of our nation have had an opportunity to view them. They comported themselves with credit in a position where humor, intelligence, and artistic ability were the requisites of success.

During our stay at Ilagan we lived at the house of the mayor. This building was of great size, and was built of magnificent hard wood from the neighboring forest. One wing, containing a reception room and two bedrooms, was turned over to us. The reception room was very large, with a finely polished floor, and with windows along two sides. It contained a piano and a set of excellent bamboo furniture, including the most comfortable chairs and divans imaginable. There were two tall mirrors on the wall, and a number of old-fashioned pictures and framed paper flowers. In this room our friends gathered in the afternoon and took measures to make the time pass pleasantly for us. Whenever the conversation threatened to lose its animation, there was always some one at hand ready to accede to our host's request to play on the piano or to sing.

There was one form of hospitality which we met both at Ilagan and at Aparri that we would gladly have avoided. I still shudder when I recall the stupendous dinners that were spread before us night after night. The Filipinos pride themselves on their cookery, and it is indeed excellent. There could be no cause for complaint on that score. There is never any suspicion of the greasy and garlicky flavor to the food that characterizes a Spanish meal. Our host at Ilagan employed three cooks, each of whom in turn officiated at the preparation of one of the three dinners which we ate in that town. It is impossible to say which one deserved the palm. The shortest of the three dinners numbered fifteen courses and seemed interminable. In addition to fish, rice, chickens, and other domestic products of the country, there was served game of many sorts, including doves, snipes, deer, mountain buffalo, and boar. It was astonishing how many of the dishes were "confida del pais," and must be sampled by the visitors to secure a just conception of the Filipino talent in matters of the palate. We felt on leaving the table as if the horn of plenty had been thrust against our lips and its contents to the last crumb forced down our unwilling throats. I notice in my diary an entry made after returning from a dinner in one of the western provinces, where more moderation was displayed, which reads: "We had been in dread of encountering another such feast as those at Ilagan and Aparri, but found, to our great relief, that this meal lasted through only eight courses."

A Filipino dinner is usually served shortly after noon, and is followed by the siesta. The next meal comes about 9 o'clock, but is ordinarily preceded about three hours earlier by light refreshments of chocolate and sweetmeats. The native is very fond of the latter, which he prepares from cocoa-

nut meat and sugar. His table is always set—at least when guests are present—with a tablecloth and napkins, and the customary supply of knives and forks. He is very temperate in his use of liquor. An alcoholic beverage is made from the sap of the "nipa" plant, and imported wines are served in the houses of the rich in the large towns. None of these are used to excess, however; and I have never seen an intoxicated Filipino.

Throughout the valley of the Rio Grande, as well as the province of Nueva Vizcaya, the wilder regions are inhabited by Igorrotes. These savages are not powerful enough to attack a town of any size, but they are a formidable menace to the smaller villages, and particularly to travelers. Unarmed individuals can not go with impunity from one town to another, but must travel in parties and with an armed escort. For this reason communication between the towns of these provinces is comparatively rare. Many provinces—such as Nueva Vizcaya—are shut off from their neighbors by ranges of mountains, whose passes lie in the Igorrote territory, and are eminently exposed to attack. At certain seasons of the year these attacks become especially numerous, on account, it is said, of the religious ceremonies observed by the Igorrotes. These ceremonies require the presence of human heads; and, accordingly, the whole tribe, moved by a deep feeling of piety, proceeds, with its armament of arrows and lances, to waylay whatever unhappy Filipinos may come within reach. One of these seasons of religious manifestation lasts nine days. It had become so notorious, and had cost so many lives, that a few years ago a law was passed prohibiting travel on certain roads between prescribed dates.

Many tribes of Igorrotes have been brought partly within the pale of civilization, principally in the western provinces. These tribes, in their semi-civilized state, are called Trugmanes. They live in primitive villages, and are presided over by leaders chosen from their own tribe. I have seen many of these people. The chiefs dress in Filipino garb, with cotton trousers, and a shirt falling outside of all. The chief is always seen carrying his staff of office—a gold-headed cane. The tribesmen wear only loin cloths. They are finely-built and very powerful men.

The dangers incident to travel have had much to do with the confusion of dialects that prevails on the island, and this confusion is consequently more marked in the eastern than in the western provinces. The educated class of Filipinos can speak two languages that are universal throughout the island in their own class; these are Spanish and Tagalog. The ignorant natives, on the other hand, have only their own provincial dialect. These dialects are so different one from another that they must be separately studied to be understood. Dictionaries of many of them have been made by the Jesuit priests. Through the servants of our party, we had at command five dialects in addition to the Spanish and Tagalog, yet in passing through one province we failed utterly to make ourselves understood by a native whom we accosted, although we plied him patiently with these seven languages.

There is but one individual who seems never to be daunted by the obstacles and dangers that separate him from the province toward which he sees fit to direct his footsteps. I refer to the Chinaman. In almost every village we visited we found at least one of that race; and in the larger towns there were many. They are the merchants of the island, presiding over every shop, and drawing money from every village. They are deeply hated by the Filipinos, and were the object of a strict emigration law under the administration of Aguinaldo's provisional government.

The steamer *Oslo*, which took our party from Aparri, brought to that port a number of Chinese immigrants, destined in the greater part for Manila. The supercargo, however, desired to leave 50 of them at Aparri, and offered the governor of that place \$50 per head for that number if he would permit them to land. His offer was promptly refused.

Our party proceeded on the *Oslo* from Aparri around the northwestern corner of the island and landed on the coast near the northern end of the province of South Ilocos. From here we proceeded by land southward through the western provinces. During this part of our journey we were thrown into closer association than previously with the military element of the population, of which I hope to have an opportunity to speak further in a subsequent article.

The towns on the western coast are even larger than those on the Rio Grande. Vigan, the capital of South Ilocos, has a population of about 28,000, and Candon, farther to the southward, is not far behind this figure. The mayor of Candon was of the hustler type, and was evidently on the outlook for an opportunity to "boom" his town. On our departure he presented us with a written description of its exceptionally desirable location from a business standpoint. Every town gave evidence of the bitter fighting that had taken place between the natives and the Spaniards; many of the larger buildings, which had been used for defense, being riddled with bullet holes.

We no longer passed from town to town through unsettled stretches of country. The fields on both sides of the road were under cultivation and were dotted with laborers, while on the road itself there were always many travelers. The laborers in the fields worked in the shade of large screens of nipa leaves, which they carried with them from place to place.

Many of the travelers we passed were women. To give freedom to their limbs in walking, the skirts of their dresses were so arranged that the rear end could be drawn up between the knees and tucked into the belt in front, leaving the legs bare from the knees down. Their graceful carriage, which never failed to elicit our admiration, is due, to a great extent, I think, to their custom of carrying burdens upon their heads. This method of transportation has become a second nature to them, and is applied to articles of all descriptions. I have seen a native woman, with her hands swinging freely at her sides, walk briskly along with a pint bottle of gin balanced carelessly upon her head. On the other hand, their loads are often of great weight and towering height.

The Filipino maidens of high degree do not differ from their laboring sisters in the matter of graceful carriage. Many of them are pleasing in feature as well. Their education, however, seems to be responsible for a lack of vivacity, at least in their conversation with young men. They have evidently been taught to appear as cold and distant as possible in such society. On one point only they are always ready to meet you on terms of friendly equality; and that is when you make bold to suggest a smoke. They are always glad to accept a cigarette or small cigar, and if you are not prompt in offering one in all probability will produce one from their own supply and ask your permission to light it. This habit quickly ceases to attract your notice, except under unusual circumstances. At a town in Isabella my attention was drawn to a number of young girls returning from their first communion. They were clothed in dresses of pure white, and long veils hung chastely down below their shoulders.

I drank in the details of the picture with delight until I came to the thick haze that overhung it. Through the meshes of each veil a tube of tobacco was thrust, and every pair of dainty lips gave its continual contribution to the cloud of smoke that dwelt around the little group like a halo of universal sanction.

The men whom we met in the western provinces—our hosts at the different towns—possessed in general the same characteristics that we had observed in their countrymen farther to the eastward. We noticed, however, a marked difference between the inhabitants of the two districts in the matter of the prevailing religious sentiment. Throughout the valley of the Rio Grande the

ordinary ceremonies of worship were almost entirely suspended for want of persons ordained to conduct them.

In Ilocos and Union, however, natives had been promptly placed in the sacred offices left vacant by the imprisonment of the Spanish priests; and at the time of our visit they were conducting all the services of the church. Freedom of thought marked the views of every Filipino that I have heard express himself on the subject of religion, and although I certainly have met devout Catholics among them, I judge that that church, on account of the abuses with which it has been associated on the island, has failed on the whole to secure an exclusive hold on the minds of the natives.

In speaking of the Filipino people, I have had reference throughout principally to one class of their society, which I have called the cultured class. If my observations of that class are just, however, I think that inferences can safely be drawn from them that extend their application over the entire Tagalog population. The great mass of this population has been kept in an unenlightened state by deliberate legislation which has effectually deprived them of every possible opportunity for advancement. Those who have acquired education have acquired it at an extravagant cost that has placed it hopelessly beyond the reach of all but the wealthy. There are few, if any, among that number, however, who, while possessing the price of a schooling, have neglected to apply it to that end. I can not see what better gauge we can obtain at present of the intelligence and ambition of the whole Filipino race than the progress that has been made by its favored members with the limited opportunities at their command. Throughout the island a thirst for knowledge is manifested and an extravagant respect for those who possess it.

I have seen a private native citizen in a town in the interior exercise a more powerful influence than all the native officials over the minds of the inhabitants, simply because he was known to have been educated in the best schools at Manila, and was regarded for that reason as a superior man. The heroes of these people are not heroes of war, but of science and invention. Without rival, the American who is best known by reputation in Luzon is Mr. Edison, and any native with the slightest pretension to education whom you may question on the subject will take delight in reciting a list of his achievements. The ruling Filipinos, during the existence of their provisional government, appreciated the necessity of providing public schools to be accessible to the poorest inhabitants. Had events so shaped themselves as to have provided an opportunity for carrying into effect the plans formed on this point, it seems possible that the mental plane of the entire population might have been raised gradually to a surprising height.

Out of respect to the statements of other people which the narrative of my experience may seem to contradict, I wish to say that I have found the native of the interior of Luzon an astonishingly different character from the one ordinarily met in Manila. Previous to my journey, I regarded those whom I had encountered in that city with great dislike, and after my return I was unable to overcome that feeling. They are not a fair sample of the race; and I can not expect anyone who has formed his judgment on the subject merely from observations of that type to express an opinion similar to mine, as recorded above.

[From The Outlook, September 23, 1899.]

THE MILITARY FILIPINO.¹

[By Leonard R. Sargent.]

The provisional government which assumed control of Filipino affairs in Luzon Island after the downfall of the Spanish power was a military one. The president of the so-called republic was general of the army and had at his command all the forces of the state, while military officers filled the high positions throughout the provinces. It was continually asserted by those in power that this disposition of the control of affairs had been resorted to merely to tide over the existing emergency and that it should continue only until the establishment of a permanent peace. As long as it remained in force, however, the concentration of power was absolute, and, moreover, no change of government could be contemplated without the cooperation of the controlling class. In the event of peace the population hoped to see the reins of government placed in their hands, but if opposition were offered, they certainly had not the power to seize them. The military class controlled the situation, and with it, in great measure, the destiny of the people. Accordingly as they were actuated by motives of patriotism or of personal ambition they could, if unmolested, inaugurate a just and liberal government or they could set upon the galled shoulders of their race a yoke as cruel as that they had just cast off.

It will never be known how they would have stood this crucial test. The peace they had anticipated is further from them now than ever, and it has been decreed that a stronger power should relieve them of the responsibility of the vital decision. Yet they have not been deprived of importance. They still retain the official voice of their people, and it is with them that our nation is now at war. In view of their preeminent position in Luzon affairs, past, present, and future, some interest must attach to every observation of their character, especially to such as tend to show to what extent they represent the feelings and aspirations of the great mass of the Filipino population, and in what measure they have at heart the truest interests of their race.

The leaders of the military element have been drawn, almost without exception, from the younger generation of that enlightened class of Filipinos, of which I have spoken in a previous article as existing everywhere throughout Luzon Island. They possess, of course, many qualities in common with their older kinsfolk, in whose charge they have been reared; and yet they differ from them so significantly on many points as to deserve particular attention. The characters of men are not set to such rigid lines as to remain unchanged by the sudden attainment of authority, and the Filipino, like his brother of every other land, assumes a new demeanor with his uniform of office.

Throughout the period of my association with both classes I found the distinction apparent between civilians and military officers. Had Mr. Wilcox and I been provided for our journey with the customary credentials required of travelers in that country many of the evidences of this difference which came to our notice would have been missing. Starting without passports, however (in fact, after having been refused them by Aguinaldo), our status was such as to invite all possible arrogance on the part of the officials, while throwing the most favorable light upon the open hospitality of the citizens. Under the circumstances I am inclined to think that there was a surprising lack of arrogance in the attitude which the officials assumed toward us. Yet there was a dignity in their bearing, and in some cases a coldness, caused by their suspicions of the motive of our journey, which were entirely lacking in their civilian countrymen. "Armor is heavy, but it is a proud burden, and

¹ See the article on "The backwoods Filipino," by Mr. Sargent, in The Outlook of September 2. The author, it will be remembered, is a naval cadet who spent the greater part of the months of October and November of 1898, in company with Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy, in the interior of the northern part of the island of Luzon.

a man standeth straight in it." So these young Filipinos, vested with the authority of their office and supporting the responsibility of their duty toward the state, assumed a manlier and more independent bearing than the genial and conciliatory one of the older men.

In the opposition which they frequently offered to our plans we found much that was inconvenient, but nothing that was unreasonable from their point of view. We found them hard to cajole, or to "bluff," or to move by any means other than a fair and open statement which they could clearly understand. Before the end of the journey we came to regard the military Filipino as the only stumbling block to our progress. And yet, in spite of the annoyance he caused us and of the frequent changes in our itinerary induced by his persistent opposition, we learned to admire him far beyond his simpler and more amiable countrymen.

It could easily be seen that we did not control a monopoly of the admiration expended on this subject. The older men looked with manifest pride on the evidences of the firm purpose and quick decision of their sons and nephews, even while endeavoring, in many instances, to mollify the rigor of their methods; and the young officers themselves evinced great complacency when they dwelt upon the subject of their past achievements in the field and of the efficiency of their subsequent administration of affairs. The experience through which they had passed had imparted to their character a respect for their own ability and confidence in their own resources that is woefully lacking in the untried Filipino.

Prior to my departure from Manila I had witnessed many examples of this deficiency in the national character, and had considered them of considerable significance. I remember on one occasion having observed a native coachman whose carriage had been overturned by a collision stand helplessly in the road regarding the wreck with an expression of utter despair, while he wrung his hands together and repeated in tones of the most agonized self-pity the expression, "Pobre Filipino! Pobre Filipino!" He was still in this attitude when an American soldier near by took the matter in hand, and in a very short time had the horse on his feet, the carriage right side up, and the harness readjusted. I thought at the time that if the Filipino race possessed no more stamina than that displayed by this coachman and no more readiness and resource to assist them in confronting unforeseen situations they would be indeed fortunate to have always at hand the ready support of a stronger power.

I was not aware of the hardening effect upon the national character of the events even then occurring, and did not guess that the identical qualities whose absence I had noticed were being rapidly inculcated by the first phases of that experience to whose success I had considered their presence indispensable.

Other qualities than these, moreover, are waking from a dormant state. Prior to the advent of the great incentive in his life that came with the revolution, the native displayed, in all his undertakings, but little endurance and less perseverance. His existence was so ordered that no permanent good could come to him or to his family from even the most continued endeavor, and he labored, therefore, for some temporary emolument only. He never had at stake a prize really worth the winning, and there was nothing within his horizon that appealed to him as deserving of as much attention as his own physical comfort.

It was this that he considered first when set to any task, and he refused always to work under a strain. He recognized the limit to his powers within which he could work at ease, and, if forced beyond this limit, he promptly "threw up the sponge." In our party, at one time, among the number of our packmen were several old natives whom we had picked up at a little inland town. They belonged to the "ante-bellum" type of Filipino, and seemed scarcely cognizant of recent events. One day, toward nightfall, noticing that one of these packmen was missing, we sent back over the trail to ascertain what had become of him. He was found about 5 miles in the rear resting by the roadside, the picture of ease and indifference. In answer to our indignant inquiries, he merely replied that he had felt tired and had stopped to rest. When ordered to proceed, and threatened with punishment if he loitered, he made the distance to camp in good time. It had not been a case of exhaustion or of physical inability, but merely of an inconvenient weariness and an entire absence of grit. Such was the old, purposeless, unawakened Filipino, and he bears a marked contrast to the vigorous and enthusiastic young insurgent soldier, whose every energy is at the service of the cause he has espoused, and who has endured every hardship and braved every danger in its support.

We heard many tales, and were in a position to authenticate them to a great extent, of deeds that told in glowing terms of the endurance and courage the Filipinos could display when impelled by a sufficient motive. The revolution in Luzon Island was by no means a simultaneous uprising of the population, and in its early stages the force that opposed the Spanish power was not overwhelming in its numbers. In the provinces far in the interior particularly the earlier encounters found the advantage in the hands of the Spaniards, whose opponents were but small bands of the most daring and desperate natives of the vicinity, poorly armed and entirely without organization or discipline. Yet these pioneers of rebellion did win brilliant and surprising victories, and, by their success, encouraged their more timid neighbors to join their fortunes to the cause.

In a district embracing the capital city of Nueva Vizcaya, a band of 20 Filipinos were for several days the only natives in open rebellion, and they conducted hostilities unaided against a force of Spaniards of ten times their number. The Spanish commander, alarmed at the signs of discontent among the population, undertook to proceed with his troops to a neighboring town possessing stronger defenses. He was ambushed three separate times on the march by the little band of rebels, and suffered a large loss. Recruits immediately swelled the ranks of the insurgents, and before the week was out the entire province was in their hands. The leader of the gallant little band of patriots, Lieutenant Navarro, is one of the very few officers whom I have met who represent the more ignorant class of the population. He could not speak Spanish, nor read nor write his own language, and on that account, at the time of our visit, had not risen above the rank of lieutenant.

In many of the provinces the revolution received its start from detachments of Aguinaldo's expeditionary forces, which were sent across the island from the more populous districts on the western coast. These detachments—in some cases mere squads—performed most remarkable service.

They traveled through the wildest parts of the island to reach their destination, and, arriving there, were forced to depend, for the support of the natives, upon the success of their own first operations against the superior force of the enemy. Of these expeditions, one of the most noteworthy was that sent from North Ilocos overland to Cagayan. The mountains lying between these provinces are generally considered impassable on account of the absence of beaten paths and of the presence of one of the most formidable tribes of Igorrotes on the island. The expeditionary force, however—about forty strong—succeeded in accomplishing the journey after five days of constant effort and hardships, and arrived at Aparri in an exhausted condition, but with undaunted spirit.

The Filipinos have a national weapon with which they claim to have won their independence from Spain. This is the bola or native knife. It is used in times of peace for all conceivable purposes, and through constant practice is handled with the utmost dexterity. It is as much a part of the Filipino of

the provinces as a jackknife was of the old-time sailor. When traveling even for very short distances, or when working where the bola is likely to be of service, the native carries it slung on his belt and shoved around behind him, so as not to interfere with his movements. It has no definitely fixed size or shape, but the commonest type applied to the purposes of war is about 2 feet long, including the handle, and has a broad, thick blade, with the weight and edge of a guillotine. The effect of such a weapon in hands thoroughly trained in its use can be imagined. At the time of our journey the Filipinos had absolute confidence in it, and claimed that no other weapon could withstand it. When wielded in the mad fury of a charge, its effects were certainly terrible. Not only were heads shorn off at a stroke, but bodies were severed through the trunk from shoulder to hip; and rifles held in a position of defense were cut through the barrels and the skulls beneath were split down to the chin. The native officers relied almost entirely upon these "bola charges" for the defeat of their Spanish foes. When the call to charge was sounded, the entire force, including the highest officers, discarded all other weapons and charged the enemy, bola in hand.

After the successful termination of the rebellion, all the insurgent officers provided themselves with sabers and revolvers from the supply captured from the Spaniards, and wore them with great satisfaction. As far as concerned their use in warfare, however, they regarded them with contempt, and asserted the superiority of the bola. I could not but admit that even our own soldiers would have but little chance in a hand-to-hand encounter, without firearms, with an equal number of natives armed with their favorite weapon; but I was also well aware that with revolvers they could defeat a large attacking party. I argued the point unavailingly with Aginaldo's officers, however, and only succeeded in tainting my own reputation for veracity by relating the following incident in support of my assertions:

An American soldier on guard duty in Manila was suddenly attacked and struck to the ground by a Filipino desperado, who then took to his heels. The soldier, without attempting to rise, drew his revolver and emptied the chambers at the fleeing figure. When the native's body was examined all the bullets expended were accounted for; one had shattered his ankle, another was imbedded in his thigh, three were responsible for wounds in the trunk, and the sixth had pierced his skull. This was an actual occurrence, and I believe that the Filipino soldiery could now be easily convinced of its truth when supported by other evidences of good marksmanship that have undoubtedly come to their notice. The reason for their original incredulity could easily be understood, however, after an examination of the revolvers with which they were provided. These were miserable imitations of the Smith & Wesson revolver, and bore on the back of the barrel the name of the makers, garbled into "Smit & Wilson." No part of their action was perfected; the cartridge frequently failed to come in line with the hammer, and 50 per cent is a fair estimate of the misfires.

At the time of our journey the patriotic enthusiasm of the population was everywhere at its height. The boast of every inhabitant was the national army whose organization was then being rapidly perfected. Commissions were eagerly sought by the young men of the higher class, and there were more volunteers for service in the ranks than could be armed or uniformed.

It was universally asserted that every preparation should be made to defend the newly won independence of the island against all foreign aggression. The older Filipinos, especially those of wealth and influence, declared their desire to give every support in their power to the cause, and were as much a part of the warlike movement as those who actually took up arms. The great majority of the latter, both officers and enlisted men, were extremely young. I have met a brigadier-general of 31 years of age, many captains of 18, and lieutenants of 15 and 16. Captain Natioidad, a particularly young officer of that rank and a member of a prominent Luzon family, explained that it was the aim of his government to rest its defense in the field in the hands of those of its supporters who were at that age that is most forcibly swayed by the love of military glory. For the desperate encounters that might await its army in the future it desired that sort of valor of which discretion is not the better part.

That the civil power should be placed in the same hands was a dangerous experiment, but at the same time a necessary one. The first object of the Filipinos had been to win their independence; the next was to defend it. For both these purposes they had need of their best fighting material, and the selection was made accordingly. The result proved more fortunate than there had been any reason to hope. While exercising absolute authority throughout the island and governing entirely by military law, the leaders of the army appeared, nevertheless, to endeavor to mete out justice to all classes alike. They continued, moreover, to assert their intention to relinquish their temporary power when the establishment of a permanent peace should make such a step possible, and gave most encouraging proofs of the good faith with which they spoke.

A tendency was apparent in many individual instances to treat the entire civilian population with contempt, and the lower element of it with oppression and abuse. In one or two districts through which we passed this spirit was particularly marked, but it was not countenanced as a rule, and had been made the subject of a special order from the authorities at Malolos. On the whole, as far as I could judge, the tendency was upward. The young officers displayed an earnest desire to improve their minds for the benefit of the State, and seemed to be impelled by the ambition to prove themselves worthy of the trust that had been confided in them.

I passed one evening about the middle of last November in the "Comandancia" at San Fernando, in the province of Union, where were quartered over forty officers belonging either to companies stationed at the town or to the staff of General Fija, the commander of the northwestern district. Our conversation was confined, as usual, to a great extent to professional subjects; but I remember the visit particularly on account of the presence of a number of Spanish text-books on infantry tactics which were distributed among the officers and were evidently in almost constant service. * * * How many of these eager young students of the rudiments of military science have since learned the final lesson of war?

[From The Independent, September 14, 1899.]

IN THE HEART OF LUZON.

[By Paymaster W. B. Wilcox, United States Navy.]

No doubt it is a misfortune that the Filipino does not understand American valor, and I dare say it is equally unpleasant that the average American does not know the true character of the natives of the Philippine Islands. Diplomacy could do much, and justice as we claim for ourselves could do more.

I was fortunate in being allowed by Admiral Dewey to make a long journey through the island of Luzon; in fact, I covered the whole northern portion from Manila to Aparri with the then Naval Cadet Sargent, and in no country have I been treated with more kindly hospitality.

We started with eight horses and five servants and came to Bayambang, where we spent Sunday at the house of Mr. Clark, an Englishman, and were entertained in a thoroughly English country gentleman's way. The next day we limbered up and made the first stage to Rosales and pitched our tents on the bank of the Rio Aritao. That evening the presidente local sent a man to invite us to the convento, but I said we were settled for the night, our

horses tethered, and prepared to remain until next morning. We rode into this town and were received with the band playing and given a most welcome reception. Soon after we saddled up and proceeded to the next stage. The towns passed were all in gala attire, having known from couriers that we were coming. Nothing occurred until the journey from San Jose to Puncan was undertaken, and that was almost the hardest of the whole trip. Horses were of no use, we engaged bagadores to carry our outfit, and I must say if we could have traveled as fast as these men, with packs of nearly 70 pounds each, in the driving rain, we would have reached Puncan early in the afternoon. But horses can not compete with muscular men in the long run. Arriving at the river Carrangian, swollen from heavy rains, our men said it was impossible to cross; but Mr. Sargent plunged his horse into the raging stream and reached the other bank. The natives followed. I was left as the only one. We had brought several hundred fathoms of small rope for just such purposes, and I suggested tying this to a tree and bringing the end to me to tie around my waist, and thus swim over the stream. The current was running 6 miles an hour. The plan was partly carried out, but in bringing the rope across the line parted, and Sargent, who had the end, went under the stream and we never expected to see him again. Finally I got over. In all towns the best the Filipinos had was given us and not a cent would be accepted in payment.

From Puncan the next important stop was at the river Carrangian, which was roaring so hard it made it impossible to cross at night, and we pitched our tents on the bank. The major-domo of the party said there were numerous caymans (alligators) and they would crawl up and eat us and our horses some time during the night. So he kept firing guns and was awake all night. He could imagine the 30-foot alligator walking away with a horse and a tent and all contents, though we had about forty men all told and many guns.

Passing over much that occurred, we reached the foot of the Carabelle Mountains, which began the hardest of all the journey.

After many weary hours I, who was carrying 220 pounds, finally reached the summit at the altitude of 3,000 feet.

On reaching Aritao the presidente local put us up in an old convent and his band serenaded us at night, and in the morning everywhere the same generous kindness was shown. Our next stop was at Bambang, where the nephew of Aginaldo met us some distance out of town, guns firing and convent bells ringing. In the evening a fine orchestra was stationed in the hall and lulled two sleepy Americans to rest in sweetest strains, for almost all Filipinos can play some sort of music. In leaving this spot we were accompanied by soldiers as usual, and by Aginaldo himself, to Bayombong, capital of the province of Nueva Vizcaya. I was met at the bank of the river by the presidente local, and we rode into town amid flags flying and the band playing and were taken to the municipal building. In this far-away town of Luzon I met the most intelligent man, a lawyer by profession, an educated man, and his theory of the future of his country appealed to me as quite the proper solution; what he wanted was free public schools in every village and town, where English would be taught and where the children would soon have wiped out from their curriculum all the Spanish form of government and all the Spanish customs that have brought devastation to their homes; as prostituting all the virtues of a people who want their homes protected and to live in quietness and peace where their daily earnings will not be filched from them by the ingenious methods only known to the *hidalgo Español* and the man whom he employs for purpose of the basest robbery.

From this place our next important stop was Iligan, the capital of the province of Isabella, where millions of dollars come in annually to purchase the product of tobacco which is grown in this, perhaps the most fertile province in the whole of Luzon.

On our first night in this inland capital we were given a dance at which fifty well-dressed young ladies and the same number of gentlemen attended. I was sorry, indeed, I had not my dress suit. One young lady with whom I danced had a splendid gown of rare silk handsomely embroidered, and she danced, I confess, better than I; she was a fine player on the piano and sang many songs for us. The next night a theater was given, and the players were quite as good as in some shows in a more pretentious country.

From Aparri we took steamer to the west coast, and then by horse and various other means made our way to Dagupan and Manila, after a month and a half of most delightful experiences.

The resources of the country can hardly be estimated, but it must have peace and, still more important, transportation, railroads, and means of getting the product of the soil to ready market.

Public schools will do more for the civilization of the island of Luzon than bayonets, and in a few years the Filipino children, who are now most anxious to learn the English language, will be the producers of shiploads of products of the most fertile soil in a tropical latitude and make an empire in the Orient of which not only ourselves but the Filipino will be justly proud.

We must first destroy all vestige of the Spanish ideas and have one language for all the island. As it is now a man of one province can not understand the language of his neighbor, living across the line within a few hundred yards.

When the Filipino can see the benefit of honorable treatment and that justice will be dispensed without favor, he will come into the fold and be a citizen not to be ashamed of.

IN AGINALDO'S REALM.

[By Ensign L. R. Sargent, United States Navy.]

In the early part of October, 1898, Paymaster Wilcox, United States Navy, and I obtained from Admiral Dewey leave of absence from our duties on board the U. S. S. *Monadnock* for the purpose of making a tour of observation through the northern part of the island of Luzon. Our original plans were of a very indefinite nature, being merely to proceed as far to the northward as the character of the country and the attitude of the natives would permit and to return only when forced to do so. The existing ignorance of the conditions prevailing in the interior gave rise to a very exaggerated idea of the difficulties of such a journey.

Had it been suggested at any time prior to our departure that we could cover the ground as completely as we eventually succeeded in doing, we should have scouted the idea as preposterous. Suggestions of this nature were, however, conspicuous by their absence, while prophecies of an early failure and an ignominious return were numerous. As the few days that we could devote to our preparations passed and we found ourselves coming face to face with the difficulties of our undertaking, these gloomy prophecies certainly forced an echo from our own hearts.

The first material obstacle that we encountered was the refusal of Aginaldo to provide us with passports. These, we had reason to believe, were a sine qua non of peaceful travel through the island, officers of our Army whose duties carried them beyond our own lines having been repeatedly turned back for want of them. Mr. Wilcox, with the outfit, servants, and horses, proceeded to Bayambang, a town near the northern terminus of the railroad, where he was entertained by Mr. Donald Clark, a hospitable Englishman, while I spent two days at Malolos petitioning Aginaldo for a more favorable answer. The Filipino president remained firm, however. He expressed great friendliness, and readily gave his consent to our journey, refusing only to provide written passports, without which we should be, of course, as defenseless against the opposition of his officers as the most unwarranted trespassers. It was evident that he preferred that we should remain

at home. When I joined Mr. Wilcox at Bayambang we talked the matter over and came to the conclusion that we held anything but a strong hand. We decided, therefore, to adopt that method of play by which alone it is possible to win on a poor one. Leaving Bayambang at daybreak next morning, we accordingly proceeded by the main traveled road on the first stage of our journey.

This road led us almost due east through the low and marshy province of Nueva Ecija. The rainy season at this time was at its height, and for seven days we scarcely saw the sun. Almost from the start we found the mud so deep that it was impossible to ride the horses through it. Leading them by their bridles, we struggled on on foot until men and beasts were exhausted, covering in this way only 10 or 12 miles a day. Even with the sun covered the heat was excessive, and members of the party were frequently prostrated by that and the exertion combined. Two of our servants proved too old to stand the strain and were sent back, a fate which befell two of our horses also. We soon recruited our party to its original strength, however. Pack horses were quickly abandoned in favor of natives, who accompanied us from town to town, carrying our luggage divided among them on their backs. For the tremendous labor which these men performed they considered 10 cents a day ample pay. This amount seems still more ridiculously small when you consider that the men were usually discharged a full day's travel distance from their homes. As we proceeded the road grew worse, until finally at San José it dwindled to a soggy bridge path. Just beyond San José the province of Nueva Ecija joins that of Nueva Viscaya, the division between them being marked by a range of mountains. The natives along the route had informed us that this range was impassable, even to natives, during that season of the year, and this statement received indorsement at San José. It was not with any great hope of success, therefore, but with a determination to carry the attempt as far as possible that we set out from San José. We had difficulty in obtaining men for this stage of the journey, but succeeded finally, by offering considerable inducements, in engaging ten men and a guide. We found that the difficulties in this case had been very little exaggerated. Many times our progress seemed effectually checked. The continuous rains of the past week had swollen every one of the innumerable mountain streams until its passage had become a problem. This stage of not over 30 miles as the crow flies occupied three days of ten working hours each. The trail was extremely intricate. Our guide was a native of the district and had often made the journey (though never at that season of the year), yet he lost the way three times, and had great difficulty in finding it again. Here, for the first time, we heard fear expressed by members of our party of an attack by the Igorrotes, or savages of the hills; a possibility which afterwards came to form an important part in all our calculations. We also became acquainted with the native terror of the alligators which infest the streams, and, in a lower degree, of the serpents occasionally met in the forests.

Upon reaching the town of Carranglan, on the other side of the mountains in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, we took a day to dry our outfit and to recuperate. Our diet during the past three days had been cold boiled rice and hard-tack, and our rest at night had been on the wet ground with practically no protection from the violent rain. In that climate hardships can not be endured with impunity, and every man of the party, native as well as American, showed the effect of this treatment. Fortunately, however, the traveling from this point on became easier, and we were able, even in our somewhat weakened condition, to travel at a more rapid pace than previously. Our arrival at Carranglan marked the end of one distinct stage of our journey, and our departure therefrom marked the beginning of a second.

Up to this time the obstacles encountered had been natural ones—bad roads and swollen rivers. The province of Nueva Ecija is an important one from a military standpoint. Its towns at that time were garrisoned by small squads of soldiers, commanded by noncommissioned officers, and we met no one who felt it incumbent upon himself to make any determined opposition to our progress, although many expressed surprise at our lack of the customary passports. From Carranglan on through the province of Nueva Vizcaya we met with more varying fortunes, experiencing the coldest suspicion as well as the most demonstrative hospitality, being greeted at one town by the ringing of church bells and the music of the band and at the next by the critical cross-questioning of the local authorities. At Bayombong, the capital of the province, we were stopped for several hours by the military officer stationed there. After ridiculing the whole idea of passports, and giving this officer some good advice on the manner of conducting a republican form of government, we succeeded in obtaining his permission to proceed.

At an elevation of four or five hundred meters above the sea level, with firm roads and a cordial sun, traveling became the greatest of pleasures. No matter what the attitude of the military officers in the different towns might be, we were invariably made welcome by the citizens.

The larger towns at which we spent the night gave balls in our honor, while the smaller ones, with the village band and native dancing, gave what entertainment they could improvise—often the most enjoyable. While the towns of this province are larger and more pretentious than those of Nueva Ecija, they are situated farther apart and are more completely isolated one from another. The forests between are inhabited by tribes of Igorrotes, who are a constant menace to travelers. On one road over which we passed a party of 20 Filipinos had been murdered to a man only a few days before our arrival. The character of the country offers every opportunity for such savage attack, the trail frequently leading through thick forests or plains of rank grass meeting overhead. Although we considered our party strong enough for its own protection, we were usually provided with an escort of Filipino soldiers.

Frequently we were joined by natives who had been awaiting an opportunity to go from one town to another in safety, bringing the number of our party at one time up to forty-seven. Often from the high points on the road we could see the smoke of at least one Igorrote camp fire, frequently within a few miles of a large Filipino town. There can hardly be any direct method of attack against these savages, since they build no villages and have a vast wilderness for refuge; but at the time of our visit the Filipinos had already begun to build small forts at the points most frequently subject to their menaces—a step in advance of any the Spaniards had taken.

At the town of Carig, near the frontier of the province of Isabella, we encountered Major Villa, the military governor of the province, who had been sent from his capital city by his superior officer, Colonel Tirona, the commander of the northeastern military district, to demand our passports, and, if we did not have them, to examine into the purpose of our expedition. In carrying out his orders this officer kept us for seven days quartered in a deserted convent in this miserable village. At the end of that time, by the permission of Colonel Tirona, with whom we had succeeded in opening direct communication, we were allowed to proceed.

A few miles from Carig we reached the Rio Grande de Cagayan, down which we descended in canoes to its mouth. We spent two days at Iligan, the capital of the province of Isabella, and three at Aparri, the only seaport on the northern coast of the island, towns having a population of about 15,000 each. We were extremely well entertained. At Iligan a large ball was given in our honor, and two Spanish operas were presented by the young people of the town. From this performance we received most pleasing proof of the humor, intelligence, and refinement of our entertainers.

At the towns we had previously visited we had occasionally seen numerous Spanish prisoners, all of whom were apparently enjoying full liberty within the limits of the town. At Iligan we saw Spanish soldiers and ex-civil officials in the same status; but the priests had been differently dealt with; they were too dangerous to be left at large, and were accordingly confined in a convent. We saw them one morning, to the number of 84, lined up in the street in charge of a squad of Filipino soldiers.

At Aparri I witnessed a ceremony which, at the time, I considered pregnant with significance, and I have seen no reason since for changing my opinion. During our entire journey we had noticed the existence of a distinct civil and military government. The civil government was simple and efficient, consisting of four officials for each province and four for each town. The military government consisted of an officer in command of a military district, having under his orders one officer as military governor of each province and one as governor of each important town. The military government was the dominant one. We remarked on this condition several times, and were told that it would last only during a state of war. At Aparri we received proof of the sincerity of this statement. Word had been received from Hongkong that our commissioners at Paris, negotiating the terms of the treaty of peace, had plainly indicated that it was their intention not to return the islands to Spain. Relieved from their great apprehension of this action, the Filipino population began at once to see rosy visions of peace descending on their war-torn country. Steps were immediately taken to adjust existing conditions to the new state of things. Colonel Tirona, the governor of the northeastern military district, took the lead by relinquishing the control of affairs in the provinces comprised in his district in favor of a civil official chosen by the people. I was present at the impressive ceremony which solemnized this change in the province of Cagayan. The ceremony took place in the cathedral at Aparri and was attended by all the local officials of the towns of the province, as well as by any military officers that could be spared from their duties. Colonel Tirona placed the usual insignia of office—a gold-headed cane—in the hands of the governor-elect at the close of a short speech, in which he said that now that a state of peace seemed probable he desired to divest himself of the unusual authority that it had been necessary for him temporarily to exercise and to assume his proper position as a servant—not a ruler—of the people. The governor, in reply, expressed his thanks to the Colonel and to all of the expeditionary forces for the incalculable service they had rendered the people of the province in freeing them from Spanish rule and declared the purpose of the people to expend the last drop of their blood, if necessary, in defending the liberty thus gained against the encroachments of any nation whatsoever. The governor then took the oath of office, being followed in turn by each of the three other provincial officials, the heads of the departments of justice, revenue, and the police. It was the Colonel's intention to have a similar ceremony performed in each of the other provinces under his control. Had the Filipino government been allowed to work out its own salvation, this movement could hardly have failed to become historical.

At Aparri we saw proof also of the extent of Aguinaldo's authority. Four natives had been tried for robbery and attempted murder and had been sentenced to death. At the time of our visit they were awaiting the arrival from Malolos of the ratification of their sentence by the president.

Everywhere we traveled the greatest loyalty toward Aguinaldo was expressed. Now, at the time of his reverses, it is possible, though I am far from convinced, that he represents but one element of his people; then, in his prosperity, he certainly represented them all—at least in northern Luzon. At that time the enthusiasm of the people was tuned to the highest pitch. In every village every man was training in arms. Companies were formed of boys from 8 years of age upward. Wooden guns were furnished them, and they were drilled systematically every day. The women also were imbued with the spirit. Many and many a time have the people of a village gathered in the large room of the "presidencia," where the paymaster and I were quartered, and put their whole hearts into the songs in which their patriotism found vent. Of these songs the national hymn was the favorite, and no one within hearing ever failed to join in the chorus:

Del sueño de tres Siglos
Hermanos despertad!
Gritando, "Fuera España!
Viva la libertad!"

(From your sleep of three centuries
Brothers awake!
Crying, "Away with Spain!
Live liberty!")

After a delay of three days we were fortunate enough to catch a small coasting steamer, which took us around the northern end of the island and landed us on the western coast at the northern end of the province of South Locos. From here we proceeded toward Manila. We wished to visit the interior provinces on this side of the island, but were prevented by the authorities. Already the hope was fading that freedom from Spain meant freedom of government. The feeling toward Americans was changing, and we saw its effect in the colder manner of the people and in their evident desire to hustle us along by the most direct road to Manila.

Although the spirit was evidently missing, we were nominally treated with every distinction. A mounted escort was furnished us, which rode ahead with guidons to clear the road. The towns in these western coast provinces are larger and more numerous than those in the valley of the Rio Grande. The military element is much more in evidence, as well as the native religious element, which has succeeded the Spanish priests. At Vigan, the capital of South Locos, we dined with twenty-eight military officers, and at San Fernando, the capital of Union, with forty. All of these officers are very young, a large proportion being minors. General Tino, commanding the northeastern military district, is just 21. Captain Natividad, the commander of three important towns with an aggregate population of over 40,000, is 18 years old, while his younger brother, who bears a commission as lieutenant, is but 18. His elder brother, with the rank of lieutenant-general, was next in command to Aguinaldo at the age of 23 when he fell in action in the revolution of 1896.

In the latter part of November Paymaster Wilcox and I returned to Manila. A few minutes after our arrival I attempted to engage the services of a Filipino coachman, and found him stubborn and insolent almost beyond belief. I thought of the courteous gentleman and respectful servant I had met in the interior and wondered where among them I should class this brute. Yet they are all three one; and together they make up the Filipino. Good treatment makes of him the respectful servant, education makes of him a gentleman that no man need be ashamed to greet; but anything that he interprets as injustice arouses something in his nature that makes of him a stubborn and intractable brute. If all were known about the Filipino, public sentiment toward him, while it might not be changed, would at least be softened. There are qualities in him too fine to be wantonly destroyed. If the brute must be broken, let us hope that the respectful servant and the gentleman will be encouraged.

REPORT OF TOUR THROUGH ISLAND OF LUZON.

MANILA, P. I., November 23, 1898.

SIR: In obedience to your order, we herewith submit a report of the tour of observation of the northern part of the island of Luzon, undertaken by your authority during a leave of absence beginning October 5, 1898.

2. Paymaster W. B. Wilcox was detained by duty on board the U. S. S. *Monadnock* until October 6, Naval Cadet L. R. Sargent leaving on the 5th. Preparations for the journey were immediately begun, and were completed by the evening of October 7. From the experience of certain American officers we had learned that it was necessary, in order to pass through the lines of the Philippine forces, to obtain permission from their leader, Señor Emilio Aguinaldo. To comply with this form, Naval Cadet Sargent visited Aguinaldo at his official residence in the town of Malolos. Leaving Manila by train at noon, October 7, he arrived at his destination shortly after 2 o'clock. Señor Aguinaldo at this time was attending a meeting of the Philippine cabinet, and our request for passports through his troops in the northern provinces was taken to him by his aid-de-camp, Señor C. C. Zealcita. In making this request we stated our rank as naval officers and the object of our proposed journey as a desire to acquire information with regard to this country, at present almost unknown to Americans. Señor Aguinaldo sent out word by his aid-de-camp that he was too busily engaged that day to provide the passes, and, furthermore, that a member of our party coming later to request them should be expected to have a letter from either Admiral Dewey, General Otis, or General MacArthur.

3. Naval Cadet Sargent returned to Manila by the evening train. The flagship *Olympia* being at Cavite, to have requested a letter from the commander in chief would have caused a delay of at least one day. Both members of our party being acquainted with General MacArthur, the circumstances were explained to him and a letter obtained on the evening of the 1st to Malolos. This letter was addressed "to whom it may concern," and was a mere statement that the officers presenting it wished to visit the northern provinces of the island and desired passports through the Philippine forces. It gave the itinerary of the proposed journey. The next morning, October 8, we also obtained from Consul-General Williams a personal letter to Señor Aguinaldo, requesting that passports be provided us.

4. At noon of this day, October 8, we left Manila by train with five servants, eight horses, and between three and four hundred pounds of baggage, including a camp outfit, two rifles, and a shotgun, with ammunition. Paymaster Wilcox, in charge of the expedition, went on to Bayambang that night, while Naval Cadet Sargent left the train at Malolos to present our letters to Señor Aguinaldo. As on the day before, our request was taken in by Señor Zealcita. After a delay of about two hours Señor Aguinaldo's answer was brought out. It was to the effect that he declined to assume the responsibility of providing us with passports to travel in the provinces we wished to visit. Rumors had just been received of an insurrection, instigated by a Spanish bishop, in the northern provinces, on the western coast, and he could not tell how far an insurrection thus started might spread. While his authority was thus menaced he refused to provide us with papers that would make him responsible for our safety, while they might not protect us from ill-treatment. He also refused a second request to furnish us passports specifically addressed to those soldiers only that were loyal to his command and stating that we traveled at our own risk. Through his aid-de-camp, however, he gave us the repeated and positive assurance that we were free to prosecute our journey without passes from him, and that we should encounter no opposition from his forces. This oral promise was the only substitute that we were able to obtain for the formal passports that it has been the custom of the country heretofore to demand of every traveler.

5. Naval Cadet Sargent left Malolos by the first train next morning, October 9, and joined Paymaster Wilcox at Bayambang. At this town we remained at the house of Mr. Donald Clark, an Englishman, superintendent of a rice mill situated there. Here we made final preparations for an early morning start on horseback the next day. That evening two Americans came to Mr. Clark's house and requested shelter for the night. They had gone by train that morning to Dagupan, the northern terminus of the railway, intending to spend the night there. A squad of Philippine soldiers at the railway station, however, had demanded of them passes signed by Señor Aguinaldo. For want of them they were compelled to remain within the station until the departure of the next train south, which train they were required to board. This train remained for the night at Bayambang. This evidence of the attitude of the Philippine troops toward travelers increased our fears that our progress would be opposed at the first town on our route. Through the influence of Mr. Clark we obtained from the "presidente local" of the town of Bayambang a letter to the "presidente local" of the town of Rosales, the first town of importance on our route. This letter merely requested that we be allowed to continue our journey through that town.

6. At daylight next morning, October 10, we left Bayambang and took the road for Rosales. We reached that town just before sundown and pitched our tent on the bank of the river Agno, outside the limits of the town. For the first 5 or 6 miles from Bayambang we found the roads in good condition and traveled with ease. Nearer to Rosales the roads were deep with mud and covered with water in places. We were forced to go on foot the greater part of the distance, men and horses having great difficulty in making their way. About 11 o'clock in the morning we passed through the small town of Alcala. There were 12 soldiers stationed at this town in charge of a sergeant. They were armed with Remington rifles. We were met by the civil authorities and were surrounded by the people. Much curiosity was expressed in regard to our outfit, but it was of a harmless and friendly nature. No suspicion was excited and passports were not mentioned. The soldiers did not assert themselves in any way.

7. Between Alcala and Rosales we passed from the province of Pangasinan to that of Nueva Icija. The province of Pangasinan is not touched upon in this report, since, except for the few miles traveled on the morning of October 10, we traversed it only by rail.

8. We were visited shortly after dark at our camp near Rosales by a messenger from the presidente local of that town with an invitation to pass the night at the government building or "presidencia." As we were already unpacked, we decided to remain in camp. We sent back to the presidente local by his messenger the letter we had obtained from the presidente local at Bayambang. We were visited during the evening by many natives from the town, among them several civil officials. No soldiers came near the camp. The next morning, October 11, we continued our journey, reaching Rosales in a few minutes. We visited the "presidencia," where we were met by the presidente local and all other natives of consequence in the town. We were allowed to proceed without protest, although surprise was expressed that we had not obtained written passports from the Philippine government. There were about 20 soldiers in this town, armed, as before, with Remington rifles and commanded by a sergeant. We were detained at Rosales only a short time and then took the road for Humingan.

9. From Rosales to Humingan, and thence to San Jose, our experiences of travel were much the same as those already described. The road led through the low rice region of the province of Nueva Icija. It rained almost constantly, and the roads were nearly impassable. We went on foot much of

the distance. The pack horses were unable to carry their loads, and we were forced to engage natives to relieve them. Labor was cheap. Ten men could usually be engaged for a day for the sum of \$2 in silver, or less than 10 cents in gold per man. We traveled slowly over this distance, the labor of walking through the mud, frequently over our knees, being excessive. The horses grew poor rapidly and we were forced to husband their strength. They were occasionally prostrated in the road and our progress was delayed until they could recover their strength. Moreover, we could seldom find proper food for them at night. As many as three at a time were unable to carry any weight for several days. One servant became ill and was left at a village. The rest of the party retained their health, with the exception of occasional cases of diarrhea and consequent sickness at the stomach, which did not prevent traveling. Our food during this period consisted of bacon and hardtack, which we had brought with us, and chickens and rice, which we obtained from the natives. The cooking was done by our own servant.

10. Through this part of the province of Nueva Icija almost the only form of agriculture encouraged at present by the natives is rice growing. A little sugar is also raised. The land is very rich; we encountered no barren or unfruitful spots. The fields at this season of the year are several inches deep with water. There is no timber of value along the direct line of our route, but in the hills along the River Agno forests could be seen. We passed through similar forests later, which will be treated in their turn. The forests in this district, however, are nearer to a market. There are very few horses and practically no cattle. There are a great number of buffalo, and these are of extreme utility. The principal labor of the natives at this season is the thrashing of rice. This is done very primitively with implements that resemble on a large scale the pestle and mortar of a chemist. The mortar is replaced by a section of a log of hard wood hollowed out to receive the grain, the pestle by a hard club from 4 to 5 feet long and about 6 inches in diameter at each end. This club is scraped down at the middle to the size of the hand. In thrashing out the rice the native stands above the mortar and throws his club vertically into it with one hand, catching it up with the other hand and repeating the blow, always changing hands at the bottom of the stroke. Usually three or four natives beat into the same mortar and a certain cadence is always maintained. We have even seen them accompanied by a musical instrument. They pursue this occupation very industriously, and we seldom in this district got beyond the muffled sound of the rice beaters. A little cotton weaving is also done here. The cotton thread is brought from Manila and woven on crude bamboo looms into rough cloth, used by the natives.

11. In the villages of Humingan and Lupao there are a few Spanish prisoners—priests, soldiers, and civil officials. We have seen representatives of each of these three classes in these towns. We could detect no signs of previous ill-treatment, nor of undue restriction. On the contrary, they appeared to possess the freedom of the town in which they lived.

12. The towns in this section are neither large nor important. Humingan, the largest, has not over two or three thousand inhabitants. The church, with the convent attached, is the largest building in each town; it is built of planed wood, whitewashed. There are three or four houses of planed wood in each town, the rest of the village consisting of grass huts. The presidente local and other local officers are native Filipinos. Most of them have received a certain amount of education at religious schools in Manila. They are intelligent men and are extremely eager to learn news from the outside world. Their knowledge of modern history and geography, however, is extremely limited; and their ignorance of current events is surprising. We brought them their first definite information with regard to Cuba and to their own present status. One or two of them had heard of the Congress at Paris; but no one had any idea as to its object, nor as to its relation to themselves. They were well grounded on only three points—the destruction of the Spanish squadron in Manila Harbor, the surrender of Manila, and the declaration by the Philippine government at Malolos of the independence of the islands and the establishment of a republican form of government with Señor Aguinaldo as president. Even on these points the details they had received were very inaccurate. Between the towns of Rosales and Humingan there are two small villages, called barrios, varying in population from one to three thousand inhabitants. We were thus enabled to sleep in a hut over night, and avoid camping in the wet fields by the roadside. These barrios are under the jurisdiction of the nearest town or "pueblo." There were soldiers in each town, but not more than twenty in any place, and there was no commissioned officer in the district. We were cordially received everywhere, not only by the heads of the town, but also by the laboring and farming people, who always saluted us in a friendly manner when we passed. On leaving each town our interpreter was presented by the presidente local with passes. These passes always included our native servants and packmen and sometimes ourselves as well. They were good only to the next town, and secured a comparatively prompt exchange of packmen. We were never allowed to take any men farther than to the next town without permanently attaching them to our party. It is the duty of the presidente local of each town to do his share in facilitating the journey of every properly accredited traveler. Usually the assistance brings him in a pecuniary return. The duty then becomes a privilege, and is very zealously guarded.

13. We arrived at the town of San Jose on the evening of October 14 and spent the night there. There was the usual guard here of between 12 and 20 soldiers, armed with Remington rifles and commanded by a noncommissioned officer. We had been warned by the official of the last town that San Jose must inevitably prove the end of our journey. There is no road for 30 miles beyond this point, and in this season the natives consider the trail impassable to white men. Very few of the natives themselves attempt it in the months of rain. We found at San Jose, however, 10 men willing to accompany us as pack bearers, and with these we started out next morning. The trail proved to be a little better than represented. Twenty-four hours more of rain would have made at least three mountain streams impassable. The trail is, moreover, extremely intricate. It leads for over half a mile along a shoal in a small river, and follows the beds of different mountain streams for many times that distance. Rushing water, frequently knee deep on the horses, covered these stretches of the trail at the time we passed. On land grass and underbrush grow thickly over the trail and conceal it for considerable distances. Our guide had spent his life in this district and had traveled the trail very often. He deviated from it twice that day, however, and had much difficulty in regaining it. During the insurrection a company of Spanish soldiers had been sent over this trail. Our guide pointed out many spots where numbers of them had been ambushed and slain. Huts that had been built for shelter at night could frequently be seen. According to the statement of our guide, very few of this Spanish force lived to reach the town of Carrangian. It is undoubtedly a trail that a few men could hold against heavy odds; it is the first of this nature we have seen. It is very hilly and the ascents are steep, crooked, and surrounded by heavy trees and underbrush. Numerous rapid streams were crossed during the day. The pack bearers at first refused to cross two streams that were deeper and more rapid than the others. They required both encouragement and example before they could be induced to make the attempt. It rained fiercely all day.

14. At dark we arrived at the town of Puncan. This town is the smallest and least pretentious that we visited during our entire journey. It has a

population of about 300 inhabitants, only two or three of whom speak Spanish, and these imperfectly. The presidencia is a thatched hut with only one room. Next morning we continued our journey with the same pack men as before. The presidente local of the town could not provide a sufficient number and permitted this breach of etiquette.

15. The journey of this day was a repetition of our experience of the preceding day, with the exception that the rain was neither so continuous nor so violent. At 3 o'clock we reached the bank of the last river that separated us from the town of Carranglan. This river, the Rio Barat, was swollen to such an extent that our horses were carried off their feet before the bed of the stream was reached. Not being able to get our freight across the stream with the means at hand, we attracted the attention of a native on the other bank by discharging our firearms and sent him to the town of Carranglan to procure buffalo for our assistance. The buffalo did not arrive that evening, however, and we spent the night in camp on the bank of the river. Next morning we found that the river had gone down considerably. Buffalo arrived from the town, and with their help we crossed in safety with all our freight.

16. On the other bank we were met by a lieutenant of the Philippine army, the first military officer we had seen since leaving the railroad. We were escorted by him and his soldiers to the presidencia. The presidente local received us rather coolly and treated us in that manner while we were his guests. He asked us for passports from the central government, and expressed surprise and suspicion when he learned that we had none in writing. He was the only civil officer that we met until after we left Aparri that joined with the military power in opposing our progress. Moreover, he was the only one that seemed to have more power and influence in his own town than the military officers stationed there. The troops here consisted of 40 soldiers armed with Remington rifles and commanded by the officer we had met at the river.

17. We spent the day at Carranglan, drying our baggage, which had been constantly wet for two days and had begun to mold. The officers here told us that there were still worse rivers to cross than those we had already encountered and other obstacles as well. This day was the 17th of October. At the rate we were traveling it was plainly impossible to accomplish the journey planned by November 5, and there appeared at this time no prospect of an improvement in the roads. We sent, therefore, letters addressed to the commanding officer U. S. S. *Monadnock*, requesting of the commander in chief an extension of leave of absence until November 26. These letters were given to the presidente local, who assured us that they would arrive safely at their destination.

18. We left Carranglan next morning. The presidente local insisted upon our taking a guard of 12 soldiers, with a sergeant, to protect us against the Igorrotes or savages, that are said to infest the hills between this town and Aritao. We had but little difficulty in making this trip, which lasted two days. The rain had ceased, and the rivers had decreased so much in size that they were crossed with ease. At the end of the first day we camped at the foot of the Caraballo Sur Mountains, at an elevation of 200 meters above the sea level. The next day we crossed the mountains. The road is very steep and of a clayey formation. It ascends very quickly to a height of 1,050 meters, as recorded by our barometer, and then descends at about the same incline to an elevation of between 200 and 300 meters. The northern slope is covered with stones and pebbles. At the highest point of the road, a very well-defined summit, there is a stone barricade facing both slopes. This barricade was left here by the Spanish soldiers during the insurrection. They were driven from it by lack of water. It is an extremely strong position. At a level spot on the northern slope, about 500 feet below the summit, the Spanish troops have built a more elaborate fortification, consisting of a bamboo stockade inclosing a rectangular barricade of stones with a small block-house at each end. There is a watchtower at each corner of the stockade. This fortification can be fired upon from above and approached from several directions at the same time.

19. We arrived at Aritao shortly before sundown. A broad branch of the Rio Magat separated us from this town. There was a "banca" or native dugout canoe, however, in which men and baggage were taken to the other side, while the horses were swum across at a point higher up the stream. These facilities for crossing streams were always available when necessary during the remainder of our journey. In the mountains and highlands through which we passed in the last two or three days there are extensive forests. The forests are not homogeneous but contain many different classes of trees, the timber of which is in many cases valueless. Of the timber which we have seen the most valued on the island is the "mulawe," so called both in Spanish and Tegala. This is a tall straight tree with very few branches; the bark is very light in color but the wood is very dark and close-grained and resists water and weather. It is much used for boats and for the floors and exposed uprights of houses. There is also much bamboo, some of which has been cut. The heavier trees are as yet unmolested. We saw no signs of savages nor of poisonous snakes against which we had been warned by the natives of the district. In going from Carranglan to Aritao we went from the province of Nueva Icaja to that of Nueva Vizcaya.

20. We were very cordially received by the presidente local of Aritao. On leaving next morning we were saluted by the music of a brass band and by the ringing of church bells. This precedent was followed by many of the towns which we visited in the next few days. There were about 30 soldiers at Aritao, but no commissioned officers. We were escorted on our journey by a squad of 6 mounted soldiers. At Dupax our escort was exchanged for a detail from that town. There, also, there were about 30 soldiers, commanded by a sergeant. Toward evening we arrived at the town of Bambang. These towns of Aritao, Dupax, and Bambang are much superior in size and appearance to those of Nueva Icaja. These towns and those to the northward of them lie in the valleys of the Rio Magat and the Rio Grande de Cagayan. They have been seats of Spanish authority for over a century. A telegraph line previously connected the towns in these valleys with Manila. This line, however, was torn down during the insurrection. The native officials have repaired it between Bayombong and Aparri, using barbed wire. They have been forced to leave many poles uninsulated and short circuits frequently occur, especially in wet weather. The line between Bayombong and Carranglan is still down. There are many substantial wooden houses in each town. The church, with its convent, is usually built of brick and is very elaborate. The church at Aritao and many others date back over a hundred years. The native officials and leading men are better educated and better informed than those we had previously met. They possess, in addition, the same desire to improve their knowledge and the same receptivity that we had noticed in their countrymen.

21. We spent the night at Bambang. The presidente local was absent, attending a fiesta or carnival at Ilagan. A military officer stationed here received us and entertained us. This officer, Lieutenant Aguineldo, is a nephew of Don Emilio. He is the first military officer we have met since leaving Carranglan. He commands the usual force of 30 or 40 soldiers. Our treatment at this town was extremely friendly and cordial.

22. We spent the night at Bambang. We were accompanied by several soldiers and Lieutenant Aguineldo. This was the first time that a commissioned officer had formed part of our escort. This town is the capital of the province, and has a population of about 12,000 inhabitants. At this place we met

the first formidable opposition to our progress. A military officer of the rank of commandante, corresponding to the grade of major in our Army, is stationed at this town, and is in fact the governor of the province under the orders of the colonel commanding in this district. He was absent at the time of our arrival, attending the fiesta at Ilagan. His place was taken by the next military officer in rank, Lieutenant Gemenes. This officer received us very coldly and demanded passports. He refused to be satisfied with our statement of the promise we had received from Don Emilio Aguineldo. He informed us that before permitting us to proceed he would require the authority of his colonel, who was then at Ilagan. He sent a telegram concerning us to the colonel and left us to await the decision of that officer.

23. We spent the afternoon and night at the house of a native lawyer, Señor Arriola. Our host was a very intelligent man, and we explained our position fully to him. We told him that passports are not required of travelers in the United States nor in any other free country. This information seemed to surprise him very much, but he readily accepted it as an argument against the attitude of the local lieutenant toward us. He left us for a short time to speak with other men of importance in the town and to use his influence in our favor. When he returned he assured us that we were at perfect liberty to travel without passes, and that the only question remaining was whether or not we were entitled to a military escort. As we would have gladly dispensed with the escort, we accepted this information as a decision entirely in our favor.

24. Next morning Lieutenant Gemenes came very early to the house where we were entertained, to tell us that a military escort was ready to accompany us on our journey at any hour. He hoped that we cherished no ill will against him for his action on the preceding day. We were not able to determine whether a favorable reply had been received from the colonel or whether this change of attitude was due to our arguments on the evening previous and to the influence of Señor Arriola. We left Bayombong with an escort consisting of a second lieutenant and 10 soldiers. The band was paraded and church bells rung. There was the greatest possible cordiality of feeling. At Bayombong there are stationed the commandante, First Lieutenant Gemenes, and a second lieutenant. There are 60 or 70 soldiers at Bayombong, armed, in this case, with both Remington and Mauser rifles.

25. We proceeded through the town of Solano to Bagagag. These towns are similar to Bambang and Dupax. They have the customary guard of about 30 soldiers. There are no commissioned officers in these towns, the soldiers being controlled by the officers at Bayombong. We were cordially received everywhere during this day and the next, and were greeted unconditionally as friends. From Aritao to Bambang we had found very good roads. The weather had been clear since our departure from Carranglan, and the roads were consequently dry and the traveling easy. From Bagagag to the next town (called Estella on the map), Cordon, there is only a mountain trail. This trail is infested at certain seasons by Igorrotes, who waylay and murder persons traveling in small and unarmed parties. Several murders have occurred here recently. Three small parties of natives, with horses and buffaloes, had been waiting at Bagagag for several days for an opportunity to travel with a military escort. They joined us next day.

26. We left Bagagag next morning with 12 soldiers. These, with the pack bearers and natives accompanying us, brought our number up to 47. The trail over these mountains is a good road, very easy of ascent. It winds up the slope, making the incline very gradual. The mountains are covered with forests similar to those on the Caraballo, and contain many small streams. There are two bamboo stockades between Bagagag and Cordon. One of these, Diadi, is indicated on the map; the other, Rosario, has been recently erected by the native government. It is situated about halfway between Bagagag and Diadi. Each stockade has a garrison of 15 soldiers in command of a sergeant. These stockades are merely outposts against the Igorrotes. They are very frail and would offer no resistance to a rifle bullet. In passing over these mountains our escorts used their rifles very freely, firing into every thick bush that might conceal a savage and frequently into the air as well, in order, they said, that the Igorrotes might know that our party carried firearms. We spent the night at Cordon, where the feeling toward us proved to be very friendly. There are 30 soldiers at Cordon under command of a first lieutenant.

27. In passing from Diadi to Cordon we went from the province of Nueva Vizcaya into that of Isabella. Nueva Vizcaya is a rich province naturally, but it is surrounded by the mountains, and has no outlet. The Rio Magat which connects the province with Rio Grande de Cagayan is not navigable, even for canoes of large size. The province produces principally rice, sugar, cocoa, and coffee. It is also rich in timber.

28. We left next morning, October 24, for Carig, intending to reach Echague that night. We were escorted by 6 soldiers and the lieutenant. We found the road to Carig in good condition, and reached that town about 10 o'clock. This town is small and poor. It has a guard of only 15 soldiers, with no officers. The garrison had been reduced to a minimum on account of an illness prevalent in the immediate locality, which had affected the soldiers. We left Carig after a short stay for breakfast with a squad of 5 soldiers. One of them introduced himself as Señor Villa, commandante of the military forces of the province of Isabella. His companion was Lieutenant Guzman, an officer acting as his aide. Señor Villa informed us that he had received orders from his colonel to leave his headquarters at Ilagan and to make all possible speed toward Bayombong, where we had last been heard from. His orders were to demand passports from us signed by Don Emilio Aguineldo. If we were traveling without them, he was to examine into the object of our journey and to consult by wire with his colonel before permitting us to proceed. As there was no telegraph station at Echague, we were forced to turn back to Carig. Here we were informed that the line was down somewhere between the station and Ilagan. Men were sent out to repair it, and we were forced to wait until it should be opened. We were taken by the commandante to the convent of the town and installed there. Our delay in this town lasted seven days, from noon October 24 to noon October 31.

29. The first two days were occupied in repairing the lines. On October 27 Señor Villa was able to communicate with his colonel. He brought back the answer that that officer had already sent a messenger to the central government asking for instructions. We were required to await the answer of the message, which had been, according to the information we received, three days on the road. Señor Villa assured us that an answer would arrive in three days. This appeared impossible to us, but we were obliged to accept his statement. After the expiration of three days we gave to Señor Villa, and requested him to send to Colonel Tirona, a telegram signed by ourselves. It was a mere statement that our accommodations were poor in Carig, and that, if a longer delay was necessary, we desired to proceed to Ilagan. This telegram was sent to Aparri. The colonel, however, at that time was on his way from Ilagan to Aparri. That night it rained and there was a violent wind. Next morning the line was down in several places. While we were waiting for the line to be repaired we composed a long telegram to Colonel Tirona, stating our position, explaining that we were required to return to Manila by the 28th of November, and requesting him to decide from his own authority whether we should proceed or turn back. On the morning of October 31 we gave the telegram to Señor Villa. Señor Villa himself wrote a telegram to accompany ours, stating that, in his opinion, we had not come into the country to draw plans or for any other military purpose. This was

a statement which he had given us to understand at the time had formed part of his original telegram to Colonel Tirona a few days before. The line from Carig to Ilagan was still closed, but that from Ilagan to Aparri was supposed to be open. The two telegrams were given to a mounted courier with orders to take them with all speed to Ilagan; to send them from there by wire, and to return with the answer. This journey would have occupied at least three days. Fortunately the line to Ilagan was reported open just as the courier was about to start. His orders were accordingly countermanded. Colonel Tirona's answer to our first telegram came during the morning. It was favorable. He saluted us affectionately, and authorized Señor Villa to accompany us to Ilagan.

30. During our detention at Carig we were not treated as prisoners. We were informed that if we wished to return to Manila by the same road we had followed in leaving it we were at liberty to do so. Within the village itself we had, of course, entire liberty. We asked Señor Villa if the Philippine republic intended to demand passports of travelers, and used the same argument that had proved so efficient at Bayombong. He replied that it would be the custom only in time of war. He classed this period as a time of war and the congress at Paris as a mere suspension of hostilities, at the end of which their nation might again be enveloped in war. Our relations with Señor Villa were mainly official. His manner toward us was brusque, and at times discourteous. He was extremely suspicious of us, particularly of the diary that we kept from day to day, and of a camera that formed part of our equipment. He became slowly convinced, however, that we were not seeking for military information. After he had assured himself of this, he told us that the colonel had feared that we were making maps of the country. During the rest of our journey we were entirely free from the taint of this suspicion. According to Señor Villa's statement, the charge had first been made by the Spanish prisoners, who have never ceased to warn the natives that American troops would come into the province to conquer them, when they would find themselves in worse hands than before they rebelled against Spain.

31. A redeeming feature of our detention at Carig was the companionship of two lieutenants of the Philippine army that were quartered with us. These officers, Lieutenant Guzman and Lieutenant Clarabal, were very pleasant and gentlemanly.

32. We left Carig on the afternoon of October 31, accompanied by Commandante Villa, Lieutenant Guzman, Lieutenant Clarabal, and the 5 soldiers that had arrived with the commandante. It had rained almost constantly during the last week, and the two rivers between Carig and Echague were greatly swollen. We lost a horse in the river Carig, but crossed without other accident. In these streams, and particularly in the river Magat and the Rio Grande de Cagayan, there are many alligators, of which the natives are in great fear. No native will venture into the water nor into the grass along the bank until he has first thrown stones in front of him to frighten away any alligators which may be in the neighborhood.

33. Echague is somewhat larger and more pretentious than Carig. It has a guard of 30 soldiers. From this town we went by boat to Ilagan, sending the servants with the horses by the road. The boat was a dugout 25 feet long and 3 feet wide, with a grass canopy amidship 8 feet long. It was rowed by six natives. There are many eddies and whirlpools in the river, rendering it for some distance below Echague almost unnavigable even for bancas. We shipped water repeatedly and were twice nearly swamped. Farther down, particularly below the mouth of the Rio Magat, the stream is deeper and quieter, and cascoes and pangas come up to this point with freight received from the steamers at Aparri.

34. We arrived at Ilagan that evening, November 1. This town is the capital city of the province of Isabella. It has a population of between ten and fifteen thousand inhabitants, and has many large wooden houses roofed with corrugated iron, giving it rather a European appearance. It is well situated for defense, being at the junction of the Rio Pinacanauan with the Rio Grande. It is protected by these wide streams from all points except the south. To attack the city by land from the south it would be necessary to bring troops up the eastern side of the Rio Grande, where there are no roads. The site of the city is raised, moreover, about 40 feet above the level of the river. At this city there are stationed the commandante, Señor Villa, 2 captains, 4 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, and about 100 soldiers. Besides the officers named above, there is a "commandante interno," or civil officer, who takes charge in the absence of the commandante.

35. We remained at Ilagan two days and were treated with great friendliness. The commandante interno, who is the highest civil officer in the province, was particularly cordial. This gentleman, Señor Guzman, father of the lieutenant who was with us at Carig, is a member of one of the most influential families in the province, and his friendship was of great advantage to us. In this town we were entertained at the house of a wealthy citizen. The first night after our arrival a ball was given in our honor, at which there were over forty young ladies and an equal number of well-dressed and gentlemanly men. The ball was well conducted. The dances were Spanish. The next evening we were invited to the theater to see two one-act Spanish comedies, presented by the society young people of the town. They were both excellently given, and spoke well for the intelligence of the players.

36. We desired to continue our journey from Ilagan to Tuguegarao and from that point across the mountains to the western coast. This request was wired by Señor Villa to Colonel Tirona at Aparri. That officer replied that it would not be possible to make the proposed trip at this season of the year. He invited us to proceed to Aparri, saying that he would send a steam launch up the river to take us to that city. We replied by another telegram, repeating our request and saying that the trip across the mountains would be made at our own risk. The reply was a courteously worded but positive refusal. The colonel had sent out messengers to examine the roads and they reported them impassable. Moreover, there was danger from Igorrotes. He said that he felt himself responsible for our safety in the district over which he held command. He feared that any accident happening to our party might be misconstrued by our Government and create a wrong and injurious impression of the good faith of the Philippines and the tranquility of the country. He repeated his invitation to visit Aparri, take a steamer from that port, disembark at a northern point on the western coast, and continue our journey south by land. This arrangement was accepted as the most satisfactory one left open to us.

37. There are many Spanish prisoners in this town—civil officers, priests, soldiers. Eighty-four priests were paraded in the street for our inspection. The greater number of them were dressed in civilian garb, only four or five of them wearing the robes of their office. Nearly all of them wore long hair and beards. They appeared in good health, and we could detect no evidence of maltreatment. These priests had been assembled from different parts of the province. They are kept under stricter guard than either of the other two classes of prisoners for the reason that the native officials fear that if permitted to go among the people they will use the influence they possess through their position in the church to incite them against the Philippine government. We also met Don José Perez, a Spaniard, who had previously been governor of the island. He was well dressed and appeared to be enjoying all the ordinary comforts.

38. Our horses arrived at Ilagan November 2 and were sent on to Aparri next day. The steam launch mentioned by the colonel not arriving on time,

we expressed our desire to set out in a canoe without delay. A "panga" or large built-up canoe, rowed by twelve men, was accordingly prepared. Friday morning, November 4, we embarked for Aparri. We were accompanied on the journey by Commandante Villa and Lieutenant Guzman. All the officers, civil and military, of the town accompanied us to the boat and wished us a pleasant journey.

39. The trip from Ilagan to Aparri lasted three days. We stopped at only one town on the way. This was Cabagan Viejo, which we visited while waiting for the moon to rise on the evening of the third day. At 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the second day we were met, about 18 miles above Aparri, by the steam launch sent by Colonel Tirona. We were taken in tow and arrived at Aparri that night, November 5.

40. In these two days we passed out of the province of Isabella and entirely through the province of Cagayan. These are the leading tobacco provinces in the island. An idea of their wealth can be obtained from the fact that before the Philippine insurrection \$3,000,000 in tobacco alone came yearly from the one province of Isabella. The tobacco of this province is preferred for exportation to that of Cagayan. Both provinces raise also sugar, rice, cocoa, and coffee. Cattle also are shipped from Aparri. The Rio Grande through these provinces is the great artery of trade. Tobacco is sent down the river in cascoes and pangas, and imports from Aparri are taken back by the same means. The current is very swift, and it is slow and difficult work to ascend the river in these boats. Poling is the method resorted to. The banks of the river are about 20 feet above the stream over most of the distance and are regular throughout. The width of the river varies from 100 to 500 yards. Much fishing with nets is done in the river.

41. At Aparri we went alongside the *Philippina* and reached the wharf by crossing this vessel. We were met on board by Commandante Leyba, military commander in the province of Cagayan. We were taken to a private house, where we were quartered during our stay, at Aparri. Here we met Colonel Tirona, commander of the military district, including the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan. He welcomed us cordially and continued from that time to treat us in a very friendly manner. We remained at Aparri three days, until the departure of the steamer *Oso*, November 9.

42. The steamer *Saturnas*, which had left the harbor the day before our arrival, brought news from Hongkong papers that the Senators from the United States at the congress of Paris favored the independence of the islands, with an American protectorate. Colonel Tirona considered the information of sufficient reliability to justify him in regarding the Philippine independence as assured and warfare in the island at an end. For this reason he proceeded to relinquish the military command he held over the provinces and to place this power in the hands of a civil officer elected by the people. On the day following our arrival in Aparri the ceremony occurred which solemnized this transfer of authority in the province of Cagayan. The presidentes locales of all the towns in the province were present at the ceremony, conducted by a native priest. After the priest had retired Colonel Tirona made a short speech, stating that, since in all probabilities permanent peace was at hand, it became his duty to relinquish the authority he had previously held over the province and to place it in the hands of a civil officer elected by the people. He then handed the staff of office to the man who had been elected "jefe-provincial."

This officer also made a speech, in which he thanked the disciplined military forces and their colonel for the service they had rendered the province and assured them that the work they had begun would be perpetuated by the people of the province; where every man, woman and child stood ready to take up arms to defend their newly won liberty and to resist with the last drop of their blood the attempt of any nation whatever to bring them back to their former state of dependence. His speech was very impassioned. He then knelt, placed his hand on an open Bible, and took the oath of office. He was followed by the three other officers who constitute the provincial government, the heads of the three departments—justice, police, and internal revenue. Every town in this province has this same organization. At the time of our departure Colonel Tirona planned to go within a few days to Ilagan and from there to Bayombong, repeating this ceremony in the capital city of each province.

43. We were hospitably entertained at the Aparri; two balls were given in our honor. The town has a population of 20,000 inhabitants. It has many handsome houses and several well-defined streets. The military force stationed here consists of 300 soldiers, in addition to which the harbor has the protection of the gunboat *Philippina*, which carries two guns of a caliber of about 3 inches. There are several officers here, three captains and five or six lieutenants. The colonel goes from town to town in his district, and Commandante Leyba spends part of his time at Tuguegarao. There are no Spaniards here, with the exception of two or three merchants; one of these, representing the company of the steamer *Saturnas* we have met. He is pursuing his business entirely unmolested. All the priests, soldiers, and civil officers have been sent to Tuguegarao and other towns up the river. Colonel Tirona does not consider them secure in a port town.

44. We left Aparri November 9 on the steamer *Oso*. Before leaving Colonel Tirona provided us with a letter directed to Colonel Tino, at Vigan, in the province of Ilocos Sur; or, in the event of his absence from that town, to the commandante. This letter was sealed. The steamer left port at 12:30 p. m., drawing 14 feet 9 inches; Captain Pederson, commanding the *Oso*, was not acquainted with the port of Currimao, in the province of Ilocos Norte, the port at which we wished to disembark, but took us to Salomague, a few miles farther south, in the province of Ilocos Sur. The natives assert that the former harbor is much more secure and easy to enter than the latter. The *Oso* remained outside the breakers, while we were put ashore in a ship's boat. We passed several native canoes going out to the ship, the leading one having on board a sergeant with a squad of soldiers. We landed on the beach and immediately sent the boat back to the ship. A few minutes later two officials from the town of Cabuajao rode up. Our arrival had been reported to them, and they had come immediately to refuse us permission to disembark. The *Oso* was already under way, however, and they were not able to carry out their intention. On the shore at Salomague there is a fortification about 5 feet high and 150 feet long. This barricade is built of sticks arranged in two rows and filled in between with sand and coral stones.

Its walls are about 4 feet thick, and it is built in the form of a crescent, with the concave part toward the sea. The formation of the reefs here and for some distance south along the coast is coral. The officers who met us were both dressed in military uniform. One of them wore the insignia of a first lieutenant, the other none whatever. Horses were provided for us, and we accompanied the officers to Cabuajao. The officer without insignia of rank proved to be a native priest, the curé of the village. He put on his robe over his uniform as soon as he reached the convent. It is a fact worthy of note that in every town we visited in the provinces on the western coast we were met by a curé, who appeared to have great influence in civil matters. In the four provinces we had previously visited, on the contrary, we saw only one native priest. He was in a church performing service. At Cabuajao our letter to Colonel Tino was not sufficient to gain permission to proceed. We were detained here all day, while the lieutenant sent a messenger to Vigan to obtain instruction from the commandante. The telegraph line was down and we could not wire. We were treated very coolly at this town and were regarded with suspicion. Next morning, an answer not having been

received from Vigan, we asserted our right to proceed to that town to present our letter to the commandante. The lieutenant finally withdrew his objections. There were no transportation accommodations. We succeeded at length in buying one horse and a broken-down killis, in which only one could ride. We proceeded to the town of Lapo, where we changed vehicles. We left that town in a killis drawn by a steer. We were halfway between Lapo and Magsingal when we were met by three military officers—two captains and a lieutenant—in a carriage drawn by two horses. The senior captain informed us that they had been sent down from Vigan by the commandante, with orders to require us to turn back and reembark on our ship, the report having reached Vigan that we had disembarked from an American man-of-war, which was still waiting for us at Salomague. When we explained our position and showed them the letter to Colonel Tino, or, in case of his absence, to the commandante at Vigan, they permitted us to proceed to Magsingal, where they could communicate with their superior. They very politely insisted on our taking their carriage, while they followed in our cart. We were delayed at Magsingal until the early evening, waiting for an answer from the commandante. He brought the answer himself, in a handsome carriage drawn by four horses. He had with him a copy of the order he had just received from the Philippine secretary of war. This order granted liberty to persons of any nation, except Spain, to travel at will through the islands, under certain restrictions, viz. that they could not carry arms, nor approach within 200 meters of a fortification, nor make any plans, or take photographs of them. In compliance with this order, we were allowed to proceed, but were requested to give up all our arms, including our revolvers. We went on to Vigan that night, accompanied by the commandante and five other officers who had assembled at Magsingal. We rode in carriages, none of them drawn by fewer than three horses, and arrived at Vigan about 8 o'clock. Vigan is a town of about 27,000 inhabitants. Its streets are well laid out, and all the houses near the center of the town are built of wood, usually whitewashed. It has much more the appearance of a city than any other town we have visited. We were entertained at the palacio. This building before the insurrection had been the residence of the governor of the province, but it is now used as the headquarters of Colonel Tino. It is by far the handsomest house we have seen outside of Manila, and is perhaps the equal of any there. There is another house in the town even more elegant; this was formerly the residence of the archbishop. At the palacio there are quartered over eighteen military officers; they are all very young, as is usual in the Philippine army. The oldest one among them was a man of 20 years, with the grade of captain.

46. We remained at Vigan all next day, November 12. It had rained during the night, rendering impassable a part of the road to the next town. We walked through the town and visited the houses of several tradespeople. At one of these houses we heard the first and only definite complaint which came to our ears during the entire journey on the part of the natives against the present government. These people complained of the taxes imposed upon them and even went so far as to state that they preferred the Spanish Government. This statement was made in the presence of a party of six natives and was acquiesced in by all; they were all, however, of the same family.

47. Next morning we left Vigan and proceeded to Santa Maria, passing through the towns of Santa and Narvacan. Between Santa and Narvacan we came to the pass of Pidig. The road here goes between a bold rocky point and the sea. To-day the sea line was 70 or 80 feet from the bluff, but in windy weather the waves cover the road and dash against the bluff. During the insurrection the Spaniards attempted to defend this pass; their barricades are still standing. We were escorted out of Vigan by the commandante and eight of his officers, all in carriages. These turned back, one at a time, until we were left with one lieutenant, who had been detailed to accompany us to San Fernando, and by two captains, who were going home on leave of absence. We also had a guard of four soldiers, who rode ahead with pennants and cleared the road. At each town we were joined by the senior officer stationed there, who accompanied us on horseback to the next town. From Narvacan we were accompanied to Santa Maria by Captain Natidad, an officer 18 years of age, who commands the military forces in the three neighboring towns. Captain Natidad remained with us at Santa Maria, where we spent the night in a convent. We intended to leave this town by trail for the mountains, passing through the provinces of Lepanto and Benguet and returning to the main road in the province of Union. When we wished to start next morning, Captain Natidad opposed our going, saying that he was under orders to take that action. It rained very hard all night and all morning, and the Captain gave as his first reason that the roads were not passable. It was only when we continued to insist that he told us positively that he could not permit us to go, as there was danger from Igorrotes and Colonel Tino felt himself responsible for our safety. He told us that Colonel Tino had invited us to visit him at San Fernando. We left Santa Maria that afternoon and reached Condon before night, passing through the towns of San Estaban and Santiago. We were escorted by the lieutenant and Captain Natidad. We found Condon a handsome town systematically laid out. After Vigan, it is the handsomest town we visited. There are two captains here and several lieutenants. We were received here with unusual cordiality and were accompanied out of town next morning by the presidente local and by a captain stationed at the town. Our journey this day took us to Namagpacan, passing through the towns of Santa Lucia, Santa Cruz, and Tagudin. Fresh horses were procured at each town and the officers accompanying us were changed.

48. In going from Tagudin to Bangar we passed from the province of Ilocos Sur into that of Union. The province of Ilocos Sur raises principally rice, tobacco, sugar, cattle, and sheep. The tobacco is of an inferior quality, being coarser and stronger than that raised in Isabella and Cagayan. The cultivation of coconuts is profitable and is increasing. Goats and pigs are raised in great numbers. Many of the people are engaged in the weaving of cotton, from which they make cloth, towels, etc. The cloth is coarse, but very strong. The natives realize the inferiority of the cloth and the discrepancy between its commercial value and the labor expended on it. Some of the cotton comes from Ilocos Norte and from Abra; much of it, however, comes as thread from Manila. The only part of the province that is cultivated or settled is a narrow strip between the province and the sea. This strip is very thickly settled. In the mountains there are mines of copper, sulphur, and gold; but these we have not seen. The Spaniards have spent much time and labor on these coast provinces, relatively speaking. Probably the best road in the island is the one on which we traveled through Ilocos Sur and Union. It is raised above the level of the fields, and has a foundation of stone and lime. Bridges were built when the road was constructed, over a hundred years ago, but they are down now. Some of these were passable at the beginning of the insurrection, but were burned during that struggle. At the beginning of the dry season every year bamboo bridges were put across these streams. They usually last from December to June. Several of them have already been built this year, but the recent rains had caused them to be washed away. During the rainy months other methods are adopted for crossing these streams. The streams are numerous, but many of them have very little current. They are crossed by a ferry—a bamboo raft hauled across by means of a bamboo rope which spans the stream. Traveling on this road in the rainy season is rather difficult. Carriages are usually used

but they are frequently mired and the passengers are compelled to walk. The carriages are drawn by either horses, steers, or buffaloes, according to the state of the road. The towns along this road have usually many wooden houses, and invariably a very handsome church and convent, usually of brick. There are more barriers here than in the eastern provinces; each town has two or three. Spanish soldiers laid waste this region during the insurrection of 1896. The principal buildings in many towns have been burnt, particularly in the province of Union. On the other hand, during the last insurrection the Spaniards took refuge in the large buildings, and these are consequently riddled with rifle shots.

49. We spent the night in the small town of Namagpacan and went on to San Fernando next morning. Carriages were prepared for us at every village, and we traveled with the customary escort. At San Fernando we met Colonel Tino, commander of the military district embracing the provinces of North and South Ilocos, Union, Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Benguet. This officer had received his commission as brigadier-general three days before our arrival; he is 21 years old.

We were received politely by this officer, but not cordially. He expressed several times his suspicion with regard to the object of our journey. He asked several times if we knew how to make maps and plans; also why we were not in uniform. We had sent word to this officer that we desired to visit the province of Benguet, taking the trail from San Fernando. He showed us an unsigned telegram purporting to be from the central government instructing him not to permit the American officers to reconnoiter any further in the district. For this reason he said he could not permit us to visit Benguet. We sent, through him, a telegram to the central government repeating our request and calling attention to their war department's order of October 20 regarding travelers. We were informed next morning by General Tino that our request had been refused. The reason given was that there were dangers on the trail. We accordingly left the town next morning, taking the road directly for Dagupan.

50. San Fernando is the capital city of the province of Union. It is a town of only three or four thousand inhabitants and is very limited in area, lying between the mountains and the sea. It is the port for the province of Union. We have seen trains of buffalo carts taking tobacco there for exportation. There were about twenty military officers in the town when we were there. Many of them are on General Tino's staff and are not regularly stationed in the town.

51. From San Fernando to Dagupan there were few significant or instructive incidents. We were never without a guard of soldiers. At the town of Baocong we met a German, Mr. Otto Sheerer, who had lived three years in the province of Benguet and was about to return there with his family. He said the trail was safe and could be traveled by horses. The Igorrotes of the province, according to his statement, are a very gentle people. These are the civilized Igorrotes, or Tinguines. At noon November 18 we arrived at Santa Tomas. The land between here and Dagupan is very low; the roads are heavy. We accordingly took a native sailboat for Parao; from that town to Dagupan. The natives, fearing to take their boat across the bar at Dagupan, we crossed that at San Fabian and proceeded to our destination through a protected inlet of the sea. Along our route there were great beds of nipa. This plant is of great value to the natives. Wines are made from the sap, and the leaves are used for thatching houses. We arrived at Dagupan that night, and at Manila November 20. We reported to the commanding officer of the *Monadnock* and next morning to the commander in chief.

52. The foregoing narrative of our journey is designed to give a general description of the country we passed through and of the methods of travel, and to illustrate by its incidents the character and grade of intelligence of its people and their attitude toward Americans, especially toward ourselves as military officers. The information we have acquired on certain points is summed up in the following paragraphs:

INTELLIGENCE AND EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES.

53. The Philippine officers, both military and civil, that we have met in all the provinces we have visited have, with very few exceptions, been men of intelligent appearance and conversation. The same is true of all those men who form the upper class in each town. The education of most of them is limited, but they appear to seize every opportunity to improve it. They have great respect and admiration for learning. Very many of them desire to send their children to schools in the United States or Europe. Many men of importance in different towns have told us that the first use to be made of the revenue of their government, after there is no more danger of war, will be to start good schools in every village. The poorer classes are extremely ignorant on most subjects, but a large percentage of them can read and write.

RELATION BETWEEN RICH AND POOR.

54. There is a very marked line between these two classes, and this has been broadened by the insurrection, for the reason that military officers must equip themselves without pay, and that civil officers have numerous expenses for which they receive no return. All officers, civil and military, have therefore been chosen from the richer class; and the political and military power of the provinces is in the hands of that class. The private soldiers are fed and clothed by the government and allowed a very small amount of spending money—in the western provinces 30 cents in silver per week.

ATTITUDE OF THE MILITARY TOWARD THE CIVIL CLASS.

55. In the provinces of the east that we have visited there appears to be little or no friction between the civil and military classes. Officers and privates, as far as we could observe, treat civilians with consideration. In the provinces of Ilocos Sur and Union there is a marked difference. The officers are more domineering. In traveling in these provinces we had many opportunities to observe this attitude. When accidents happened to our carriage, the officer commanding our escort called to our assistance every native in sight. When they did not answer his call promptly, we have seen him strike them with his riding whip. One man had a serious wound on his face where an officer had struck him with his pistol butt. He came to us for redress, after having appealed in vain to the military officer in command of the town. An order from Don Emilio Aguinaldo, dated October 18, 1898, calls the attention of his officers to the evils of this practice and orders them to correct it in themselves and to instruct all sergeants, corporals, and privates on the attitude they should maintain toward civilians.

DOMINION OF THE CHURCH.

56. In the provinces of Nueva Icija, Nueva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan the native priests have no voice whatever in civil matters. The Catholic Church itself seems to have very little hold on the people of these provinces. Many men have expressed to us their preference for the Protestant Church. In Ilocos Sur and Union there are many more priests than in the other provinces mentioned. Every pueblo and barrio has its cura, and there are higher offices of the church in the larger towns. They appear to have an important influence in all civil matters.

POPULAR SENTIMENT REGARDING INDEPENDENCE.

57. Of the large number of officers, civil and military, and of leading townspeople we have met nearly every man has expressed in our presence his sentiment on this question. It is universally the same. They all declare they

will accept nothing short of independence. They desire the protection of the United States at sea, but fear any interference on land. The question of the remuneration of our Government for the expense of establishing a protectorate is never touched upon. On the subject of independence there is, again, a marked difference between the four provinces first visited and those of Ilocos Sur and Union. In the former there is more enthusiasm—the sentiment is more of the people; in the latter it is more of the higher class and of the army. In these provinces we have seen signs of actual discontent with the existing state of things.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES.

58. There is much variety of feeling among the Philippines with regard to the debt of gratitude they owe to the United States. In every town we found men that said our nation had saved them from slavery, and others who claimed that without our interference their independence would have been recognized before this time. On one point they are united, however, viz, that whatever our Government may have done for them it has not gained the right to annex them. They have been prejudiced against us by the Spaniards. The charges made have been so numerous and so severe that what the natives have since learned has not sufficed to disillusion them. With regard to the record of our policy toward a subject people, they have received remarkable information on two points—that we have mercilessly slain and finally exterminated the race of Indians that were native to our soil, and that we went to war in 1861 to suppress an insurrection of negro slaves, whom we also ended by exterminating. Intelligent and well-informed men have believed these charges. They were rehearsed to us in many towns in different provinces, beginning at Malolos. The Spanish version of our Indian problem is particularly well known.

PREPAREDNESS FOR WAR.

59. The Philippine government has an organized military force in every province we have visited. They claim it extends also into Ilocos Norte, Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Benguet. With regard to its existence in Ilocos and Benguet, we can speak with assurance.

We have met two officers with the rank of captain who are regularly stationed at Laoag, the capital city of Ilocos Norte, and also the commandante of the province of Benguet. The latter officer had come to San Fernando to obtain instructions from General Tino, and was about to return to Trinidad, the capital of that province. The number of troops under arms can only be given approximately. There are comparatively few in Neuva Ictia; an estimated number of not over 300. In the military district embracing the province of Neuva Vizcaya, Isabella, and Cagayan, Colonel Tirona, Commandante Leyba, and Commandante Villa agreed in giving the number of soldiers under arms actually as 2,000. An estimate, founded on the size of the garrisons in the towns we visited, would bring the number nearly up to that figure. In the western military districts the number of forces is about double that number, leaving out those stationed in the interior provinces of Abra, Lepanto, Bontoc, and Benguet, of which we know nothing positively. In the coast provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and Union a conservative estimate of the forces is 3,500. In most of the pueblos the garrison is but little larger than those in the towns of the western districts; but there are many barrios, each one of which has its guard of soldiers, never less than 12. In the eastern military district we met not more than 25 officers, and in the western district over 60. There are rifles enough for all, principally Remingtons, but many Mausers. In every cuartel there were at least as many rifles as there were soldiers in the garrison. The arms are more numerous in the eastern than in the western provinces. It is safe to estimate the number of rifles in the eastern district as at least twice the number of soldiers. Commandante Villa and other officers made the statement that 40,000 rifles were being distributed among the people of that district. We have seen no proof of this statement. Ammunition is said to be plentiful, and it appears so from the fact that the soldiers use it freely in hunting for deer. With regard to the total force of the Philippine army, actual and reserve, we can not speak from our own knowledge. Colonel Tirona claimed that 200,000 men from all the islands could be put in the field well armed; and several other officers have independently given the same figure. Every officer that we have seen carried a Spanish sword and revolver. They wear these weapons constantly, but regard them with contempt, preferring the bola at close quarters. The *Philippina*, which was at Aparri during our visit, carries two guns of a caliber of about 3 inches. These are the only guns we have seen, with the exception of two revolving cannons in the palacio at Malolos. We saw no fortifications. The Spaniards have left numerous stockades in the wilder regions, and the natives have built a few others. There are also numerous barricades thrown up during the insurrection. In the towns the Spaniards defended themselves in the houses for want of other protection. The military spirit pervades in the eastern district, where every town and barrio has organized companies of its children, which are drilled every day. In the western districts we did not see any children under arms. The officers have had no military education except that which they gained during the insurrection. Spanish drill tactics are used, and most of the officers are still studying the elementary text-book.

Respectfully submitted.

W. B. WILCOX,
Paymaster, U. S. N.
LEONARD R. SARGENT,
Naval Cadet, U. S. N.

The following document has been translated in English and reprinted by the "Comité Central Filipino en el Extranjero," in virtue of instructions received from their government. Official editions of this correspondence have been forwarded through the post to the Presidents of both Houses:

To the honorable the members of the United States Senate
and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: The government of the Philippine republic being informed that it is the intention of the President of the United States to convene a meeting of the honorable members of Congress at a comparatively early date for the purpose of discussing and passing a resolution having for its object a just decision as to the policy to be pursued in reference to the present situation in the Philippines, I believe it to be consistent with the dictates of courtesy, as well as a duty to humanity, that in view of the fact that I have been intrusted with the portfolio of foreign affairs I should respectfully submit this document to you, setting forth the aspirations of the Filipino people and their reasons and justification for wishing to be recognized by your influential Government as an independent state.

Allow me, gentlemen, to lay before you, for your distinguished consideration, the facts and rights that form the grounds upon which the claim for recognition is made and sustained.

FIRST.

It is generally accepted as an axiom that as regards international affairs the larger and more powerful a state the greater is the obligation, morally, to support and maintain lesser states in the independence, the welfare, and the happiness with which God, in His bountiful goodness, has designed should be theirs and of which the greater states are guardians.

For instance, it appears evident that the powerful and wealthy nation which you, gentlemen, represent in Congress has been deputed by God to assist the weak Filipinos in the arduous and difficult task of restoration of their independence.

Eloquent proof of this is to be found in the cooperation offered and rendered to Don Emilio Aguinaldo in May, 1898, by the United States consuls at Hongkong and Singapore (Mr. Rounseville Wildman and Mr. E. Spencer Pratt) in order that our illustrious leader might continue the revolutionary war waged against Spain in 1896 and 1897, hostilities in connection with which were suspended under the provisions of the compact of Biacnabat.

The cooperation referred to consisted of the facts that the United States dispatch boat *McCulloch* (attached to Admiral Dewey's squadron) conveyed Don Emilio Aguinaldo from Hongkong to Cavite, where he arrived on the 19th May, 1898; that Admiral Dewey received Don Emilio Aguinaldo with the ceremony and honors due to a general, in the presence of the whole of the officers and men of the flagship *Olympia*, and, besides, gave him 60 Spanish Mauser rifles to aid in a renewal of the revolution against Spain; that Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo was allowed to establish in Cavite—which was then held by the United States naval forces—the headquarters of the Filipino government, which commenced to exercise the functions of government on the 24th May, 1898, issuing therefrom a proclamation declaring war against Spain to wrest from her our independence. (Proclamation attached hereto.)

The letters of the aforesaid consuls, which are attached hereto for the information of the free and enlightened citizens of the United States, confirm the above statements.

Mr. Pratt, in one of his letters, says he congratulates himself on the rapid triumphs of Don Emilio Aguinaldo over the Spaniards, as it proves the wisdom of his judgment in recommending him to Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey and the Government at Washington, and he added that he hoped to receive, when General Aguinaldo captured Manila, some historic memento of the place and of the incident, such as the flag or keys of the city or principal fortress.

Consul-General Wildman, of Hongkong, instructed Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, in a letter attached hereto, respecting the treatment of Spanish prisoners, advising General Aguinaldo to give them only rice and water and treat the Spaniards "as they would treat you," advice which our humane leader declined to accept and act upon.

Thus in this wholly unexpected and unforeseen way bonds of good will and friendship were formed between Americans and Filipinos, resulting, as is well known, in the heroic and triumphant campaign of the Filipino army against the Spaniards, though it must be admitted, with due regard for the truth, that after the above-mentioned assistance and cordial cooperation our army received no more aid from the high officers of the United States, the Filipino army thereafter prosecuting the war against the Spanish land forces independently of any authority other than that exercised by our successful and brave leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who, while directing the military operations with well-nigh miraculous skill and startling results, was also engaged in the task of organizing the Filipino national government on the model of Western nations, which are, admittedly, founders and leaders of modern civilization.

Thus it is plain that it was through providential agencies that the Filipino state came into being on the 24th day of May, 1898, and has existed to this day, replacing the alien Spanish Government which fell definitely on the 13th day of August, 1898, on which day our troops, which, in fact, and as set forth in Consul-General Pratt's letters, had closely invested Manila for more than two months, captured the suburbs of Manila, driving the Spaniards from their defenses, while the United States forces peacefully occupied the walled city in accordance with the terms of capitulation signed by the Spanish general.

It would seem, therefore, that there can be no doubt that God, in His infinite goodness, wisdom, and mercy, intrusted to the honor of the United States the liberation and independence of the Filipinos; but notwithstanding the evidence that the hand of Providence has guided the course of events, the United States are now endeavoring to prevent the consummation of the glorious and just purposes of the Creator. By whom, by what agency, were the two peoples united in the bonds of sympathy and friendship? Who could have prevented it?

Who is it that has caused these two friends and brethren to wage war upon one another? Alas! esteemed citizens of the great American Republic, you know well who is the cause of such reckless perturbation. It is the President of your Republic, Mr. William McKinley, who, using as a pretext alleged rights obtained through the purchase of the more than doubtful sovereignty of Spain, gives evidence of his intention to ignore the bonds of friendship and guardianship which should unite the two nations by imposing on us, by force of arms, the sovereignty of the United States. Is this line of conduct of Mr. McKinley in harmony with the canons of morality simply because the American nation is greater, more opulent, and more powerful than the Filipinos? Surely it is not, for if moral obligations, which bind parties to respect the generally accepted codes of morality, are applicable in international affairs, it is beyond question that there should be no evasion of obligation on the part of the great American nation to stand by and protect the small Filipino nation until the great work of securing the recognition of our existence as an independent nation is recognized and thereby firmly established—a great work to which your consuls (above mentioned) and commanders unquestionably and providentially applied themselves.

In the name, therefore, of Almighty God, of humanity, and of national honor, I now appeal to the great and influential citizens of the United States to fulfill these obligations, by passing, as a matter of paramount importance, a just resolution in your national Congress officially recognizing our independence, thereby bringing to an end this inhuman and wicked war and restoring the reign of peace and harmony between Americans and Filipinos, who, in accordance with the infallible will of God, should live under the happy conditions of brotherhood.

SECOND.

Accomplished facts are accepted in dealing with things political as rights unless the facts are at variance with the doctrines laid down in international law or the eternal principles of justice. Strictly in accordance with these incontrovertible principles the independence of the United States was realized and recognized in the last century.

In the same manner, and in more recent times, the Kingdom of Italy and the German Empire have come into existence, the ruling principle being, and the reason of it, that all men are born equal and possess inalienable rights of life, liberty, independence, and freedom in the pursuit of happiness.

Now, it is indisputable that we, the Filipinos, defeated the Spaniards, capturing 9,000 prisoners, and set up a republican government in the place of the one which had been vanquished. It is also beyond question that these accomplished facts have been recognized in a practical manner by the high officers who at that time, and since then, represented the United States in this archipelago, which is proved by the correspondence of our leader with Admiral (then Commodore) Dewey and Generals Anderson, Merritt, and Otis, copies of which are attached hereto for the information of the citizens of the United States.

It is to be observed, in the first place, that in his first letter to Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo Admiral Dewey states that he has received with pleasure

the documents forwarded to him by our distinguished leader, promising to transmit them to their respective destinations. The documents referred to are: The first proclamation issued by Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo announcing his arrival and the establishment of the dictatorial government at Cavite; also the proclamation of Philippine independence, issued in the town of Cavite, in the province of the same name—some to be forwarded to the United States Government in Washington and others to be forwarded to the representatives of the powers in Manila.

Secondly, it is to be noted that the Admiral in another letter asks General Aguinaldo for passports for several gentlemen recommended by the British consul, who was also acting consul for the United States of America in Manila, to enable them to travel freely and safely through our territory.

And, finally, it is noteworthy that Generals Anderson, Merritt, and Otis in their correspondence styled—as was only right and proper that they should—our leader "General Commanding the Philippine Revolutionary Army," while General Anderson asked Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo for quarters and camping ground for the forces under his command, as well as other assistance and cooperation in the campaign against the Spaniards—our "common enemy." It is also a well-known fact that the American commanders applied to us for positions and trenches for their troops in Maytubig so as to place their forces side by side with our troops in the siege of Manila. In fact, the records prove that everything was done in a manner that indicated full recognition of our triumphant revolution and the noble ends kept constantly in view, namely, our liberty and independence, and owing to which (the righteousness of our cause) the new Filipino State, by its just and irrefragable procedure, unquestionably merited the consideration and respect of the American commanders.

This explains how Admiral Dewey submitted for the disposition of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo a protest lodged by the French consul in respect of the capture of the steamer *Compania de Filipinas*, which had been seized by us, the Admiral stating positively that he and his forces had nothing to do with the affair; held no jurisdiction in the premises.

In the light of the correspondence it is readily understood how Generals Anderson and Merritt came to address telegrams to Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo on the 13th of August, 1898 (the day on which our troops captured the whole of the suburbs of Manila and the Spaniards in the walled city capitulated to the forces of the United States), requesting General Aguinaldo to give instructions for his troops to evacuate the suburbs in order to avoid the dangers inseparable from a dual military occupation, and offering to negotiate with General Aguinaldo afterwards.

Lastly, it is quite comprehensible how General Otis came to appeal to General Aguinaldo in the name of the United States Government for the release of the friars held by us as prisoners—acts which show in an eloquent manner distinct recognition of the sovereign power and authority of the Philippine people, which had been recovered from the Spaniards since then and re-assumed in the exalted and worthy personality of our leader, Gen. Don Emilio Aguinaldo.

Viewed from another standpoint the above-mentioned incidents might be held to indicate that they were clear evidence that it was the bounden duty of the American commanders to harass, and, if possible, quell the Philippine revolution, not convey our illustrious leader to Cavite, to begin with, and thereby afford him very favorable opportunity (in view of the mode of conveyance, his reception by the Admiral, and the permission granted him to establish his headquarters in Cavite, whence he issued, without protest of any kind by Admiral Dewey or anyone else, a proclamation calling on the people to rally round his standard and wage war upon Spain to wrest from her the sovereignty of the archipelago) to revive the revolution against Spain, using his prestige and exercising his authority and genius to that end. But far from being indiscreet or ill-considered action, the recognition of General Aguinaldo's power and prestige, the arrangement to bring him back to the Philippines, the courtesy extended to him by Admiral Dewey, and the conduct of your consuls and generals was, on the contrary, rightful recognition of our revolution, in that our sovereign rights and independent authority in the archipelago was practically conceded and accepted as accomplished facts. It is therefore evident that we have a perfect right, and are not straining any points, in demanding from the Government of Washington official recognition of our independence, basing the demand on the above-mentioned reason that accomplished facts in affairs political constitute right.

This is altogether apart from and does not clash with the victories of your troops over the Spaniards, nor the cession of sovereignty by Spain in the treaty of Paris of the 10th of December last in favor of the United States.

As regards your victories, there are the proclamations of General Merritt and the letters of General Anderson clearly setting forth that America did not come to the Philippines to make conquests, much less to wage war against the natives, but to free the people from the galling yoke of Spain. "We came not as enemies, but as liberators." Such were the solemn pledges of your Generals Merritt and Anderson to the Filipinos when they arrived in these islands.

Therefore it is plain that it can not be claimed that by reason of your victories over the Spaniards rights of conquest accrue to you as being due from the Filipinos for the all-sufficient reason that you were not engaged in war with us between the 1st of May, 1898, and the 4th of February, 1899, during the night of which latter date your forces, in accordance with the orders of President William McKinley, commenced hostilities against our forces for the purpose of establishing American sovereignty in our archipelago by force of arms.

As for the cession of sovereignty, I have to say it is a null and void agreement in every respect, for it has been celebrated in contravention of all rules of international law and in opposition to the eternal principles of justice.

For example: It is not moral, nor could it be just, and much less is it in accord with international right to say to a nation: "I will help you to sweep away Spanish sovereignty and make you independent, and after helping you to sweep away and destroy the said sovereignty I come and buy the sovereignty from Spain by title of cession and impose it by force of arms upon the protected people."

Such a proceeding is self-condemnatory, for its accomplishment rests only with arbitrary power and in the power of anyone exercising such power and carrying it to the extent of injuring an ally or a friend to whom protection is offered. Fiore, Bluntschli, and Hallet, authorities on international right, established as a rule to be universally applied the following: "It is not just under the pretext of assumed laws of nations to amalgamate or segregate a people against their obvious will spontaneously and voluntarily acclaimed."

Therefore the cession in question is an act completely null and void, being neither moral nor just; nor is it even licit according to international law.

On the other hand, in respect of cessions the essential conditions include the possession of what is ceded, and when it concerns inhabited territories the concordance and express consent of the inhabitants is necessary. Neither of these conditions have been fulfilled in respect of the cession of the Philippines by the treaty of Paris of the 10th December, 1898. First, because at that date, and long before it, Spain exercised no sovereignty whatever over any Philippine territory, which was reconquered by us and governed by us since June, 1898, which facts were well known to the Governments of Washington and Madrid. Second, because the Philippine people had publicly and loyally manifested to the Government of Washington and to the whole

world that it was their desire to live independently of all alien sovereignty; and perhaps on this account our wishes were not consulted when the cession was made. An act, without doubt, of bad faith on the part of the two contracting parties, who were perforce obliged to make the terms null and void by reason of this false step.

Consequently the treaty of Paris of 10th December, 1898, does not convey any sovereign rights whatever in favor of the United States over any of the Philippine Islands or its inhabitants. Nor are the United States in any way entitled by it to impose upon the Philippine people an alien sovereignty by force of arms.

The United States, therefore, can not be excused from recognizing our independence either on account of their victories over the Spaniards or by reason of the provisions of the treaty of Paris. We, however, readily admit that our gratitude and full recognition are due to the great North American nation for the generous assistance proffered us by their consular representatives and commanders in bringing from Hongkong to Cavite our illustrious leader to continue the rebellion against Spain, and then, by respecting that revolution, recognizing it as the sovereign power which replaced that which Spain had lost; but, from the fact of oppressing us and endeavoring to flch from us our liberties, subjecting our independence, so dearly won, to the influence of a new foreign yoke there is a wide gulf fixed, which is as limitless as the distance to another world, and the only possible way to accomplish your object is to destroy the lives of 8,000,000 Filipinos—an act which would leave on the hitherto spotless pages of your glorious history and traditional liberality an everlasting and indelible stain.

THIRD.

The Filipinos can justly boast of a social status on a par with cultured peoples and are fit to commingle and live on an equality with civilized nations, forming in common with them part of the magna civitas.

We are a community of 8,000,000 people politically organized on well-defined territory, with our own government, which is competent to and sufficient for the protection of the rights of our citizens and capable of assuming full responsibility for our acts in the conduct of relations with other states. We have an official language—Spanish. We have accepted an enlightened religion—the Roman Catholic faith. Strict morality, which emanates from christianizing influences, governs our manners and customs. Our laws are on a par with statutes of other civilized states, being identical with those in operation in these islands during the last few years, which have been generally accepted as meeting the requirements of civilized communities. And, lastly, we live in families, in towns, and in cities, affording permanent evidence of a status of cultured and civilized society; it being universally conceded that the Philippines, unlike other far eastern states, have invariably extended hospitality to all foreigners and enjoy the reputation of exceptional faultlessness and the strongest aversion to anything in the nature of barbarous conduct.

We, the Filipinos, respect life, honor, and rights in property, and punish with severe penalties all violations of these governing principles of humanity. We also have laws encouraging the knowledge of science and arts, protecting industries, commerce, and agriculture, and we profess, finally, our acquaintance with all the most noble sentiments of friendship, gratitude, and honesty.

We possess, therefore, all the conditions requisite for existence as an independent state according to article 37 of the International Code of the famous juriconsult Fiore, and that being so, we are perfectly justified in demanding from all the great civilized states official recognition of our independence in conformity with articles 44, 45, and 49 of the said standard work, which provides, moreover, that such recognition can not, under the circumstances, be denied us, nor should it be unduly delayed. It is clearly set forth in articles 55 and 56 of Fiore's work that any course of procedure in contravention of the foregoing articles is opposed to the principle of high policy.

To better prove to the people of the United States our culture and state of civilization there are annexed to this document copies of our fundamental laws and various decrees relating to the establishment of our executive and judicial administration, our educational establishments, and our army regulations. In this way, perhaps, the people of the States will be better able to grasp the truth respecting our advancement along the highroad of modern civilization and be thereby convinced of our ability to rule and govern ourselves in an independent manner.

These are the reasons why we appeal for official recognition of our independence—reason which we confidently submit to the deep conscientiousness and of the enlightened people of the United States—a people destined by God to decide the fate of our unfortunate country—a fate which would be better if, heeding the dictates of justice and humanity, your President, Mr. McKinley, had not chosen to wage this cruel, devastating war against us with your powerful land and sea forces.

It is sometimes said that we are to blame for the outbreak of hostilities during the night of the 4th February last, but this is not an established fact.

In the first place, because we, the Filipinos, were expecting at that very time (the beginning of February) official recognition of our independence from the Government of Washington, an expectation which was justified by the annexed letter of Gen. E. S. Otis, dated 25th January; also on account of what took place at the conferences of the mixed commissions of Americans and Filipinos, which sat in Manila during the latter part of the said month of January to discuss matters and arrange for a basis of friendly relations between the two parties, which, it was hoped, would be permanent. Moreover, there was another reason, namely, the Filipinos were fully aware of the superior strength of your forces, against whom it would have been criminal folly to pit our inexperienced and undisciplined army.

Accordingly, it is unquestionable that we were not the aggressors, for we knew full well that were we to act on the offensive we could look for neither military nor political gain of any kind. On the contrary, we regarded such action as bordering on suicidal folly and well-nigh sure to bring down on us the hatred and contempt of the American people. We had, in fact, nothing to gain and very much to lose by aggression.

Esteemed citizens of the United States, if with the foregoing reasoning there be borne in mind the fact that we were living in peace and harmony with your forces since June, without the smallest intention or inclination to commence hostilities, at a period when your forces were smaller and therefore more easy to cope with than subsequently, I verily believe that the enlightened people of the United States will not be slow to realize that it is not in the least degree probable, nor is it reasonable to assume that we were the aggressors, seeing that we stood in need of their good will and were anxious to court and maintain a favorable impression with the American electorate in the interest of our cause. Peace and good will were essential to the success of our cause—a cause which would at once be jeopardized by any overt act of aggression.

We are neither celebrated warriors nor great fighters; nor are we as quixotic as the Spaniards. We took up arms to obtain our independence, and it is self-evident that we did not develop our little armed force for the purpose of making an enemy of such a great and mighty people as the citizens of the United States in order that thereby our noble cause might the more easily triumph.

If we call to mind the fact that your President, Mr. McKinley, caused reinforcements to be sent to Manila after the capitulation by Spain on the 30th

August, 1898, if we remember his refusal to listen to our humble petition to him, praying for recognition of our independence through our representative, Don Felipe Agoncillo, whom he refused to receive, or whether we recall the fact that he refused to give ear unto our appeal through the good offices of General Otis, as is proved by a letter from the General and the [omission in copy] to; and if we take into consideration that, lastly and finally, the treaty of Paris was so framed as to involve the cession of the sovereignty of Spain to the United States, I am of opinion that the most natural sequence of these incontestable moves of Mr. McKinley is to be found in the outbreak of hostilities, namely, an order from your President to General Otis to commence with acts of aggression and impose on us that odious sovereignty by force of arms, notwithstanding the fact that we had demonstrated and made it evident in every possible way from the first that we would accept no solution other than our independence.

You, honorable representatives of the people of the United States, having in view the providential bonds which bind the fate of the Philippines to your supreme decision, surely you will not be unmindful at such a momentous epoch of the sublime principles of right and justice proclaimed by the illustrious founders of your independence on 4th June, 1776. Endowed with those magnificent principles your nation advanced rapidly along the paths of progress till it became great and powerful, admired and respected by all the aged states of Europe.

Trusting, therefore in your glorious traditions of humanity and liberality, the Filipinos look forward with confidence to obtaining from your acknowledged rectitude a just resolution officially recognizing the independence of our beloved country.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, yours, very respectfully,

(Signed)

FELIPE BUENCAMINO.

TARLAC, P. I., 20th August, 1899.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Indiana desire any disposition of the joint resolution which was laid on the table at his request, subject to his call?

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Let it be referred—

Mr. SPOONER. Let it lie on the table.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Very good; let it lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there is no objection, the joint resolution will lie on the table.

TWELFTH AND SUBSEQUENT CENSUSES.

Mr. CARTER. I desire to call up the bill (S. 2179) relating to the Twelfth and subsequent censuses, and giving to the Director thereof additional power and authority in certain cases, and for other purposes.

By unanimous consent, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill.

Mr. CARTER. The bill was read yesterday, I believe, and it is now open to amendment.

Mr. CULLOM. I have an amendment in my hands which I ask the Clerk to read and the chairman of the committee to accept, if he will, as an amendment to the bill. I do not know where it ought to come in, but I suppose at the end of section 2 would be as well as anywhere else.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Illinois submits an amendment, which will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to insert at the end of section 2, on page 3, the following proviso:

Provided, That the Director of the Census may, in his discretion, collect statistics relating to all the deaf, dumb, and blind, notwithstanding the restriction in this section relating to special classes.

Mr. CULLOM. That was meant to apply to section 8 of the original act, which I have not here, and I should like to have it inserted in some part of the pending bill.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, this amendment is a very simple one, and it appears somewhat ungracious to oppose its insertion in the bill, but we are confronted by a policy which will lead to an indefinite expansion of the census work and a repetition of the misfortunes and delays that have attended like efforts in the past. No one is better informed than the Senator from Illinois concerning the many difficulties that have been encountered in previous attempts to cover too large a field in connection with the census inquiries.

When this bill for the census was originally framed the Senate in no uncertain terms expressed itself in favor of a census so limited as to enable us to secure the results within a reasonable period of time. In conformity with that purpose, the census, as stated upon yesterday, was divided into two parts. By section 7 we undertook to provide for the regular decennial census. That section provides for only four topics of inquiry—the population, agriculture, manufacturing, and vital statistics—mortality record. This identical purpose found favor elsewhere, but it was assumed, and correctly, too, that in the course of time inquiries concerning other matters would be of public importance, and we therefore provided in the next section, section 8, that immediately upon the conclusion of the decennial census the Census Office should proceed through special agents and other methods aside from the regular enumerators to collect data upon a number of important questions concerning which statisticians and legislators and others have much interest.

During the consideration of the bill here presented numerous persons have appeared before the committee endeavoring to have the work contemplated as supplemental work, to be taken up after the census was completed, imported into the census work provided for in section 7 of the bill. Professor Bell, who has given much attention to the subject-matter of the Senator's amend-

ment, appeared before the committee and in most eloquent terms urged the committee to incorporate the proposed amendment in the bill being framed at that time by the committee. The committee, after full consideration of the matter, not, I am sure, minimizing the importance of the subject, but determined to adhere to a policy which we deemed necessary in order to make a success of this census in the matter of time, unanimously determined not to have this feature incorporated in the regular census work. In view of that determination by the committee, I feel constrained to object to this amendment.

In this connection I wish to appeal to the Senate, desiring, as I know Senators do, to have this census work completed in an effective and expeditious manner, to adhere to the policy inaugurated when the original legislation was approved. If we depart from that policy in one particular, we shall be compelled to depart from it in many particulars. The experience of the past is quite sufficient to admonish us of the danger involved in any single departure. As suggested by the Senator from South Carolina yesterday, and the suggestion was not overdrawn, tons upon tons of schedules that had gone through the hands of the enumerators at a cost not of \$500,000, as suggested by the Senator, but at an expense involving millions of dollars to the Government, were taken out as rubbish and burned because it was found utterly impossible to tabulate the statistics to be deduced from the material put together, and what was left unburned required in the neighborhood of eight long, painful years to put into book form for the use of the public.

Mr. President, at the opening of this century we should adhere to the departure made when the bill was framed, to have, as the Senator from Maine says, a quick census. We desire to know how many people there are in this country. We desire to know what progress has been made in agriculture and manufacturing lines. We desire to know essential things concerning vitality and mortality statistics. The bill now covers only those propositions requiring for complete information house-to-house canvass. Where, by or through correspondence or special agents or inquiries conducted in that manner, statistics can be collated, it is needless and therefore vicious to undertake to burden the enumerators with the task of collecting the data.

I sincerely hope that this amendment will fail, not because it is lacking in merit, for it is as meritorious as the proposition of the Senator from South Dakota or the very wise suggestion of the Senator from Massachusetts, two additional amendments which, I assume, in the course of this discussion, will be offered to this bill, but it is objected to because it will so encumber this work as to defeat the purpose Congress had originally, in attempting to confine the census to the simple propositions involved in population, agriculture, manufacturing, and vital statistics.

Mr. HOAR. Let the amendment be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment will again be read.

The Secretary again read the amendment.

Mr. CULLOM. If the amendment should be adopted, it perhaps ought to read "and be it provided," so as to make it a part of the bill with any sort of connection.

Mr. President, I am certainly not one of those who desire to interfere with the rapid taking of the census. I have some knowledge of the censuses heretofore taken, having been on the committee most of the time, and I know that there has been great delay, in part consequent upon changes in the law after the work had begun. Just a few moments ago I came into possession of this amendment, and I really did not know the status of the bill until after I received it from a gentleman of this city. It is the result of resolutions which I find in a magazine entitled *The Associations Review*, from which I will read.

Mr. HOAR. May I ask the Senator from Illinois a question before he proceeds, so that I may understand him? The subject of this amendment is not provided for in section 8?

Mr. CULLOM. Of the original act?

Mr. HOAR. Yes; where it provides in reference to the feeble-minded, deaf, dumb, and blind.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not know what the provision of the law is.

Mr. CARTER. That, I will state to the Senator from Massachusetts, is a provision in reference to the supplemental work. This matter is taken care of in that section.

Mr. HALE. Entirely.

Mr. CARTER. And will be regularly disposed of, but subsequent to the taking of the census.

Mr. HOAR. My amendment merely amends the provision about supplemental work. It does not bring anything forward from the deferred to the immediate.

Mr. CARTER. There is no objection to an amendment to section 8.

Mr. HOAR. That is what I proposed.

Mr. CULLOM. This amendment was proposed to section 8 of the present law as it was sent to me.

Mr. HOAR. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator, who knows

more about it than I do, but, as I understand it, there are two classes of census work provided for in the bill which is now the law. One is that which relates to the quick census of which the Senator spoke, and then there are others to be done after the first is completed; and that will be attended to. I supposed the Senator's purpose was to transfer this matter from class second to class first. If it is not even in class second now—

Mr. HALE. It is. It is all in class second.

Mr. CULLOM. The amendment was handed to me, and it was proposed to make it an amendment to section 8 by adding to it the following proviso:

Provided, That the Director of the Census may, in his discretion, collect statistics relating to all the deaf, dumb, and blind, notwithstanding the restriction in this section to special classes.

I submit to the chairman of the committee, in view of the fact that this is proposed to be an amendment to section 8, whether he has any objection to it.

Mr. HOAR. It is there now.

Mr. CULLOM. It is there now in a way, but it certainly is not satisfactory to those who are interested especially in this subject.

Mr. HALE. How can he have it much better than this:

That after the completion and return of the enumeration of the work upon schedules—

We kept that line of demarcation clear all the way through—relating to the products of agriculture, etc., the Director of the Census is hereby authorized to collect statistics relating to special classes—

We kept them out of the first enumeration because it embarrasses the census—

including the insane, feeble-minded, deaf, dumb, and blind; to crime, pauperism, and benevolence, including prisoners, paupers, juvenile delinquents, and inmates of benevolent and reformatory institutions; to deaths and births in registration areas; to social statistics of cities; to public indebtedness.

And so forth.

All of those things which not only embarrass the first census, the immediate census, what I have called the quick census, but which can be better done by special agents. If the Senator will think a moment he will see that this delicate matter of intruding upon a family and reporting that it has in it one or two insane persons or idiotic persons is not a thing that ought to be done by enumerators.

Mr. CULLOM. Suppose that is true—

Mr. HALE. It should be done by special agents, as provided for in section 8.

Mr. CULLOM. This is proposed as an amendment to section 8 of the original act, about which the Senator is talking. Whether it enlarges the work so as to make it desirable I am not prepared to say, as I am not familiar with section 8, and I call upon the chairman of the committee to say whether this amendment adds anything to the real work desired by the people who are interested in this special subject.

Mr. CARTER. It adds in this respect, in answering the Senator's query directly. The section as at present existing contemplates only the enumeration of persons in institutions.

Mr. CULLOM. Oh.

Mr. CARTER. The amendment contemplates going beyond the institutions, which can only be done, I assume, through the enumerators; and that is the real purpose of the amendment, I think.

Mr. HALE. Undoubtedly.

Mr. CARTER. That fixes upon the Director of the Census a burden which he can not discharge unless by virtue of a schedule delivered to every enumerator who goes forth. I will suggest in that particular, with the permission of the Senator—

Mr. CULLOM. Certainly.

Mr. CARTER. That one of the most difficult problems with which the last Director had to contend was found in this inquiry relating to the feeble-minded and the classes, so to speak.

Mr. CULLOM. There certainly ought to be information on that subject in the census. I desire to read the resolutions that were adopted by the association at the summer meeting at Northampton:

Whereas it appears that no provision has been made for an enumeration of the blind, or of the deaf, commonly known as "deaf and dumb," or "deaf-mutes," in the census of 1900; and

Whereas the enumeration hitherto made and returns tabulated for every decennial census since the year 1830 have been especially useful, valuable, and interesting to the educators of these classes, and have undoubtedly resulted in extending the blessings of an education to large numbers of the blind and of the deaf; and

Whereas the enumeration of these classes is a matter of great importance to the blind and to the deaf, and to those who are seeking their welfare: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, president of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf, and four others shall constitute a committee on behalf of this association with full power to take such steps as may be necessary to secure an enumeration of the blind and of the deaf and of the deaf blind in the next census. This committee is requested to confer with the Hon. William R. Merriam, Director of the Census, and Dr. Fred H. Wines, assistant director, in order to secure under the existing law, if possible, an enumeration of the classes herein referred to upon schedules which shall include at least the name, residence, age, parents' names in cases of minors, sex, race, and age at which deafness or blindness occurred.

If it shall appear that an amendment to the law is necessary in order to

secure the enumeration aforesaid, this committee is hereby requested and empowered to appear before the proper officers of the United States Government and committees of Congress of the United States and to make use of every endeavor to secure a proper amendment of the law.

While it may be somewhat embarrassing to take the statistics of the unfortunates, yet I hardly feel willing that they shall be omitted. I am sure I do not want to embarrass this bill or the prompt taking of the census for 1900, but it seems to me that the wishes of the people who represent these two unfortunate classes ought to be complied with if it can be done. Now, if, as the chairman suggests, the provisions of the act in section 8 apply only to those in institutions, it is only a partial census and does not cover the ground as it ought to be covered. If we can amend the law in some way so as to take them all in, if we undertake to take in any of them, I shall be satisfied, as far as I am concerned.

Mr. HOAR. This amendment leaves it to the discretion of the Director of the Census?

Mr. CULLOM. It does. It provides that in the discretion of the Director of the Census this shall be done, and I understand—I do not know whether it is true—that he has provided a more enlarged amendment, but it was the desire of these people, especially such as Dr. Bell and others, that they should embarrass the committee as little as possible, and so they contracted it to the amendment which I have offered.

Mr. CARTER. I will state, Mr. President, that the Director of the Census indicated that he would not strenuously object to this addition; but at the same time he announced that the population schedules were all printed, and therefore a separate schedule would have to be printed and delivered to every enumerator in order to collate this information. I believe that after this decennial census shall have been completed the Bureau may more effectively acquire this information by addressing letters to all the practicing physicians in the United States than they can by undertaking to collect the information through enumerators. The name and address of every physician practicing medicine on the continent can be readily obtained, and a letter addressed to each will secure information on this and other delicate subjects of like character more effectively and, I think, in a more satisfactory manner than can be acquired by the enumerators.

Mr. CULLOM. I dislike very much to embarrass the committee or to cause the incurring of any extraordinary expense. Do I understand that these schedules are all printed?

Mr. CARTER. The population schedules are printed.

Mr. HOAR. May I say one word at this point?

Mr. CULLOM. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. HOAR. I can not for the life of me see why everything for which the Senator from Illinois asks is not now provided for in the bill, and substantially in his language.

Mr. CULLOM. The chairman of the committee thinks not.

Mr. HOAR. I do not see why the old law does not answer. Perhaps I may be mistaken. Let us see. This information is to be obtained after the completion and return of the enumeration and of the work upon the schedules relating to the products of agriculture, and so on. Then the Director of the Census is especially authorized "to collect statistics relating to special classes, including the insane, feeble-minded, deaf, dumb, and blind." That is the only limit in relation to those in asylums. The Bureau is also to collect statistics relating "to crime, pauperism, and benevolence, including prisoners, paupers, juvenile delinquents, and inmates of benevolent and reformatory institutions."

Therefore it is not going to delay your present census, because it is not to be done until after that has been completed. It is not going to be confined to persons in asylums, because the Director, in his discretion, can make it general, and it is to be assumed that he will do it in a humane and decent way. Nobody can doubt that.

It seems to me the objections which have been made to the amendment of my honorable friend from Illinois are objections to the original law, and that everything in his amendment is in the law now, I think, without exception.

Mr. CULLOM. It seems to me to read that way, I confess, but the chairman of the committee indicated that it only applied to those in institutions.

Mr. KENNEY. If Senators will recur to section 8 of the law, they will find that it reads:

The statistics of special classes and of crime, pauperism, and benevolence specified in this section shall be restricted to institutions containing such classes.

There is the limitation.

Mr. CULLOM. But that is taken out.

Mr. HAWLEY. That is no good at all.

Mr. CULLOM. A census of a portion of such classes is taken and the balance left out. If they are not included, it would not be anything like a proper census. So I should like to have my amendment added to section 8 of the law.

Mr. CHANDLER. Will the Senator from Illinois yield to me?

Mr. CULLOM. I yield to the Senator.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, I wish that Senators would

refrain from offering amendments enlarging the scope of the census to this purely administrative bill. I can understand that the subject of enlarging the scope of the census is a proper one to bring before the Census Committee and before Congress; but this bill was drawn up as a purely administrative bill, and the Director of the Census needs this bill now in order to go on with his work.

Mr. CULLOM. If the Senator will allow me to ask him a question, does he think that taking this census, including only the unfortunates who are in institutions and leaving all the remainder out, is a proper census?

Mr. CHANDLER. No, Mr. President.

Mr. CULLOM. Then how are you going to amend it?

Mr. CHANDLER. If the Senator will listen to me, I will tell him what my notion is, and I shall be very glad to have half a dozen Senators on the floor aiding me, all at the same time. [Laughter.]

The object of the Senator's amendment is to transfer the taking of the census of the deaf, dumb, and blind from the special agents to the enumerators. I understand that to be his object. Is it not his object?

Mr. CULLOM. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. If it is, I want to speak against it.

Mr. CULLOM. I do not care how the committee provides for taking that census so that it is taken properly, fully, and effectually. If the committee can so frame the bill as that in the end all these people may be counted as indicated in the amendment, that is all I desire.

Mr. CHANDLER. I am willing for one that that shall be done, but I do not want it done on the population schedule, and therefore I am opposed to the amendment of the Senator. But I was addressing myself to the general question.

Mr. HALE. Has the Senator got the amendment there? If so, I inquire how does it read? Will not the Senator read it?

Mr. CHANDLER. It has been amended since it was offered, I think.

Mr. HALE. No.

Mr. CARTER. The amendment was suggested for the purpose of perfecting the bill. The amendment reads as follows—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. CHANDLER. Of course when a Senator is making a speech it is not of the slightest sort of importance what the proposition is upon which he is speaking. [Laughter.]

Mr. HALE. That may be so in some cases, but the Senator from New Hampshire always talks upon the direct proposition.

Mr. CHANDLER. I will yield to the Senator from Montana to have the proposition stated.

Mr. CARTER. The amendment reads as follows:

Provided further, That the Director of the Census may, in his discretion, collect statistics relating to all of the deaf, dumb, and blind, notwithstanding the restrictions in this section relating to special classes.

Mr. HALE. Suppose you put in there, as suggested by the Senator from New Hampshire, that under the provisions of section 8 the Director may do this.

Mr. CHANDLER. That will be proper, and that is probably what was intended by the Senator from Illinois in the amendment as it now reads, or by the learned gentleman who induced him to undertake its advocacy. It does, in terms, introduce this subject into the enumeration schedule. So I now understand the chairman of the committee.

Mr. CULLOM. Will the Senator allow me to suggest that if that is put in as an amendment to section 8, and then the subsequent section is so amended as to allow this census to be taken not only of those classes in institutions, but outside of them, it will answer my purpose.

Mr. CHANDLER. Personally, I have no objection to that, but what I was pleading for was that upon this purely administrative bill we should not enlarge the scope of the census. I think the subject is a proper one to be considered by the Committee on the Census and by Congress, and it is probable that some enlargements will be made, but they should be made carefully, they should not be made upon the impulse of the moment, but every one of them should be examined by the Committee on the Census, and there should be action taken upon them deliberately and in order. That can not be done, Mr. President, if amendments enlarging the scope of the census are to be adopted to this purely administrative bill.

I would like to have Senators consent to withhold amendments until the administrative bill is disposed of, then offer their propositions, let them go to the Committee on the Census, and have them considered in order, for if we begin this way, upon the motion of a single Senator to enlarge the scope of the census upon this administrative bill, there is no knowing where we shall stop.

Mr. HALE. The Senator knows, does he not, that this is not in the least a new matter. The committee has had hearings on this very subject, and has had eminent persons before it. It has gone over the whole matter carefully, without any prejudice, and

rejected the proposition, because its members thought it would interfere with the scope of the work. Now it is the fashion, and gentlemen have the right to follow it, after they are overruled in committee on full examination, to apply to a Senator and insist that he shall offer the proposition; and he offers it as new matter.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator will allow me to go on.

Mr. HALE. Yes.

Mr. CHANDLER. It is not so much this particular amendment, but the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] wants to enlarge the scope of section 8 so as to include an investigation into the water power of New England, and the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW]—I call the attention of the members of the committee to this—has an amendment which he proposes to offer, to have an investigation made into the subject of the distribution of the wealth of this country, and that, as is the case relating to the water power, is a very proper subject of investigation. It is certainly a proper subject of statistical inquiry. It may possibly be something which the Census Bureau ought to take up; but all these propositions ought to be considered by a committee of the Senate before they are acted upon. We ought not to adopt one of them after another upon this administrative bill.

When the bill for the present census was being prepared, it was found to be of the highest importance—and I can add nothing on the subject to what the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] said yesterday—to so frame the bill as to reduce the size of the volumes of the next census and to limit the work of the enumerators. It appeared upon inquiry that ten years ago the enumerators who went around to take the population census had to make a very large number of inquiries. The then chairman of the committee, the Senator from Maine, will remember, I think, that two or three hundred inquiries had to be made in every family, and it was thought proper that the subjects as to which the enumerators, who have but a week or a fortnight in which to do their work and make inquiries, should be reduced somewhere down to 100.

The number of inquiries which they are to make is too large now, Mr. President. But by strenuous effort the committee set their faces against too wide a scope for the census, and the number of inquiries that these enumerators are to make next June was reduced from two or three hundred down to between one and two hundred; and the number was too large then. It was also found that we could probably have the volumes of the census of 1890, numbering 24, reduced to 5 or 6 in 1900. It was with quite a great effort and with considerable self-denial and after quite a debate that the determination was arrived at to thus reduce and limit the scope of the census for 1900. I hope we shall not go on little by little and undo that work and pile upon the Director of the Census the duty of adding innumerable items to the subjects which are to be investigated until you will have again a census of 24 volumes and a census which would be so bulky that it would be comparatively useless.

It is entirely certain that we can not afford to go on and convert our Census Office into a general statistical office for the country. The further the census has got from a mere enumeration of the inhabitants the more expensive it has become, the more complicated it has become, and I will not say, although I am inclined to say it, the more useless it has become because of its great bulk and of the extensive researches into which the investigators have been led.

I am opposed to any enlargement of the scope of the census upon this bill, and I hope all amendments to it will be voted down. I trust, if Senators want to enlarge the scope of the census, they will offer bills for that purpose and have them referred to the committee and fully examined.

Mr. HAWLEY. Mr. President, the statistics of these unfortunate classes are of very great value, and care ought to be taken that a census of these classes should be somehow thoroughly taken. I find in the existing act that the enumerators are to take account of only those persons who are in institutions.

Mr. CULLOM. More than half of such persons are outside of institutions.

Mr. HAWLEY. Yes, more than half of them are outside. They have gone into schools and are living in various ways and in various places. The statistics on that subject will not be worth one farthing, and the census authorities will not get half the number of the deaf, dumb, and blind there are in the country. It is not the way of getting at them by simply calling at the buildings where they may be confined. They can furnish the census of those in the institutions, of course, and may know where some of their graduates are. If the Senator in charge of this bill will strike out the limitation as to institutions only and will accept the proposed amendment, the work will be done. That is all I care about. I do not care how it is done, but I wish he would try to have it done.

Mr. TILLMAN. Let that be stricken out.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment offered by the Senator from Illinois will be read.

Mr. TILLMAN. Before that is done, I suggest to the chairman

of the committee and to the Senator from Illinois that the object both of them are desirous of obtaining may be reached by omitting in the eighth section the prohibition in regard to the census of these unfortunate classes, which provides that only those who are in institutions shall be enumerated. If you will strike out that provision, you will then allow the special agents to gather these facts after the first census is taken. You will not hamper the population census and the important work of the Census Bureau, but you will leave this data, which is valuable only to scientists and to some few people who are interested in such matters, to be collected by special agents, by striking out the words which confine those inquiries to those unfortunates who are in institutions, but leaving it open to the Director to get them wherever they are to be found. Then you accomplish the work which the Senator from Illinois seems to desire and do not hamper the census authorities.

Mr. CARTER. Mr. President, one of the difficulties connected with the suggestion of the honorable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] will be found in this. It is properly the desire of Congress to keep within the limits of reason the work to be accomplished by any bureau of the Government which incurs expense. With that restriction removed, the Bureau of the Census would be commissioned to go beyond institutions and to inquire into the question of the criminal classes of the country, if you please, who are not in institutions, to examine police-court records, and to tabulate information that might or might not be of value. The same would be true with relation to juvenile delinquents and all those classes, save and except the blind, the deaf, and the dumb. In some instances these unfortunates are outside of institutions. The criminal classes, according to the theory of our law, are all within institutions, either reformatory or penal. It seems better to make the exception in the form presented by the Senator's amendment rather than to remove all restriction relative to the subject.

Mr. TILLMAN. I was only endeavoring to meet both points.

Mr. CARTER. I will state generally, Mr. President, and I think it will be concurred in by all of the committee, that it was the purpose of the committee to provide in this section 8 for a line of special work which would cover every necessary and reasonable investigation that Congress might deem it wise to hereafter authorize the Census Bureau to prosecute. The desire of the committee is that the section preceding section 7, which provides for the enumeration, shall not be overburdened and overloaded, so as to defeat the object of the census from the beginning. I ask the Secretary to read the amendment as it has been amended.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment to the amendment will be stated.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to amend the amendment by inserting after the word "may," at the end of line 1, the words "after the completion of the census as aforesaid;" so that, if amended, it will read:

Provided further, That the Director of the Census may, after the completion of the census as aforesaid, in his discretion, collect statistics relating to all the deaf, dumb, and blind, notwithstanding the restriction in this section relating to special classes.

Mr. CULLOM. If that is adopted, it will cover the particular subject.

Mr. CARTER. I think, instead of the words "this section," which would refer to the section of the bill in which this amendment appears, it should be "notwithstanding the restriction contained in section 8 of the act of March 3, 1899."

Mr. CULLOM. That is the suggestion I was going to make. I feared the restriction in section 8 would defeat its object. If there is no objection to that, I have nothing further to say.

Mr. CHANDLER. The only objection I have is that it is enlarging the scope of the census; and if we have to deal with this subject, we shall have half a dozen others.

Mr. CULLOM. It is left entirely in the discretion of the Director of the Census.

Mr. CHANDLER. But this administrative bill ought to be passed without reopening the question of enlarging the scope of the next census.

Mr. HAWLEY. I think we can be trusted, in view of that advice, not to encumber this bill with other amendments. If we do right in this case, we may do wrong in the other cases if we choose.

Mr. HOAR. I think the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] overlooks the way we legislate and have to legislate in the Senate. I suppose if we took up regularly and in order and in the best way all business which comes to us we could not do one year's legislation in ten. We have to take such imperfect opportunities as we can get to make our attempts to procure legislation which is desired when the general subject is up. Now, if we should send these amendments, which everybody agrees, I think, ought to be made, to the committee, the chances are that they would bring in a report, perhaps at the shortest, in six weeks from now. Then they would have a fight all the rest of the

session, with at least ten other subjects all seeking the attention of the Senate. The result would be that these simple and clear amendments would have against them probably not only the members of the Senate who are opposed to them, but the members of the Senate who want other subjects considered.

Here is a simple thing. The Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] stated that it could be put into the eighth section, and that he had no objection to it. The Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER] stated that he had no objection to it. Both of them so stated in regard to my amendment, which was merely an interpretation of the law relating to the statistics of manufactures, so that the inquiries should include the subject of water power, a matter about which the Commissioner of the Census is in some doubt. It seems to me these two or three matters should be put in the bill.

Then, when it comes to the matter of the statistics of wealth, that is something which we will not deal with until it is explained; at least, I hope not. That we shall need the statistics upon some of these subjects no one questions, and it should be provided for, if it can be done, in this eighth section. The other amendments had the assent of representatives of the committee, who regard them as good things in themselves, and I do not think we ought to go without them on the chance that we may get up another census bill a few months hence.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The amendment submitted by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] as it has been modified will be stated.

The SECRETARY. At the end of section 2, on page 3, it is proposed to insert:

Provided further, That the Director of the Census may, after the completion of the census as aforesaid, in his discretion, collect statistics relating to all of the deaf, dumb, and blind, notwithstanding the restriction contained in section 8 of the act of March 3, 1899, relating to special classes.

Mr. COCKRELL. The Senator from Illinois [Mr. CULLOM] seems to be exceedingly earnest in the advocacy of this amendment, as do some other Senators. I do not consider it a very material amendment; I do not consider it a very important amendment. There are other amendments which, if this shall be agreed to, ought to be adopted, which I consider infinitely more important to the great masses of the toiling millions of this country than this amendment. I understood, however, when the last census bill was reported and passed, with a good deal of unanimity, that we were going to stand by it, that we would have a census taken in pursuance of it, and that we would not be, from the day the bill passed until five or six years afterwards, amending, enlarging, and extending it until the publication of the census would be a disgrace to any government.

I insist that we shall stand by the act as it was passed, and take the census which it provided for. If it is desired to have any other census taken, it can be taken. We are not confined to taking a census every ten years. We have, under the Constitution, to take one every ten years, but we can take a census at any time; so we need not encumber this bill with amendments. Why mix this up? We have not, I believe, received all the reports of the last census. I think in the last year some of the volumes came in.

Mr. CULLOM. I assume that the Senator from Missouri does not desire a partial census of those unfortunates to whom my amendment refers, but a whole census, with all the facts.

Mr. COCKRELL. I think the census will be complete enough for any man to form a just conclusion from. Though it may not include every such person found in some private home, it will have all those in institutions.

Mr. CULLOM. The census will contain simply the enumeration of those in the institutions, and no others.

Mr. COCKRELL. I say that that will include 999 out of every 1,000.

Mr. HAWLEY. Oh, no.

Mr. CULLOM. I differ with the Senator very materially.

Mr. COCKRELL. I am only stating what the amendment will do. I do not think it a very important amendment. There will simply be a few whose names will not be taken in the census, but that will not be fatal to it and will not injure the reputation or character or standing of our nation; it will not prohibit anybody from obtaining information, and all the information on that subject that is worth a continental cent.

Mr. CULLOM. We might say that none of it is worth a continental, but when we come to take a census of any class of people let us have an enumeration of all in that class. If that is not to be done, we ought to strike out the original provision of the law.

It seems to me the Senator is entirely wrong in the position he takes. This amendment will not interfere with the population census at all. It simply provides that the census of all of these two unfortunate classes shall be taken, not only those in institutions, but those who are not in institutions, and I hope the amendment will be adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Illinois.

The question being put, there were on a division—ayes 9, noes 22. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum has not voted.

Mr. HOAR. I rise to move that the Senate adjourn.

Mr. ELKINS. Before that is done, I desire to present some papers in the nature of morning business.

Mr. COCKRELL. We can not do any business in the absence of a quorum.

Mr. ELKINS. I merely want to present some papers and bills, so as to get them out of my charge.

Mr. HOAR. That can not be done now.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Wednesday, January 10, 1900, at 12 o'clock meridian.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, January 10, 1900.

The Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou in whose hand our breath is and whose are all our ways, as the Senate meets to-day to pay its tribute of respect and affection to the memory of our late beloved Vice-President, a man whose generous nature, sunny temper, and friendly ways endeared him to all who were brought in contact with him, grant that the men who speak may set forth the feeling not only of the Senate, but of the whole country.

Hear our devout prayer in behalf of the wife who has been widowed, and of the son who has been rendered fatherless. Uphold and steer them in their unspeakable bereavement. And let this great sorrow, which has touched so many homes and hearts, come to us with the sense that there is a future where God's sons and daughters are gathered in immortal peace and blessedness, where are no tears, nor sorrow, nor grief. We pray through Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on motion of Mr. LODGE, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Journal, without objection, will stand approved.

NAVAJO INDIAN RESERVATION.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed:

To the Senate and the House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a communication from the Secretary of the Interior, dated the 5th instant, with accompanying papers, expressing an urgent necessity for the enlargement of the Navajo Indian Reservation, in Arizona, to enable these Indians to support themselves by stock raising within the limits of their reservation.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
Washington, January 10, 1900.

URGENT DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION ACT OF MARCH 9, 1898.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Attorney-General, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 8th instant, certain information relative to that portion of the \$50,000,000 appropriated by Congress under the act approved March 9, 1898, making appropriations to supply urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, and for prior years, and for other purposes, and stating that no portion of the amount was assigned to and expended by or under the direction of the Department of Justice.

What disposition does the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] desire to have made of the communication?

Mr. ALLEN. I move that it be printed, with the accompanying papers, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

The motion was agreed to.

NEW YORK BANK TRANSACTIONS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting, in response to a resolution of the 4th instant, copies of all letters, communications, agreements, papers, and documents between the Treasury Department of the Government of the United States and the National City Bank and the Hanover National Bank, of the city of New York.

The papers are quite voluminous. The Chair supposes they should be referred to the Committee on Finance. Perhaps the

question of printing should be referred to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. ALLISON. Do all those documents accompany the communication?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. All the documents are connected with it.

Mr. ALLEN. Is it in response to the resolution I introduced some days ago?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is inclined to think it is.

Mr. ALLISON. I understand it is in response to the resolution of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN]. Those papers seem to be rather voluminous. I suppose they are letters and documents.

Mr. ALLEN. They ought to be printed. Their value, I suppose, consists in being printed and made public.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the rule they would go to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. HALE. That committee can report at any time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. But the Senate can order the printing without a reference.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senate can order the printing. I hope they will be ordered printed.

Mr. ALLEN. I trust they will be ordered printed without a reference of the question.

Mr. ALLISON. Let them be printed and referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. VEST. Is there any statement there by the Secretary?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is quite a long statement from the Secretary.

Mr. ALLEN. That should be printed as a part of the document.

Mr. VEST. Yes, if it is too long to be read. I should like to hear it read. I do not care anything about the exhibits, but I should like to hear the Secretary's general statement about this matter, unless it would take too much time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It comprises six or eight pages. Does the Senator ask that it be read?

Mr. VEST. Unless it would take too much time. I do not know how long it is.

Mr. LODGE. How many pages does it comprise?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Perhaps 10 pages.

Mr. VEST. Let it be read if it is only 10 pages long.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair discovers that it is a great deal longer. It comprises the entire document here. There must be 30 pages of it.

Mr. ALLISON. Thirty printed pages?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Thirty printed pages.

Mr. ALLEN. Why can not that be printed in the RECORD?

Mr. VEST. I do not ask that it be read if it is that long.

Mr. ALLEN. Let it be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. ALLISON. I think it is too much matter to be printed in the RECORD, although I do not know; it may be such an important document that it deserves to be printed in the RECORD. If it were read, of course it would appear in the RECORD.

Mr. VEST. I take it for granted that the Secretary has answered in a general way the inquiry which was made of him by the Senate and that in substantiating his statement he has filed these exhibits. My object in asking for the reading is to get a general idea of what his statement is. It seems to me that the Senate ought, out of respect to him, to have it read.

Mr. ALLISON. Without knowing the contents of the paper, I think the Secretary has attempted to answer with great fullness and in an explicit way the inquiries of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Nebraska. I would be glad to hear it read, or I think it might very well be printed in the RECORD or printed as a document, I do not care which. It ought to be printed as a document in connection with the papers submitted.

Mr. ALLEN. It ought to be printed as a part of the proceedings, with all the exhibits, as a document.

Mr. ALLISON. It can be printed in a day or two. I suggest to the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Missouri that this document can be printed and placed on our tables to-morrow or Friday morning. I ask that the communication be printed as a document, with all the accompanying papers, and then we shall have the whole story, whatever it is.

Mr. ALLEN. That will be satisfactory to me.

Mr. HALE. Let me suggest that if we print the report of the Secretary and the accompanying documents we shall have a great, cumbersome book that nobody will read. Not only ought the communication to be printed with the accompanying papers, but as a separate document, because most people will want to see the report without regard to the papers that accompany it. I suggest to the Senators to have it done in that way.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; I do not object to that.