

THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

TESTIMONY AND STATEMENTS OF WITNESSES, AMERICAN AND FOREIGN,

CONCERNING

- 1ST. CONDUCT OF OUR ARMY.
- 2D. RECONCENTRATION.
- 3D. EFFECT OF OUR ADMINISTRATION ON THE
PEOPLE.
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Civil Government for the Philippine Islands.

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE,
OF INDIANA,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

Tuesday, June 3, 1902.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (S. 2295) temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes—

Mr. BEVERIDGE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The honorable Senator who has just taken his seat [Mr. McLAURIN of Mississippi] has stated that those of us who favor the bill have charged the opposition with slandering the Army, and that that charge is false.

Mr. President, why has that charge been made? It is because exceptional instances of the conduct of soldiers and officers have been taken out of the usual and general action and attitude of our forces and have been presented to the Senate and the country as though they were the customary conduct of the American Army.

I had not intended, Mr. President, to occupy the attention of the Senate any more upon this question, but upon looking over the RECORD this morning and finding there repeated what I have seen so often before—excerpts from the testimony of witnesses before the committee as to exceptional instances of harsh measures, from which was carefully excluded the testimony as to the general conduct of the war—it seems proper and right and just not only to the Army, not only to the policy of the Government, but to the American people, that the testimony as to the ordinary and habitual conduct of American soldiers from the very inception of hostilities to the present time should be presented to the country.

Mr. President, I do not think that the mere assertion of Senators will be controlling or convincing. But certainly the words of those who have been upon the ground and who have studied the question and who have observed conditions there ought to carry greater weight than those who bring their observations merely from their prejudices and their imaginations.

I.—CONDUCT OF OUR ARMY.

Therefore, Mr. President, starting out with the report of the Commission which was headed by President Schurman, I will take from that report written by him a statement, made at the very beginning of this affair, as to the conduct of our Army. President Schurman, who is now assailing this very policy, said, with reference to the conduct of our forces in the Philippines:

FIRST REPORT OF SCHURMAN COMMISSION AS TO CONDUCT OF ARMY
TOWARD FILIPINOS.

The Commission is not willing to close this statement without paying just tribute to our sailors and soldiers. The presence of Admiral Dewey as a member of this body makes it unfitting to dwell on his personal achievements, but he joins with us in eulogy of his comrades. We were fortunate in witnessing some of the many brave deeds of our soldiers. All that skill, courage, and patient endurance can do has been done in the Philippines.

Attention of Senators in opposition is called to what Professor Schurman says immediately following. It appears that this attack on our Army is not new. But those who assailed our uniform when Schurman wrote are even now forgotten, and in their fate there is prophecy and warning. Says Schurman:

We are aware that there are those who have seen fit to accuse our troops of desecrating churches, murdering prisoners, and committing unmentionable crimes. To those who derive satisfaction from seizing on isolated occurrences—regrettable, indeed, but incident to every war—and making them the basis of sweeping accusations, this Commission has nothing to say. Still less do we feel called upon to answer idle tales without foundation in fact. But for the satisfaction of those who have found it difficult to understand why the transporting of American citizens across the Pacific Ocean should change their nature, we are glad to express the belief that *a war was never more humanely conducted. Insurgents wounded were repeatedly succored on the field by our men at the risk of their lives.*

Those who had a chance for life were taken to Manila and tenderly cared for in our hospitals. If churches were occupied, it was only as a military necessity, and frequently after their use as forts by the insurgents had made it necessary to train our artillery upon them. Prisoners were taken whenever opportunity offered, often only to be set at liberty after being disarmed and fed.

If it be said that this is a statement made at the inception of the war, let us turn to the statement of Governor Taft, who has spent two years there, and delivers the following in his recent testimony as his final judgment and conclusion; and no man has had better opportunity to witness the effect of kind or brutal treatment of natives than Taft. Governor Taft says:

TESTIMONY OF GOVERNOR TAFT AS TO CONDUCT OF ARMY TOWARD
FILIPINOS.

COMPASSION OF AMERICAN FORCES.

After a good deal of study about the matter—and although I have never been prejudiced in favor of the military branch, for when the civil and military branches are exercising concurrent jurisdiction there is some inevitable friction—I desire to say that *it is my deliberate judgment that there never was a war conducted, whether against inferior races or not, in which there were more compassion and more restraint and more generosity, assuming that there was a war at all, than there has been in the Philippine Islands.* Now, I say that without having been in the war at all, having only been at Manila, where reports were constantly coming in and where I was talking with officers of the Army, and knew what the general orders were and what the general policy was.

The CHAIRMAN. You also talked with a great many Filipinos and insurgent leaders, I suppose?

Governor TAFT. I have.

And Governor Taft had traveled nearly all over the islands organizing civil government when he made that statement.

Mr. President, I desire to follow that by the testimony of General MacArthur, who commanded our troops, and by two orders introduced by General MacArthur in his testimony, as showing the spirit of our military operations.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL MACARTHUR AS TO CONDUCT OF ARMY TOWARD
FILIPINOS.

General MACARTHUR. I would like to say this—I thought I had made a note of it: That, in my judgment, from an intimate knowledge of military operations of the islands, from the operations against the Spanish in Manila, until I left the islands on the 4th of July, 1901, *I doubt if any war—either international or civil, any war on earth—has been conducted with as much humanity, with as much careful consideration, with as much self-restraint, in view of the character of our adversary, as have been the American operations in the Philippine Archipelago.*

The CHAIRMAN. In that connection, General, there have been a great many stories and statements in regard to cruelties practiced by our soldiers upon hostile inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. What have you to say in regard to that, as to the general directions of yourself and the other officers in command, as to the general conduct of the soldiers?

General MACARTHUR. The standards of course are established by gen-

eral orders and by advisory memoranda and by the reviews of courts-martial. They are on a high ideal plane. There have been in the neighborhood, I think, of 125,000 men and soldiers in the islands. Some of those men have committed excesses under the provocation of hardship. That is not mentioned as an excuse, but as a cause. Wherever any violations of the laws of war have been detected the remedy has been instantly applied. It was my own purpose to promulgate views in orders, by personal admonition, and by punitive action; but of course in conducting war all of the ferocity of humanity is brought to the surface, and in individual instances excesses have been committed.

AMERICAN CHARACTER NOT "TRANSFORMED."

But to say that the Army commit excesses, or that excesses were encouraged, of course is to say that the character of Americans in the Philippines is immediately transformed by the question of latitude and longitude, which is not the fact. Individual men have committed individual outrages; but when we compare the conditions that exist in the Philippines to-day in that respect with what have existed in all modern wars between civilized states *the comparison is absolutely in favor of the self-restraint and high discipline of the American soldier.*

The CHAIRMAN. Where excesses were brought to your knowledge were they punished?

General MACARTHUR. Absolutely. It was my effort to get that idea permeated through the Army—that we were representing the highest stage of civilization and that our military movements and moves should comport therewith; that they must be such as to meet with the approbation of public opinion at home.

Senator BEVERIDGE. The general conduct of our soldiers and officers there, irrespective of orders from headquarters, was in the direction of kindness, mercy, and humanity, was it?

General MACARTHUR. Absolutely, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Instead of the reverse?

"BEARING OF OUR ARMY SUPERB."

General MACARTHUR. *The bearing of our Army as a whole was simply superb.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. There were wards in our hospitals in Manila and elsewhere which were devoted to Filipino sick and wounded, were there not?

General MACARTHUR. Yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And what were the facts about Filipino sick and wounded in our hospitals being attended by our physicians and nurses?

General MACARTHUR. They were treated the same as our own people. A wounded enemy is a guest. A prisoner is a guest. That is the doctrine of military courtesy. The moment an unarmed man comes into your possession he is entitled to the hospitality of friendship, and they always receive it.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That was the spirit in which they were treated?

General MACARTHUR. That was the spirit in which they were treated.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And what is the fact about that being the case not only in Manila, in the general hospital there, but also as you progressed over the island, in the temporary hospitals you established?

General MACARTHUR. *That was so everywhere; not only by orders, but so by reason of the spontaneous generosity of our soldiers, who have uniformly displayed that kindness which is characteristic of American soldiers.*

PRIVATE SOLDIERS AS TEACHERS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. One more question. What is the fact, General, about the efforts of our officers and soldiers detailed from the ranks to establish schools in the towns possibly even before civilized government began and while it was under military control?

General MACARTHUR. *Soldiers were detailed in many instances; where no teachers were available we always put soldiers in.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. What was the efficiency and zeal of soldiers detailed from the ranks as teachers?

General MACARTHUR. Good, I would say. In that connection I would like to say something in behalf of the Filipinos. That was one of their first-expressed wishes. Whenever we entered a town one of their first-expressed wishes was that schools might be established. Of course that was responded to instantly by us.

Senator BEVERIDGE. By the military authorities?

General MACARTHUR. By the military authorities.

The CHAIRMAN. That, you say, was one of their first requests?

General MACARTHUR. Yes. And they show a great deal of ability in the minor administration of townships, in getting together school material, and getting the children into the schools.

EDUCATION BEGAN BY ARMY.

Senator BEVERIDGE. So that the work of education by Americans began before the civil administration, under the military control?

General MACARTHUR. It began instantly.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And as you passed forward with your troops you followed with your soldiers detailed as teachers?

General MACARTHUR. Wherever it was necessary, and it occurred in very many instances. That educational question was one of the easy and pleasant subjects of administration. The Filipinos wanted it, and we were eager to give it, and we came together on that issue immediately. It was the focus in which originated a great deal of good will, and which is spreading over the island still in that same form.

Senator BEVERIDGE. When your arms passed on and insurrection no longer existed in any particular locality or district, what is the fact about the people returning to their fields and homes and transacting the business and labors of everyday life in peace and freedom?

General MACARTHUR. They returned in large numbers.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And went to work?

General MACARTHUR. In fact, whenever I invited them to come back they always did. Came back and went to work.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And went to work?

General MACARTHUR. Yes. That was noticeably so in the towns north-east of Manila immediately after the first outbreak. They of course had been misinformed and were apprehensive, and when we entered the town they all fled; but on our invitation they always returned.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What is the fact about their having fled and about the insurrection itself having been aided and maintained by false reports of its leaders concerning us—our methods and purposes?

General MACARTHUR. That obtained to a very great extent; not only the Filipinos, but the Spaniards had—

Senator CARMACK. What was the character of those false reports?

General MACARTHUR (continuing). Talked of our peculiarities and stated many things that were not true, and the people were very apprehensive until they came in contact with us.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And then they found this to be untrue and returned to their homes and industries?

General MACARTHUR. Yes.

ORDERS OF GENERAL MACARTHUR AS TO TREATMENT OF FILIPINOS BY AMERICANS, INTRODUCED BY GENERAL MACARTHUR AS A SAMPLE AND ILLUSTRATION OF SPIRIT OF ORDERS.

FIELD ORDERS, }

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION,

EIGHTH ARMY CORPS,

Malolos, P. I., April 2, 1899.

No. 2. }

1. Many of the citizens of Malolos and other towns in the vicinity desire to return to their abandoned houses within the lines of the army.

The interests of the United States will be subserved by encouraging this disposition on the part of the natives in every way consistent with military interests.

All officers and soldiers are therefore urged to contribute to the end in view by considerate and kind treatment of these people, who are now part of and under the protection of the United States.

The controlling insurgent authorities have persistently represented the American soldiers as turbulent, undisciplined, and given to gross and licentious excesses upon helpless people.

In order to eradicate the effects of such mendacious misrepresentations, it is especially necessary that all concerned should sedulously abstain from practices in any way calculated to annoy or engender the feelings of timidity or mistrust.

Unarmed natives will be permitted to enter our lines at all times during the day, with a view to the resumption of their usual avocations and occupancy of their houses.

By command of Major-General MacArthur.

That was published and circulated as generally as possible, and the consequence was that thousands, tens of thousands, perhaps fifty thousand people, returned to different towns on the line of the railroad between Malolos and Manila.

Subsequently, in preparing for the advance from Malolos, the order of battle was issued on the 22d of April. [Reading:]

"The seventh paragraph of that order is to this effect:

"7. The purpose of the United States in these islands is beneficent. It is, therefore, one of the most important duties of American soldiers to assist in establishing friendly relations with the natives by kind and considerate treatment in all matters arising from personal contact. To exasperate individuals or to burn or loot unprotected or abandoned houses or property is not only criminal in itself, but tends to impede the policy of the United States and to defeat the very purpose which the Army is here to accomplish. All concerned are accordingly strictly charged to practice becoming self-restraint in the premises, and it is made the special duty of all officers to

prevent thoughtless and ignorant men from indulging in any of the practices enumerated and to take necessary action to insure adequate punishment, as prescribed by the Articles of War, in the event of overt acts being committed by any member of the command, either during the contemplated actions against Calumpit or thereafter throughout the campaign."

I follow that by the testimony of General Hughes and by the testimony of General Otis upon this point, and by the testimony of Professor Barrows, not belonging to the Army, but who had carefully been well over the island of Luzon in the interest of our educational establishment:

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL HUGHES AS TO CONDUCT OF ARMY TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. With reference to the line of inquiry just completed by Senator PATTERSON, I wish to ask you one or two questions, throwing light, perhaps, on the other side of the question. It is true, is it not, that the Americans established in Manila quite early and maintained there as long as necessary a hospital where Filipino wounded and sick, etc., could receive the attention of American surgeons and physicians, medicines, and other care, precisely like the American troops?

General HUGHES. My recollection is that one section of the general hospital was set aside for Filipinos, *where they received the same care and treatment that were given to our own people.* The one great trouble they had with them, though, was that their curiosity would compel them to push their fingers into the wounds and tear them open, and the surgeons said they had a very difficult time keeping the wounds in healthy condition.

Senator BEVERIDGE. But it was an instance which was uniformly repeated in various phases of practical kindness on the part of the Americans to the Filipinos?

CARE OF WOUNDED FILIPINOS.

General HUGHES. It was the case at all times. *The wounded were cared for just as you would care for civilized wounded.* In order to let them know that this was the case, I took great pains after they were cured to send out men who had lost an arm or a leg over the lines, in order that all fear of being made prisoners might be allayed, and instances of resistance to the death might cease.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What have you to say, from your experience, about the kindness and consideration shown by the American authorities and troops to the Filipinos who were soldiers or otherwise, relating instances, if you care to, or making your statement general, as you please?

General HUGHES. I have no hesitation in saying that, so far as I know, the same consideration was shown the Filipino when he was captured or wounded in the civil war. We have carried them by our carriers for miles; we have carried them two days to get them where they could get hospital treatment;

General HUGHES. *I have no hesitation in saying that, so far as I know, the same consideration was shown the Filipino when he was captured or wounded that was given to our own people when captured or wounded in the civil war. We have carried them by our carriers for miles; we have carried them two days to get them where they could get hospital treatment; we have carried them for a day to get them to a hospital.* I remember one case in Antique where the man was shot through the head, and I asked the officer what he intended to do with him. He said, "I am going to put him in the hospital." Said I, "He will run away unless you watch him." Sure enough, inside of forty-eight hours that man got up and ran away.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL OTIS AS TO CONDUCT OF ARMY TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Now, will you tell the committee what the fact is about the cruelty toward the natives, prisoners or otherwise, of American officers and soldiers; as to whether cruelty by American officers and soldiers was practiced upon the people, or even upon prisoners, or whether, on the contrary, kindness and consideration was practiced by our troops toward them?

General OTIS. *The greatest kindness.* I investigated myself, and through inspectors appointed by me, every statement of harsh treatment that I heard of while in the islands. In some cases the investigation was pursued for weeks.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What is the fact about your having established, General, in Manila and elsewhere, if such was the case, hospital wards devoted to wounded Filipinos, and what care was taken of the Filipino sick and wounded, in comparison to the care taken of the American sick and wounded?

General OTIS. We put the sick and wounded in our own hospitals. When our own hospitals were filled, we hired the hospitals of the friars within the

walled town. They were all taken care of. We hired doctors when we did not have sufficient medical assistance of our own. We hired Filipino doctors and Spanish doctors and looked after the sick and wounded of the Filipinos, and they received every care possible. In fact, one of the commissions, one of Aguinaldo's commissions, came in while we had a great many of the Filipinos in the hospital, and I invited the members of the commission to go around and visit all their sick and wounded throughout the city; and they did so, and came back and expressed themselves as greatly gratified.

Senator PROCTOR. You do not think, General, on the whole, that the character of the American Army, so far as common humanity is concerned, has changed entirely in a year or two's service over there, I judge?

General OTIS. No, sir. *We were laughed at by the Spaniards and by Europeans for the humanity we exercised.*

TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR BARROWS AS TO EFFECT OF CONDUCT OF ARMY TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Senator DIETRICH. In your travels through the island of Luzon, did you find any evidence that American soldiers had perpetrated any cruelties or used methods of uncivilized warfare upon natives, especially the water cure?

Mr. BARROWS. I found very little evidence of it. I think I have met two persons whose word I would trust who professed to have seen the water cure administered. It did not injure the natives.

Senator DIETRICH. By whom was it perpetrated?

Mr. BARROWS. I think by small scouting parties.

Senator DIETRICH. Macabebes?

Mr. BARROWS. Usually a company of native scouts with perhaps a few soldiers along.

Not only this, Mr. President, but there also appeared before our committee many soldiers and two or three officers in addition to the general officers. The testimony of these men, all of whom I believe testified to the water cure, was that the general conduct of our officers and soldiers was humane, kindly, considerate, and compassionate, not only to the Filipino prisoners taken in war, but to the Filipinos themselves. I ask leave to print it without reading. I have taken only that portion of the testimony as to the usual and general conduct of the Army officers, because that is the only standard for just judgment and because the portions of testimony relating to the exceptions have been repeatedly presented already.

The testimony referred to is as follows:

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. FRED McDONALD AS TO USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator DUBOIS:

Q. So far as you heard or knew there never was but one case of water cure over there, and that was the one at Igaras?

A. So far as I knew; yes, sir. My men had explicit orders to treat natives with the greatest care—to be more than particular. I will show the committee to-morrow an order issued in relation to it—an official document. I was very careful to treat all prisoners with kindness. I might illustrate, if I am not taking up the committee's time.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear you.

A. (Continued.) A case of an insurgent officer whose picture I have here. He was the commanding officer of the insurgent forces where I was in command of the American forces. His name was Clavira. His wife was sick in one of my towns, some 10 miles away from my station. I was informed of that fact, and I sent my doctor with orders for him to go to the town of Guimbal and treat the wife of this insurgent officer. He, you understand, was in active operation against the American troops. He did so, and while he was unable to do much for the woman he called on her twice. My sergeant and hospital steward at that station kept track of the case, and the woman eventually recovered.

We have any number of times taken sick insurgent prisoners to our hospital; we have treated the native police when they have been wounded. The cases of kindness by men under my command and by other officers were too numerous to mention.

The CHAIRMAN. That inscription on the back of this photograph that you showed me is to the effect that he gave it to you?

The WITNESS, Yes; and I received photographs from other insurgent officers. Here is a photograph of another insurgent officer who commanded a column. He went away out of his way to surrender to our station, when he had been ordered to proceed to Jaro, for the reason that he believed the officers and troops in my district were very, very fair and always treated his troops with kindness. All these officers called on us later and thanked us for different kindnesses we had shown their men.

"LIKE FATHERS TO CHILDREN."

By Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. On that point, Captain, what was the general and ordinary course of conduct of the American officers and soldiers toward the people themselves who were not prisoners, and the people peaceably at work in their fields and homes, as to kindness and consideration?

A. *More like father and children; we always treated them with extreme kindness.*

Q. And the soldiers?

A. And the soldiers the same way.

Q. What orders did the soldiers have as to their treatment of the people? A. To treat them exactly as they would citizens or natives at home. If a peaceable native was interfered with in his occupation in any way the case was investigated and the soldier who offended was put in the guardhouse; he was punished.

Q. Speaking of native prisoners, what was the treatment the prisoners you observed received at the hands of the American officers and men?

A. Exactly the same treatment that any prisoners would receive. They received, for instance, the same food that our soldiers received.

Q. If they were sick or wounded?

A. If they were sick or wounded they were sent to the hospitals and treated in the hospitals.

Q. By what physicians?

A. The American physicians.

Q. And if nursed, by what nurses?

A. By American Hospital Corps men.

Q. Now, about rations. You have some rations issued to men. I assume that no member of the committee wants any great volume of these ration reports. You may put in such as you want to, and eliminate such as you want to.

RATIONS ISSUED TO INSURGENT PRISONERS.

Q. There are some I have picked out at random while you have been testifying on other matters. I have looked over some of these while you have been testifying on other points. Here is one—ration No. 419. I find in a period of two weeks, from the 16th of December to the 31st of December, that the squad of prisoners provided for during that time was 26; that during this period for these 26 prisoners there were issued rations as follows: 126 rations of bacon, 169 fresh beef, 124 salmon, 419 rice, 419 coffee, 419 sugar, 419 vinegar, 419 soap, 419 salt. This was to the native prisoners, as I understand it?

A. *Entirely for their use; yes, sir.*

Q. I have made a very hurried, rough calculation here and I find that that means for each week each man had $3\frac{1}{2}$ of fresh beef, each Filipino prisoner; each one had 2 of bacon, 2 of salmon, 8 of rice, 8 of coffee, 8 of sugar, 8 of vinegar, 8 of soap, 8 of salt. I wish you would look at that ration return and see if that general summary of food issued to these prisoners is correct.

A. (After examination.) Yes, sir; the figures on the back of this return were made by Lieut. W. H. Plummer, commissary officer.

Q. There are 26 of those men there, are there not?

A. Twenty-six prisoners on that day.

Q. I see there you issued them soap.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You may explain that—but I suppose that the soap was issued precisely as it would be to the American soldiers?

A. Yes; it was.

Q. I perceive here the item of coffee and also the item of sugar. I assume that that also is accounted for by the fact that it was merely the issuing of rations to the prisoners precisely as to our soldiers?

A. Exactly as to our soldiers, according to the order covering that.

Q. Now, merely to illustrate this great bundle of stuff you have here—these were taken out at random—I find that on ration return No. 526, 29 native prisoners were served between December 1 and December 15, a period of two weeks, with 158 rations of bacon, 210 fresh beef, and 158 rations of salmon, 526 rations of rice, 526 rations of coffee, 526 rations of sugar, 526 rations of vinegar, 526 rations of soap, and 526 rations of salt. A rough calculation makes that something more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ for each man a week of salmon, more than $7\frac{1}{2}$ each of fresh beef, 18 of rice, coffee, sugar, vinegar, soap, and salt.

Examine that ration return and please say if that is substantially correct, and if that is also accounted for by the issuance of the same rations as to American soldiers?

A. (After examination.) The statements you have made are correct as shown on this return.

Q. *So it appears on this ration return, which you say is correct, that we issued the Filipino prisoners fresh beef?*

A. *We did; yes, sir.*

Q. *We issued them coffee and sugar?*

A. *Yes, sir.*

Q. *Vinegar and soap?*

A. *Yes, sir.*

Q. *As well as the other items?*

A. *Yes, sir.*

Q. *Not only gave them rice, which was their habitual food, but these other items which are given to the soldiers of the American Army?*

A. *Yes, sir.*

Mr. BEVERIDGE. When, Mr. President, in any war, civilized or uncivilized, ancient or modern, were such rations issued prisoners and such treatment given them? Here, now, is the testimony of private soldiers who testified to the water cure:

TESTIMONY OF ISADORE H. DUBE AS TO ORDINARY CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. One of your last answers was, as I heard it, that when we entered a town we were received by the natives; that the natives accepted American authority and did everything they could for us. How long were you in the Philippines?

A. I was in the Philippines in the United States service about sixteen or seventeen months.

Q. During which time you were in what islands or provinces?

A. I was on the island of Panay.

Q. You were under General Hughes, then?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. During your service in aiding in the suppression of the insurrection you have or have not seen prisoners taken by us?

A. Yes, sir; I have.

Q. When we took Filipino prisoners, what was the treatment that they received from our officers and soldiers as respects kindness and care and attention?

GIVEN "SUCH FOOD AS THEY WANTED."

A. They were treated as prisoners of war and fed as such. They were given good, substantial food, according to their demands.

Q. That is, such food as they liked?

A. Such food as they wanted, such food as they were accustomed to. They were worked, and in my judgment they were treated as prisoners of war should be treated.

Q. And when they were sick or wounded, what was the attention they received in reference to medical attention?

A. They were treated and taken care of by American surgeons, and taken into the American hospital.

Q. And if nursed at all, by what nurses?

A. By American nurses.

Q. Now, continuing that same line, connecting it with your answer about the way we were received, what was the general treatment of the people who were peaceably inclined and that worked; what was the general treatment of the Filipino people by our officers and men with respect to kindness and consideration?

A. The treatment, I think, was all right—was good enough—the treatment that was authorized by the American officers.

"BE AN EXAMPLE OF AMERICANISM."

Q. What did you understand General Hughes's orders and the orders of the other American officers to be with reference to the conduct of soldiers toward the people?

A. *It was to treat them—the sympathizers—with kindness and to be an example of what Americanism was.*

Q. And did you do that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And did your comrades do that also?

A. As far as I know. Well, that is, my own comrades in my company; that is all I am supposed to know about it.

TESTIMONY OF GROVER FLINT AS TO USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. How long did you say you were in the service there—about a year and a half?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever observe in your service Filipino prisoners after they had been taken by us?

A. I have seen some in the guardhouse; yes; and some in the hospitals.

Q. You found them in the hospital?

A. Yes, sir.

FILIPINOS PRISONERS TREATED AS WELL AS OUR OWN.

Q. You may state what the facts are as to the care and attention they received in the hospitals as compared with the attention and care our own soldiers received.

A. I think it was usually quite good, as far as that goes. I never saw anything—

Q. What did you observe—

Senator CULBERSON. Let him finish his answer.

Q. (Continuing.) During your service as to the care and kindness manifested to the Filipino prisoners by American officers?

A. *I think it was most excellent.*

Q. That was the usual course, with reference to the Filipino prisoners?

A. Yes, sir; I think it was.

Q. And with reference to Filipino people engaged in peaceable pursuits—what was the conduct of the American officers and men toward them?

A. *I think it was as kind as you could make it in every case—that is, I never saw any other spirit.*

Q. You spoke about the guardhouse a moment ago. I want to ask you whether the Filipinos in the guardhouse were treated any differently from our own men in the guardhouse?

A. They were fed differently; that is all.

Q. That is, were they fed the food to which they were accustomed?

A. Yes, sir; the food to which they were accustomed, but they were treated the same as our men otherwise.

Q. The same as American prisoners in the guardhouse?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You saw no distinction?

A. No, sir.

Q. Except in the case of food?

A. Yes; they were on a different ration. They did not like our ration.

Q. That is the reason they were given the different ration?

A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF D. J. EVANS AS TO THE USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. How long did you serve altogether in the Philippine Islands?

A. Very nearly two years.

Q. During that time you were in what part of the archipelago?

A. I was in the island of Luzon, from Manila to—do you want—

Q. Just generally. And during this time what is the fact as to your having observed any number of prisoners taken by our troops?

A. I have seen a great number of prisoners; yes, sir.

Q. Tell the committee what the fact is as to the treatment of those prisoners by American officers and men, as to kindness and consideration or the reverse.

A. The majority of the prisoners, until the time I went north, if they were taken and had arms they would be kept a few days and their arms would be taken away and then probably they would be paroled or released.

PRISONERS PREFERRED TO REMAIN WITH US.

Q. During the time they were in our custody what is the fact as to the food given them?

A. They were fed, and if there was any work to be done they had to do it; but they were treated, up to this time the water cure commenced, as well as they could be. *Some of the Filipino prisoners actually preferred to remain in the American lines, prisoners, than to be among their own people.*

Q. And the sick and wounded among them?

A. They were given hospital treatment.

Q. The same as our men?

A. Yes, sir. In the front of their hospital, I believe, there were two wards.

- Q. You speak of their hospital. Do you refer to the hospital in Manila?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. That was given up entirely to the Filipino sick and wounded?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And what physicians attended them?
 A. Our physicians and our nurses.
 Q. Our nurses also?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. What is the fact as to the treatment of these prisoners, and sick and wounded being given the same as to our sick and wounded?
 A. I could not see any difference, except probably the rations would not be the same. The Filipinos themselves would prefer rice.
 Q. They would prefer rice?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. They were given what they preferred?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Do you understand that to be the reason why there was any difference in the rations given to our own soldiers and to the Filipino prisoners?
 A. That is the only reason I can give.
 Q. They being used to it?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Yes; what is your observation as to the treatment of the people engaged in peaceable pursuits, as to kindness and consideration, or the reverse, from the American officers and the men?
 A. They were never molested if they seemed to be peaceable natives. They would not be molested unless they showed some signs of hostility of some kind, and if they did, if we struck a part of the island where the natives were hostile and they would fire on our soldiers or even cut the telegraph lines, the result would be that their barrios would probably be burned.

PEOPLE RETURNED TO THEIR FIELDS.

- Q. After our troops had passed over a district, what is the fact as to the people returning to the fields and engaging in the business of tilling the soil, returning to their homes after peace had been established?
 A. As far as I could see we would not much more than get through a town until you would see the natives coming back from the hills, carrying little white flags on sticks. As we struck a town we could not see a native hardly, but when we got 200 or 300 or 500 yards beyond the town we could see them coming in with these white flags.
 Q. And what is the fact as to their going to work in the fields after peace had been established?
 A. They were continually working in the fields, and they would come back.
 Q. What did you understand the orders from the officers and the commanding generals to be as to the conduct of American officers and soldiers toward peaceably disposed people engaged in peaceable work; as to kindness or the reverse?
 A. We never had any orders to molest any of them who were peaceably inclined, none whatever.
 Q. And you say that sick and wounded Filipinos had the same treatment as our own people?
 A. That was the First Reserve Hospital in Manila; yes. I never observed them in any other hospital. I spoke of that because I had seen it.
 Q. You say that upon our approach—that is, in the first advance—when we would come to a town, people would depart?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. After we would leave the town they would return?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Then, when you came back again you found them at work in the fields. Is that correct?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Now, then, when you returned, did or did they not run away, as in the first instance?
 A. I had in mind the town of Taytay. When we approached that town we approached them under a line of fire, and we drove the natives from the town.
 Q. That was on a Sunday?
 A. I believe it was.
 Q. I remember that very well. But what I am driving at is this: After our column had passed and peace had been established, and you returned and found the people at work in their fields, then did they run away again as in the first instance?
 A. No, sir; they stayed right in their town.

PEOPLE LOST FEAR OF US.

- Q. They appeared to have lost all fear or misunderstanding of us?
 A. It appeared so; yes, sir.
 Q. When did you leave there?
 A. I left there the latter part of January, 1901.
 Q. What were the last prisoners you saw in our custody? Did you see any the last month of your stay there?
 A. I was in the hospital at Dagupan, and there was one prisoner brought there that our company had captured. They opened fire on our company at a place called Monocla, and we captured one man who had been shot a couple of times or three times.
 Q. And you saw him?
 A. I saw him when they brought him to the hospital. He was taken to our hospital, and then he was taken to another hospital called Lingayen, or something like that.
 Q. What treatment was he given?
 A. I did not see.
 Q. You simply saw that he was taken to the hospital?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. So far as you know then and observed, there was no difference in the treatment of prisoners taken in battle or otherwise, at the end of your service, than there was at the beginning of it; that is to say, our treatment of prisoners—sick, wounded, or otherwise—was what as to kindness?
 A. They were always fed, and if there was extra work to be done they did it as a rule.
 Q. Did you observe any cruelty practiced upon the prisoners?
 A. The prisoners we had captured?
 Q. Yes.
 A. No, sir; none that I can think of.

TESTIMONY OF JANUARIUS MANNING AS TO THE USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

- Q. How long were you in the service in the islands altogether?
 A. Over a year; somewhere about a year and five months.
 Q. During that time you observed prisoners taken from time to time?
 A. Yes; a lot of prisoners.
 Q. Will you state what the treatment of those prisoners was from our officers and men with reference to kindness and care and consideration, or the reverse?
 A. Well, I never saw them ill-used; they always got enough to eat.
 Q. What kind of food?
 A. They got rice and meat.
 Q. Was that the food they preferred?
 A. Rice is what they generally live on. We gave them meat with it and hardtack.
 Q. When they were sick and wounded what attention was given to them?
 A. They would be given medical treatment.
 Q. By whom?
 A. By the Army surgeon.
 Q. By the same surgeon that attended our soldiers?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And where hospital treatment was required what occurred then?
 A. Well, I have seen them take the prisoners up from the guardhouse and put them in the hospital.

SAME HOSPITAL OUR OWN MEN OCCUPIED.

- Q. The same hospital that our soldiers occupied?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And if nursing was required, who did the nursing?
 A. The attendants in the hospital.
 Q. *The same attendants that did the nursing to our soldiers?*
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. General Hughes was in command at Panay, was he not?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. He was your commanding officer?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. What did you understand to be the directions and desires of General Hughes and your other superior officers as to the treatment which should be given by you and other soldiers to the people in general who were peaceably inclined, as to care and kindness and consideration, or the reverse?
 A. *The orders were to treat everyone right; to treat them kindly.*
 Q. Did you obey those orders?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the rule also with your comrades?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. So that the general treatment of the Filipino people engaged in peaceful pursuits by American soldiers and officers was kind, courteous, and considerate—or was it the reverse?

A. Yes; I would say it was.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That is, you mean—

Senator CULBERSON. Let him answer the question.

Senator BEVERIDGE. I want him to answer it. I put it in the alternative. (The question was repeated by the stenographer.)

A. (Continued.) I would not say it was the reverse; I would say it was kind.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. JESSE LEE HALL AS TO USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. Did you hear of any cruelties being inflicted by Filipinos on our men?
A. Yes; I heard that, of course. That ceased a great deal after we got so many prisoners. When we first went out there if a man got cut off they would do him. Many cruelties were inflicted, and especially in the Signal Corps.

Q. You say that ceased?

A. I say there was less of that toward the last.

Q. After we had—

A. There were a great many of the prominent men in our possession, but at the beginning we heard a great deal of that. When the game first started men were caught out and some of them bolosed to death and hacked up.

By Senator CULBERSON:

Q. Did any of that occur in your command?

A. One of my men is all that occurred in my command. That was at Santa Cruz. He disappeared from the face of the earth, and afterwards we found some remains which were supposed to be his.

Q. Was he a Macabebe?

A. A Macabebe; yes.

By Senator DIETRICH:

Q. Up in these mountains there were usually what they called ladrones?

A. Yes, sir; ladrones.

“FED THEM AND LET THEM GO.”

Q. And perhaps it was the ladrones and the outlaws that that order pertained to?

A. As I said, there was nothing left there but the bushwhackers and ladrones. I think the resistance to the organized army over there had ended. While there was an organized army, and we were following it from place to place, there was nothing of that sort. In fact prisoners were turned loose; we let them go, and we treated them like we would treat children. It was as if we would spank them and let them go.

By Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. On that point, and on the point several times mentioned of the prisoners taken, what was the treatment by the American soldiers and officers of the prisoners of war which we took, as to kindness and consideration toward them?

A. *Well, we fed them and let them go.* We paroled them, as a usual thing. We took good care of them and dressed their wounds if they were wounded.

Q. And if they were sick?

A. They got as good treatment as our own men received.

Q. From our own physicians and surgeons?

A. Yes; by our own physicians and surgeons. If I ever took a man as a guide, under the directions of General Schwan, I always paid him; and we always paid for chickens and everything else we got. *Every horse we took I know was paid for.* I would always give a receipt, if I could find the owner, and commissions came around afterwards to settle up.

Q. Where you took a horse you gave a receipt and a commission settled for it?

A. The quartermaster would settle, although sometimes the owners were gone and we could not find the owners, you know.

INSTRUCTED TO IMPRESS FILIPINOS WITH OUR DECENCY.

Q. You spoke a moment ago about the understanding you had there as to the policy of our officers and men toward the people, as to kindness, and, as you said, you made up to them.

A. *That was the endeavor, to impress them with the idea of our decency and with the good conduct of American soldiers and American people, to give them the right idea of it.*

Q. Pursuing that and enlarging on the question of Senator LODGE, what was the general conduct of our officers and men toward Filipino people who were not engaged in hostilities, as to kindness and consideration?

A. They were kind to them. The idea was to impress them with the fact that there was no animosity existing as far as we were concerned.

Q. Were you with Lawton in May, 1899?

A. No; I reached him—

Q. You were not with him at San Isidro?

A. No; he was in San Isidro first; I did not get there until fall. That country had to be reoccupied. We fell back from there and we had to go out and go all over the same country again.

Q. When you left, that portion of the country had been pacified, had it not?

A. Apparently so. The telegraph lines were undisturbed there for three or four months.

Q. Were you over that country before you left?

A. Yes; I was up at Calumpit and Tarlac.

Q. That Bagbag district?

A. Yes; up the Bagbag River.

Q. Did you observe the people had returned to their homes and were at work in the fields?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were they peaceful and undisturbed under our authority?

A. Yes, sir.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED BY MILITARY AUTHORITIES.

Q. Captain, did you make any observation concerning the establishment of a civil government after we would occupy a place, such as Malolos or anything of the kind, or the establishment of schools by the military authorities?

A. I only saw the schools; there was no government except the military government; we had not gotten to the experiment of putting in any of the natives.

Q. I do not mean that; I mean the establishment of civil government under General Otis's orders?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, municipal government?

A. Municipal government; yes.

Q. That was done by the military authorities immediately after occupation?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And were schools established by the military authorities?

A. Not in all the places.

Q. In some of them?

A. In some of them; yes, sir.

Q. *And they were taught by soldiers detailed for that purpose?*

A. Yes, sir.

Q. That is, we would occupy a place and establish a municipal government, establish a school, and detail a private soldier to teach it?

A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF MR. RICHARD V. HUGHES AS TO THE USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. And how long were you in the island?

A. About a year.

Q. What portion of the islands?

A. Southern Luzon, in Batangas and Laguna provinces.

Q. Who was in command?

A. Lieutenant Merchant.

Q. I mean who was the general in command of that division?

A. I forget his name now.

Q. Did you during your service observe any number of prisoners taken by our forces?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Will you state to the committee what treatment they received at the hands of the American men, as to kindness and consideration?

A. As to which?

“TREATED JUST AS GOOD AS AMERICAN PRISONERS.”

Q. As to kindness and consideration, or the reverse?

A. We took some prisoners at Magdalena, and while they were in confinement at Magdalena *they were treated just as good as American prisoners.*

- Q. And as to the food given them; whether abundant or not?
 A. It was abundant of its kind, and was the regular ration, consisting of rice, bacon, and hardtack.
 Q. The same as the American troops received?
 A. No; we received beef once or twice a week and potatoes.
 Q. The rice was the food—
 A. The principal food which they got.
 Q. That was the food to which they were accustomed?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And which they preferred. Yes or no.
 A. Yes; they preferred rice.
 Q. When they were ill or wounded, what care was given them by the American authorities?
 A. The doctor, Dr. Stoeckele, of North Eighth street, Philadelphia, attended them, not only as prisoners, but in the barrio.
 Q. So not only the prisoners, but the people themselves received attention from American physicians?
 A. He was the only physician, though, that I knew to do such a thing as that.

SAME TREATMENT IN HOSPITALS.

- Q. In the hospitals where you have been, either as a patient or as an observer, what was the fact as to the treatment of the Filipinos in those hospitals; what kind of treatment did they receive in comparison to that received by our own men?
 A. Just the same treatment.
 Q. From American officers and from American nurses?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Now, with reference to the treatment of people who were peaceably at work, from American officers and men—what was that, as to kindness and consideration, or the reverse?
 A. They never molested them, to my knowledge.
 Q. What was your understanding, as a soldier, of the general conduct which was expected from you by the commanding officer of your division with reference to the treatment of people who were peaceably disposed, who were at work?
 A. I treated them the same as I would and did treat any persons that I knew—with kindness, with courtesy, in every respect. Whenever I found that they were in any way wrong I would arrest them and notify my commanding officer.
 Q. And your comrades, the same or not?
 A. The same, as far as I could see.
 Q. So that the general treatment of the people by American soldiers and officers was as you have described your own treatment of them as being?
 A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF LE ROY E. HALLOCK AS TO THE USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

- Q. Then, your entire service in the Philippines was how long?
 A. About seventeen months, I think.
 Q. During that time where were you most of the time?
 A. At Leon.
 Q. Is that in Panay?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. While General Hughes was in command there?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. Now, aside from the application of the water cure to these men under the circumstances you have told of, what was the general conduct of American officers and soldiers toward the people, as to kindness or otherwise?
 Senator PATTERSON. He has said that where they were friendly it was good.
 Q. (Continuing.) Where they were friendly?
 A. I should say they treated them very well.
 Q. And you observed during your period of service there prisoners in addition to these thirty that were brought in in these three conflicts?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And when those prisoners had been captured what was their treatment by American officers and soldiers as to kindness and care, and as to the food they were given and places they were put?
 A. They were put in the guardhouse and made to do some little work. They always had plenty of rice to eat, and hard-tack they gave them sometimes, and coffee.
 Q. That was substantially the same rations as our own men received, except as to rice, was it not?
 A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they prefer the rice to our kind of food? Is that the usual food of the natives?

A. That is the food they used; yes.

Q. What is your understanding, Mr. Hallock, as to what your officers and the commanding general, General Hughes, expected of soldiers in their treatment and intercourse with the friendly natives?

A. To use them well.

Q. And you followed those orders?

A. I did; yes, sir.

Q. And of course your comrades the same?

A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM LEWIS SMITH AS TO THE USUAL CONDUCT OF AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS TOWARD FILIPINOS.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. How long did you serve there?

A. We arrived there the 30th of October, 1899, and left there the 4th of March, 1901.

Q. So you were there practically two years?

A. About eighteen months on the islands.

Q. You were there in Iloilo part of the time?

A. We were there about a month; not over that.

Q. You were in Manila part of the time?

A. No, sir; I was never in Manila at all.

Q. Did you go about the hospitals in Iloilo?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you observe Filipino prisoners, wounded or sick, attended to in our hospital by our surgeons and nurses?

A. I did not. I was not there at the time when any Filipino prisoners were in there. I was not there any great length of time anyway.

Q. Did you observe any kind treatment upon the part of the officers and soldiers during the service of your enlistment or your service there?

A. To the natives?

Q. Toward native prisoners?

A. I do not think they treated the native prisoners in our quarters in regard to sleeping quarters very well. We had about forty of them at the time—

Q. Did you know General Hughes?

Senator RAWLINS. Let us have an answer.

A. (Continued.) At the time Igaras was burned we took about forty of them there, and they were made to sleep on the ground in the basement of the building.

ON THE GROUND OR ON MATS.

Senator BEVERIDGE:

Q. Really, on the ground.

A. Yes, sir. We had two places to keep them. We had to build one place; one place was where we locked our own prisoners, in case we had any, and we turned that over; and after that was full they lay on the ground, except for such mats as were brought them by their own people. Otherwise they had nothing to lie on.

Q. And their own people were permitted to bring in mats and other comforts?

A. Yes; food.

By Senator MCCOMAS:

Q. How did you treat them?

A. When I came in contact with them—well, if I took them out and worked them I was pretty careful to keep them at work and see that they did not get away.

Q. Did you treat them humanely and kindly?

A. I did not treat them unkindly. I kept them at work all the time.

Q. So far as you were concerned, you endeavored to treat the prisoners humanely?

A. Yes, sir. They treated me well and I treated them the same.

PRISONERS TREATED WELL.

Q. How did those about you treat them?

A. They treated them well.

Q. That is the extent of your own observation, is it not?

A. That is the extent of my observations, so far as I saw.

Q. Were the Filipino prisoners that you described as sleeping where our soldiers who were also under surveillance slept, as on some mats on the ground, fed abundantly by our authorities?

A. They were fed from our rations—yes.

- Q. The same food that the American soldiers were fed?
 A. Yes.
 Q. They were not beaten or struck or abused, were they?
 A. No, sir; I did not see them beaten or struck.
 Q. And the men under your charge you merely kept at work?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. As you would keep any other men at work whom you supervised?
 A. Yes, sir; and I looked out that they did not escape.
 Q. If the prisoners got sick they were attended by the American physicians?
 A. Yes, sir; they were.
 Q. And they received the same medicine that our soldiers received?
 A. They did at that time, quite a number of them.

SAME FOOD AND MEDICINES.

By Senator BEVERIDGE:

- Q. So far as you observed, they had the same treatment that our soldiers had?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. The same food and medical attendance?
 A. Yes, sir; they were taken to the hospitals. I have taken them there myself, and they would be given medicine.
 Q. So that the Filipino prisoners had the same food and the same medicine and the same attendance, so far as you observed, that our soldiers had?
 A. They did not have the same rations; they were provided by the Government, but were not the same rations that we had.
 Q. I understood you to say that they had the same rations; that they were fed out of the same rations.
 A. That was a mistake of mine, then. It was issued by the Government, drawn from our commissary, but not the same class of rations that we had.
 Q. It was plentiful and good food?
 A. Yes.
 Q. Food that they were used to?
 A. Yes; it consisted more of rice, and the like of that, and they preferred it to our meats.
 Q. In other words, they got the food that they preferred?
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. And that is the only respect in which there was any difference in respect of food—
 A. Yes, sir.
 Q. (Continuing.) Between the treatment given them and the treatment of our own soldiers?
 A. Yes, sir.

II.—RECONCENTRATION.

Along this general subject we have heard a great deal of assertion and a great deal of rather violent rhetoric upon the question of reconcentration camps. It is said that we have established reconcentration camps in the Philippines and there was associated with the word "reconcentration" the policy of Weyler in Cuba. The effort has been made to impress the American people with the fact that we were pursuing that same policy in the Philippines.

Mr. President, the testimony of those who were on the ground refutes that. I therefore present the testimony of Governor Taft, a portion of an interview of Mr. Johnson, introduced by General Hughes in giving his testimony, the testimony of General Hughes himself, the testimony of Professor Barrows, and the testimony of Colonel Wagner, who was appointed to investigate these camps, and others, and I ask that they be printed without reading.

The testimony referred to is as follows:

Governor TAFT. The order of General Bell has been published since I left the Philippines.

GENERAL BELL'S ORDER.

Senator CULBERSON. I have here a copy of the order, published in the Washington Star of January 20. There is a copy not only of the general order of General Bell's in reference to concentration, but a copy of his special instructions to subordinate commanders on the subject.

Governor TAFT. I will read it, if you desire me to comment on it. I have not read it.

Senator CULBERSON. You have not read it?

Governor TAFT. No, sir.

Senator CULBERSON. I simply wanted to ask if you entertain the same opinion with reference to the character of the war after reading this order of Bell's that you expressed a few moments ago? [This reference is to the statement of Governor Taft already given above.]

PRESENT RESISTANCE TO AMERICAN AUTHORITY "A CRIME AGAINST CIVILIZATION."

Governor TAFT. I have no doubt I should, for this reason: War has been ended in all these islands except in Batangas and Samar. *That which remains is a crime against civilization.* It is a crime against the Filipino people to keep up that war under the circumstances, and those engaged in it have worn out the right to any treatment but that which is severe and within the laws of war.

Senator PATTERSON. Do you mean by that statement that the army fighting for independence has become so small by captures, by battles, by surrenders, that those who remain fighting for independence are guilty of a crime? Is it a crime because the prospective independence is more remote now than it was two or three years ago?

Governor TAFT. It is a crime because it is subjecting their own people, in whose interests they profess to be carrying on the war, to the greatest privation and suffering.

Senator PATTERSON. At the hands of the American Army?

Governor TAFT. The people who are not in those provinces at all. They are keeping them back from earning a living. They are keeping them back from their ordinary vocations. In the very province of Batangas itself the great majority desire peace, and are only held there because of the system of terrorism of which I speak. Now, I say that warfare which depends upon terrorism and murder is a crime. That is all I have to say.

Senator PATTERSON. Is it because in your opinion the independence of the Philippine Islands has become hopeless that those who are contending for it are guilty of crime?

Governor TAFT. I think independence for the time has become hopeless.

Senator PATTERSON. And therefore those who are fighting for it are guilty of a crime?

Governor TAFT. They are guilty of a crime in the method which they seek to attain it.

INTERVIEW OF A. BURLINGAME JOHNSON AS TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS (REPRODUCED FROM NEWSPAPER AND INTRODUCED BY GENERAL HUGHES IN COURSE OF HIS TESTIMONY).

"AS TO CONCENTRATION.

"I know it as it is practiced there. It is a misnomer to call it a policy of concentration, because the world has learned to put a significant meaning to that word. The policy as practiced in the Philippines has no element of cruelty in it. It is simply an order to the inhabitants of a particular locality to move from one portion to another, and there they reside and carry on their operations and business. If the locality into which they have moved does not afford them ample support, the United States Government provides them with food and shelter. *The people are pleased with it, because they are permitted to lead an easier life—much easier than at home.* There is no element of punishment or deprivation. They are simply requested to come into a certain district."

They are moved out of danger, then, for their own benefit?

"Exactly; because those who are inclined to favor the Americans are assailed by the ladrones or the rebels, and unless they came within the lines of the American Army they would be compelled to pay tribute to the insurgents. These people largely accept this concentration, as it is practiced, as a relief instead of a punishment. It is a relief from a punishment inflicted upon them by the insurgents, with whom they have no sympathy."

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL HUGHES ON RECONCENTRATION.

Senator CULBERSON. You asked to introduce into the record a statement from Mr. A. B. Johnson. Do you indorse his statement in that paper that the policy of concentration pursued by General Bell is not intended as a matter of punishment?

General HUGHES. It certainly is not intended as a matter of punishment. It is probably intended to put them out of harm's way in part, and to keep them out of mischief in the other. There is no idea of punishment in it. That is not the intention.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you indorse the statement of Mr. Johnson that it is intended for the good of these people that they should be concentrated

within a certain limit, and that unless they shall so concentrate their property shall be absolutely destroyed? Do you regard that order as in the interest of those people rather than in the interest of their subjugation by the United States authorities?

General HUGHES. It is to their interests in this way—that if we can separate the insurgents, of whom there are but few, from the peaceable citizens, the finishing up of the contract will be very short, and they can go back and live perfectly contented and happy. It is to stop these few guns from disturbing the whole community.

Now, I will give you an instance. A miserable beggar had a revolver and six cartridges. He disturbed a whole district until they caught him. They caught him with his gun on. There was not a good cartridge in it. Every cartridge in it had been tried and failed, and yet with that one revolver he kept the whole district in a state of terror.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you understand that the military authorities of the United States provide provisions and sustenance for the Filipinos after they are concentrated?

General HUGHES. I do not know anything about it.

TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR BARROWS ON RECONCENTRATION.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You were pretty well over the island of Luzon, as I judge from your answers to questions, particularly in those provinces going northward from Manila to the north portion of the island. Did you observe in the prosecution of your work the operation at any point of the reconcentration policy, of which so much has been said? If you did, tell the committee what it was with reference to its cruelty or the reverse. Describe it.

Mr. BARROWS. I was in one province which was reconcentrado, and I think I visited all but one town in the province. I think the matter has been very greatly misunderstood. In this case the population was in no sense confined within barriers inimical to its well-being. There was no barbed-wire fence business at all. They were simply required to dwell and to work along a great cultivated stretch which made up the arable land of the province, within a certain distance of a military road that traversed it. They had to stay there. They could not go out to the mountains. They could not take to the woods. Of course within those limits they could pass, and pass for miles; harvest their rice; fish; do anything they wanted to do; but they must stay in the territory capable of patrol by the military forces.

Senator BEVERIDGE. But within those limits their personal action was free?

Mr. BARROWS. Yes, sir.

Senator DIETRICH. There was no starvation?

Mr. BARROWS. No, sir; that was impossible.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Did you observe any cruelties in those lines?

Mr. BARROWS. None whatever.

Senator BEVERIDGE. It is just as you have described it?

Mr. BARROWS. Yes, sir. For example, after the rice was cut they had to bring it in the vicinity of this military road and stack it there and thrash it there and harvest it there. They could not do as they had been doing—stack it way out in the country where the insurgents could come in and carry it off. It was simply a measure adopted to prevent the contribution to the insurgent cause of supplies and the rendering to it of assistance in many ways by a population that was supposedly and professedly peaceful.

BEST CONDITIONS WHERE MILITARY AUTHORITY PREVAILS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. There is another question in this connection. I want to ask you if it is not true that the provinces in which you described the conditions as being so favorable and excellent are the provinces over which our military operations were most thorough when they were being carried on there?

Mr. BARROWS. Yes; that is the case, as in Bulacan and Pampanga and Bataan, and these are the provinces which are now the most quiet.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Where the military operations conducted under Wheaton and Bell and others were very thorough; and those are the provinces in which peace and quiet and the establishment of the ordinary occupations of civilized life now exist in the satisfactory manner you have described?

Mr. BARROWS. They are the provinces where the most progress has been made and is now making. Samar, I understand, never had any active operations until lately.

Senator BEVERIDGE. So the effect of the military operations in these provinces was not bad, as I understand it, but good; and, so far as you were able to observe, you may state whether any feelings of bitterness or hatred engendered by the war were manifesting themselves among the people in the provinces through which you traveled.

MANNER OF CONDUCTING WAR.

Mr. BARROWS. Of course, I do not wish to assent to the proposition that war is a good thing.

Senator BEVERIDGE. No; I understand that.

Mr. BARROWS. But where you have war existing, it is, I think, better to go ahead and pursue it rigorously and finish it and bring in the people who are out, induce them to surrender, and get it over with as fast as possible.

TESTIMONY OF COL. ARTHUR L. WAGNER, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL, UNITED STATES ARMY, ON AMERICAN RECONCENTRATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you just returned from the Philippine Islands?

Colonel WAGNER. I left the Philippine Islands on the 31st of March and landed at San Francisco on the 27th of April.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in the Philippine Islands?

Colonel WAGNER. Nearly two years and a half.

The CHAIRMAN. You made a report before leaving there on the concentration camps?

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE (acting chairman). You may proceed and state your observations concerning concentration camps that you examined.

PEOPLE SURPRISINGLY CONTENTED.

Colonel WAGNER. In compliance with verbal orders of the commanding general of the Department of North Philippines I proceeded from Manila on the gunboat *Napindan* to Calamba; sent overland to Santo Tomas and Tanauan. There was a concentration camp of natives at each of these places. The camp at Santo Tomas had about 8,000 natives. It was about 2 miles long by a mile wide. The natives in this camp were assembled according to the barrios from which they came, all the people from a given barrio being on the same street, thus assuring neighbors being together and keeping up the community as nearly as possible as it existed in ordinary times. I made careful inquiries of the officers on duty at Santo Tomas and also made inquiries from the natives that were in the camp. I could find no evidences of want, and *the people seemed to be surprisingly contented*. The streets were clean, they were scrupulously neat; care was taken to guard against fire, and the sanitary conditions of the camp seemed to be carefully looked after.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You speak of the streets. What did they live in?

Colonel WAGNER. They lived in huts which they had themselves constructed, of the nature of what we would usually call nipa shacks.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That is the same character of buildings as those which they lived in in their barrios?

MEDICAL ATTENTION IN CAMPS.

Colonel WAGNER. Practically the same, excepting that they were smaller. The medical officer stationed at Santo Tomas had general charge of the native camp. Under him there was a native doctor, or practicante, in each barrio. The food supply had not run short, and to the best of my recollection they had a supply that would have lasted until the 1st of May.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Perhaps to facilitate that at this point you spoke of sanitary conditions. Who supervised and directed the sanitation of the camp?

Colonel WAGNER. The medical officer on duty at Santo Tomas, under the general direction of the commanding officer at that station.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Was the sanitation of the camp as good as the sanitation of the barrios from which the people came?

Colonel WAGNER. I have no hesitation in saying that it was much better, because there was a medical officer in this case to give the matter his attention daily, whereas in the ordinary barrios people lived more as they pleased.

FOOD SUPPLIES.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Concerning food supplies, what was your observation in regard to that?

Colonel WAGNER. There seemed to be no immediate danger of want. The food supply at Santo Tomas was sufficient, to the best of my recollection, to last until the 1st of May; at any rate, until the date set forth in my report.

Senator BEVERIDGE. In what did it consist?

Colonel WAGNER. It consisted mainly of palay.

Senator BEVERIDGE. It is the native food?

Colonel WAGNER. It is the native food.

Senator BEVERIDGE. It is the kind of food they were accustomed to in their barrios?

Colonel WAGNER. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. What is palay?

Colonel WAGNER. It is unhusked rice. There were also a number of chickens in the different camps, although the chickens were becoming somewhat scarce. Many of the people in moving to these camps had left their chickens at their homes, and in some cases they were going wild, but there were a great many pigs.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Were the pigs killed and eaten by the natives?

Colonel WAGNER. They are killed and eaten by the natives; they were available for food.

"COMPLETE PERSONAL LIBERTY" IN THE CAMPS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Concerning the liberty of the people within these so-called reconcentration camps, what have you to state about that, as to their personal freedom?

Colonel WAGNER. They were given complete personal liberty within the limits of what is known as the dead line, which varies in distance from 300 yards to 800 yards from the camp.

Senator BEVERIDGE. From the camp outside of the lines?

Colonel WAGNER. Outside the lines. They were allowed within those limits to go and come as they saw fit. They were required to retire to their quarters at 8 o'clock in the evening. They were allowed to go out beyond the dead line, provided they obtained passes from the commanding officer, and they were also allowed to go out beyond the dead line, accompanied by troops, for the purpose of hunting up supplies and palay.

OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE IN THE CAMPS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What was the occupation of people within these large areas, called reconcentration camps?

Colonel WAGNER. The occupation of the women was practically the same as it was at their ordinary homes. As far as the men were concerned, if not engaged in parties hunting for these caches of rice, they had practically nothing to do, excepting those who were herding cattle. They were allowed, however, to cultivate the ground within the limits of the dead line, and also under the protection of military force to cultivate ground beyond these limits.

Natives were sent out under protection of troops to gather any standing crops that were still out; that is, crops that could be used for food. But how far this cultivation in either case was carried I do not know from my own observation.

Senator DIETRICH. Colonel, you used the words "military force." You meant by that more military protection, did you not, both to see that they did not get away, and again, that those that were there would be protected against the ladrones and insurgents who undertook, in many cases, to murder and torture friendly Filipinos?

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir: I would state, moreover, that this protection was further necessary for the reason that these ladrones in the islands were living on the communities and towns. They obtained their rice and their money from the towns.

CAMPS A PROTECTION TO FRIENDLY FILIPINOS.

Senator DIETRICH. And so these concentration camps were a protection to the friendly Filipinos themselves and for their benefit, really, more than for the benefit of the United States Army?

Colonel WAGNER. The purpose was twofold: First, to protect these people, who had been compelled by the ladrones to contribute food and money and who were constantly complaining to our authorities about the impositions to which they were subjected by these hostile people. Another reason was that we might get these people into these camps, where we could be sure of feeding them and at the same time sweeping up all the food supplies in the rest of the country, in order that these ladrones in the hills might be starved out.

Senator DIETRICH. But all these people in the islands would go out and gather their food and their belongings and bring them into these camps, and there they had absolute protection against everybody else?

Colonel WAGNER. *They were duly warned beforehand to bring all their property into these camps, and to come in themselves, and they were all informed that they would there be protected.*

RESULT OF "RECONCENTRATION."

Senator McCOMAS. What has been the result in reference to these ladrones or insurgents, or whatever they were?

Colonel WAGNER. The result has been this, according to my own observation: Last July I rode through the region mentioned from Calamba over to Batangas, and thence west to Balayan, through the region which we are considering. The condition of our military forces there might be compared with that of a blind giant. The troops were more than able to annihilate,

to completely smash anything that could be brought against them in the shape of military force on the part of the insurgents; but it was almost impossible to get any information in regard to those people. The natives were afraid to give us any information because if they did they were boloed. There were instances known of natives being boloed in the market place in open day, where the deed was witnessed by hundreds of people. It was impossible to get anybody to testify in regard to the perpetrators.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Because of fear?

Colonel WAGNER. Because of fear. These ladrones would send in their agents to collect money from the people. They had a regular scale of taxation. They would charge certain people a certain amount and certain other people a certain other amount, and these people were compelled to pay through fear of assassination. We could give them no protection from anything of that sort. It became absolutely necessary, then, to separate our friends from our enemies, to put the one class where we could protect them from these ladrones and keep them in a position such that we knew everything outside of the limits was an enemy. In that case we could operate fully against—

Senator DIETRICH. Colonel, right there, then, this line that you term a dead line around these concentration camps was as much a line to serve notice upon these ladrones and these insurgents who would undertake to do violence to these people—that is, it was a dead line for those outside as much as it was a dead line for those inside, not to let those that were within escape?

Colonel WAGNER. It was, for the reason it was possible to observe everybody coming into as well as everybody going out of the camp. If a stranger came into the camp, he would be required to give an account of himself. Moreover, if this stranger was an assassin or a collector, it was a very easy matter for the headman of the barrio in the camp to report the matter to the commanding officer, and the man could be seized at once.

Senator MCOMAS. You started to say how it was before this measure was adopted, and then you were going on to say how it was afterwards.

Colonel WAGNER. I was going to say the result has been that Malvar, who before could not be caught, who practically was invisible, was at last run down and surrendered. The result is that these hostile parties have disappeared from the provinces of Batangas and Laguna, and I understand that those provinces are to revert to civil government on the 4th of July.

PEOPLE NOW RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES.

Senator MCOMAS. Then these people will go back to their homes?

Colonel WAGNER. They have already gone back.

Senator MCOMAS. When did they go back?

Colonel WAGNER. They went back soon after I left the Philippines.

Senator BEVERIDGE. After Malvar was captured?

Colonel WAGNER. I think so.

Senator MCOMAS. Then there are no more of these camps?

Colonel WAGNER. I understand not.

Senator MCOMAS. The incident has been closed?

Colonel WAGNER. So I understand.

Senator DIETRICH. Then the result has been that by bringing all these people within these concentration camps, where they could bring their food supplies, and thereby take it away from the insurgents and ladrones, and also where they would be protected from this levy of money that was made upon them by insurgents and ladrones, you think it would have the effect of stopping this cruel warfare that is going on much sooner than otherwise would have been the case; and it has otherwise protected the lives and property of the natives?

Colonel WAGNER. I do; I think so. Moreover, I would say that I do not see how we could have stamped out the trouble there otherwise. It was a very embarrassing situation. As I have said, the island was practically in the possession of a blind giant; strong, but unable to see where to strike.

SO-CALLED "DEAD LINE" A LIFE LINE.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Referring to what you have said about people being boloed in the market places of their towns, would you say that this so-called dead line was in reality for them a life line?

Colonel WAGNER. In that respect it was.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Did the people themselves who were peaceably disposed object to coming in to the reconcentration camps? You spoke of their content.

Colonel WAGNER. Whether there was objection or not, I could not say from my own knowledge; I can only state the conditions that I saw there.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And the condition of content you speak of—

Colonel WAGNER. I would state also that that condition of content was a condition of the poor people rather than of the wealthy. As I stated in my report, it was a matter of much greater hardship to the wealthy than to the poor. When this rice that was cached was seized, a loss fell on the wealthy people who owned the rice. Generally half of the rice found was given to

the native who discovered it: so that he was so much better off. The rich man suffered accordingly. The rich were the people who had been sustaining the war. Moreover, there is a very strong caste feeling among the natives, and I was informed that it was very distasteful to the people of the upper class to be crowded into the same barrio with the poor people.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Were you in Cuba?

Colonel WAGNER. I was.

WEYLER'S CAMPS COMPARED TO OURS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Do you know anything about the Weyler concentration camps in Cuba?

Colonel WAGNER. I do not; my service in Cuba was limited to service during the Santiago campaign.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Do you know what was reported concerning those concentration camps?

Colonel WAGNER. I do.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And what is generally understood concerning those concentration camps?

Colonel WAGNER. I do.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What have you to say as to any similarity or dissimilarity between the so-called reconcentration camps of the Americans in the Philippine Islands and the reconcentration camps of Weyler in Cuba? Were they alike or unlike, or what was the comparative condition?

Colonel WAGNER. As near as I can determine, there is only one point of similarity between the two, namely, the people were brought within a certain region and compelled to stay there.

Senator BEVERIDGE. *What were the points of dissimilarity?*

Colonel WAGNER. *The points of dissimilarity were that the Spaniards starved the people they brought in and we fed them.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. And as to medical care and sanitation?

Colonel WAGNER. I have been unable to learn that the Spaniards gave any medical care to the reconcentrados at all.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And you have said we did?

Colonel WAGNER. Yes, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. It is your understanding of the Weyler reconcentration camps, is it not, that not only was sanitation neglected, but conditions of hideous filthiness and disease were encouraged; that is the popular understanding of it?

Colonel WAGNER. That is the popular understanding of it. Personally I know nothing about the Spanish—

Senator BEVERIDGE. I understand. What I am trying to drive at now is the comparison of those camps down there with ours—a comparison between our camps and the popular understanding of what the Weyler camps were.

WEYLER'S AND OUR RECONCENTRATION CAMPS IS COMPARISON OF
"MERCY WITH CRUELTY."

Colonel WAGNER. There is no similarity at all. Comparing these camps of ours with the Spanish camps would simply be comparing mercy with cruelty.

Senator BEVERIDGE. I understand that these camps were in the province of Batangas.

Colonel WAGNER. Batangas and Laguna de Bay.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That is where the last remnants of the insurrection were at the time rife and where the operation of ladrones was and has been most active?

Colonel WAGNER. It was.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Those provinces, I believe, Colonel, are mountainous, are they not?

Colonel WAGNER. They are.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And well fitted for the operations of the ladrones?

Colonel WAGNER. Admirably so.

THESE PROVINCES IMMEMORIAL HAUNTS OF ROBBERS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. As a matter of fact, from time immemorial robber bands making robbery, stealing carabao, and the property of the people—their provisions—have had their fastnesses in these mountains, have they not?

Colonel WAGNER. They have, in those mountains, although in other parts of the islands also.

Senator BEVERIDGE. I understand, but I am speaking of these particular places now. Is it your understanding that those ladrones and robber bands have now been wiped away?

Colonel WAGNER. In those provinces; yes, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That is what I am asking about, these provinces; and the people have all returned to their homes and fields?

Colonel WAGNER. So I am informed.

Senator MCOMAS. If it be true that the insurrectos and also the robber bands have been wiped out in Laguna de Bay and Batangas and the people have been quieted in Samar, where is there now any insurrectionary force?

Colonel WAGNER. In regard to the island of Samar, I can not state, sir; I know nothing about that of my own knowledge; nothing further than what I read in official reports or in the newspapers.

Senator MCOMAS. From your knowledge and information, where is there now any insurrectionary force in the Philippines?

Colonel WAGNER. There is no insurrectionary force worthy of the name. There may be small bodies of ladrones, and these doubtless are, in many parts of the islands.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That has always been the case.

Colonel WAGNER. That has always been the case.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you know of any other places which were burned than those mentioned?

Colonel WAGNER. I do not recall any now. There may have been others—there doubtless were—but those are the only two I remember.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President, to sum up this testimony upon the question of reconcentration camps, it shows that they were probably the most humane devices that have ever been put in practice in the history of warfare. Compared with the war between France and Germany, compared with any war of ancient or modern times either in a civilized or uncivilized country, history presents no record of a war conducted with such humanity, with such compassion, and with such consideration for the people with whom we are dealing as does this war. Even if we should come to our own regrettable and fratricidal conflict, the practices that obtained in the treatment of prisoners are, Mr. President, not to be compared with what we have done in our reconcentration camps in the Philippines. Andersonville and Libby contrasted with the reconcentration camps in the Philippines present all the difference between midnight and noonday.

III.—EFFECT OF OUR ADMINISTRATION ON THE PEOPLE.

Now, Mr. President, what has been the result of this policy? What has been the effect of our vigorous military policy to insurgents and the treatment given to prisoners and peaceful people? What effect on the natives has this combined firmness and rigorous pursuit of armed foes, with our compassion, and kindness, and consideration of our Army to Filipino prisoners and people—our nurses to nurse them, and our doctors to attend them, and our medicines to cure them—what effect has all this had on the people? Governor Taft, Professor Barrows, and others have testified as to the feeling they found toward us and our Government among the people. But it is even better shown by the reports of the governors of the provinces. I have made a condensation of the reports of the governors of provinces, eliminating unnecessary detail, as some of them are very voluminous, but reaching these particular points; and upon these particular points, I believe, most of them are complete.

The reports referred to are as follows:

REPORTS OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS AND OTHERS ON GENERAL CONDITIONS IN PROVINCES IN WHICH THERE IS NO INSURRECTION.

PROVINCE OF ILOCOS NORTE.

LAGOAG, ILOCOS NORTE, December 17, 1901.

CIVIL GOVERNOR, Manila:

The people of this province are humble, very timid, and obedient. The law is complied with in a peaceful manner. Violations of law so far occurred only through deceit and impositions on part of people of other provinces.

AGBAYANI, Governor.

PROVINCE OF RIZAL.

PASIG, RIZAL, December 18, 1901.

FERGUSSON, *Secretary, Manila:*

In almost all the towns the justice courts are already in operation. The court of first instance has been established since July 11, 1901. Peace in Rizal is complete. All inhabitants are in favor of the civil government and devoted to American sovereignty. Highwaymen, who formerly operated in various places in Morong, have been driven out. The census is almost completed, and, from present information, the number of persons estimated at 140,000. Municipal autonomy is executed with sufficient force.

Means to establish the land tax progressing satisfactorily, and it is not likely that it will offer any particular difficulty in the completion. Provincial accounts which showed in the months of July and August the province was in debt have shown a balance of \$3,833.77 gold on December 1, 1901, after payment to the municipalities the portion due to them. Suffrage, according to municipal code, has been exercised satisfactorily. Agriculture, industry, and trade suffer the decay incident in the whole archipelago consequent upon the war and other causes. The scarcity of cattle for the purpose of draft is very noticeable as a result of the epidemic of epizootia. It will be necessary to establish a farmers' bank at once. Floods and locusts have caused much loss this year in the rice harvest. The province lacks proper public buildings. *General state of the roads demands much expense for repairs, but the peace and disposition of the province give promise of progressive prosperity.*

FLORES, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF PAMPANGA.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,

Bacolor, P. I., December 17, 1901.

Hon. L. E. WRIGHT,

Acting Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, Manila, P. I.

* * * * *

At the present time this province is in the most peaceable condition. Many of the natives are highly educated, and since the introduction of the public schools under the United States Government a great improvement is noticed among the lower classes.

The finances of the province, as shown by the report of the provincial treasurer, show a balance in hand of over \$26,000 United States currency, with outstanding indebtedness of less than \$3,000 United States currency.

Roads and bridges throughout the province are in fairly good condition, *and work in same is being pushed as rapidly as possible.*

The few remaining malefactors and bandits in this province are being constantly traced and captured by the insular police. I believe that this province is in better condition than ever before, and under the present system of government will continue to improve, as affording an opportunity and inspiration to develop its resources.

Very respectfully,

C. JOVEN,

Governor Province of Pampanga.

PROVINCE OF BULACAN.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,

Malolos, Bulacan, P. I., December 18, 1901.

The province of Bulacan, under my charge, presents, politically considered, a sublime idea of its sincere gratitude and loyalty to the Government of the United States of America in the Philippine Archipelago.

I am justified in this statement by that very revolutionary spirit shown by the province in past times, and the readiness with which the inhabitants recognized the laudable intentions of the Government of the great North American nation in regard to this country and the urgent need for becoming thoroughly penetrated with the transcendent importance of peace, being convinced that only under peace can the welfare and uplifting of the Philippines under American rule be effected.

In fact, scarcely a month had passed by since the establishment of civil rule in this province *under the most liberal laws yet known in this country* when the most bitter of the revolutionary chiefs still in the mountains of Angat, Norzagary, and San Miguel de Mayumo, like the ex-Colonels Tecson and Morales and ex-General Torres, presented themselves before the authorities and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to American sovereignty.

From that time the province of Bulacan has been enjoying an unbroken peace, and its inhabitants, contented beyond measure with the establishment of civil rule in the Philippines, are doing all they can to strengthen that peace as a necessary basis for their happiness, thus showing their appreciation of the Government which now so wisely rules the destinies of this country.

In view of the facts above set forth, I do not hesitate to assure the stability of the peace now enjoyed by this province, *which gladly places in the hands of the great and noble North American nation the future of these islands.*

The local governments organized under the new municipal code are being carried on with a fair regularity, and the pueblos are *extremely contented* with the personality, liberty, and responsibility of their municipalities, as in all democratic countries.

Briefly summing up, the province of Bulacan recognizes unconditionally the American sovereignty, and its provincial and local governments and its courts of justice are all exercising their functions without any trouble whatever.

JOSE SERAPIO,

Provincial Governor of Bulacan.

PROVINCE OF UNION.

SAN FERNANDO, December 17, 1901.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, *Manila:*

* * * The province is perfectly peaceful, and this condition has existed for over a year. *People are all at work in the fields and at their various professions.* Civil government is accepted on every side, and there is no possible reason to think that they will ever change in this feeling under the present form of government. The treasurer reports that each municipality will close the present year with a balance on hand and without a debt unpaid. The provincial treasury will have on hand approximately \$10,000 gold, \$8,000 of which will be appropriations for roads, bridges, buildings, etc.

Three large bridges are under course of construction, several thousand cubic feet of stone and soil are being placed on the road where needed, and a great deal planned by this department. Everything looks very bright for the new year, and not only myself but all the provincial officers are very sanguine as to our future. January 1 will see complete reorganization of municipal police. They will be uniformed alike throughout, thoroughly equipped, and perfectly efficient. The organization of the interprovincial mail service is working on schedule time cards. There are no ladrones in Union at present, and we believe we can keep them out.

ORTEGA, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF ISABELA.

ILAGAN, ISABELA, December 20, 1901.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, *Manila:*

* * * *Province without single improved road, substantial bridge, or permanent public building.* All municipalities, except Ilagan and Tumina, without substantial balance in treasury. * * * No armed insurgents heard of in this province for six months. * * * Cagayan Valley completely tranquilized; no escorts now used by civil officers.

Municipal police require 100 revolvers, 3,000 cartridges, to arm force organized. Constabulary not yet organized fully nor ready for service. * * * *Troops recently evacuated six cities. Police and citizens on guard each night.* No disorder or crime yet reported. No post-office in province. Salaries denied by director posts. Need light-draft steamer for mail and transfer of police to quell disturbances in province. Nine cities without American teachers. Education not appreciated. No financial assistance for police or schools from insular government. Only industry cultivation tobacco; should have others. Friction between tobacco planters and tenants. People friendly to American Government. Province safe and quiet as any State of Union.

JOHNSTON,

Captain, Sixth Infantry, Governor.

PROVINCE OF ILOSOS SUR.

OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR,

Vigan, December 16, 1901.

Honorable CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES.

SIR: * * * Since the surrender of the nationalistic general Tinio, with all his forces, who was carrying on the insurrection in this province, and of Father Aglipay, also with all his men, in that of Ilocos Norte, in the month of May last, this province under my command has been completely pacified, and from that time until the present all the pueblos have enjoyed the tranquillity and personal security of normal times before the outbreak of the insurrection against Spain.

As a consequence of this pacification, the natives, as well as the Americans, military and civil, inhabitants of this province, can now visit all the pueblos with entire freedom and safety without any fear whatever of even malefactors and road agents, which, fortunately, do not exist in this province. All the people are peacefully following their customary vocations to the extent that *no one any longer remembers the war*, save through the newspaper reports of engagements and skirmishes taking place in the provinces of Laguna and Batangas and others in the southern islands.

Very respectfully,

M. CRISOLOGO,

Provincial Governor.

THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

PROVINCE OF AMBOS CAMARINES.

NUEVA CACERES, CAMARINES SUR, December 19, 1901.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Manila:

* * * * *
 Population about 250,000; 32 organized towns; authority been requested to organize remainder of former towns; province in perfect state of pacification. Two small bands insurgents surrendered last September; since then no insurgent or hostile element in province. This condition is permanent so far as people of province concerned. No doubt sentiment is for continued peace and confidence intentions American Government. *Travel on all roads and to most distant interior points perfectly safe. I recently spent two nights in interior town with my family, unguarded, where a year ago company of soldiers would have been necessary.* Crime rare, and scarcely any trouble from ladrones. Only trouble in this line from occasional depredations by mountain tribes, which can be stopped by additions to armament of police.

Military force been greatly reduced, and towns formerly occupied by large garrisons now have but small detachments or abandoned entirely. Further reductions can be made, and recommend that it be done and troops taken from all towns, and, if kept in province, be placed in quarters outside towns. Some complaint of arbitrary acts by military, such as arresting persons on suspicion without cause, ordering people about, and retaining property where needed and desired for use by owner. Some military commanders at outside places apparently not advised of existing laws as to authority of civil government and courts. Fair interest shown in recent municipal elections; no party lines except that candidates supposed to hold "Nationalista" views were defeated by large majority. *Thirty-two American teachers in province, covering 17 towns.* Good attendance and interest in schools. *Night schools for adults well attended, and desire to learn English everywhere evident. Twenty more teachers needed.*

Province has suffered heavily by loss from plague, but notwithstanding this rice crop yield is more than double that of last year. Recent heavy rain floods have seriously damaged this year's crops. Hemp districts prosperous and absorbing laborers from rice districts. People are industrious and working hard to repair damage from war, etc. *Am advising more diversified farming, and expect good results.* Commerce and trade active, and said to be much more so than ever in Spanish time. Much building in larger towns; INCREASING DEMAND FOR AMERICAN GOODS. While writing above, General Grant informs me that he has recommended the withdrawal of eight companies of troops from this province, and expects soon to recommend withdrawal of eight more.

JAMES ROSS,

Governor Ambos Camarines.

PROVINCE OF TARLAC.

TARLAC, TARLAC, P. I., December 16, 1901.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,

Manila, P. I.:

* * * * *
 There has been no interruption of the peace of the province since its organization under the provincial government act. The Philippine constabulary made several arrests in Moneada the first days of November for secretly meeting and conspiring to attack the troops. *The trial is now in progress.* * * * I was well received in towns in that part of the province recently visited, and expressions of desire for peace were numerous and seemingly earnest and sincere. I think this desire prevails.

Crimes of robbery, rape, homicide, larceny, and falsification have been committed, or at least alleged, and the perpetrators arrested by either the municipal police or the Philippine constabulary, both of which are working satisfactorily. There are not enough judges of first instance. The remark frequently made that there should be a judge continuously holding court here is true, in my opinion. Prisoners have to wait too long for trial.

The provincial government act and municipal code are working well. The amendments made from time to time have been timely and acceptable.

The crops are good this year.

Taxes are collected without difficulty, and the income exceeds expenditures thus far.

The supervisors of the various provinces interested have met to consider defense against river inundation.

WALLIS O. CLARK,

Captain, Twelfth Infantry, Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF ALBAY.

ALBAY, P. I., December 9, 1901.

Hon. WILLIAM H. TAFT,

Governor of the Philippine Archipelago, Manila, P. I.:

* * * A few days after the establishment of civil government here General Belarmino presented himself with his entire force, and from that time to the present the peace of the province has not been disturbed. * * * A few Tagalo leaders came into the province recently from Manila with the hope of renewing trouble in this province, but the people were so thoroughly opposed to any further disturbances of the peace that there was not the slightest trouble in apprehending them before they were able to accomplish anything. These leaders were at once apprehended by the constabulary, and are now confined in the prison of the province.

The constabulary have been and are doing excellent work, and their services have been highly commended upon by military officers of this province. Both the military and civil officers are in perfect accord, there being no friction whatever. *I am informed by the leading citizens that there was never a time in the history of the province when it was in so prosperous a condition as it is at present.* Every man in the province who desires to work has plenty to do, and it is very seldom one sees a beggar on the streets. The wages at present being paid in this province are greater than they have ever been, the average laborer making from 1 to 3 pesos per day. * * *

Highways, buildings, and bridges are being put in repair and built as rapidly as the material and labor can be had to construct them. The cities of Albay and Daraga, which were formerly destroyed by the insurgents, are being rebuilt as rapidly as it is possible to secure material for their reconstruction. The reconstruction of these towns is not delayed through any lack of finance, but through scarcity of material. If a million feet of lumber was landed in Legaspi I believe the entire amount could be sold in less than thirty days, which would be purchased by the inhabitants of the two towns above mentioned for the reconstruction of their homes and places of business.

Some idea of the enormous business being done here at present can be had from the fact that in the town of Legaspi alone over \$1,000,000 change hands every thirty days. Business here is very much hampered through the lack of banking facilities, and all clearances are made through the banks at Manila. These great sums of money are brought down by the steamships, for which they charge three-fourths of 1 per cent for transportation; these sums are again returned to Manila at the same rate. With a bank at Legaspi you can readily understand how these clearances could be made here, and the sum of transportation alone would be good interest for an institution of that sort. Money loans in this province all the way from 10 to 20 per cent.

The organization of the provincial government is practically completed. * * * Justices of peace have been commissioned and the notaries appointed, and the court of first instance has held its first session.

Schools have been organized in all pueblos and a greater part of the barrios. The nineteen leading pueblos in the province now have American instructors, and the progress they are making is exceptionally gratifying.

Personally I have found the work of reconstruction extremely interesting.

* * * * *

Very truly, yours,

A. U. BETTS,
Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF ILOILO.

ILOILO, P. I., December 20, 1901.

To the CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, Manila.

SIR: * * * That as regards peace and order it may be asserted that this province of Iloilo has no cause to envy any other province in the archipelago. The civil rule established here has satisfied the people and completed the work of pacification commenced by the military government. It may be asserted that the people, convinced of the advantages of this rule, have forgotten all the past in order to think only of their advancement materially, morally, and politically.

Highway robbery, which is the sequence to every war and famine, far from taking hold in this province, is decreasing, thanks to the active prosecution of which it is the object on the part of the constabulary, who are doing very good service. It is to be hoped that, assailed on every side, the people of evil life will disappear. * * *

MARTIN DELGADO,
Provincial Governor.

THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

PROVINCE OF CAVITE

MENDEZ NUÑEZ, December 17, 1901

Hon. LUKE E. WRIGHT,

Acting Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, Manila:

* * * * *

During the trip I have been making up to date to the mountain towns of this province of Cavite, organizing municipalities, I feel that I ought to entertain no doubt of the desire for peace entertained by all its inhabitants.

In this trip I have taken steps to bring about the surrender of some small armed groups, the wake, as it were, of the revolutionary forces already surrendered, which, though they still continue under arms, have no political color, and the proof of this is that they devote themselves solely to holding up native traders to get their money. And from the steps I have taken I am in hopes that within a few days all these small armed parties, that are nothing more than highwaymen, will present themselves with all their arms.

I can also assure you of the peace and order in my province, and that the civil authorities, with the constabulary forces, will be sufficient to maintain and preserve them.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

MARIANO TRIAS,

Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES.

IBA, ZAMBALES, P. I., December 16, 1901.

Hon. Mr. WRIGHT,

Acting Civil Governor of these islands:

* * * Ever since the ex-Nationalistic General Mascardo surrendered, there is no repetition of these sad events, and the whole province, as though by magic, is animated to make up with interest their losses by devoting themselves with greater energy and ardor than heretofore to labor, not only because it has returned to its normal and peaceful life, but also by reason of the content and enthusiasm it feels through the implanting of the civil rule and the establishment of several schools for the teaching of the English tongue in many pueblos of the province. The whole of the latter may now be traveled without any personal or material risk whatever, and without the protection of an armed force. *So true is this that the inhabitants of the pueblo of Macabebe, province of Pampanga, who, it is well known, are hated by the Nationalists, come and go from that province to this one freely, without anything happening to them on the road, carrying to and selling in the different pueblos and barrios, as they did during the former domination, their native cloths, made in different places. The children of both sexes as never before devote themselves with ardor, application, and profit to the study of the English language.*

Respectfully,

POTENCIANO LESACA,

Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF PANGASINAN.

LINGAYEN, December 17, 1901.

THE ACTING CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES.

* * * Since civil régime has been established the inhabitants enjoy perfect tranquillity and comfort, and their conditions are growing better each day under the new régime.

Peace is so well established that it never has been disturbed in the slightest.

Very respectfully,

P. SISON,

Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF SORSOGON.

* * * * *

I personally have just returned from an overland trip, visiting all of the towns south of Sorsogon and passing through the wildest and roughest part of the country. *The trip was made without a guard and in all the towns and barrios the spirit of the people seemed to be the best. * * * I can now begin to see some results of our work and instruction in this direction, and the municipal officers and some of the more intelligent of the people are beginning to realize that they have a further responsibility to their country and the government than remaining passively inactive and watching the Americans put down uprisings.*

I believe I can state with confidence that the civil government is working as well as could be expected, and that the general conditions are good and that with a few modifications of the laws, looking to a stricter watch over the people, keeping the restless at work, and preventing the scattering and isolation of families in the remote portions of the mountains *where they*

become little better than savages, that the province of Sorsogon will rapidly develop and will remain peaceful. Then, when roads are built and communication between all the towns is made easy, the ignorance of the people, which is pitiable, will disappear.

All things considered, the general conditions are all that can be expected.

Very respectfully,

J. G. LIVINGSTON,
Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF BATAN.

BALANGA, P. I., December 16, 1901.

The CIVIL GOVERNOR, Manila, P. I.

SIR: I have the honor to state that I have recently made an inspection of and visited all the towns in this province, and find the people entirely in accord with the government as established and expressing freely and unanimously their appreciation and approval of the forms of the government—municipal, provincial, and insular—now existing. The local governments of the municipalities are conducted in an intelligent, judicious, and praiseworthy manner. * * * The financial accounts are in a healthy condition; all the towns are accumulating money in the treasuries, some having \$3,000 at the end of last month on hand, with the intention of building schoolhouses first and other public improvements next. Ordinances are prepared in precise and legal language, clearly expressing the meaning without superfluous words, which is a decided contrast and improvement over former methods of devoting several pages of writing when four lines would be sufficient.

English is being taught in all the towns of the province. The public schools are encouraged and aided by the people and the officials, with one exception, the attendance being larger than the limited number of teachers can instruct with best results.

In my opinion this province is free from any taint of insurrection and will always remain so. It has been without the aid of the military for many months, there being no garrison in the province, except one company at Mariveles, placed there on account of government property and port, and not for the preservation of the peace, as this town is entirely cut off by the mountains from the rest of the province, the province being controlled by 75 men of the insular constabulary, armed with only 30 revolvers and 30 carbines, and the municipal police of the different towns, very poorly armed. At the head of this force there are only two Americans, inspectors of constabulary, yet so well has the work been done that there is not an uncaptured ladrone in the province.

Land is being generally cultivated with good yields; farms and town improvements are constantly being made, and the people rapidly recovering from the losses from the wars.

Very respectfully,

J. H. GOLDMAN,
Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF NUEVA ECIJA.

The people of the pueblos display considerable interest in their local governments, *but the ignorance of the first principles of self-government is surprising.* Much time and patience will be necessary, with constant instruction, before at all satisfactory results are obtained.

* * * * *

Very respectfully,

J. F. KREPS,
Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF LEYTE.

SIR: I have the honor to report that the peace conditions of this province are fairly satisfactory. * * * Prior to the first of this month there were twenty towns in this province garrisoned by American troops, but within the past two weeks nine of these towns have been evacuated, withdrawing 310 men. These towns are now protected by the constabulary and the municipal police.

Out of 50 towns in the province, 44 have been organized under the municipal code and are exhibiting very gratifying results in the management of their municipal affairs. The remaining 6 received orders to hold elections on the first Tuesday in this month, so I presume that all of them are now organized, but the returns have not yet reached this office.

* * * * *

That the great majority of the people are happy and contented with their present condition is evidenced by the renewed activity displayed in all branches of industry. Agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing industries are taking on new life throughout the province, while the people are rebuilding their towns and homes, and are erecting, in many instances, substantial and comfortable buildings, instead of nipa shacks.

One of the most gratifying and, to my mind, one of the most encouraging indications as demonstrating their appreciation of our institutions, as well as the popularity of the same, is the intense interest manifested among the masses to acquire a knowledge of the English language. During the current year the municipalities in this province have expended about 10,000 pesos in the construction and equipment of schoolhouses, which I think is quite a good showing for newly organized towns just recovering from the effects of a two or three years' war.

* * * * *

There are at present 36 American teachers on duty in the province, all of whom are doing excellent work. It affords me much pleasure to report that, with but one or two exceptions, there has been absolutely no friction between the padres and the schools, while quite a number of the padres have exhibited a desire to learn our language.

J. H. GRANT, *Governor.*

Mr. BEVERIDGE. At this point, Mr. President, I introduce the report of the division superintendent of instruction for Leyte, one of the most backward provinces, as an example of our general work:

REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION OF LEYTE AND SAMAR.
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
DIVISION OF LEYTE AND SAMAR,
Tacloban, P. I., ———, ———.

The division superintendent arrived at official headquarters June 14, 1901. Civil government in Leyte was then and one-half months old. Dependence on military transportation and expected transfers of troops delayed the preliminary examination of the field until July 3. Between that date and July 13 a circuit of the island was made and 14 prominent coast towns visited. Prior to that educational rallies had been held, with good results, in the capital and nearest large towns. The first conviction prompted by this survey was that educational work would be most economically begun by giving it a home in at least eight of the towns visited, through the construction and furnishing of a model schoolhouse and American teacher's residence. These would at once show the exalted estimate put upon education by States people; would serve as an object lesson to other towns, and immediately equip the towns in which they were placed. Events have justified this conviction. Existing schools were found badly situated, ill constructed, in ruinous and filthy state, and almost destitute of equipment. Native teachers were poorly paid, and therefore hard to find, and of scanty education at the best. The women had rarely been beyond the confines of their own town, and knew less than many of their pupils.

In remedying external conditions, empty treasuries, sluggish officials, indifferent workmen, fear of outlaws, and lack of sawmills are occasions of delay which tax ingenuity and patience. For this island 1 teacher came with the superintendent; 3 were received in July, 1 in August, 32 in September, 1 in October, and 2 in December. Losses, 1 by desertion, 1 by dismissal, 2 by transfer. Present force, 36. Of these, 23 are college graduates and the others have had a high-school and normal training. Most have had experience in teaching, many in supervising, and there are many specialists. Farmers, dairymen, carpenters, blacksmiths, civil engineers, electricians, machinists, physicians, experts in chemistry and microscopy are included among them, giving promise of social development in many directions.

They are all happily at work in day schools, and several are instructing night classes. And the genuine teacher of patient, helpful spirit is endearing himself to children and parents and contributing to their contentment under American rule. The work is not frictionless as has been hinted.

The American teachers in Leyte are distributed in 16 towns. Of these, 3 contain buildings of masonry, 8 have wooden buildings, and in two instances new ones; the schools of the remaining 5 are held in leased dwellings or warehouses. Except in the capital, the furniture provided by the municipalities thus far is of simple character, and the supply is scanty. Only in remote and rude country districts in the States could a parallel be found. The Filipino child, whose natural perceptions are quicker than those of the American child of the same age, because he is nearer the savage (who depends for safety and subsistence on the alertness of his eye and ear), is as susceptible as his white brother to attractive surroundings; and, with his native indisposition to effort, should have clean, neat, suitably furnished rooms to win him to the love of methodical study. Until there are such, the wisest and best-trained American teacher will find use for his utmost fertility in invention.

B. B. SHERMAN,
Division Superintendent of Schools.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. As an example of what we are doing toward the physical regeneration of the islands—roads, bridges, and the like—I submit the report of supervisor (civil engineer), province of Leyte:

Hon. J. H. GRANT,
Governor, Tacloban, P. I.:

TACLOBAN, P. I., December 19, 1901.

* * * * *
On my arrival in September there was already under contract an addition to the provincial building, at a price of \$3,750 United States currency; a Government pier, at a price of \$2,875 United States currency; a stable, at a price of \$450 United States currency; a balcony around the present provincial building, at a price of \$1,637.50.

Work has been carried on under all these contracts. * * * The buildings have been constructed in a substantial manner, of woods of a superior grade, with iron roofs, etc. The pier has an approach with concrete sidewalks, will have a shed over the landing platform, and is well built throughout. It will afford landing and storage facilities for Government vessels—two things much needed at the present time. It is also intended to use the roof as a source of water supply for vessels, there being none available at this time.

Under act 244 of the Commission there has been purchased, at a price of \$5,515 United States currency, a piece of land to be used as a plaza and park, and those buildings already constructed by the province stand upon this property. The prisoners are kept employed in constructing and repairing the roads and in grading on this tract, and considerable progress has been made in its development.

In regard to roads and bridges: In October I personally inspected the coast roads leading from Tacloban to Palo, Tanauen and Tolosa to Dulag, and the interior roads extending from Tanauen through Dagmi and Burauen to Dulag. The coast road above mentioned is in fair condition and passable for wagons, etc. The interior road, however, is practically impassable for anything except carabao, carabao carts, and horses, never having been properly shaped, graded, or drained.

In November I visited the larger towns on the south and west coasts, and found that the conditions there were much as outlined above—the coast roads fair and the interior roads very bad.

In general the roads of the province can be reconstructed with the materials to be found conveniently near, but timber for the bridges is hard to obtain on account of the lack of facilities for getting it out, all sawing, etc., having to be performed by hand. However, a steam sawmill is being set up at Tacloban, and when it is in shape will be of great assistance.

It is intended to first open these roads leading from the coast towns into the interior, in order to afford an outlet at the earliest possible time for the large quantities of hemp and other products. By thus opening up trade it is hoped to increase the revenues of the province for use on those roads of less commercial importance. * * *

* * * The roads newly constructed, and others where practicable, will be divided for maintenance into sections, with a laborer in charge of each. Most of the work to date has been preparatory, consisting of the purchase of tools, the inspection of various roads, a study of their conditions, and the means available for bettering them, as an aid in forming an intelligent opinion as to where the money available could be spent to the best advantage. I have found the officials and people of the towns interested in and anxious for good roads and bridges and other improvements, and willing to aid in any manner within their power, and I am confident that the province will have their hearty cooperation and support.

Respectfully submitted.

S. B. PATTERSON,
Provincial Supervisor of Leyte, P. I.

Now, let us resume the reports of governors.

PROVINCE OF CAPIZ.

CAPIZ, PANAY, P. I., December 20, 1901.

TO THE ACTING CIVIL GOVERNOR PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,

Manila:

* * * * *
By the month of September * * * the pueblos began to recover their normal condition, and now all evidence of their misfortune has disappeared. That which contributed to the prompt recovery was the present state of tranquillity and prosperity and the relatively large crop of rice. The northern monsoon has cleared the province of the fevers, and the loan of \$25,000 gold from the central treasury has given work to hundreds of men. Trade

is little by little returning to what it was during its best times, and the exportation of bags for sugar, vulgarly known as "bayones," in five months has reached the figure of 1,000,000, which figure has very rarely been reached in the history of the province. The ports of Capiz and Calubo, before disheartened, are now visited every week by several steamers from Manila and Loilo.

So pronounced is the public spirit for the preservation of order and the maintenance of civil institutions that at the beginning of October last, shortly after the unhappy event at Balangiga, island of Samar, some bad patriots with perverse intentions spread the rumor that 40 revolutionists, well armed with rifles, from Samar, had disembarked, and that on the 1st of November the bolomen were going to cut the throats of all the Americans and Americanistas. These rumors found echo in the military, who took every kind of precautions, despite the fact that from reports received by this government the whole thing was false and intended only to alarm the people and see if the pueblos would become disturbed. The result was that all the pueblos unanimously were vigilant in their desire to maintain peace and disposed to sacrifice themselves in the interests of order, as was reported by the presidentes of the pueblos in reply to recommendations made by this government.

Very respectfully,

S. JUGO VIDAL,
Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF ABRA.

BANGUED, ABRA, December 17, 1901.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Manila:

Following is synopsis of report forwarded to-day by mail: "Assumed command Abra March 27. The insurrection at that time being very active, drastic measures were necessary, in consequence of which the surrender of all under arms was accomplished before May 1. Since then peace has reigned throughout the province. Civil government was established September 1, since which time we have been busy reorganizing the several pueblos. All men are hard at work planting and building. No ladrones; very slight breaches of the peace. Safe for all to travel anywhere. Province is poor and needs assistance, money for roads being the first requirement. Industrial schools recommended; also sawmills, gristmills, etc. Schools in prosperous condition; the people seem contented and happy, and will remain so unless some hothead for personal reasons inaugurates strife. The people of Abra are a class of themselves."

BOWEN, Provincial Governor.

BOAC, MARINDUQUE, December 25, 1901—4.45 p. m.

CIVIL GOVERNOR, Manila:

Replying to your telegram 18th, received this date; letters as per request have been mailed. Marinduque is enjoying peace, happiness, and prosperity, so that American army officers and civilians travel through the province alone and unarmed, as they would in their own country. Marinduque is engaged in peaceful avocations, and sincerely loves America and has faith and confidence in the future.

PARAS, Governor.

8.05 A. M., DECEMBER 26.

TAGUEGARAO, CAGAYAN,
December 21, 1901—8.10 a. m.

CIVIL GOVERNOR, Manila:

Peaceable condition of province is general and thoroughly established, which can be understood by contemplating the enthusiastic reception made to me at all towns where I hold municipal elections. People are very favorable to establishment of civil government and very obedient to the United States.

Provincial Governor.

12.55 p. m.

MASBATE, ISLAND OF MASBATE, P. I.,
December 16, 1901.

HON. LUKE E. WRIGHT,

Vice-Governor Philippine Archipelago, Manila, P. I.:

* * * * *

The province of Masbate is in a perfect state of peace. No crime of any character has been committed within its border for many months. The people are all hard at work trying to improve their condition. The police absolutely cover the territory and know all that is going on. Their reports are most encouraging.

* * * * *

Very respectfully,

GEORGE LANDER, Supervisor,

REPORT OF A DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS.

MASBATE, ISLAND OF MASBATE, P. I.,
December 16, 1901.

Hon. LUKE E. WRIGHT,
Vice-Governor Philippine Archipelago, Manila, P. I.

* * * * *
During the past thirty days, in the fulfillment of my duties as division superintendent of public schools, I have made a tour of the islands of Masbate and Ticao.

As an escort on the island of Ticao, I had with me 2 natives, members of the Philippine constabulary, and visited nearly every pueblo and barrio on the island, and found every place in a peaceful and fairly prosperous condition, so far as I could observe in the limited time at my disposal.

On the island of Ticao there are 4 American teachers, one of whom rides every day, without escort, a distance of 8 miles and return.

On the island of Masbate, as an escort, there accompanied me Mr. Joe Federle, a fourth-class inspector of the Philippine constabulary, and 4 natives. During this tour we encircled the entire island. Work in the development of natural resources seems to be at somewhat of a standstill, although in the southern part of Ticao and Masbate many hemp and cocconut trees have been recently planted. Some considerable number were to be seen working, cutting timber.

On the island of Masbate there are 8 American teachers. The only two posts where American troops are stationed are at Masbate and Cataingan, in the south. The teachers, without exception, express themselves as feeling perfectly secure without the presence of even another American soldier or civilian in the towns.

* * * * *
Respectfully submitted.

H. G. SQUIER,
Division Superintendent of Schools.

REPORT OF CHIEF OF CONSTABULARY.

HEADQUARTERS PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY,
Manila, December 15, 1901.

To the SECRETARY OF COMMERCE AND POLICE,
Manila, P. I.

* * * * *
On December 15 the constabulary had in round numbers 2,500 men. The great care exercised in recruiting this force accounts for the fact that this number is not larger, but it is indeed worthy of remark that up to the present time only two men have been lost by desertion.

* * * * *
From reports received from various parts of the islands there can be no question but that the better class of people are extremely tired of the struggle and ardently desire peace. *The recently enacted sedition law has had a potent value in bringing evil doers to a realizing sense of their allegiance to law and order.* It demonstrates to these people the forcefulness of civil government, enables the constabulary to reap the rewards of its labors, and gives to the insular judiciary ample opportunity to prove the great importance of its work in this period of reconstruction.

As our knowledge of the Filipinos and the islands is daily increasing, the danger of future uprisings and disorders is daily diminishing. With the system of acquiring information now possessed by the insular government, it is possible to destroy any seditious measures in their earliest stages once the present insurrection be suppressed and all guns surrendered or captured. Excusable ignorance of the situation in the past is responsible for what now remains of the insurrection. Our good intentions were often misconstrued for weakness, and it is a fact that the generous concessions made by the Government have at times been prejudicial to the desired ends.

* * * * *
As a proof of the improvement in the general situation the following is submitted:

DIMINUTION OF TROOPS.

On July 1, 1901, the Army was holding in the island of Luzon 420 posts with 36,274 troops; December 1, 1901, there were 293 posts held by 25,808 troops, a diminution of 30 per cent in posts and 29 per cent in troops in a period of five months. In the entire archipelago there were 491 posts and 49,937 troops on July 1, 1901, and 372 posts with 37,340 troops December 15 of the same year. Excepting in Batangas, Laguna, and Samar, the number of military stations is being continually diminished. For example, orders have just been issued abolishing 7 military posts in the province of Leyte.

From the latest returns the constabulary is stationed at 71 posts in Luzon,

with 1,778 men. In the entire archipelago there are, so far, 94 constabulary posts, with a total of 2,417 men. This number will be doubled within the next three months, and the number of posts will likewise be greatly increased.

* * * * *

Very respectfully,

HENRY T. ALLEN,
Chief Philippine Constabulary.

PROVINCE OF ILOCOS NORTE.
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OF ILOCOS NORTE,
Lasag, P. I., December 16, 1901.

Report of Aguedo Agbayani, provincial governor.

1. The people of the province of Ilocos Norte are in general humble and extremely obedient and timid. By their humble character they are very submissive, and their obedience makes them execute without hesitation all orders when they know that they proceed from the constituted authorities, in view of the compliance with the laws. As a consequence of these natural tendencies the character of the people is essentially peaceful.

2. If certain cases have been seen in the province which seem to contradict the peaceful dispositions of the inhabitants, it is due to their small, or lack of, education and instruction, which prevents them from understanding the frauds and impositions practiced on them by people from other provinces, or to their lack of courage and extremely humble character, which prevents them from refusing to submit to their impositions.

AGUEDO AGBAYANI, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF MARINDUQUE.

BOAC, MARINDUQUE, P. I., *December 20, 1901.*

Mr. WILLIAM H. TAFT,
Governor Philippine Islands, Manila, P. I.:

* * * * *

Frankly, the man or men who have spent ten days on this island and are not positive that the sores of war and dissatisfaction against the United States Government have all passed away and that there exists, instead, a feeling of confidence, admiration, and regard, as well as peace, business activity, and general prosperity, are seeing "spooks," ignorant of the true conditions, and wholly unable to read or comprehend the unmistakable evidence which is abundantly shown in every pueblo and barrio.

"SOUND OF HAMMER AND SAW."

My wife remarked the other day that she had never heard the sound of hammer and saw to such an extent as in Boac during the last few weeks. What is true of Boac is equally true of each of the other five municipalities.

Enlargement of tiendas, improvement of casas, erecting new ones, business, and an occasional fiesta is the order of the day.

Public schools, for both boys and girls, are in full blast, and every day I see, passing my office window, hundreds of bright and happy children, who frequently bid me "Good afternoon, Señor Tesorero."

As for the "common people," they are and have been since my arrival busily engaged in their different lines of agriculture and the gathering of hemp, an extraordinary amount of which has been exported from these ports in the last three months. On all roads are daily seen lines of pack ponies and carabao sleds loaded not as of yore with insurgent chow and ammunition, but with large bundles of beautiful white hemp for the Manila market, which, when disposed of, places the pesos in the pockets of the poorer classes.

When I meet them on the roads or see them at work in the rice fields, while on my rounds, I make it a point to say a pleasant word to each and inquire as to their health and condition, and I am glad to say I have found the families of most all of them happy, contented, and prosperous.

Taxes of all kinds—industrial, urbana, and cedula—are paid good naturedly and without complaint.

In fact, on Marinduque Old Glory waves over an island of peace, happiness, and prosperity, whose inhabitants are crowned with the blessings of Almighty God.

GOVERNOR ORGANIZING A CLUB FOR YOUNG MEN.

I am at present engaged in organizing a club for the advancement and amusement of the young men. The object is to instruct them in new American outdoor sports, such as baseball, tennis, football, etc., with the hope that by giving them many other kinds of pleasant games we will be able to gradually wean them from the cockpits and monte tables, as I firmly believe that many a young Filipino drifts into these places to spend his idle moments and satisfy his desire for pleasure simply because there is no nobler style of amusement open to him. The organization will be perfected in each municipality and friendly competition between the different towns will

be fostered and encouraged. As yet this is in its infancy, but it will be full grown by the time you return; and I hope it will result beneficially to the youth of Marinduque, as well as set an example which can be advantageously followed by the young of other provinces.

Respectfully,

AMZI B. KELLY,
Provincial Treasurer, Boac, Marinduque, P. I.

PROVINCE OF ORIENTAL NEGROS.

[Translated report.]

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OF ORIENTAL NEGROS,
Dumaguete, Negros, December 19, 1901.

The honorable CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES,
Manila:

In spite of the difficulties experienced at first by the provincial treasury, to-day the financial status is as follows:

	Gold.
Assets	\$45,441.59
Liabilities	27,708.66
Balance	17,732.93

HYGIENIC LIVING ONLY WHERE MILITARY ARE.

In spite of the different orders issued from this office requesting the municipal presidents to give particular attention to the question of hygiene, I have noted in my visits that the only pueblos attending to the rules of hygienic living *are those where a military detachment is stationed.* The lack of cleanly habits and the complete indifference of the municipalities to the public health have resulted in some pueblos of the north becoming subject to chronic attacks of smallpox, causing an appreciable havoc among the population; and this in spite of the efficacious and disinterested cooperation of the army doctor and his assistants, who, in the months of April, May, and June, worked energetically in the vaccination of the inhabitants in the infested districts. Due perhaps to the poor quality of the vaccine virus, it has not been possible to eradicate altogether the epidemic, a few cases still reporting from the pueblos of Bais and Jimalalno.

NATIVE LACK OF INTELLIGENCE.

Of the 24 presidents who are now at the head of the municipalities, only 10 have shown during the current term of office aptitude for the discharge of their duties. These have shown themselves earnest citizens of the American sovereignty, and have contributed in no small degree to the maintenance of public order. The others have shown a desire to perform their duties, but owing to their lack of intelligence they are obliged to act under the direction of their secretaries, or of some petty lawyer of the place, who as a rule, in this province, are apt to be very poor advisers; and they have placed some of the presidents in a questionable position in regard to the American sovereignty. Some of these presidents have learned only to write their names, so as to be able to sign, and are qualified electors on account of their social position.

The selection of justices of the peace for the different municipalities has been a very difficult task. In the majority of the pueblos of this province there are no fit persons available for the discharge of the duties of this office. Those who are fit for the post are usually in such a precarious position financially that they need all their time to attend to their private affairs in order to support themselves and their families, for what they would get from the fees of the court as justices of the peace is not enough to meet their daily wants. A justice has to keep at least one clerk, and the fees of the court are scarcely sufficient to pay the salary of this clerk and the cost of office supplies. For this reason the filling of the offices has been difficult.

I am compelled to state that most of the shortcomings of the justices have been due rather to ignorance than to bad faith. In every case attention has been called to the fault committed, and in my visits I have instructed them in the duties of their office, and have urged upon them the need for integrity in all their dealings as a means of gaining the confidence of the people

DEMETRIO LARENA,
Provincial Governor.

THE PHILIPPINE SITUATION.

PROVINCE OF ANTIQUE.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF ANTIQUE,

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,

San Jose de Buenavista, Panay, P. I., December 19, 1901

CIVIL GOVERNOR PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, Manila, P. I.

* * * * *

The peace of the province has remained undisturbed since the surrender of Fullon in March last. Not a hostile shot has been fired at an American since that date, and on my recent tour of inspection there were practically no complaints against the municipal officers. *Everywhere the people expressed themselves as satisfied with the present rule.* These expressions seemed to be genuine, and there was no sullenness to indicate a mental reservation.

ELECTIONS PASSED OFF QUIETLY.

The recent elections passed off quietly, and the laws governing elections were very generally complied with. Municipal governments throughout the province are in operation, and their records on my recent inspection were much better kept than on my previous visit. Courts are established and are beginning to work. Justices of the peace are more or less ignorant of the law as yet, but seem anxious to learn. We recently distributed copies of the code of civil procedure, and I have no doubt the result will be beneficial.

The roads of the province are in much need of repair, they having been neglected for several years. A start has been made on their improvement. Several bridges are now being constructed—eight in all having been provided for—largely from the fund appropriated by the Civil Commission.

* * * * *

The province has been comparatively free from the operation of ladrones, although they have twice appeared and stolen carabao, which were recovered before they could be gotten out of the province. On the last raid the ladrones killed two men in the pueblo of San Remigio. The organization of the constabulary in the province is nearing completion, and it is thought that they will be able to so thoroughly police the province that detachments of American troops can soon be withdrawn from outlying points.

Schools are generally established, and marked progress is being made. On the whole I feel justified in reporting most favorably as to peace and general condition of the province of Antique.

Very respectfully,

W. A. HOLBROOK,

Captain, Fifth U. S. Cavalry, Civil Governor.

PROVINCE OF MASBATE.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR OF MASBATE,

Masbate, December 23, 1901.

The honorable ACTING CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES:

* * * * *

Perfect peace is enjoyed in the whole province, and the inhabitants are displaying an unusual activity in the fisheries, agricultural work, and timber cutting, the latter constituting their principal resource, as well as that of the municipal and provincial governments; it also furnishes an occupation to the needy classes, which helps considerably to preserve tranquillity and good order in the pueblos.

* * * * *
BONIFACIO SERRANO, *Governor.*

MINDORO.

BAGUIO, *December 26, 1901.*FERGUSSON, *Executive Secretary, Manila:*

* * * Everything peaceful in this province. Just returned from tour over end province; myself and Spanish secretary only white men in the party; no danger; conditions promising; sentiments favorable to American.

WILLIAM F. PACK, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF CAGAYAN.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF CAGAYAN,

Tuguegarao, December 18, 1901.

The honorable CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES:

* * * * *

The municipal elections which have just been held have allowed me to appreciate the general enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the province, except in the pueblos of the Bataan Islands, which can not be reached during the present season, for the establishment of civil régime and provincial governments. I was splendidly received in all the municipalities which I visited as the representative of the Government, for the purpose of organizing the pueblos under the municipal code.

DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH.

A sincere proof of the affection and the good will of the people toward the constituted government is their desire to learn English. In the municipalities which have American teachers the schools are assiduously visited by children and grown-up people, not only of the pueblo, but of the neighboring pueblos which have no American teachers, and the latter are begging the superintendent of instruction to provide such teachers.

Such is the general state of peace and tranquillity in the province. The inhabitants are busy with their usual occupations, which are mostly agricultural, although for the present the latter are not very active and the hopes are small, not so much on account of the destruction of the cattle and the carabaos by the rinderpest as of the inundations of the rivers, which have destroyed plantations of tobacco that had already been several times renewed.

* * * * *
Very respectfully,

M. GONZAGA, Governor.

Mr. President, the commanding general referred to in the next report is General Bell.

REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF ABRA.

BANGUED, ABRA, LUZON, P. I., December 16, 1901.

* * * * *
On March 27 I assumed command of the province under orders from Brig. Gen. J. Franklin Bell, U. S. Army, commanding first district of northern Luzon. My report for March, rendered April 1, will show the conditions at that time, viz:

AFTER SURRENDER PEOPLE WENT TO WORK.

Immediately after the surrender the people went to work planting. As there was general suffering for food the commanding general issued rice and salt in suitable quantities, sufficient to prevent starvation; *he also went about from place to place, and in this way caused a feeling of confidence and good fellowship*, which feeling has continued until the present time.

The men of the province are hard at work planting and building. Peace and quiet reigns throughout all sections.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND ROADS.

This is a small province, having but 48,000 inhabitants all told, but the people are of a superior class and desire American rule and American ways. The province is poor, but there is no reason why it should not become rich and prosperous. *We need industrial schools, and especially men to teach the proper method of curing tobacco, which is and will be the wealth of the province; we need sawmills, gristmills, brick machines, and men to run them; with them wealth will flow to us. Roads must be made. The only entrance into Abra is by river: a main road must be built up the river and roads from Pidigan to Pilar and Villavieja, and from Bangued to Tayum, Bucay, and San Jose; also Bangued to San Gregorio and La Paz. These roads will be the main arteries, and until they are built there can be but little commerce and traffic. Money spent in Abra will be money well invested.*

SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE.

I must not close without reference to the schools and the interest taken in them. In Bangued we have 2 male American teachers and 2 female, besides 3 native teachers. In Pidigan we have only 1 male and 1 female American and 2 native teachers. In Tayum, 1 male American and 2 natives; in Bucay and Dolores, same as Tayum. The other towns have native teachers. Americans are requested by all the towns and by two of the Tinguiane barrios. Report of Mr. Chapman, the first American teacher in Abra, is inclosed.

In conclusion, I will say that in my opinion Abra is thoroughly pacified. The people are content, comparatively prosperous and happy. The general conditions are good, and I believe will remain so until some hot-head springs up, who, for personal reasons and private ends, may attempt to stir up strife.

No people are perfect, but these people of Abra approach it as far as lies in their power.

Very respectfully,

WM. H. C. BOWEN,

Major, Fifth Infantry, Provincial Governor.

The CIVIL GOVERNOR,
Malacaanan, Manila, P. I.

REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS IN THE PROVINCE OF ABRA.

BANGUED, ABRA, P. I., December 16, 1901.

* * * * *
When I was sent here by the educational department in April of this year I found myself to be the first American teacher upon the field. *Soldiers had been detailed as teachers at the various towns in the province where detachments were stationed, but owing to the fact that active service was com-*

pelled to be carried on against the insurgent forces, then also active in this part, troops were kept constantly moving from place to place, which, notwithstanding the untiring efforts on the part of the military authorities, prevented in some cases what might be described as being visible accomplishments; however, it must be admitted that it was by such means that the base was formed from which the present progressive state has grown.

GENERAL BELL'S ENTHUSIASM FOR EDUCATION.

Without an exception every schoolhouse was practically without furniture and some with no floor and such a roof as would allow the rain to saturate almost the entire interior. But having on hand a considerable sum of money collected as fines from various criminals and desiring to spend it for some good purpose, *General Bell, with his vivacious enthusiasm for education as well as whatever might be for the general welfare of the people, sent Captain Heard, Third U. S. Cavalry, to make a thorough inspection of the schools in this province, requesting him to especially report upon the dimensions of each building, in order that he might know how much sheet iron would be required to roof them. This being acquired, the order was made to the States, from which the material is at present arriving.*

In Bangued, during the time of the insurrection, many of the best buildings were burned. No building, other than what was then the presidencia, could be secured for use as a hospital; thus the president's office was transferred to one of the schoolrooms, and the two smallest of the four rooms were occupied by private persons, leaving me with but one room for school purposes. Alone in this room I continued for six months to perform the very difficult task of imparting a knowledge of the English language to about 200 native children. At the end of this time I was reinforced by eight American teachers in this province, three of whom were retained in this pueblo, the remaining five being distributed among the other most important towns of the province.

At first the people seemed to look upon the school as a thing of very little importance; and except in the larger towns, such as Manila, Iloilo, etc., fit only for the smaller ones to learn to read and write, and many were astonished when they learned that geography, history, arithmetic, and such other studies were going to be used in what they called "escuelas primarias," and that night schools would be opened for adults. But with patience, little by little, the curtain has been drawn until now a dawn of the real scene has no doubt become visible to many of them.

School books and supplies have been greatly needed throughout the province, and more especially since the arrival of the teachers. But for the first time we have recently been furnished with a list of same by the department, from which we can select and order such as we need.

I have been teaching for eight months, during which time two young men of my room, owing to their efficiency in the English language, have been appointed teachers in English; and at the end of the school year I expect to be able to recommend at least four more for such positions.

Bangued is a healthy place and beautifully situated for a high school, and, in my opinion, for the good of the province, it would be a step in the right direction to establish one here within the coming year.

Very respectfully,

The CIVIL GOVERNOR OF ABRA.

Bangued, P. I.

W. E. CHAPMAN.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTAL NEGROS.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF OCCIDENTAL NEGROS,

Bacolod, December 19, 1901.

Hon. CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINES:

ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Civil government was established nine months ago, and although this is a short period in which to appreciate the character of a political epoch, one feels already among the people the first signs of an era of contentment and love for a régime which had been so long desired, which can not fail to lay for the future the stable foundations of a radical and deeply autonomous constitution.

If, while war was raging in other provinces, its contagious blasts were hardly felt here before they were extinguished by the prudence of the wise governors of Negros, and, above all, by the opinion of the people, which has shown unanimously that it is opposed to an irreconcilable policy; if, during the most critical moments of the revolution, Negros was considered by natives and foreigners as a paradise of tranquillity, it is useless to describe its present situation under the auspices of civil régime, which has always been the object of the wishes of all the inhabitants, who have never been induced to wander from the road which they have so happily followed. The only atmosphere here is one of peace, and hearts only beat for the prosperity of the province.

CONDITION OF PUBLIC ROADS.

The public roads are in a very bad condition, except in some few places. They have to cross 75 big and small rivers, with very few bridges, which can hardly resist the floods during the rainy season, so that communications are difficult. From Cadiz to San Carlos, 80 kilometers, there is only a trail, which is not cared for, and is dangerous in certain parts. From the latter pueblo there are a good many roads going south, which in some parts can only be used by foot passengers and cattle, and in others only during the dry season; there are about 40 kilometers of roads in good condition.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Public instruction is received with attention and enthusiasm by the people. As this branch is under the direction of the department of public instruction of Manila, I will only mention in this report the praiseworthy desire on the part of the inhabitants to acquire education, and to assimilate American ideas and customs. The classes of English are well attended, and Occidental Negros has sent more of its sons than any other province in the Visayas to the colleges and universities of the United States, thanks to the decided protection of the first military governor here, the always well-remembered General Smith.

ROBBER BANDS.

Small bands of robbers who declare they are revolutionists are to be found in the north of the province. They are composed of men of ill repute, and others who have been coerced through fear, gathered together and organized by two or three evil doers, who, fugitives from or tired of the war in other provinces, have sought refuge and rest in the forests of this island. Having to live and being suspicious of becoming law-abiding, or preferring a criminal life, they have remained in the mountains, where they have got together a few followers who wear insurgent insignia. With these they make their forays whenever they can do so with impunity, and, like the Babaylanes, kill those who fall into their hands, or force them to join them and pay a certain contribution.

Finally, the mere marauders limit themselves to robbing in bands, without attempting to hide behind any pretensions whatever.

God grant that the agriculture of Occidental Negros—the center of all her vital forces—may soon recover from its state of prostration, and guide the province to prosperity, which is the fervent wish of all her sons. Its irradiations would then be impressed upon all the social and economic movements of the province, by removing want from the public treasuries, and permitting them to communicate a powerful impulse to the progress of the pueblos. Then, when domestic tranquillity and public order are assured, agriculture is prosperous, commercial activity increases, industry grows, schools improve, and education becomes general, the inhabitants of Occidental Negros will bless eternally the sovereignty of the United States, which conducted them along the path of their progress and their liberties.

S. LOCSIN,

Provincial Governor of Occidental Negros.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF CEBU, JANUARY, 1902.

Pessimists prognosticated a fiasco. They opined that, given the sympathy shown by the pueblos to the revolutionary cause, the majority of them would have nothing to do with the new régime. But they were mistaken. In my visit to the island of Bantayan and in the south and opposite coast of the island I was received with enthusiasm, and as a consequence the establishment of municipal rule was also received with enthusiasm.

Upon coming into contact with the pueblos I became convinced that all or the majority of them were tired of the war and of the abuses and vexations to which they were subjected by the insurgents; that they were anxious for peace, and submitted to the exigencies of the revolutionists only through fear. I believe that if they had had some means of defense or had enjoyed some kind of protection, as for example that of a small detachment, it is possible that many of them would have followed the example of Argao, Sibonga, Naga, and others; that is, they would have had no relations whatever with the insurgents.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS IN CEBU.

The municipality of Cebu has established three schools in San Nicolas: One for boys, with a teacher and 1 assistant, in the central portion of the city, with an average attendance of 74 pupils; another for girls, with 46 pupils, in charge of a teacher (female), in the same city; and another, also for girls, in an outlying district, under the charge of a female teacher. There are 10 police officers to maintain order in San Nicolas.

REPAIRED ROADS.

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The conditions of the province would be immensely improved if all the roads in very bad condition were repaired, but the provincial government has not yet sufficient funds to do this. The opening of wagon roads from one coast to another would bring benefits to both agriculture and commerce. It is partly due to the difficulty of transportation that Iloilo is the market for all the sugar of the opposite coast.

* * * * *

Such are the conditions of the province of Cebu. Absolute peace everywhere; nearly all the pueblos organized; bad condition of the roads, streets, squares, wharves, bridges, and wagonways; the pueblos impoverished by the war, the rinderpest, and the locust plague; the smallpox and leprosy causing havoc with the public health; many pueblos without public buildings and a deficient mail service. The steps which, in the opinion of the writer, are best calculated to improve the conditions of the province have been detailed above.

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JULIO LLORENTE,
Governor, Province of Cebu.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF MASBATE.

JANUARY 10, 1902.

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Peace is so completely established in the province that there is not so much as a gang of robbers in the whole territory. The provincial government and the municipalities are doing their work with regularity, and the people are deeply thankful for the benefits derived from the civil régime.

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All the pueblos of the province are suffering from different sorts of fever, and the death rate is unusually heavy.

The exploitations of the forestry products are the life of the province, and commerce is prosperous as compared with former years.

In the pueblos which have teachers the study of English is progressing. The people have a strong desire to learn the language, and it will be necessary to send teachers to all the pueblos; there are only 6 teachers for 17 pueblos.

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BONIFACIO SERRANO,
Provincial Governor.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF SORSOGON.

PROVINCE OF SORSOGON, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,

Sorsogon, January 11, 1902.

* * * * *

The roads throughout the province are in a very bad condition, due to no repair work of any consequence having been done for three or four years, and to the incessant rains of this locality during nearly the entire year. I very strongly recommend that all persons (males and able-bodied) be required, for the coming year at least, to do at least one day's work per month on the public roads, same as prevailed in Spanish times.

* * * * *

AN IDLE PEOPLE.

The existing price of hemp in this province is so high that an industrious man earns, if he works well, \$4 to \$5 Mexican per day. The result is not satisfactory, as the wants of the native are few, and having earned a few dollars he declines to work again until the money is gone, consequently about two-thirds of the population is always idle—a condition most undesirable.

The natives of this section are pacific and desire to live in peace, but they are not industrious and it is impossible to secure labor for public or private works under \$1.50 to \$2 per day, and even at that rate but little can be procured. The labor question is a very serious one, and unless some means are found to induce the native to work, labor will eventually have to be imported.

Generally speaking, and aside from the idleness of the people, the province is in excellent condition and the civil government appears to be working well. The intelligent portion of the population, I believe, is in entire sympathy with it.

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J. G. LIVINGSTON, *Governor.*

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF ILOCOS NORTE, LUZON.

Annual report of Aguedo Agbayani, governor of the province of Ilocos Norte, Luzon.

LAOAG, January 11, 1902.

SIR: As it was to be hoped, the establishment of the provincial government, with its provincial board, and the municipal governments, with their municipal councils, have been and are most favorably received by all the inhabitants, although they were far from knowing, when they intrusted to their municipal governments the absolute management of the pueblos, that such municipal governments must be composed of competent and intelligent men, worthy of the honor which is done them, and capable of performing the duties of their office, as the most powerful element for obtaining the prosperity and the happiness of the pueblos is now intelligence and not force.

POPULAR ELECTIONS CRITICIZED.

Popular election, which is an excellent system in civilized countries, where the rights of election and of vote are well known, where liberty is well understood, and the necessity for intelligence, and not force, recognized by the citizens, is rather premature in this province, where what happens is just the opposite. I will not say that popular election is a bad system in this province; on the contrary, it is excellent for the people to learn its advantages as soon as possible; *but for this purpose it would be better not to allow the people, for some time to come at least, to elect the municipal officials, such as the president and vice-president, who ought to be appointed after proper investigation of their character, their capacity, and their legal competency, although the municipal councilors might be elected by popular vote as a trial and for the instruction of the people. My opinion is in favor of the adoption of legislative measures in that regard.*

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AGUEDO AGBAYANI,
Provincial Governor.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNOR OF ZAMBALES.

Annual report of Potenciano Lesaca, governor of the province of Zambales.

IBA, January 13, 1902.

When the civil régime was organized in this province under the happy auspices of the honorable Civil Commission, it could not be established in better conditions, and a most grateful impression was produced in the province which, thanks to the concessions already granted at that time to the people of the archipelago by the Civil Commission, could not do less than to foresee, in the new régime, the realization of its legitimate aspirations after a period which may be longer or shorter, according to circumstances. And the hopes of the inhabitants are the better founded when they see the favorable change which has been made in all the branches of the public administration after only a few months of civil government.

They see with the greatest satisfaction that the funds which they contribute, in the measure of their forces, toward the payment of the public expenses are never diverted from their legitimate object, and are convinced that the law in all its rigor would be applied to any official who would fail to comply with his duty in that regard.

They remark that, luckily for the province, the provincial officials are no longer what they used to be in former times, in consequence of the traditional system or for their own profit, when they were real despots, who tyrannized the unfortunate inhabitants, disposing of their persons and of their property in an arbitrary and cruel manner, whereas the new officials simply work for the happiness and the welfare of the province, and faithfully perform the duties of their respective offices.

They are truly happy to see that the courts of justice have been reorganized, with the peculiarity that they are now a sure and efficacious guaranty that the law shall be duly complied with and the property and the other individual rights respected, because justice is administered with good faith, rectitude, and impartiality, and is no longer, as in former times, an open market, in which, with incredible and scandalous cynicism, justice was bartered like merchandise and sold to the highest bidder.

This explains how, notwithstanding the financial crisis through which the inhabitants have passed and are still passing, and the loss of all, or of the greater part of their property in consequence of the war, and of the ravages of the rinderpest, there has never been the slightest trouble in the collection of the different contributions and taxes, which have always been punctually and exactly paid.

POTENCIANO LESACA,
Provincial Governor.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR OF AMBOS CAMARINES.

NUEVA CACERES, January 14, 1902.

* * * * *

I have during the period covered by this report made official visits to all the organized municipalities except a few, for which time and means of transportation have not yet sufficed. I am now making arrangements to continue the semiannual tour required by law, and expect to complete the same before the end of this month. In all towns visited I have found the local officials performing their duties in an honest and satisfactory manner, and no complaints of any importance have been received against any municipal officer.

Absolute peace prevails in all sections. It is certain that there is not an armed insurgent within the borders of the province, and the people are loyally supporting the government. During my recent official visits I have traveled to all parts of the province, and, accompanied by my family, have visited the most remote places unarmed and unguarded in perfect security, meeting with nothing but kindness, courtesy, and hospitality everywhere. *Travel on all roads is safe* and crime is rare. Some trouble has been experienced by people in remote barrios from depredations by mountain tribes, but these have not been of a serious nature, and will be entirely prevented as soon as the municipal police in the vicinity of the mountains are sufficiently armed and equipped.

It has for some time been evident to me, and the opinion has been strengthened by my recent tours of this province, that the people of Ambos Camarines are for permanent peace and have full confidence in the civil government now in force in the archipelago. *Very little is said in this locality as to the desire of the people as to the future form of government, the unanimous sentiment appearing to be to await the progress of events with full confidence in the honor and justice of the American Government and people, believing that the future will be properly provided for and that their rights and interests will be safely guarded.* I am sure that this view of the situation is shared by all fair and impartial observers; and I consider it unfortunate that there are many officers of the military establishment who are apparently not in sympathy with the existing order of affairs, and who seem to regard the present attitude of the people with suspicion, and claim to expect treachery and bad faith from persons who are honestly striving to the best of their powers to repair the damage wrought by the late insurrection, and who now clearly see that their interests and those of the country and the people generally can be served only with the maintenance of absolute peace and by keeping faith with our Government.

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SCHOOLS.

A good start has been made in educational work. During the period covered by this report *32 American teachers have arrived in the province and are now conducting public schools in 17 towns.* The district superintendent informs me that he has reported fully to the general superintendent of public instruction concerning the affairs of his department. In all towns visited I have observed that where American teachers are engaged in work the schools are well attended. Night schools for adults also attract many, and a desire to learn English is everywhere evident.

* * * * *

FINANCES.

The province is in good financial condition, and the affairs of this department are admirably administered by Treasurer Braden and his efficient corps of assistants. The total receipts from all sources during the year ended December 31, 1901, including the loan of \$2,500 under act No. 134, amounted to \$44,907.53. Total disbursements, including repayment of said loan, amounted to \$31,988.47, leaving a balance on hand, unappropriated, in provincial treasury December 31, of \$12,919.05½. These figures do not include the sum of \$25,000 which was borrowed from the insular government under the provisions of act No. 196, for the purpose of building and repairing roads. Out of this fund \$1,021.25 had been expended December 31, and the additional amount of \$10,000 appropriated. The reports of the supervisor will give the details of the expenditure of this fund and the work accomplished. I can state, however, that the work is progressing in a very satisfactory manner, and *full value for the money expended is being secured in the shape of better roads*; but after the funds arising from the loan are exhausted much necessary road and bridge work will still remain to be done, for which purpose I believe the provincial treasury will be able to supply the funds as required.

The provincial board endeavors to conduct the affairs of the province in the most economic manner possible, and I believe they have succeeded as well as could be expected. Compared with the cost of governing a community of equal population in the United States the expenses of this province during the past year seem very small, indeed.

* * * * *

All officials are performing their duties in an honest, faithful, and intelligent manner, and if this province has not been specially favored in the matter of native officials, then the others are indeed to be congratulated. All these men have displayed in their work the most commendable zeal, ability, and integrity, and I have had at all times their active assistance and most unqualified support. * * *

I am, very respectfully,

JAMES ROSS.

The CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
Manila, P. I.

Mr. President, the strongest testimony on the result of American local administration in these islands is the financial condition of the provinces. I present a statement of this, which is the most eloquent tribute which could be paid to American management. It must be remembered that this financial situation exists, immediately following the suppression of insurrection and military occupation, and is the result of American control.

Balance in hands of provincial treasurers December 31, 1901, as shown by their accounts.

[United States currency.]

Province.	Amount in treasury.	Amount of loans by insular government included in this balance.
Abra	\$501.02	-----
Albay	25,065.07	\$2,500.00
Ambos Camarines	38,886.91	25,000.00
Bataan	3,015.58	2,500.00
Batangas	12,329.78	2,500.00
Bohol	16,521.23	2,500.00
Bulacan	8,973.24	-----
Iloilo	16,850.04	-----
Ilocos Norte	8,431.12	2,500.00
Ilocos Sur	10,347.94	2,500.00
Isabela	-----	2,500.00
Leyte	16,075.45	-----
Marinduque	1,122.75	2,500.00
Masbate	1,051.66	2,500.00
Occidental Negros	20,143.67	-----
Oriental Negros	17,742.23	-----
Pampanga	18,949.55	2,500.00
Rizal	2,890.25	2,500.00
Sorsogon	12,875.02	2,500.00
Tarlac	4,311.20	2,000.00
Tayabas	10,110.76	-----
Union	11,424.27	-----
Zambales	8,397.98	2,500.00
.....	9,749.33	2,500.00
<i>December 16, 1901.</i>		
Nueva Ecija	1,128.98	2,000.00
<i>November 30, 1901.</i>		
Antique	3,225.56	2,500.00
Cagayan	8,810.28	-----
Capiz	28,304.77	27,500.00
Cavite	4,838.89	2,500.00
Cebu	19,307.43	2,500.00
Misamis	3,116.43	2,500.00
Pangasinan	21,013.98	2,500.00
Romblon	2,745.43	-----
Total	364,515.02	104,000.00

In the foregoing statements the amounts due municipalities are deducted, only the amounts due the provinces being stated. In addition to the amounts given there are yet due to nearly all of the provinces refunds from the insular treasury on account of internal revenue and forestry collections made prior to the date of organization. These refunds are being made as rapidly as the respective amounts are ascertained.

Mr. President, we can not expect that these financial balances in the treasuries of the provinces will continue. Necessary improvements indicated by reports of the governors will take every cent now in the treasury and much more; but the above showing is conclusive as to the efficiency of our administration.

PETITIONS OF NATIVES THAT AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS REMAIN.

It is asserted that the natives are hostile to the continuance of our troops in their towns. This would be naturally so even among ourselves. But such has been the conduct of our officers and men that it does not appear to be true among the Filipinos. Proof of this are petitions from all over the islands that the officers and soldiers in various towns may be kept there. I herewith submit some of these petitions as an illustration of expression of natives on this subject:

DAVAO, MINDANAO, *January 25, 1901.*

SIR: We, the undersigned members of the municipal council of Davao, by ourselves and in the name of the municipality, do hereby request and state the following:

Having initiated in this district the means that lead to a better system of government, especially the municipality which we represent, we believe that for its continuation the commander of this district, Maj. Hunter Liggett, is indispensable, because he is the initiator of the said system, knows the country and circumstances of the inhabitants, and also has conscientiously studied their necessities.

Major Liggett is well liked and a very popular person in this town, especially among the savages who inhabit the woods. *He has impressed in the hearts of all the well meaning of the benevolent American nation in such a manner that the inhabitants fraternize with the Americans, and to-day they are very sorry when they learned that the soldiers were soon to be relieved.*

The opening of the roads, the formation of the municipal council, and the arranging of the numerous races of people that dwell in this district naturally need a commander as just, strict, and of the knowledge of Major Liggett.

It is unnecessary to remind you that while the work taken up by the Americans here remains unfinished it is necessary that white troops should remain here for its protection, and we hope that you will intercede for us to the proper authorities that the soldiers who are going to leave be replaced by others of equality; that is to say, whites and no others; these being preferable for their impartiality, which is necessary to exercise in a town of inferior races like these.

We earnestly request that you may consider what we have stated, as by doing so this town will grow and we will love the nation whose starry flag shelters to-day the town of Davao.

We remain, your true servants,

THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL,
D. SNARO, *Presidente.*
TOMAS MONTEVERDE, *Vice-Presidente.*
T. PALMA GIL, *Recorder.*
JORJE SAAVEDRA, *Councilman.*

DINALUPIJAN, *June 22, 1901.*

SIR: The undersigned, being friends of peace and tranquillity, which they would like to see remain with the town in which they were born, beg to ask you that if it should be considered necessary to keep a garrison in this town that the commanding officer of the same may always be Capt. Clarence S. Nettles, who is at present in command of the garrison here, and who, besides showing remarkable talents, *has always been as kind to us as a father to his family.* All his acts were prompted by kindness, impartiality, and justice, and at all times he has been anxious to further the moral and material improvement of this town. For this reason he has gained the love and the esteem of all the residents, who are always anxious to obey and respect the orders issued by the established government.

Your obedient servants,

RAYMUNDO PAYUNO,
Municipal Presidente, etc.

MILITARY GOVERNOR OF THESE ISLANDS.

CABUYAO, August 6, 1901.

Petition of presidente and 48 prominent citizens of Cabuyao for retention on duty there of First Lieut. H. Clay Evans, acting commissary, it being feared his promotion will take him from their midst. He has gained through his efforts in cleaning and improving the town, providing band music, etc., and by his just treatment the plaudits of the natives

HONORABLE MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, MANILA:

The inhabitants of the town of Bongabon, province of Nueva Ecija, the undersigned, with due respect before you, present themselves and depose: That there are rumors from the public that the commanding officer, Capt. A. A. Cabanniss, and his troops are going to be transferred to Humingen before the beginning of the rainy season, on account of the difficulties of rationing and clothing them, and that they will be relieved by a company of Ilocano soldiers.

For this reason the people of the town before you depose: That since the arrival at this town of the said captain, on November 11, 1900, last, and up to this date, *he has been in perfect harmony with the people of the town and the people with him through his wise methods of ruling and the fine discipline of his men; besides, he knows how to punish with justice anyone who commits any crime.* This is proof that he performed his duty with impartiality, and for this reason this town has greatly progressed in the short time of his presence here. *He established public schools in the town as well as in the barrios, had the streets cleaned, and repaired the houses, and his orders were well obeyed.*

PULILAN, PROVINCE OF BULACAN,
January 21, 1901.

The MAJOR-GENERAL COMMANDING THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS:

The municipal officers of Pulilan, in the name and in behalf of the citizens of the same, with due respect, say:

Learning with regret that the soldiers that garrison this pueblo are to be moved to another point, while deferring with the greatest respect to your orders, we should fail in our loyalty unless we represented to you the necessity of these troops remaining here.

The officers now stationed in this pueblo, by their blameless conduct and uncommon amiability, *have merited, without soliciting it, the approbation and good will of the people, and their departure is the cause of great surprise as well as pain.* We also desire to represent that this pueblo is of great extent, and the officers now here are familiar with the country, and by their ability, notwithstanding the small number of soldiers, have been able to frustrate the intentions of those who wish to disturb the tranquillity of the neighborhood, supplying by their diligence, ability, and valor the small number of soldiers. These officers have already great confidence in their power to defend us from the attacks of those outside. We pray that it will not be necessary to remove these officers, in view of the critical situation in which we find ourselves and the peculiar state of this pueblo.

LUCAS DIZON, Presidente (16 others).

HERMOSA, June 21, 1901.

Major-General WHEATON,

Commanding General, Department Northern Luzon, Manila, P. I.:

We, the undersigned feminine citizens of Llana Hermosa (Bataan), with due respect, before your honor depose: That in view of the reliable news that we have heard concerning our captain, commanding officer, and lieutenant of this post, that they will be transferred to another place; for this reason we beg to remind your honor that since the arrival here in this town of the said officers they put themselves to work at once without any loss of time on behalf of the pacification of the town under their control till their desired end was obtained.

Therefore we humbly request you, if you should think proper, to permit the said commanding officers to still remain in this town for the benefit of its citizens, and also in order that the agricultural work of the unfortunate farmers may continue. (Signed by the presidente, Mariano Nuguic, and 17 others.)

VILLASIS, August 4, 1901.

The GENERAL COMMANDING THIRD DISTRICT,
Department of Northern Luzon.

HONORABLE SIR: The undersigned, the president, the municipal council, and principal inhabitants of Villasis, representing the whole town, present themselves with due respect and state: That with great satisfaction the town authorities have been able to arrest certain persons, members of that illicit association which raised up the town of Cabaruan, and they wish to call your

attention to the fact that should it prove true that the military detachment is to be removed, the town will be subject to the revenge of the friends of those who have been arrested and who are now prisoners. This is the more probable, considering the reduced number of the local police and the system of armament.

We therefore wish to request that our town may be garrisoned by one company, if possible.

(Thirty-one signatures follow.)

BINAN, LAGUNA PROVINCE, P. I., *September 25, 1901.*

Since Captain Hunter has had command of the forces in this town, peace reigns, and the neighborhood enjoys an enviable tranquillity at the same time that it enjoys the benefits of civil government.

Such are the motives that move the inhabitants of Binan to ask that Captain Hunter be not now relieved from this garrison, and we do not doubt that the military governor will take them into account before confirming the announced relief.

Very respectfully,

(Follow signatures of president, vice-president, and counselors.)

General CHAFFEE,

Military Governor of the Philippine Islands.

APALIT, PROVINCE OF PAMPANGA, P. I.,

October 7, 1900.

First. That Captain Butler and Lieutenant Pond have captured the guns that were used by the ladrones that pillaged in the immediate vicinity of this pueblo, and at the same time the principal organizers of the bands of brigands or thieves were apprehended by these officers, whose activities obtained the extinguishment of the actions of the bandits and assassins that frequently entered the barrios and places at some distance from the pueblo, and at this time the inhabitants enjoy tranquillity and freedom from injury consequent, without doubt, upon the brilliant services of these untiring and active officers.

Second. That these gentlemen have learned to obtain the good will of the inhabitants of the pueblo, have attended with justice to the smallest complaints that have been presented to them, have given good example to the troops that they command, correcting with rectitude whatever abuses their subordinates may have committed, and have never permitted the natives under their jurisdiction to be injured by anyone, defending them with all the rigor of the law.

Third. These officers, especially Lieutenant Pond, in his capacity as provost judge of the pueblo, took the most energetic interest in the pueblo, with the purpose of increasing the energies of the pueblo for its benefit, establishing primary education in all the barrios, and at the instance of Captain Butler there has been erected a public school for both sexes, paid for by the wealthier and other inhabitants, in which matter these officers have been of the greatest direct benefit to the common well-being of the pueblo.

We therefore beg that because of the strong reasons on which we base our petition that Captain Butler, First Lieutenant Pond, and all their company be continued as the garrison of Apalit.

MACARIO ARUEDO.
(And 15 others.)

ALIAGA, *March 20, 1901.*

His Excellency the GOVERNOR-GENERAL:

The undersigned, alcalde, treasurer, and municipal counselors of the pueblo of Aliaga, have the honor to say that they have heard that Lieut. Frank A. Jernigan, commanding the detachment here, was to be transferred to another post. As he has always treated the people right, etc., we have the honor to request that he be allowed to remain here.

(The signatures follow.)

Considering the great benefits to this pueblo that followed the rapid pacification of the country, we earnestly supplicate that in view of the foregoing that Capt. Robert Alexander be permitted to continue his valuable services to the pueblo for the complete pacification of the same and the prosperity of this province.

ELEGIO RICALVE, *Municipal Presidente.*
(And 65 others.)

GUINAN, SAMAR, *December 15, 1901.*

SIR: We, the undersigned, presidente and municipal counselors of this pueblo, in the name of and representing the people thereof, respectfully state a profound regret is being caused in the people in the notice that is beginning to spread concerning the departure of Company H, First United States Infantry, now stationed here.

We most earnestly beg you to suspend the transfer of this company and that it be permitted to remain in this pueblo. It is skilled in the military operations in these parts, and has our entire confidence in being energetic and observing, and from the highest officer to the last private has so conducted itself as to merit our regard for their efforts and labors.

APOLINARIO MALABASAY.
(And 21 others.)

[Translation.]

BULACAN, January 3, 1902.

To the United States military governor in the Philippines:

The undersigned, members of the municipal council of Bulacan, state that they have heard a rumor that the American garrison stationed in their town is soon to be relieved, and desire to state that Provost-Marshal Day has won the esteem of everybody by his fine qualities, the discipline which he maintained among his command, his energetic work in pursuing evil doers, and his activity in the construction of seven bridges, embankments, and other public works.

The undersigned respectfully request that their loyal town be not deprived of such a good and popular officer.

CARLOS MORELOS, ETC.

MANILA, P. I., January, 7, 1901.

Major-General BATES,

Commanding Department of Southern Luzon:

The subscribers, the alcalde and municipal counselors of the pueblo of Pateros, province of Manila, most respectfully state—

That if it has come to our knowledge that the company stationed at Taguig, commanded by Captain Parke, will be relieved during this week to be stationed in another pueblo, we most respectfully supplicate that if convenient the order referred to be suspended, not only because of its being of disadvantage to the inhabitants, but also that *Captain Parke is very kind to the people and knows them very well.*

NAZARIO TAASON.
(And 9 others.)

PUEBLO OF LOBOE, PROVINCE OF BATANGAS, P. I.,

August 15, 1901.

The COMMANDING OFFICER, *Batangas, P. I.:*

The undersigned, members of the municipal committee, the parish priest, and other inhabitants of the same pueblo, with greatest consideration and respect, present to you and say:

That as peaceful inhabitants and lovers of complete tranquillity, not only of this pueblo, but of all the Philippine Archipelago, we most earnestly pray that you will be pleased to remain permanently in this pueblo, the present garrison, for because of them we enjoy this tranquillity.

PABLO DIZON,
Parish Priest.
(And 10 others.)

ZAMBOANGA, April 26, 1900.

The MAJOR-GENERAL,

First Delegate of the American Government on the Archipelago:

The mayors, justices of the peace, persons of signification, and landowners of this province, by themselves and representation of the towns administered by them, to you, with the greatest submission and respect, expose: That having had notice that the colonel military governor of this town has been relieved by the commander of troops of occupation of the office so honorably fulfilled by him, and in view of his worthy behavior toward the people because of the works done by him in so short a space of time, as well as because of his affable and familiar manners, we humbly request of you to deign re-order him back to this town to take charge again of the office he was so efficaciously fulfilling.

Grace which we do not doubt to reach of the magnanimous heart of you whose life may God keep many years for the good of America and this archipelago.

I. MIDELE, *Presidente.*
DATO MANDI.

(And the 4 mayors, the 4 justices of the peace, 50 principals.)

GENERALS CHAFFEE AND BELL.

Much has been said, Mr. President, concerning General Bell, a man whom I personally know, a man who is my friend. I almost

felt false to my friend, when I heard the unworthy attacks upon him, that I did not answer them instantly. But I believed that his own brilliant record would be his best defense, for, Mr. President, General Bell is one of the noblest officers who ever honored the American uniform.

I can not turn at the moment to the correct report, but what I was about to read was a statement of the governor of a province and superintendent of instruction there that General Bell, to use his language, "with his vivacious enthusiasm for the education" of the people, had personally attended to it in addition to his military duties.

Yes, here it is. The governor of Abra speaks of the harsh measures he advised General Bell to take. General Bell followed his advice. The insurrection was suppressed. Thereafter the governor went through the province practically without escort. Then what followed? Let the American superintendent of education for that province tell:

Without an exception every schoolhouse was practically without furniture and some with no floor and such a roof as would allow the rain to saturate almost the entire interior. But having on hand a considerable sum of money collected as fines from various criminals, and desiring to spend it for some good purpose, *General Bell, with his vivacious enthusiasm for education as well as whatever might be for the general welfare of the people*, sent Captain Heard, Third United States Cavalry, to make a thorough inspection of the schools in this province, requesting him to especially report upon the dimensions of each building, in order that he might know how much sheet iron would be required to roof them. This being acquired, the order was made to the States, from which the material is at present arriving.

General Bell is no exception. Whoever has toiled and fought and suffered to suppress this insurrection, which Governor Taft declares is "a crime against civilization," has been incessantly assailed on this floor. The commanding general, General Chaffee, with whose friendship I am honored, also has been the focus of this fire. But it has only served to bring into bolder relief the character and career of this superb soldier. Since boyhood he has served the flag. He fought to save the Union. Daily for years thereafter he risked his life protecting our ever broadening frontier. And now he gives his final energies to upbuilding American sovereignty over the outposts of our dominions beyond the sea. He is all that a soldier and gentleman should be. He is one of the great administrators developed by our new duties and responsibilities. Ever brave, ever calm, ever gentle, ever just, and, above all, ever loyal, Chaffee is a pride to the Republic, and Chaffee is as firmly intrenched in the hearts of the American people as his place in history is secure.

IV.—FILIPINO SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Mr. President, is it to be argued from these reports of the conditions in the Philippine Islands that every one of them (except the report of Major Gardener, which is left out for the reason that it has been presented by other Senators, and for other reasons, which make it most unfair that it should be offered at all), showing that the conditions there are satisfactory to a degree that is almost beyond belief—is it to be argued from that that those people are therefore capable of self-government?

Mr. President, I have always observed that the people who remain in their offices and studies and see visions and dream dreams and formulate theories upon them are not as apt to be correct in their statements as those who go upon the ground and examine the

actual conditions for themselves. Therefore I present the beginning of the report of the Schurman Commission, written by Professor Schurman himself, at a time when he was taking part in this grand and noble work, and at a time when he himself was one of the active and constructive agents of this movement of advancing civilization. It is more valuable than what he says in his present altered attitude. He who now says that he is a believer in the capacity of the Philippine people for self-government; he who now declares that American authority should be withdrawn, officially said to the American people when he was fresh from the Philippines that—

FIRST REPORT OF SCHURMAN COMMISSION ON CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL:

The most striking and perhaps the most significant fact in the entire situation is the multiplicity of tribes inhabiting the archipelago, the diversity of their languages (which are mutually unintelligible), and the multifarious phases of civilization—ranging all the way from the highest to the lowest—exhibited by the natives of the several provinces and islands. In spite of the general use of the Spanish language by the educated classes and the considerable similarity of economic and social conditions prevalent in Luzon and the Visayan Islands, the masses of the people are without a common speech and they lack the sentiment of nationality. The Filipinos are not a nation, but a variegated assemblage of different tribes and peoples, and their loyalty is still of the tribal type.

Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. *The most that can be expected of them is to cooperate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs.* Fortunately, there are educated Filipinos, though they do not constitute a large proportion of the entire population, and their support and services will be of incalculable value in inaugurating and maintaining the new government. As education advances and experience ripens, the natives may be intrusted with a larger and more independent share of government—self-government, as the American ideal, being constantly kept in view as the goal. In this way American sovereignty over the archipelago will prove a great political boon to the people.

And listen to the following final conclusion of Professor Schurman. No orator in the heat of campaign has put the sad effect of American withdrawal in such fervid and ultimate terms as did Schurman, when fresh from the field. He says:

Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the Commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless, they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We can not from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails; and the Commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands.

DIARY OF AGUINALDO'S STAFF OFFICER.

Those who claim that the Filipinos are a single people are confronted with this extract from the diary of a member of Aguinaldo's staff, written during Aguinaldo's last flight. They had reached a point in the Igorrote country on December 16, and the writer of this diary, speaking of the situation, says:

Our situation here in Banane is very dangerous, because not only are enemies the Americans who are in front of us and behind us, but the very

Igorrotes who surround us, including those of Banane, are also our enemies, only waiting for the opportunity to cut off our heads, just as happened to Captain Villareal's soldiers, who, sent on in advance to the settlements, were attacked by the Igorrotes of Pagayapaig, and as a result we had to lament the loss of three guns captured by the Igorrotes, besides three soldiers and a woman wounded.

Following that, I desire to present the testimony of Governor Taft, the testimony of General MacArthur, the testimony of General Hughes, the testimony of Professor Barrows, and of others, who have exhaustively examined the situation upon the spot. These are not reports of a three weeks' holiday trip, as was the case of Officer Sargent, upon whose testimony all of the eloquent argument of the senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] was based. No, these are the mature and deliberate statements of men who have studied the conditions at first hand, not for weeks, but for months and for years. Moreover, some of these, like Governor Taft, went there opposed to the policy of the Government, and, after having examined the policy in its effect upon those people, returned to this country its most earnest and valuable supporters.

TESTIMONY OF GOVERNOR TAFT AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Senator CARMACK. You made a close and careful study of the conditions in the islands and the character of the people. I wish to ask you what is your opinion of the proposal that the Philippine Islands shall be made an integral part of the United States—leaving out for the present the question of statehood—giving them equal constitutional rights, and full rights of citizenship to the people. What is your opinion of that proposal?

Governor TAFT. I had expected to treat of that subject generally, but I have no objection to answering the question now.

The condition of the people of the Philippine Islands to-day is such that *the extension of the constitutional restrictions which apply in a State would very much interfere with the establishment of a stable and successful government.*

A government ought to be established under American guidance which shall form a stable government, by which and under which the Filipinos shall gradually improve their knowledge of what is individual liberty and what is a constitutional government, and subsequently the time will come when the United States and the Filipino people together can agree upon what their relations shall be.

Whether a colony—I mean a quasi-independent colony, as Australia and Canada are to England—an independent state, or a State of the Union, is a question so far in the future, dependent upon the success of the operation of the stable government, that I have not myself reached a conclusion on the subject.

QUESTION OF STATEHOOD.

Senator CARMACK. You think, then, it is an open question whether the people of the Philippine Islands—lands populated with eight or ten million Asiatics—should be admitted to the full rights of American citizenship or whether or not an archipelago so populated should be admitted to statehood in the Union? You think it is an open question?

Governor TAFT. I think it is a question that I would not answer two or three generations before it will arise. I think the great evil to-day is the discussion of something that is utterly impossible of settlement to-day. The thing the Filipino people need to-day is a stable government under the guidance of American control, teaching them what individual liberty is and training them to a knowledge of self-government, and when they have that, the question of what relations shall then exist between the islands and this country may be settled between them and the citizens of the United States.

But to attempt to decide in advance something that it is utterly impossible wisely to decide now, it seems to me, with deference to those who differ with me, very unreasonable.

Senator CARMACK. I was speaking of it from the standpoint of the people of the United States, as to whether you thought it was a question of possibility—

Governor TAFT. *What the people of the United States may think, or what they ought to think, fifty or a hundred years from now I do not venture to say.*

Senator PATTERSON. It is a century problem?

Governor TAFT. *It is quite possible, as we say in our report, that it may take a generation, or two generations; but no matter how long it is, it is in my judgment the duty of the United States to continue a government there which shall teach those people individual liberty, which shall lift them up*

to a point of civilization of which I believe they are capable, and which shall make them rise to call the name of the United States blessed.

I have thought over this subject a great deal; we have become intensely interested in the problem, and of course motives, the charge of which we can not avoid, are given to us in reaching such a conclusion; but if I ever was convinced of anything in my life it is that the problem which the United States there has is a great problem worthy of its solution, and which, when solved by establishing a stable government there under the guidance of American control, will redound to the honor and the benefit of this country, and I am proud to have to do with that work.

Senator CARMACK. You say the great trouble in all this matter has been that we are thinking about what may happen a generation or two generations from now. If the possession of the Philippine Islands by the United States involves the possibility of an archipelago 7,000 miles away, inhabited by people of an Asiatic race, becoming a State of the Union fifty or a hundred years from now, do you not think it is a question which deserves consideration now? Do you not think we ought to consider what may happen fifty years from now?

Governor TAFT. No, sir; and I will say why. Nothing that can to-day be said to the Filipino people in the nature of a promise as to the form of government which may take place, after an established stable government shall be formed, could be otherwise than misleading to them and confusing in establishing that government.

It would at once begin the agitation among those who desire that separation to have that separation, because, in their opinion, they are fitted for it at once. It would drive away from the support of the stable government that conservative element who are strongly in favor of American guidance and control, because they would anticipate an early change.

They would think they would early be left without the support which the presence of the American Government necessarily gives, and the promise of something in the future, instead of helping to establish, would render unstable any government which was attempted to be established.

EFFECT OF COLONIAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Senator PATTERSON. Then this statement by the Federal party, of which three members of the United States Commission are active members, is false? "To make of the Philippines a colony of the United States or to grant independence to the Philippines would be to hand the islands over to disorder and to anarchy; to destruction and to chaos."

Governor TAFT. True as of what date?

Senator PATTERSON. As of the date of the petition?

Governor TAFT. True as of now. It is just as true as gospel.

Senator PATTERSON. It is just as true as gospel that to make the Philippines a colony of the United States is to hand the islands over to disorder and to anarchy—

Governor TAFT. No.

Senator PATTERSON. To destruction and chaos?

Governor TAFT. No.

Senator PATTERSON. That is exactly what this party states to the Congress of the United States.

Governor TAFT. To give them independence now, it is true.

* * * * *

Governor TAFT. I doubt if the people can establish a stable government. I assume that this is without the aid of American guidance and control. If it is with the aid of American guidance and control, then the time taken must be indefinitely in the future.

Senator MCOMAS. Generations, probably?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator MCOMAS. That was to be my next question—how many years we must continue to occupy and govern the archipelago until the people had established a stable government. You have said many generations.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; I think if it means what it may be inferred to mean, it means that the generals of the insurrecto forces shall call together a number of delegates and shall go through the form of making a government, and then when that government has its offices filled, at once the transfer of sovereignty shall take place.

There would result after that—it might last six months, it might last a year, but there would result anarchy and interference with the rights of individuals and interference with the rights of vested interests in which foreign governments are concerned, which would require the United States at once to step back and begin over the work which it had been doing, and it would find itself where it was two years ago.

EXPERIENCE OF THE AGUINALDO GOVERNMENT.

I make that statement, first, on the experience of the Aguinaldo government. For eight months Aguinaldo had a government in Luzon. It consisted of the congress at Malolos, the members of which were appointed by

him, many of them distinguished lawyers and educated men, from Manila largely.

Thereupon he appointed governors for various provinces, and the outrages that were committed by those governors in the conduct of government and the collection of taxes, the corruption which existed through the territory over which he had control, leave no doubt as to what the result would be, that a similar government would be established—and I assume that is what this substitute means—within a short period of time, and would be followed by the withdrawal of American sovereignty.

Secondly, the local control which the educated people of each province have over the ignorant people there would enable disappointed politicians in any particular province to set up a little force by itself, and that inevitably, in the course of one or two years, would produce the state of anarchy of which I have spoken.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think, in this connection, we having withdrawn and a state of anarchy having arisen, it would probably lead to the partition of the islands among other powers?

Governor TAFT. Of course that is a question—

The CHAIRMAN. It is a mere question of opinion.

INTEREST FOREIGNERS TAKE IN THE ISLANDS.

Governor TAFT. It is a question of opinion as to the interest which foreigners take in the islands. They are called among foreigners whom I know in Manila the gems of the Orient. The interest that Japan has taken in the islands the records of the military department will show. The interest that other governments would take in the islands may be judged of by reference to the foreign capital invested there. The Germans have a great deal of capital. The English have a good deal.

Senator MCCOMAS. You have comprehended in your answer other questions which I had contemplated asking. Could we in any way, at any time, in your opinion, obtain sufficient guaranties for the safety of the inhabitants who have adhered to the United States?

Governor TAFT. I think it would be exceedingly difficult. If I may be permitted—

EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Senator MCCOMAS. What would happen to them if we withdrew in this fashion?

Governor TAFT. *The personal hostility between leading Filipinos at times has been so great as to lead to bloody measures. How far they would be carried here I have no idea. That is conjectural.*

I should like to say, if I may, although I had not expected to come to this part of the discussion now, that it is a very logical and reasonable proposition on its face to say, will not the insurrection come to an end; will not there be general peace and tranquillity if you promise to give these people independence when they shall be fitted for it? That proposition, put in that way, seems to have a great deal of force.

Practically the effect of such a promise would be exactly the opposite from that which the argument presupposes. The promise to give them independence when they are fit for it would be accepted by them as a promise to give them independence certainly during the lifetime of the present generation. It would at once bring into a discussion of every issue the question whether now were not the people ready for independence. It would drive out capital; prevent capital from coming there; and upon the investment of capital, the building of railroads, the enlargement of vision of the Filipino people much of our hope of progress must depend.

In addition to that, by reason of the constant agitation as to the granting of this independence in a year or two years or three years or a decade, it would at once discourage the sincere efforts of the educated Filipinos who are with us to-day in building up a stable government. For these reasons I think such a promise as that would be a great mistake.

Senator MCCOMAS. If we later, according to the proposition you have in your hand, leave the control and sovereignty to the inhabitants, to which tribes could we safely intrust it, and would not we for many years necessarily continue a de facto sovereignty as does England over Egypt or Austria over Bosnia? Could you, in deciding the question of leaving the sovereignty of the islands, determine now, from your several years' experience there, to which inhabitants you would leave it, with their rivalries and confusions of tongues?

Governor TAFT. Of course, if you left the islands to anybody you would leave them, I assume, to some sort of a committee or parliament, appointed or selected, who would be dominated probably by those whose violent methods have continued the guerrilla warfare; and that such a body could be created by proclamation within a reasonable time I have no doubt. *But that it would not constitute a stable government, that it would give rise to anarchy and division between the tribes and between individuals of power and force, I have no doubt.*

EFFECT OF A GOVERNMENT OF THE TAGALOGS.

Senator MCOMAS. What would be the effect of such a government of the Tagalogs over the other tribes and people there in respect of the inhabitants themselves?

Governor TAFT. It would probably lead to a division between the Visayans and the Tagalogs, as disappointed officeholders or persons disappointed in the policy agreed upon by Manila might lead them on.

IMPOSSIBLE FOR FILIPINOS TO GOVERN MOROS.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the Moros submit to such government?

Governor TAFT. So far as the Moros are concerned they are entirely out of this question. It is utterly impossible for the Filipinos to govern the Moros.

HOW MOROS COULD BE GOVERNED.

Senator CARMACK. Would it be possible for us to govern them?

Governor TAFT. It is possible for us to govern them as we govern the Indian tribes. They are nowhere near so amenable to education, to complete self-government by way of partial self-government, as are the Christian Filipinos. The Moros have no desire for popular government. They are arranged in tribes, real tribes as distinguished from the linguistic tribes of Christian Filipinos. They are arranged in real tribes, in the sense that every Moro is under a dato's control, and he does not desire to be governed except through a dato.

Senator MCOMAS. A clan?

Governor TAFT. By way of a clan.

Senator RAWLINS. You think it would be unsafe to accord them independence at present?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator RAWLINS. Because they have not the habit of self-government.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator RAWLINS. The Filipinos, desiring some definitive policy declared with reference to them, if we fail to do that and proceed to deal with them and legislate for them as if they were a dependent colony, to be treated like other subject colonies, would it not be a constant source of trouble?

WHAT THE FILIPINOS DESIRE.

Governor TAFT. I think not, if you show by your legislation, as I hope you may, that you are really extending to them the means of self-government. What they desire definitively, as I understand it, is a declaration that Congress expects to establish a civil government, and to say what kind of a civil government it is. They also point out that they would like to know where the Filipinos stand with reference to the rights under the Constitution and with reference to the United States in the relation of the islands to the United States.

I think it would be well to reiterate, in a law like this, the rights set forth in the President's instructions to the Commission, which include everything secured by the bill of rights except the right to bear arms and the right to a trial by jury. I see no objection—although, of course, it follows without such a statement, because of the relation that the treaty establishes—to a declaration that the citizens or residents of those islands, owing allegiance to the United States, shall have the same protection with respect to foreign countries that a citizen of the United States has.

OBJECTION TO EXTENDING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS TO FILIPINOS.

My objection to extending those personal rights contained in the Constitution is chiefly based on the fact that I do not think they are ready for trial by jury. I do not think that, educated in an entirely different system of law and having the defects which I have already pointed out, they are ready for trial by jury, and then I do not think that the Filipinos themselves would ask to have the right to bear arms. The right to bear arms conferred upon a people in which ladronism is so chronic would lead to oppression of the Filipinos, and the Filipinos would be the last to desire to have it. If there is in the law a declaration of the rights I have mentioned, I should think it would help us.

* * * * *

EFFECT UPON THE FILIPINOS OF CESSATION OF AGITATION HERE.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What would be the effect upon the people and conditions there if agitation here upon this question should cease, or any encouragement to those in insurrection should cease, and the people of the islands should be given to understand that just such a government as you describe, and just such a course of action as you have indicated, will be firmly and unalterably pursued?

MEANING OF TERM "INDEPENDENCE" TO FILIPINOS.

Senator ALLISON. There are Filipino people, and I suppose very intelligent people, from what I hear, who want independence. Do they mean by "independence" that they shall establish there a government of their own,

which shall be responsible for domestic tranquillity and also take care of all their relations with the governments of the world, and that they shall be cut loose entirely from the friendship and protection of the United States? Is that the kind of independence they are talking about, or is it an independence that shall rest upon some stronger power to help them maintain themselves? I should like to know just what is the idea of the intelligent people and also of the other 90 per cent when they talk about independence.

Governor TAFT. It is very difficult to answer that question with exactness. The term "independence," when used by the insurgents, was supposed to indicate something very good, without any definition of what it was; so that many of the troops, as Professor Worcester tells me, for I am not myself an authority on that question, in cheering said "dependencia" instead of "independencia." On the other hand, there are intelligent people who use the expression "independence" in an oratorical way without having thought out what the giving of it involves.

* * * * *

Senator ALLISON. You said, in response to questions by Mr. Rawlins and Mr. Culbertson, that you do not regard the people as now prepared for independence?

Governor TAFT. I do not.

Senator ALLISON. When you speak of that, do you mean that they are not prepared to maintain a national government of their own, without any control by any other nation, strong or weak?

Governor TAFT. I do.

Senator ALLISON. Or do you mean also that they are not able to protect domestic order throughout the islands by means of their own government, whatever it may be, without the aid of some other government?

Governor TAFT. *I mean both. I mean that they are neither able to maintain a national government which would be stable, nor are they able to maintain a government, looking at it from the domestic point of view, which would be stable enough to protect life and property.*

WHAT THE COMMISSION IS PREPARING THE FILIPINOS FOR.

Senator ALLISON. Now, is it for that kind of a government that you are preparing them? Are you preparing them so that that alternative may at some time be presented to them, or the other alternative of which Mr. Rawlins speaks?

Governor TAFT. We are preparing them, or we hope we are preparing them, for a government in which the rights of the minority will be respected under the rule of the majority, an idea, permit me to say, which as yet obtains in the minds of a very few of them. We hope to prepare them for a condition where they will be able to maintain a stable government to protect life, liberty, and property, and if they desire ultimately—it is in the distant future—to maintain a national government of their own.

Senator ALLISON. If they want it.

Governor TAFT. If they desire it.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You are preparing them for the best of which they may be found capable?

Governor TAFT. That is what we are trying to do.

EFFECT OF TURNING OVER THE GOVERNMENT TO NATIVE LEADERS.

Governor TAFT. I wish to impress the fact, that were the government turned over to those who profess to be the leaders in the insurrection to-day, among the irreconcilables or intransigentes, though not in arms, *the idea of civil liberty would be the last idea which would be practically carried into effect.*

Senator ALLISON. That is, liberty regulated by law?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator ALLISON. Established by law?

Governor TAFT. *Yes, sir. The tendency of all governments under them would be toward absolutism, an oligarchy which would mean that the president of the village would control absolutely the village; the governor would control the province, and the head of the government would control the governors. The idea of elevation and protection to that indifferent mass of 90 per cent would be possibly professed, but would fall far short of actual realization; and, therefore, offering to them independence now is offering to them—that is, to 90 per cent of the people to whom I have referred—a condition of things which would be as far from enjoyment of free institutions as it is possible to imagine.*

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL MACARTHUR ON CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Questions by Senator BEVERIDGE. What, in your judgment, would be the effect if a Filipino government of any kind were established, American authority and sovereignty entirely withdrawn, and they left to themselves?

AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL MEANS "ABSOLUTE CHAOS."

General MACARTHUR. *To answer that briefly and concisely, I should say absolute chaos. I should like, however, at the next session, to elaborate my views. I should like to explain how I reach that conclusion, briefly.*

* * * * *

The Filipino people certainly have rudimentary republican ideas and aspirations, and are therefore in an essentially plastic condition, which, under the tutory control of the United States, in my opinion, would admit of rapid molding of the body politic into a consistent, self-supporting commonwealth. On the other hand, while the existence of elementary republicanism is apparent to the sympathetic investigator, it is equally apparent that even the most advanced thinkers among the Filipinos have no conception whatever of the practical mechanical methods whereby the results they are all anxious to attain can be successfully accomplished.

"FAILURE OF REPUBLICANISM IN THE EAST IF WE WITHDRAW."

American withdrawal from the islands, therefore, would, in my opinion, result in permanent failure of republicanism in the East and the devastation of the archipelago by internecine and fratricidal war, which would continue indefinitely until suppressed by some external force. That such force would be applied there can be no doubt.

The incalculable and indescribable value of the archipelago, strategically and commercially, has attracted the attention of constructive statesmen throughout the world. Many nations are looking in that direction with longing eyes. The islands in case of our withdrawal would unquestionably become the theater of gigantic political and warlike operations. The inevitable collision which would result from such an American policy could not be confined. It would resound on all the shores of the Pacific and affect the commerce of the world. It would bring the powers of the world face to face and prematurely initiate a struggle for supremacy in the East from the consequence of which America could only protect herself by participation in the general conflict which would result directly from her own efforts to escape from the pressure of circumstances which are carrying her to a magnificent destiny. We would thus not only sacrifice the Filipino people, but would bring upon ourselves staggering responsibilities, in respect of which the present problems in the Philippines would appear as mere child's play.

In the belief that history never goes backward, a broad generalization is reached to the effect that enlightened self-interest, sound economy, and pure morals agree in their judgments, and corroborate each other, and suggest that we must retain the archipelago as a tuitory annex; that there we must plant our institutions; there we must contest for commercial power, and perhaps combat for political supremacy.

To overcome the inherent difficulties of the situation will, of course, require the most profound efforts of constructive statesmanship, but the event of introducing our civilization, our institutions, and our commerce into Asia is fraught with such gigantic consequences that it is calculated to fix the attention of the most careless observer and to warm the fancy of the most indifferent.

That is the general basis upon which I reach the conclusion that chaos would result in the Philippine Islands if we left them.

AGUINALDO SAID IMPOSSIBLE FOR FILIPINOS TO ESTABLISH INDEPENDENCE.

General MACARTHUR. I might say in that connection of self-government that in one of the last interviews I had with Aguinaldo—and my intercourse with him was exceedingly agreeable and very much to his credit—he told me that he was satisfied that he had been misinformed as to the character of the American people and the purpose of the American Government, and that he was also satisfied that it would be impossible at this stage of their evolution for his own people to establish a stable, independent government. Now, that is entitled to just as much credence as gentlemen choose to give it. It was a voluntary statement on Aguinaldo's part, however.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL HUGHES AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

VISAYANS' CAPACITY FOR CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you think of their capacity for civil government? General HUGHES. My personal opinion is that it will be a long time before they are qualified to run a civil government of their own. I understand your question to relate purely to the Visayans?

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I mean.

General HUGHES. *I should say not inside of two generations. The people have no earthly idea of equity. They simply know their own wishes, and they have no regard for the wishes of others.*

The CHAIRMAN. If left to themselves what sort of government, in your opinion, would they establish?

General HUGHES. They would try, undoubtedly, to establish a republic of some kind, and they would do it. The ordinary Tao of the Visayans is one of the most gullible creatures the world contains. He will believe anything he is told by his acknowledged superior, no difference how absurd the statement is, and there is the great strength that their leaders have over them—the enormous lies that are published to them as to their plans and what is going to take place. They gull them right along.

The latest I got hold of from Lukban to his people was that a German fleet would be in those waters at such a date to blow the Americans out, and that they would then secure their independence. That was the last one I heard.

VISAYAN CONCEPTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you mean by that to suggest that the Visayans desire independence?

General HUGHES. These people of whom I speak—the Taos—do not know what independence means. *They probably think it is something to eat. They have no more idea what it means than a shepherd dog.*

“WE WILL TAKE OFF HIS HEAD.”

The CHAIRMAN. Are they pretty generally hostile, or are there among them many friendly to us?

General HUGHES. You will find a very great deal of good will in all the provinces where absolute peace has been established.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think if they were left to themselves they would submit to a Tagalo government in Luzon?

General HUGHES. I think probably they would submit for a while, until some of their leaders did not get what they wanted. Then they would probably take the course as to which one of their great advocates remarked on one occasion. They were discussing what could be done as a republic, and he and his friends had their ideas, and they said they would do so and so. A man who was discussing the matter with them suggested that there might be a good deal of opposition to that. “No,” said he, “if anybody opposes it we will take off his head. That is all.”

The CHAIRMAN. You think the tendency would be to break up into separate republics?

General HUGHES. I do not think it would live long enough to break up into different republics. I think the islands would be taken possession of by somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the islands would be taken possession of by some other power?

General HUGHES. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF PROFESSOR BARROWS AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Just one other question, and then I shall have no more. I have been impressed by your clearly acute observations of these people and their conditions, and that, too, from a favorable point of view to them. What have you to say about the present or the immediately near capacity of those people for self-government, as that term is understood in America? Are they capable of such at the present time?

Mr. BARROWS. That is the whole question, I suppose, Senator. I would say this, in speaking upon it for a moment or two, I think the last twenty-five or thirty years in the Philippine Islands, which are the years that have seen the introduction of the Filipino to superior education and to superior advantages, have been very encouraging as revealing his aptitude and intelligence.

* * * * *
 But this, of course, is to be remembered, that political self-control and political experience sufficient to govern a great population, and including a great number of tribes lower than the Christianized Filipino is himself, is about the last thing that a man or a race attains. I look forward with some confidence to a time in the near future when the Filipino will be making researches in science and will be making contributions along different lines, much as the Japanese are. * * *

Now, Mr. President, to call the attention of opposition Senators to Professor Barrows's conclusion. He continues:

But I do not see any immediate prospect, and I never expect to live to see the day when he can govern.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Just a question cognate to that. What would you say would be the result on the islands and the people themselves if a system of self-government was put upon them and they were left to themselves?

Senator ALLISON. Do you mean locally or nationally?

Senator BEVERIDGE. Locally or nationally.

The CHAIRMAN. The whole thing.

Senator DIETRICH. With absolute independence.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What would be the effect of that? You may couple

it, if you please, with the proposition upon our part that as to the external world we will protect them; I mean to say by our navies, etc. What would be the effect upon the people of the islands?

EFFECT OF AMERICAN ABANDONMENT OF ISLANDS.

MR. BARROWS. The Filipino has no tribal allegiance, no chieftains, no customs of adherence to that kind of thing upon which to fall back. The only political experience he has is that of the management of these little municipalities, his little locality; and for all we can see, if we should retire the islands would simply break up into little bits of groups. A little leader would start up here, and another there, and another here, and the people would fall back in their political grade. They would lapse downward.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. What would be the effect upon their social and industrial conditions?

MR. BARROWS. Their culture would have to sink with it.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. Retrograde?

MR. BARROWS. Retrograde.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. What would be the industrial conditions as the result of such action?

MR. BARROWS. It would interfere with commerce. It would destroy everything except small native bartering.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. I understand you to say that you never expect to live to see the day when the Filipinos would be capable, as a people, of self-government, as we understand it. Is that understanding of your answer correct?

THE CHAIRMAN. Do you mean internationally?

FILIPINO NOT BORN WHO CAN GOVERN.

MR. BARROWS. *I do not think the Filipino is yet born who will control, to say nothing of governing justly, the Philippine Islands.*

That, Mr. President, from as friendly a man to the Filipinos as can be found, is conclusive, is it not? Yet Senators talk of independence, self-government, legislatures, and the like.

TESTIMONY OF GENERAL OTIS AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. What have you to say as to the capacity of those people as a whole, if left to themselves, for self-government?

GENERAL OTIS. They are not fitted for self-government.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. How soon will they be, General?

GENERAL OTIS. I could not answer that question. It depends upon education.

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. A considerable length of time, you think?

GENERAL OTIS. In the case of several of their officers who surrendered their troops—one very able man, especially, expressed himself in this way. He said: "I know that we are not ready for self-government. It has been a failure."

SENATOR BEVERIDGE. I will ask you, General, what your opinion is as to the conditions that would result if the American authority were withdrawn and the islands were turned over to the natives.

"ANARCHY OR A MILITARY DESPOTISM."

GENERAL OTIS. *It would be anarchy or a military despotism, and they all understand it. There is not a Filipino or anybody else over there who desires self-government.*

When Mabini came in I said to him, "You know the United States is essential to the welfare and integrity of the island." He said, "I know it." I said, "What are you fighting for?" He replied, "We are fighting in order to make the best terms possible."

Aguinaldo himself never wanted self-government without outside protection. You understand that they know very well that other nations would divide up those islands if we let them go. We had long conferences before the war broke out. General Torres, a very able man, who was at the head of Aguinaldo's commission, was one of those with whom we were in conference; but all they said was this: They wanted the protection of the United States, and they wanted to control the internal affairs of the island, and they would turn over to us the custom-houses in payment for the protection which we would give them on the outside.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. LEE WRIGHT HALL AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN:

Q. What, in your judgment, would be the effect of our leaving the islands to themselves?

A. I don't know what would be the effect. Unless somebody took them up, there is no telling what would come. *It would be chaos, that is all.*

Q. Chaos unless somebody took possession?

A. Yes; which they would do.

STATEMENT OF DR. HAZLETT, REPRESENTING WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 21, 1902.

The CHAIRMAN, I have some papers here from the War Department. They send a copy of a report from Mr. Lester Hazlett, who was sent out by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. * * *

A VIEW OF THE MORAL CONDITIONS EXISTING IN THE PHILIPPINES.

[By A. Lester Hazlett, A. M., Ph. D.]

I went to the islands an ardent antiexpansionist; I returned a firm believer in the policy of the Administration. I frankly confess that I had a wrong idea of conditions in the archipelago. I believed the people ready for self-government; now I know that while some of them are, the great mass of the people are not capable of it; but they will be, and that, perhaps, before a generation shall have passed. The Filipino is fully as bright as the Japanese. They learn quickly, and are extremely anxious to acquire. God has given us a wonderful opportunity, for which I am sure He will hold us strictly accountable. To refuse to accept this heaven-bestowed privilege to elevate to a like plane with ourselves a people ready to learn and anxious to secure all that is requisite for the building of a nation is to prove unworthy of so high an honor.

I went to Manila with the thought that Admiral Dewey should have sailed away after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, but am now convinced that future generations of Americans, and Filipinos as well, will arise to bless and honor him because he did not.

PROTECTORATE IMPOSSIBLE.

A protectorate could not have fulfilled the end of our responsibility, and to dispose of the islands at this time, by sale or otherwise, would be not only ignoble, but to prove unworthy of the trust reposed in us by the God of nations. I desire to be understood as saying that I do not believe the Filipino is ready for absolute self-government. The form of civil government that has recently been inaugurated, in which leading men of that people are employed in bearing a part of the burden, is making a good impression. When I speak of the Filipino as incapable of self-government, I speak of the people as a whole. I have had the pleasure of meeting and have been entertained by the best people of the islands—those who have received the highest culture.

But, ah! how few in the midst of the swarming thousands are those who think clearly and are intelligent, even to a degree. Those who are superior form but an insignificant minority; the mass of the people have been kept in ignorance; they do not even know the meaning of "independencia." *At least 6,000,000 of the people are but children, who must sit at our feet and learn those lessons of self-government which I believe, more than any other nation, we are capable of imparting. I have faith in my country; I am sure we will not leave this interesting people to war among themselves or fall an easy prey to designing demagogues, but will give them such a form of government as shall be commensurate with their needs and fitness to receive.*

WILL IT PAY?

Will it pay to hold the Philippines? We have no right to ask that question in the attempt to solve so great a problem, for this is not a matter of dollars with the American people, but one of justice. We can not now desert them and be guiltless. Anarchy would immediately result. *By our present course we will have saved a people from themselves; in this case, their own worst enemy.*

But it will pay to retain the islands from a mercenary standpoint. *In the years to come they will reimburse us many times over.* The natural resources are wonderful. I have seen veritable gold mines on top of the earth in the immense forests of precious woods; here are large bodies of ore—gold, silver, iron, copper, etc., and cropping out of the ground near Cavite, and also close to the sea in southern Luzon may be seen veins of coal of fair quality, at least sufficiently good for smelting purposes. The rubber industry of the southern group is waiting to be developed into vast possibilities, some of the finest rubber in the world being found there.

It has been argued that in our expansion we will expose ourselves to that national death that overtook the Roman Empire. The Scriptures assert that "it is given unto men once to die." This may just as truly be said of nations; we shall hardly escape the general fate of other peoples. *The nations that were not aggressive have just as surely perished as has that wonderfully aggressive state whose seat of power was beside the Tiber; but she has also enriched the world, while they have not; she has, after all, made life more tolerable for man.*

Her institutions of art and literature, her code of civil jurisprudence have made her to be honored and remembered. So that it is better that we take our place in the forefront of the twentieth century onward movement for the elevating and strengthening of the weak and the advancement of a higher, truer civilization, so that, departing in God's own time, we shall leave behind us a name "to have lived."

I also present the testimony of Bishop James Thoburn, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who spent forty-five years in the Orient and fifteen years among the Malays of the Straits Settlements, and made two visits to the Philippine Islands.

TESTIMONY OF BISHOP JAMES THOBURN, OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, AS TO CAPACITY OF FILIPINOS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EFFECT OF AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL.

Questions by the CHAIRMAN. Bishop Thoburn, the committee have asked you to be kind enough to come before them, as they heard you have been in the Philippine Islands. Is that true?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; I have been there.

The CHAIRMAN. And when were you there?

Bishop THOBURN. I might say I have charge of a mission, and am superintendent of a mission at Singapore. That is the headquarters of the mission. I go there once a year.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You are bishop of a Methodist Church?

Bishop THOBURN. For India and Malasia; yes. But I have been in the Philippine Islands myself only twice—the first time in March, 1898, and the second time in March, 1900. At that time I could only go into the immediate vicinity of Manila. We were not allowed to go out into the islands.

The CHAIRMAN. That was while the war was still in progress?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There were very few provinces pacified then?

Bishop THOBURN. But there is a government prohibition, and we are not allowed to go out even at our own risk, because the authorities did not want us to make trouble for them.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in Manila at that time?

Bishop THOBURN. Two weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make any inquiries as to the state of affairs there, and the condition of the natives, and so on?

Bishop THOBURN. Certainly, as far as I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you kindly state to the committee what your impressions are and the result of your inquiry?

Bishop THOBURN. In what special direction?

The CHAIRMAN. In any direction, as what it is best for us to do there; what the capacity of the natives for self-government seems to be; anything in that direction.

“WE CAN NOT LEAVE.”

Bishop THOBURN. I certainly think that we find ourselves there very unexpectedly and that we can not leave.

Senator DUBOIS. If you will pardon me, would it not be better for the Bishop to tell what he knows from observation as to the intelligence and moral capacity of the natives?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly; any line that is desirable.

Bishop THOBURN. If you will give me questions, I will be very glad to answer them.

Senator DUBOIS. I would like to have your judgment as to the moral and intellectual capacity of the natives.

Bishop THOBURN. The natives are very much, in many respects, like our American Indians, it strikes me. They have no cohesion whatever among themselves. Wherever I meet the Malays I find they live to themselves; they go off into tribes and clans, and the biggest man is called a sultan, and his jurisdiction is limited.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the Malays of the Straits Settlements?

Bishop THOBURN. Of the Malay Peninsula; yes, sir. I have been up and down the peninsula. They are bright fellows, but I should say not profound. They learn a thing on the surface very readily. I am afraid they are a treacherous people.

Senator DUBOIS. I do not want to disturb you at all, but you compared them a moment ago with the North American Indians.

Bishop THOBURN. In that one respect.

Senator DUBOIS. In that they went—

Senator BEVERIDGE. In that they lack cohesion.

Senator DUBOIS. They went off in tribes and clans, and some one is the head of the tribe. In respect to their intellectual capacity, would that comparison with the North American Indian still hold?

Bishop THOBURN. They are bright fellows.

Senator DUBOIS. Would the comparison with the North American Indian still hold?

Bishop THOBURN. They are brighter than the North American Indians.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Your comparison with the North American Indian was with reference to their lack of cohesion?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes, sir.

"THIRTY-SIX DIFFERENT LANGUAGES."

The CHAIRMAN. They are of the same race of the Malays of the peninsula, are they not?

Bishop THOBURN. They are known to one of our missionaries who has looked the matter up. He has found 36 different languages, and each language represents a tribe or is called a little state, and these people are undoubtedly Malays belonging to the general family. Their straight hair shows that, and many of their features and their language.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the same stock?

Bishop THOBURN. Of the same stock. I had this man look this up carefully, and he gave me a great list of words which are identical in those different languages.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You are familiar with the Malays in those different settlements?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You have examined those questions and have gone among them for years?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes, and I have known them for forty years. There is a settlement of them in Calcutta.

Senator BEVERIDGE. From your decades of experience with the Malays of the different states and your two trips to the Philippines and the ethnological status which you have had prosecuted you identify these people as all of the same general family?

Bishop THOBURN. I do.

NOT CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What, Bishop, is your opinion as to the capacity of the Malay for self-government in the large or general sense?

Bishop THOBURN. *Well, I think he is very defective in that point; indeed, very defective.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. Do you attribute that to the point in which you compared him to the American Indian, to wit, the lack of cohesion?

Bishop THOBURN. Largely that; and he is a restless man. I ought to say the Malays are in three different classes: There are the agriculturists, and the business men—the traders—and the seafaring men, including the fishermen. These seafaring men have been pirates from time immemorial. In fact, in my day the English have sent an expedition against them on account of there being piracy off the coast of the peninsula. This roving nature is deep in that class of them, and they dominate the agriculturists, who are quieter men.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Is piracy now wiped out?

Bishop THOBURN. It is wiped out there, but it is not wiped out, I believe in the big island of Mindanao.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Is it wiped out in the Straits Settlements?

Bishop THOBURN. Completely.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And it has existed there within your time?

Bishop THOBURN. It has existed there within my time; yes.

HISTORY OF MALAYS IN STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Senator BEVERIDGE. As a matter of history it is true, is it not, that piracy was very rife in the Straits Settlements about sixty years ago?

Bishop THOBURN. Certainly.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Singapore is not much older than sixty years, is it not, as a city—

Bishop THOBURN. *It is a new town, and was founded, almost in opposition to the wishes of the English Government, by people who saw that that was the only way to settle that country.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. *And it is now a flourishing place?*

Bishop THOBURN. *It is the most flourishing in that part of the world.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. *And you say piracy has been wiped out during your time?*

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. *And a state of peace and prosperity exists?*

Bishop THOBURN. *It is the most prosperous region in the East.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. Do people submit to the English domination there?

Bishop THOBURN. Absolutely.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And there is no difficulty?

Bishop THOBURN. There is no difficulty.

Senator BEVERIDGE. At first there was sharp fighting?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; they had to take several regiments there from Calcutta. They took them there in 1875.

Senator BEVERIDGE. There is nothing there of that kind now?

Bishop THOBURN. No, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. The number of soldiers with which England holds the Straits Settlements in Singapore is comparatively small now?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; the soldiers are held not on account of the Malays, but on account of the European governments. That is a key to the situation.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You say piracy has not been entirely exterminated in the island of Mindanao?

Bishop THOBURN. As a matter of information, yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And you know it has existed in the islands within the lifetime of men now living?

Bishop THOBURN. I have no doubt it exists where there is no military power to restrain them now.

A CRIME TO ATTEMPT WITHDRAWAL.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What would you say would be the result in the Philippines if a native government was set up there and American authority and power were withdrawn?

Bishop THOBURN. Over the whole of the islands?

Senator BEVERIDGE. Yes.

Bishop THOBURN. *I think it would be a crime to attempt it. It would bring an awful state of things on the whole islands, because it would throw them into utter anarchy.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. What would you say, from your point of view, in your field of labor over there, which includes Malaisia, is the duty of the American Government in reference to continued occupation and government of the Philippine Archipelago?

Bishop THOBURN. Well, we are there, and I think we ought to do our duty the best we can—if you will allow me to speak as a missionary, I would say—in the field God has put us. We did not seek it.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You think it is the duty of the American Government to continue?

Bishop THOBURN. I certainly do. I think it would be assuming a very grave responsibility to lift our hand from that place. I think it would put back the civilization of the big island of Mindanao two hundred years for us to let them go to their own ways.

* * * * *

I have been in the East for forty-three years. I have been going there since 1885—to Singapore and Penang and what we call the Straits Settlements, which include the Malay Peninsula. I have been there a great deal and been among the Malay people a great deal.

* * * * *

Senator CULBERSON. Coming back to my question, I would like you to be kind enough if you would give me your views about it—whether you believe the American people ought to absorb and take into the body politic of the American Government a race incapable of self-government.

“NOT IN TEN OR FIFTY YEARS.”

Bishop THOBURN. If you mean by that they ought to take them in as I am in, so that when I come here I become a citizen and a voting citizen, I should say no; but if you take them in in the other sense, I would say yes.

Senator CULBERSON. The other sense is that they would be held as a subject race?

Bishop THOBURN. *A subject race under fixed rights that are assured to them.*

Senator CULBERSON. Do you believe that the American Constitution ought to be extended over the Philippines?

* * * * *

Bishop THOBURN. You mean in the sense—

Senator CULBERSON. I mean in the broad sense; the Constitution, with its benefits.

Bishop THOBURN. According to my meaning they have already done it. We are ready to defend the Filipinos against the world now.

Senator CULBERSON. Do you think that is all there is in the Constitution for them, that we shall defend them against the world?

Bishop THOBURN. No, sir; I think we ought to help them in every way and teach them how to govern themselves, and in order to do that we have a very great task before us. *But we can not do it in ten years, nor in fifty years.* In the history of the world you will not find that any nation has ever been developed at that rate. But I think that is the mission that Providence has given us.

AMERICANS NOW “GOING TOO FAST.”

Senator BEVERIDGE. What do you think about the progress we have already made?

Bishop THOBURN. *We are going too fast; if anything, we are going too fast. We are not going too slow, that is certain.*

Senator CULBERSON. You do not believe, I think you said, that we ought to take the Filipino people into our Government as you are in it; in other words, they ought to be held as a subject race?

Bishop THOBURN. I do not like your term “subject race.” A protected race, I would say.

Senator CULBERSON. A protected race. You think, then, we ought to establish a protectorate over the Philippines?

Bishop THOBURN. I like the word "protectorate."

Senator CULBERSON. Not constitute that country an integral part of the United States or the people a part of the citizenship of the United States, but simply extend an American protectorate over those people?

Bishop THOBURN. That is my idea, although I might define it a little differently.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean by a protectorate?

Bishop THOBURN. A protectorate in the sense—I am a Britisher to some extent, having lived over there so long—in the sense we use it in the English possessions.

Senator BEVERIDGE. In the administration of the government?

Bishop THOBURN. In the administration of the government.

Senator CULBERSON. You want the United States to adopt the English policy in governing the Malay people?

Bishop THOBURN. *I would have them adopt the spirit of the English policy and according to American ideals. I should have them do it a little better, perhaps.* But I think, if you will allow me to say it, that that is the tendency of the world to-day; that all outlying uncivilized or half-civilized countries are going to come under English jurisdiction within the next one hundred years.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Or American jurisdiction?

Bishop THOBURN. Or American jurisdiction.

Senator CULBERSON. Passing from the matter of government to another phase of the question, do you believe the Filipinos are equal as a race to the American people—the Anglo-Saxons?

Bishop THOBURN. Do you mean in capacity or in rights?

Senator CULBERSON. I mean in capacity.

Bishop THOBURN. No; they are not.

Senator CULBERSON. In intellectual and moral capacity?

Bishop THOBURN. No; they are not.

* * * * *

Senator BEVERIDGE. You said fifty years a minute ago; that we could not do it in fifty years.

THREE GENERATIONS BEFORE FILIPINOS CAN GOVERN THEMSELVES.

Bishop THOBURN. *I should say three generations; that three generations might be able to do it.* But, in the first place, the present generation will never get rid of their old instincts and ideals; the second generation will be educated half and half; they will still have a great deal of the old ideal—that is, I am taking it as things have gone in the past—and the third generation will be altogether new.

Senator BEVERIDGE. They may be ready for business?

Bishop THOBURN. Ready for business.

Senator CULBERSON. How many years will that be?

Bishop THOBURN. *Seventy-five years at least.* A generation is supposed to be thirty-three years. Out there it is shorter.

* * * * *

Bishop THOBURN. *The present generation in India do not know that the English Government was engaged in conquest. They have never seen war. We have in India 300,000,000 people living in absolute peace. They have not had an opportunity of seeing war for forty-five years.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. *And is not this—the long period you speak of—the first time in the history of India that that has been so?*

Bishop THOBURN. *Yes; that is something worth studying.*

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FILIPINO FEELING NOW MORE FRIENDLY THAN BEFORE WAR.

Senator CARMACK. Very well; I am done with it. I want to ask you this question: Do you think the people of the Philippine Islands are better disposed now to receive mission work from the United States than they were at the end of the war with Spain?

Bishop THOBURN. I think they are.

Senator CARMACK. You think their temper and disposition more favorable to the reception of Christian missions at the hands of the United States than at the close of the Spanish war?

Bishop THOBURN. I think so, undoubtedly.

Senator CARMACK. You think they feel more kindly to the American people now than they did before this American war began?

Bishop THOBURN. I think so.

Senator CARMACK. You think that at the time when the power of Spain was first broken, when the Americans, say, first landed in Manila or when they destroyed the Spanish fleet, do you think the feelings of the Filipinos at that time were less kindly toward the Americans than they are to-day?

Bishop THOBURN. I certainly do.

Senator CARMACK. You think that the people there now are very kindly disposed toward Americans?

Bishop THOBURN. I can only judge from what we see in our mission work. We can not furnish preachers enough to preach to the audiences who wish to hear our preaching; we can not half meet the demand. When I was there at first it would have been difficult to have collected an audience of 100. Now we are preaching to 12,000 people in Manila and vicinity every Sunday. Then in the provinces outside we can not meet the demand at all; nor can we meet the demands for schools.

FILIPINO MASSES—"QUIETNESS AND PEACE."

Senator CARMACK. You think, then, the opinion, if it prevails anywhere, that the overwhelming majority of the people of the Philippine Islands are at heart hostile to the people of the United States is a mistaken notion?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; I think it is, among the quiet people.

Senator CARMACK. Do you think that the large majority of the people are really intensely loyal to the Government of the United States?

Bishop THOBURN. I do not know that I would say intensely loyal; that is a pretty strong phrase.

Senator CARMACK. Entirely content, then?

Bishop THOBURN. *I was about to say that I think they want quietness and above all things peace, and they are thankful to have it come in this shape. I do not know whether they have thought out the problem much about the future. I am speaking of the rank and file of the people.*

Senator DUBOIS. When you speak, Bishop, of your preaching to 12,000 every Sunday, I think you said—

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; that is, the audiences average that.

Senator DUBOIS. Does that include the missionaries of all denominations, or simply your own?

Bishop THOBURN. Simply our own.

Senator DUBOIS. Just the Methodist?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. In Manila?

Bishop THOBURN. And vicinity.

Senator DUBOIS. I did not know whether he meant just his own church.

Bishop THOBURN. My own church. There are three or four missions there.

PEOPLE WANT PEACE.

Senator CARMACK. You think, then, the temper of the majority of the people in Manila is toward quietude; that there is no deep-seated feeling of hostility toward the United States?

Bishop THOBURN. If so, it is very successfully concealed. *I think what they want is quietness—peace. They want to get settled in their work.*

Senator CARMACK. Do you regard them as a treacherous people or otherwise—a people that profess to be friendly when they are really hostile?

Bishop THOBURN. I do not like to speak broadly in reply to that question, but I am afraid I will have to say I do.

Senator CARMACK. Speaking of the broad principle, I believe you said that you do not think it would be wise for us to incorporate the Filipinos into the body of our citizenship.

Bishop THOBURN. I have hesitated over that question a good deal to know exactly what you mean by that. That is, in the sense to say I am in the citizenship, I do not think it would be.

Senator CARMACK. You think they should be governed as a dependency, somewhat after the Crown colonies of Great Britain?

Bishop THOBURN. Speaking broadly, I do.

Senator CARMACK. Do you think the Filipinos will be satisfied with that form of government?

Bishop THOBURN. Provided you hold out before them continually and practically the idea they are going to have broader privileges as time passes.

Senator CARMACK. What do you mean by broader privileges? Do you believe they will be satisfied with a vague and indefinite statement as to broader privileges?

Bishop THOBURN. I would give them a larger share in the government. *I think you have gone a little too fast.*

INDEPENDENCE MEANS CIVIL WAR—WHAT AGUINALDO SAID.

Senator MCOMAS. I would like to ask you one question. I want to read you from page 2017 of the testimony in this committee an extract from the diary of Dr. Villa, who was chief of staff to Aguinaldo. In this diary, under March 2, 1900, he says this:

"After luncheon and during the hour of rest the honorable president"—

That is Aguinaldo—

"had a conversation with B. and V. about our situation and the present war against the Americans, saying that even though greater sufferings should come than those we now have, he would endure and accept them with

pleasure until the realization of the independence of our country. *He fears there will be a civil war afterwards.*"

I want to know from you whether you agree in that opinion of Aguinaldo and in the fear that there would be a civil war, as he indicates, after the independence to which he aspires.

Bishop THOBURN. *I am very sure there would be a civil war if independence is given them.*

Senator MCOMAS. And if he had succeeded, would there or would there not have been a civil war, as he feared, in the Philippines?

Bishop THOBURN. I think so.

Senator MCOMAS. Not only a civil war in Luzon, but in all the main islands?

Bishop THOBURN. *All over the islands.*

Senator MCOMAS. Not easily ended, and the people not easily pacified?

Bishop THOBURN. No.

Senator CARMACK. I will ask you if you do not think there were grave apprehensions of a civil war in the United States immediately following the Revolutionary war?

Bishop THOBURN. There may have been.

Senator BEVERIDGE. There was grave danger, and it was only prevented by the peculiar cohesive qualities of our people.

On the line on which Senator CARMACK was questioning you, I think you stated yesterday that you have considerable personal familiarity with India?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; I have.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Would you, as a person interested in civilization, be willing to see England withdraw from India?

Bishop THOBURN. I should be very sorry.

IF ENGLAND SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM INDIA.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What do you think, Bishop, would occur if England were to withdraw from India, and all other control except the chiefs, the people themselves, withdrawn, and they left to themselves?

Bishop THOBURN. We would have a state of chaos.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Are you familiar with the Straits Settlements?

Bishop THOBURN. Very.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Would you be willing, as a person interested in civilization, to see England withdraw from Singapore and the Straits?

Bishop THOBURN. I should be extremely sorry.

Senator BEVERIDGE. I think you testified yesterday that under England's control of the Malay Straits Settlements there is industry, prosperity, and law and order?

Bishop THOBURN. Perfectly.

Senator BEVERIDGE. The city of Singapore is a great and flourishing port, is it not?

Bishop THOBURN. It is one of the most wonderful cities in the world.

Senator BEVERIDGE. The commerce of the world converges there, does it not?

Bishop THOBURN. Every European vessel going to China must pass it.

Senator BEVERIDGE. It is one of the great commercial focusing points of the world?

Bishop THOBURN. If I may use the expression, it is the great nerve center of commerce.

SINGAPORE A JUNGLE SEVENTY YEARS AGO.

Senator BEVERIDGE. *Not more than sixty or seventy years ago the island where Singapore now stands was a jungle, and the Malay Straits Settlements, now peaceful, were infested by pirates, were they not?*

Bishop THOBURN. *Pirates and tigers.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. You have been in Hongkong?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. What kind of a city is Hongkong?

Bishop THOBURN. It is a hustling city.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Is it substantial?

Bishop THOBURN. It is a substantial, prosperous, rich, and thriving city.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Personal rights in the sense of the individual liberty of people being protected, Chinese and others, exists there?

Bishop THOBURN. Certainly.

Senator BEVERIDGE. In the highest form?

GOVERNMENT OF HONGKONG.

Bishop THOBURN. *In the highest form. There is more protection to a poor man there than in Chicago.*

Senator BEVERIDGE. Are the courts open to all, Chinese included?

Bishop THOBURN. Everybody.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And schools there are attended by Chinese children?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; attended by Chinese, and I have employed some of the graduates.

Senator BEVERIDGE. Would you state, if you know, the condition of the rocky mountain on which Hongkong stands, less than two generations ago?

Bishop THOBURN. That I could not say.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You do not know about its history?

Bishop THOBURN. No.

Senator BEVERIDGE. I can state for the benefit of the Senator from Texas—if the Senator reads books I can certainly make statements—that the place where this English city now stands was a barren mountain with a miserable little Chinese fishing village at its base.

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Senator BEVERIDGE. You spoke yesterday of the question of self-government, that a lack of cohesion was one of their characteristics.

Bishop THOBURN. Yes, sir.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That lack of cohesion is common everywhere among them?

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

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Senator CARMACK. You say that personal rights are more secure in Hongkong than in the city of Chicago, you think?

Bishop THOBURN. I think so.

Senator CARMACK. Is that due, do you think, to the government?

Bishop THOBURN. I think it is due largely to the fact that the government is not only not like the government of Chicago, but they have a stronger arm.

Senator CARMACK. Do you think the difference in the security of personal rights in Chicago and Hongkong is due to the difference in the form of government?

Bishop THOBURN. I say it is due to the difference in the administrators of the government.

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Senator BEVERIDGE. In answer to Senator CARMACK you speak of the difference, that there was something of the stronger hand there.

Bishop THOBURN. Yes.

Senator BEVERIDGE. That strong hand is exercised impartially and promptly for the administration of justice to the humblest and poorest, is it not?

Bishop THOBURN. I think it is.

Senator DIETRICH. Is it your understanding that Aguinaldo and his followers, who were almost exclusively Tagalos, were the Tagalos who were very bitter against the Catholic Church?

Bishop THOBURN. Were they the ones?

Senator DIETRICH. Yes.

Bishop THOBURN. They were bitter, but they are not by any means the only ones.

Senator DIETRICH. Do you believe that Aguinaldo and that portion of the Tagalo tribe could have subjugated the Macabebes, the Visayans, the Pangangans, the Moros, and all the balance of the islands?

Senator BEVERIDGE. And the Igorrotes?

Senator DIETRICH. And the Igorrotes, to his rule, and could have made out of them an independent, prosperous republic or country?

AGUINALDO COULD NOT HAVE ESTABLISHED INDEPENDENCE.

Bishop THOBURN. No. I expressed myself yesterday on that. He certainly could not have done it.

Senator DIETRICH. He certainly would have had to fight the power of the Catholic Church.

Bishop THOBURN. Yes; and he would have had to take up all these different races that have been named, and he would have commenced with the Macabebes. I do not say that Aguinaldo himself meant that, but it would have been inevitable.

Senator DIETRICH. It would have been impossible for him, under that situation, you believe, to have brought about an independent government?

Bishop THOBURN. Utterly impossible.

Senator CULBERSON. I ask this from your statement made yesterday that you think the Government of the United States ought to hold the Philippines. Do you believe that a whole people like the Filipinos ought to be subjugated by another government than their own without their consent, by force?

Bishop THOBURN. It depends upon circumstances.

* * * * *
Senator CULBERSON. I ask if the fundamental doctrine of the church is not moral suasion rather than physical force in accomplishing any purpose?

Bishop THOBURN. In reference to Christian work, undoubtedly it is moral suasion; but the doctrine of the Bible, as I understand it, is that we ought to uphold the civil government, and your question applies to the civil government, which the responsibility of the church can never assume.

"WE ALWAYS UPHOLD THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT."

Senator CULBERSON. *You think it would be the duty of the church to uphold the civil government regardless of the justice of the acts to perform?*

Bishop THOBURN. *Certainly; it is our duty always to be obedient to the powers that be, to pay our taxes like other people, pray for the President or the King, or whoever is in authority. We always uphold the civil government.*

Senator CULBERSON. Does that necessarily mean that you should indorse the government?

Bishop THOBURN. No; that does not make us responsible; it does not belong to us at all; it belongs to the civil authorities.

Senator CULBERSON. I will ask you then, aside from your sacred calling, if you believe as a citizen that a whole people like the Filipinos should be subjected to a different government than that which they desire, without their consent and by force?

Bishop THOBURN. *We have acted on the theory for a hundred years, with regard to the American Indians, that no matter what they wish or what government they desire we will hold them by force.*

Senator CULBERSON. You think we ought to apply the doctrine which we have applied to the Indian to the Filipino?

Bishop THOBURN. There is a stronger claim in the case of the Filipinos. They have fallen to us by what we call the fortunes of war, and we have a responsibility that we can not shake off without incurring a liability to greater evils, as I explained yesterday.

This is not all. These are Americans; and it might be said that they are partial witnesses. I have here the testimony of two witnesses who are not partial, one of them a man who has spent eight or ten years in these islands, and who first gave to the world any authentic information concerning the characteristics of the Philippine people. That is Mr. John Foreman in his book entitled "The Philippine Islands." I desire to print excerpts from that book, giving his judgment at the beginning of this difficulty as to the quality, character, and characteristics, good and bad, of those people.

V.—FOREIGN TESTIMONY ON FILIPINO CHARACTER AND THE SITUATION.

EXTRACTS FROM "THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS."

[By John Foreman.]

Several writers have essayed to correctly depict the Philippine native character, but with only partial success. Dealing with such an anomalism, the most eminent physiognomists would surely differ in their speculations regarding the Philippine native of the present day. That Catonian figure, with placid countenance and solemn gravity of feature, would readily deceive anyone as to the true mental organism within.

The late parish priest of Alaminos, in Batangas province—a Spanish Franciscan friar, who spent half his life in the colony—left a brief manuscript essay on the native character. I have read it. In his opinion, the native is an incomprehensible phenomenon, the mainspring of whose line of thought and the guiding motive of whose actions have never yet been, and perhaps never will be, discovered. A native will serve a master satisfactorily for years, and then suddenly abscond, or commit some such hideous crime as conniving with a brigand band to murder the family and pillage the house.

"GENEROSITY REGARDED AS WEAKNESS."

He is fond of gambling, profligate, lavish in his promises, but lache in the extreme as to their fulfillment. He will never come frankly and openly forward to make a clean breast of a fault committed or even a pardonable accident, but will hide it until it is found out. *In common with many other non-European races, an act of generosity or a voluntary concession of justice is regarded as a sign of weakness.* Hence it is that the experienced European is often compelled to be more harsh than his own nature dictates.

"GIVE AN INCH, HE WILL TAKE AN ELL."

Even the best class of natives neither appreciate, nor feel grateful for, nor even seem to understand a spontaneous gift. Apparently, they only comprehend the favor when one yields to their asking. The lowest classes never give to each other, unsolicited, a cent's worth. *If an European makes voluntary gratuities to the natives he is considered a fool; they entertain a contempt*

for him, which develops into intolerable impertinence. The saying "Give him an inch and he will take an ell" can truly be applied to the Filipinos. They are void of all feeling of magnanimity, and do not understand chivalry toward the weak or the fallen foe.

FILIPINOS CAN COPY BUT NOT INVENT.

The Filipino, like most Orientals, is a good imitator, but having no initiative genius he is not efficient in anything. If you give him a model he will copy it any number of times, but you can not get him to make two copies so much alike that the one is undistinguishable from the other. He has no attachment for any occupation in particular. To-day he will be at the plow; to-morrow a coachman, a collector of accounts, a valet, a sailor, and so on; or he will suddenly renounce social trammels in pursuit of lawless vagabondage. I once traveled with a Colonel Marques, acting governor of Cebu, whose valet was an ex-law student.

The native is indolent in the extreme, and never tired of sitting still, gazing at nothing in particular. If familiarity be permitted with a native, there is no limit to his audacity. The Tagalog is docile, but keenly resents an injustice.

NATIVE IS SUPERSTITIOUS.

Native superstition and facile credulity are easily imposed upon. A report emitted in jest or in earnest travels with alarming rapidity, and the consequences have not unfrequently been serious. He rarely sees a joke, and still more rarely makes one. He never reveals anger, but he will with the most profound calmness avenge himself, awaiting patiently the opportunity to use his bohie knife with effect. Mutilation of a vanquished enemy is common among these islanders.

FILIPINO "AVERSE TO SOCIAL ORDER."

The native is so contumacious to all bidding, so averse to social order, that he can only be ruled by coercion or by the demonstration of force. Men and women alike find exaggerated enjoyment in litigation, which may keep up for years. *Among themselves they are tyrannical.* They have no real sentiment, honor, or magnanimity, and apart from their hospitality, in which they (especially the Tagalogs) far excel the European, all their actions appear to be only guided by fear or interest or both.

FILIPINO HAS MANY OTHER EXCELLENT QUALITIES.

But the Filipino has many excellent qualities which go far to make amends for his shortcomings. He is patient and forbearing in the extreme, remarkably sober, plodding, anxious only about providing for his immediate wants, and seldom feels the canker of ambitious thoughts. In his person and his dwelling he may serve as a pattern of cleanliness to all other races in the tropical East. *He has little thought beyond the morrow, and therefore he never racks his brains about events of the far future in the political world or any other sphere.* He indifferently leaves everything to happen as it may, with surprising resignation.

The Tagalog in particular has a genial, sociable nature. The native, in general, will go without food for many hours at a time without grumbling; and fish, rice, betel nut, and tobacco are his chief wants. He is never long in a great dilemma. If his hut is about to fall, he makes it fast with bamboo and rattan cane. If a vehicle breaks down, a harness snaps, or his canoe leaks or upsets, he has always his remedy at hand. He bears misfortune of all kinds with the greatest indifference and without the least apparent emotion. *Under the eye of his master he is the most tractable of all beings.* He never, like the Chinese, insists upon doing things his own way, but tries to do just as he is told, whether it be right or wrong.

A native enters your service as a coachman, and if you wish him to paddle a boat, cook a meal, fix a lock, or do any other kind of labor possible to him, he is quite agreeable. He knows the duties of no occupation with efficiency, and he is perfectly willing to be a "jack-at-all-trades." Another good feature is that he rarely, if ever, repudiates a debt, although he may never pay it. So long as he gets his food and fair treatment, and his stipulated wages paid in advance, he is content to act as a general utility man. If not pressed too hard he will follow his superior like a faithful dog. *If treated with kindness, according to European notions, he is lost.* Lodging he will find for himself. The native never looks ahead; he is never anxious about the future; but, if left to himself, he will do all sorts of imprudent things, from sheer want of reflection on the consequences, when, as he puts it, "his head is hot" from excitement due to any cause.

FILIPINOS HAVE NO IDEA OF ORGANIZATION.

The native has no idea of organization on a large scale, hence a successful revolution is not possible if confined to the pure indigenous population unaided by others, such as creoles and foreigners. He is brave, and fears no con-

sequences when with or against his equals, or if led by his superiors, but a conviction of superiority—moral or physical—in the adversary depresses him. An excess of audacity calms and overawes him rather than irritates him.

MUSICIANS, BUT NOT COMPOSERS

The native has an inherent passion for music. Musicians are to be found in every village, and even among the poorest classes. There was scarcely a parish without its orchestra, and this natural taste was laudably encouraged by the priests. *There are no native composers—they are but imitators.* There is an absence of sentimental feeling in the execution of set music (which is all European), and this is the only drawback to their becoming fine instrumentalists. For the same reason classical music is very little in vogue among Philippine people, who prefer dance pieces and ballad accompaniments. In fact, a native musical performance is so void of soul and true conception of harmony that at a feast it is not an uncommon thing to hear three bands playing close to each other at the same time; and the mob assembled seemed to enjoy the confusion of the melody. There are no Philippine vocalists of repute.

SUPERSTITION—"ANTING-ANTING."

The most ignorant classes superstitiously believe that certain persons are possessed of a diabolical influence called *anting-anting*, which preserves them from all harm. They believe that the body of a man so affected is even refractory to the effects of bullet or steel. Brigands are often captured wearing medallions of the Virgin Mary or the saints as a device of the *anting-anting*. In Maragondon, Cavite Province, the son of a friend of mine was enabled to go into any remote places with impunity, because he was generally supposed to be possessed of this charm. Some highwaymen, too, have a curious notion that they can escape punishment for a crime committed in Easter week, because the thief on the cross was pardoned his sins.

MARAUDERS HAUNTS—PIRATES.

Within a half day's journey from Manila there are several well-known marauders, haunts, such as San Mateo, Imus, Silan, Indan, the mouths of the Hagonoy River, which empties itself into the bay, etc. In 1881 I was the only European among 20 to 25 passengers in a canoe going to Balanga, on the west shore of Manila Bay, when about midday a canoe, painted black and without the usual outriggers, bore down upon us, and suddenly two gunshots were fired, while we were called upon to surrender. The pirates numbered 8; they had their faces bedaubed white and their canoe ballasted with stones. There was great commotion in our craft; the men shouted and the women got into a heap over me, reciting Ave Marias, and calling upon all the saints to succor them.

Just as I extricated myself and looked out from under the palm-leaf awning, the pirates flung a stone which severely cut our pilot's face. They came very close, brandishing knives, but our crew managed to keep them from boarding us by pushing off their canoe with the paddles.

When the enemy came within range of my revolver, one of their party, who was standing up waving a bohie knife, suddenly collapsed into a heap. This seemed to discourage the rest, who gave up the pursuit, and we went on to Balanga.

I follow the extracts from Mr. Foreman's book with testimony upon that subject from a foreign and impartial observer, perhaps the very greatest oriental authority in the world—Mr. Archibald Colquhoun. Mr. Colquhoun has spent years in the Orient and written many books on oriental subjects. He was British commissioner to Burma, correspondent of the London Times at Peking, and is concededly better informed than any other living man on Eastern character, government, and conditions. The book from which these extracts are taken is just out of press and is the latest and most authoritative statement of Philippine conditions by an impartial observer.

[Extracts from "The Mastery of the Pacific," by Archibald Colquhoun.]

In all discussions as to Filipino character it is this point to which everything is focused, the capacity for self-government, for that signifies many qualities, and on it practically hangs the future of the race. Masses of evidence have been collected on the subject, much of it very contradictory, and it is difficult to decide where doctors disagree. *But if one considers the different races which have been blended in these islands, and, while remembering their recognized racial characteristics, makes due allowances for the modifications produced by so great an admixture of blood, we shall be able to ac-*

count for many contradictions. *It is important always to remember that the people of the Philippines are not homogeneous; but, while there are wide differences of speech and disposition in the inhabitants of many of the islands, a very large proportion are permeated with a Malay element.* Such islands, indeed, are populated with almost pure Malays. Of the other native races, the Indonesian tribes are found in the mountains, whither they had been driven by the advancing tide of Malays; and the Negritos, the original inhabitants, are an inconsiderable and vanishing race, of no political importance.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MALAYS—"NO MALAY NATION."

What, then, are the characteristics and possibilities of the Malays, as shown hitherto in their relations with Europeans?

Other deficiencies in their mental and moral equipment are a lack of organizing power. *No Malay nation has ever emerged from the hordes of that race, which have spread over the islands of the Pacific.* Wherever they are found they have certain marked characteristics, and of these the most remarkable is their lack of that spirit which goes to form a homogeneous people—to weld them together. The Malay is always provincial; more, he rarely rises outside the interests of his own town or village. He is never honest, as we count that virtue, never truthful, and never industrious or persevering. This is his dark side, but it is with that we are concerned. The two points which are most inimical to progress are, as already indicated, *the lack of unity and the lack of persistence.* The Malay is the laziest of Orientals, and the Filipino is the least lazy of Malays. The Malay, in short, is a creature of limitations.

FILIPINOS SO "HETEROGENEOUS AS TO DEFY ANALYSIS."

On this stock has been grafted many shoots, and the result in the Philippines is a population so heterogeneous as almost to defy analysis, since it is impossible to trace the infinite gradations of color, or to decide in what proportion the half-caste blood is mixed. The principal elements in this mixture are Spanish and Chinese. The Chinese mestizos, or half-breeds, have the reputation of being amongst the most brainy and also the most *difficile* of the natives, and a very large proportion of the insurgents belonged to this class. The Chinese character is so involved and so impossible to generalize that it is difficult to suggest the possible modifications it would make on the Malay; but when we remember the strong conservatism of the Chinese, and their intense superstition, we can not be surprised at the prominence of these two qualities in the Filipino descendants.

Some of the traditions current in the Philippines—for instance, the idea that mines could not be opened without the application to the "veins" of an unguent composed of old women's eyes, and a report, as late as 1830, that children were seized that their blood might water the gold and silver mines of Spain, a report which occasioned considerable disturbances—these are characteristically Chinese. The Chinese indifference to human suffering and cheap estimate of human life have also made their mark, being only exaggerated forms of ideas common to all Orientals. The artistic and creative qualities of the Chinese are those which have left least impression, for reasons to be suggested later on.

FILIPINO "GLIBNESS."

The Spaniards have, of course, exercised a double influence, not only that of intermarriage, but through their position as the governing and civilizing element. The faults and peculiarities of Latin races are exaggerated and burlesqued, and a thin veneer of Western culture is spread over the passions and emotions of these Orientals. The Filipinos have in particular assimilated certain qualities which appeal to their sense of color—to their love of show. The glibness of the delegates who attended the United States commissions was remarkable, when one considered that in many cases they were drawn from humble pueblos—mere villages—and that their education must have been of the most elementary character.

These wordy speeches, when translated or put into cold print, contained but the smallest degree of matter, but their delivery and the promptness of replies to questions are characteristic of the eloquent, wordy, frothy Latin races, among whom every loungee at the village hostelry is at once an orator and a politician—great in words, but not in deeds, for his patriotism seldom gets beyond the taking stage. Whatever may be lacking in the new government, there will inevitably be plenty of discussion.

BAD INFLUENCE OF SPAIN ON MALAY CHARACTER.

It is the well-known tendency of the Latin races to be "intoxicated with the exuberance of their own verbosity," and when their dangerous facility of speech is transmitted to a people who have, by reason of their race and history, even less mental ballast, it is to be feared that with increased liberty will arise a class of windy politicians whose influence will be inimical to peace and tranquillity, since a grievance is necessary to point their periods.

The intellectual subtlety of the Latin has also been curiously grafted onto the simplicity—which is not stupidity—of the Malay. The result is a peculiar leaning toward abstract ideas, a love of the purely theoretical side of learning, with a corresponding inability to apply those theories, which are to them things apart from real life—things they have learned or read, and not evolved from life itself.

FILIPINOS "WOULDN'T KNOW 'INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS' IF THEY MET HIM IN THE STREET."

They begin with the abstract and fail to work down to the concrete, instead of taking the concrete, and so, through circles of thought, reaching the abstract. Their knowledge of rhetoric, logic, and philosophy is of little use to them, therefore; and even as an intellectual exercise it fails of its purpose, because it has no sure end or aim.

A witty American, who, being a fluent Spanish scholar, had conversed with hundreds of the better educated Filipinos, said of them: "They will write you essays on individual rights until you are tired, but if they met *Individual Rights in the street they wouldn't know him from Adam*. This is the inevitable result of Spanish influence. No race is less fit to amalgamate with or govern such people as the Filipinos than a decadent Latin one; whose shallows have a brilliance attractive to a child-like, color-loving race; whose faults are principally the result of a lack of mental and moral rigidity; therefore equally congenial to people who know nothing of discipline; and whose virtues are the result of a long period of civilization and culture, and can not be acquired ready-made by even the quickest and most adaptive of natives.

It is curious that the chief glory of Spain, her preeminence in painting and sculpture, has found no echo in these islands; but the fact emphasizes what has been said as to the predominance of the Malay element. The Malays have not produced artists in any of the countries to which they have spread, and though at times they produce pretty decorative work, it has little individuality and is usually copied from Chinese, Hindoos, or whatever race has come in contact with them. Despite the wonderful carvings of the Hindoo temples in Java, where the Malays reached their highest point of indigenous civilization, there is no such thing as native carving to be seen in that island. They had not even the desire to emulate what their Hindoo conquerers had done.

THE MALAY HAS NO CREATIVE ABILITY.

The artistic element in Spanish civilization seems to have been incommunicable, at any rate so far as creation is concerned. This want of originality is so marked a feature of Filipino character that it is as though we ran our heads against a dead wall in Malay characteristics. The Malay has no creative ability. Ages ago he evolved his idea of a house, and that house can be seen now in any of the islands to which he has penetrated—*always the same*. The sameness of his musical instruments, his ornaments, his weapons, is remarkable, especially when we consider the wide range of Malay invasion and the lack of communication between the different islands over which that invasion spread.

The modifications induced in the race by a variety of climate and conditions have not affected the elemental characteristics of the Malay at all, and of these the most striking is the lack of initiative, the absence of that quality which marks certain men out and makes them heroes and leaders. The Malay race, it has been said with a good deal of justice, has only produced one man whose ability deserves, and has acquired, a world-wide celebrity—Rizal. The insurgent leaders, especially Aguinaldo, have acquired notoriety, but not fame. This state of affairs can not be wholly fortuitous, nor can it be attributed to deficiencies of opportunity or to unfavorable circumstances, since these were ever the hotbed of genius. We are compelled to acknowledge the limitations of the Malay, and to suspect that wherever his race is predominant it will be rare indeed to find an individual triumphing over these trammels.

To this universal mediocrity is no doubt due the very slight degree of civilization ever attained by the Malays without outside influence, and also their political inefficiency. *Great intellectual or moral achievements may require for their consummation a certain preparedness on the part of the majority of the people they affect, but all such need to be initiated by some master mind.* Luther had been compared to the match that fired the mine, but without him who can doubt that the Reformation would have been delayed and might have been stultified?

The occidental races are rich in individuals of superior power, courage, and attainments. Anglo-Saxons, in particular, owe the luster of their history largely to the great deeds of single men, often private individuals—not so the Orientals. There have been heroes in the past, but most belong to the age of myth, and for many centuries China, one of the greatest and most civilized of oriental countries, has been waiting in vain for a God-sent leader.

There are few, even among the Filipinos themselves, who really deny the elementary propositions set forth, but there are a great many, including a number of Americans, who believe that education will remedy these characteristic defects in Filipino evolution.

CAN EDUCATION REMEDY THE DEFECTS?

The question is, whether this power of initiative, which involves not only ability, courage, and frequently self-devotion, but also a peculiar tenacity of purpose, is a quality that can be inculcated, or whether it is innate. We can not argue from previous experience, for nowhere are the conditions precisely similar; but it must be remembered that one of the chief ingredients in the character of men who have made history is their independence of outside conditions. * * * This is, of course, no argument against the best and highest education—*only a warning that we must not expect too much from it.*

OUR "GREAT EXPERIMENT."

The United States have resolved to make a great experiment in the Philippines. * * * To fit that coming generation for its future, education of the most advanced and up-to-date type is to be introduced into the islands at one coup, and by the salutary effects of training, the evil tendencies of the Filipino race—half hereditary, half the results of misgovernment—are to be reduced to a minimum.

A BEAUTIFUL THEORY.

It is a beautiful theory and a beautiful scheme, but unfortunately it involves an entire subversion of the laws of nature. To educate a nation is a grand and noble aim, BUT IT CAN NOT BE ACCOMPLISHED IN ONE GENERATION OR EVEN IN TWO. And here the task is complicated by the fact that THE FILIPINOS ARE NOT A NATION. "The United States," said a prominent American, "has fought her way through centuries of progress toward the goal of universal suffrage and democratic government," but he forgot to add that long before the United States began that fight the ancestors of Americans were *struggling slowly but surely through the mists of bygone ages toward freedom and liberty of thought and action.*

It is the results of these centuries of struggle and progress that they propose to thrust at once ready-made on the half-fledged Filipino.

THE FILIPINO "A HALF-CIVILIZED CHILD."

If the little brown brother were altogether simple and amenable the danger would be less, though still considerable; but he is neither. He is a half-civilized, clever, irresponsible child who has warped ideas as to right and wrong. IF UNNATURALLY STIMULATED HE MAY GROW UP INTO A FRANKENSTEIN.

The proper education of the Filipino, if not unduly hurried, will prove in the long run an untold benefit to the race. *Those, however, who initiate it can not hope to live to see its happiest effects.* In mere knowledge a very few years will probably make an enormous difference and will turn the mass of Filipinos, who have hitherto learned little more than the catechism, into a horde of precocious youngsters with all the text-book facts at their finger tips. *But true education which affects the character, which teaches a man to think for himself, to discern between true and untrue, to seek in everything the highest—the education, in fact, of a nation up to the standards of true citizenship—THIS CAN NOT BE CRAMMED IN A FEW YEARS.*

THE FILIPINO HAS SO MUCH TO UNLEARN.

The Filipinos labor under one tremendous disadvantage—they have so much to unlearn. The system under which they have lived for nearly three centuries has confirmed them in habits of mind which can not be eradicated at once. Nominally, fairly good provision was made for primary instruction, but, like many others, it was never carried into force. The proportion was something like 1 teacher to each 4,000, and there were no proper school-houses, no furniture, no text-books. The schools met in the teacher's house, or sometimes even in the stables or coach house of the conventos, and the teachers, wretchedly paid and badly treated, were often quite unfit for their tasks.

OUR EDUCATIONAL WORK.

From all this to a modern scientific, practical education is a long step, but the United States are sparing neither time nor money, and the reforms instituted are to be drastic and instantaneous. School-teachers of both sexes are being brought from the States, and normal colleges for training native teachers in modern methods established, for the first essential is to provide a staff of thoroughly competent assistants. Education will, of course, be entirely nonreligious and will be as practicable as possible, while special schools for technical training will be established. Attendance at

primary schools will be compulsory between the ages of 6 and 12. Ultimately it is hoped to affiliate the colleges with those of the United States, and then the whole scheme of education will be complete and thorough.

"NO FILIPINO TONGUE AS THERE IS NO FILIPINO NATION."

The Filipino showed from the first the greatest desire to benefit by the more enlightened instruction given in the schools, frequently by military schoolmasters, after the American occupation, and the night schools opened in Manila have been crowded by men and women anxious to learn the English language. The intention is to make this the school language and ultimately the universal medium throughout the islands. This is a most important step and one fraught with many consequences, and it is to be hoped that its first result will be to bind the Filipinos more closely together. Hitherto, although Spanish was nominally to be learned in all the schools, *many of the country people could speak nothing but their own dialect, which in many cases was unintelligible to those dwelling in the next island.*

The measure is certain, however, to meet with a great deal of criticism in various quarters, but those who decry it can not suggest any other language which could with equal advantage be made a universal medium, and they can not deny that some such medium is absolutely necessary. THERE IS NO FILIPINO TONGUE AS THERE IS NO FILIPINO NATION, and as the aim of all well-wishers of the little brown brothers is to break down the barriers that have hitherto hedged them in and weld them into an organized and civilized nation, it must be conceded that in spreading the great lingua franca already spoken all over the East to the remotest corner of the archipelago, the United States are conferring upon them a strong weapon and a useful tool.

OUR DANGER IS OUR "DESIRE TO HAVE EVERYTHING DONE RATHER SOONER THAN IMMEDIATELY."

It is an ungracious task to find fault with a scheme so generous as that of the United States for the education of the Filipinos. The writer is inclined to think that they themselves are largely attracted to the United States by the prospect of these educational advantages, and that they will take every opportunity of profiting by them. The Filipinos are not at all apathetic or stupid, and they are as eager as children to try a new method or hear fresh ideas. *The danger lies in their cleverness and sharpness, and in the desire of the Americans to have everything done rather sooner than immediately.*

"GO SLOW! DON'T HURRY!"

With the spread of education it will be necessary to open certain posts to Filipinos, *which must be done with extreme caution; but, indeed, the writer finds throughout this dissertation that he is constantly obliged to reiterate that warning: GO SLOW! DON'T HURRY! Let things work out gradually. It is the best advice that can be given, FOR THERE IS NO SHORT CUT TO SUCCESS.*

FILIPINO RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS.

The Filipino's Christianity is a thing about which his best friends disagree. Some say it is deep and sincere, others that it is a mere matter of outward show and superstition.

* * * * *

A great many old pagan beliefs and customs are said to survive, even after centuries of Christianity, and these have a hold on the people that their religion could never obtain.

"AMERICAN PRIESTS ARE SAINTS."

It remains to be seen what can be effected by the personal influence and example of disinterested men, for much, both in the erroneous conceptions and indifference of the Filipinos, was owing to the defects of the old system of religious teaching and to the tyranny of the friars. *The people have been much struck already with the conduct of the American priests who accompanied the Army. "That is a saint—no priest," they said of one. "He goes to any one who sends for him, ministers to sick and dying and asks no fee."* The poor Filipino might certainly be forgiven if he failed to appreciate the ethical side of religion when he knew that the man who was for him the mouthpiece of the Christian's God would mulct him to the last penny for every rite performed. When marriage, baptism, and burial were made opportunities for extortion, it must have been difficult to realize their spiritual significance.

The sudden break between church and state will inevitably affect the Filipino deeply, and many thoughtful people are inclined to believe that, suddenly released from all religious trammels save those he voluntarily assumes, he will relapse into a state of heathenism. *The well-known tendency of the Malay is to revert—to return to his former state.*

BRITISH REGENERATION OF SARAWAK.

The Malay states, before the advent of the British, *were split up into innumerable tribes, many at war with each other, and there was neither peace nor safety in the land. Tyranny and corruption were rife. Practically the same state of affairs existed in the Philippines when the Spaniards landed, and has*

continued in the Moro islands until the present day. The chief Malay states of Borneo (Brunei and Sarawak) afford an interesting illustration of what happened in a native-governed state, even when aided by foreign advice, and in a state with a white ruler, absolute and beneficent.

The former, originally the seat of all power in Borneo, to which it gave its name, is now effete, corrupt, with no influence; to quote the forcible words of one who knows it well (Hugh Clifford), it "smells of decay." *Sarawak, on the contrary*, since the time when the noble and courageous James Brooke first took it in hand; with no particular liking for the job, but simply because he felt that he—perhaps alone—could rescue the people from their condition of warfare, feuds, and barbarism, *has become a model state*. Modern education, agricultural improvements, and all the blessings of peace and prosperity have been assured to its people, and the country is financially as well as politically flourishing.

WE HAVE "ACCOMPLISHED MUCH ALREADY."

It will be seen that the United States are only on the threshold of the difficulties that await them in their new phase of oriental expansion. There seems to be a somewhat general impression in Great Britain, and in English-speaking communities abroad, that Americans have hitherto met with little success in dealing with the Philippines. With this view the writer can not agree. There have been plenty of mistakes, but when we consider the circumstances under which the United States have embarked on the undertaking—the novelty, the absence of any special machinery, and the peculiar local conditions—it must be allowed by an impartial critic that much has already been accomplished. The man on the spot, particularly, has acquitted himself on the whole very well, and whatever there has been of failure has been chiefly due to the politicians and sentimentalists at home. The revival of the insurrection which took place in the autumn of 1901 was largely due to the demand that troops should be sent home and the Philippines made over (theoretically) to peaceful self-government.

ORIENTAL STUDENTS "HAVE MISGIVINGS."

Those who know the Filipinos best, those who, like the writer, have had experience of Orientals and how to deal with them, have considerable misgivings as to the result of this great experiment of self-government unless kept under due guidance and check. If we were to judge the Filipinos merely by professions, by phrases, by words, much might be expected from them, but our anticipations of the future must be based on their essential character and the performances of the past. Jealousies, intrigues, corruption, the ingrained conviction that every officeholder is justified in squeezing all he can—the man who did not would, in their opinion, have something uncanny about him—these are not promising features of the experiment. *It will take them some time to believe that the Americans, or anyone, can be honest, for they had seen nothing else in their Spanish officials but squeezing to the utmost limit.*

"THE NEEDFUL THING."

The needful thing is a firm, consistent policy to be framed and carried through by the men on the spot, who are, at all events, aware of the difficulties in the path. It would have been far better to have from the outset a definite system of control. When the civil government was being discussed and explained in the various islands, *there was a tendency to defer too much (outwardly) to the opinion of local Filipinos. It would have been better to say frankly, once for all: We have come to give you the government we think best for you, a government that will be just and liberal, but a government that must be obeyed.*

"KEEP A TIGHT HOLD."

Let America make up her mind broadly as to her future relations to the archipelago, and then let her put her faith in the men who have already devoted so much of their time to the problem. To send another commission would be merely to increase the number of smatterers. The best authority on the Philippines at present can be little more, but he knows something, and he is improving every day he spends in the islands.

In Judge Taft, America has a man thoroughly capable of facing the situation if supported from home. He can not perform miracles, and he is bound to make mistakes, but he is open to conviction, and that is an important thing. *If given anything like a free hand, and not bothered and harassed by Congressmen or reports from politicians who have taken a run out to Manila and found mares' nests, he will do very well.* THE IDEAL TREATMENT, ONE WHICH WOULD HAVE SAVED TROUBLE, EXPENSE, AND FAILURE, WOULD HAVE BEEN A TEMPORARY MILITARY GOVERNMENT GRADUALLY MERGING INTO PURELY CIVIL ADMINISTRATION. This is apparently judged out of the question, owing to the sentimental objections of the electorate in the States, which is so anxious not to hurt the feelings of the "little brown brother." This being

the case, and a system having been inaugurated of quasi independence, the advice of an onlooker who has seen a good deal of government in oriental countries is to interfere as little as possible with the customs, prejudices, and religion of the Filipinos, AND TO KEEP A TIGHT HOLD.

“AVOID ANY SIGN OF CHANGE.”

The selection of the first governor-general has been a fortunate one. Judge Taft, who has won golden opinions from every side, is peculiarly the stamp of man to deal successfully with the Philippines. To recall such a man, even for the purpose of consulting him, seems to be a most unwise step, for the chief thing to impress the Filipino, and—what is more important—the chief means of evolving order out of chaos, of making the Philippines a prosperous country, IS TO AVOID ANY SIGN OF CHANGE, and especially of interference with the man at the helm; swapping horses while you are crossing the stream is always false policy.

VI.—SUMMARY.

Thus, Mr. President, we see as to the lines of debate upon which the opposition to the bill have conducted their attacks:

First, as to the misconduct of the Army, it is false;

Second, that the contention that the situation in the provinces is seriously disturbed is false;

Third, that the assertion that the people are a consolidated people capable of self-government is not true;

And, finally, I have submitted the testimony of two impartial foreign observers, one made at the beginning and the other at the close of our connection with the Philippine Islands, up to the present time, upon what really are the characteristics of those people and their capacity for self-government, and as to what would be the effect of our withdrawal.

ENGLAND IN INDIA.

Mr. President, I wish to conclude this testimony by inserting an extract from an article by Bishop Hurst, of the Methodist Episcopal Church of this country, upon the work of England in India. I do this because during the course of the discussion there has been considerable reference to the work of England in India, and it has been asserted here upon the floor of the Senate that that work has been ruinous to the people of that country, instead of being, as it has been, beneficial, helpful, and uplifting.

[Bishop John F. Hurst, LL. D., in the Chautauquan, January, 1890, on “What England Has Done for India.”]

English rule over India is not a case of hard conquest and commercial advantage. We think of Clive's terrible deeds and Burke's pictures of the crimes of Warren Hastings. We go still further back and reflect on the vicious parts of the policy of the East India Company during its long history. But there is a broader view, which we are compelled to take, if we would justly compare the India of to-day with what it was two centuries and a half ago.

BRITISH RULE HAS PRODUCED “INCALCULABLE ADVANTAGES.”

Even after discounting the wrongdoing of every English officer and administrator in India, and the connivance of the Government at idolatrous practices, there still remain incalculable advantages to the country, which must be placed to the credit and honor of the Anglo-Saxon in India. These advantages can not be attributed to the natural development of the natives, to the pressure of European ideas, and to the general force of our modern civilization. *They are the direct result of the conquest of the country by England and of her subsequent rule over it.* * * * The old causes of internal separation are constantly disappearing. The Indian is beginning to feel, for the first time, that he is not the member of a tribe but of a race; that he is not a soldier in sept, but a rightful man of the broad soil; that he is not the slave of a rajah, but the citizen of a nation.

CRIME RAPIDLY DECREASING.

Crime is now rapidly decreasing. * * * *All India is now a neighborhood.* The arrival of the Peninsular and Oriental steamer is anticipated almost to an hour. The Europeans all over the country know about when to expect their mail from friends at home. Quick transportation is now the rule. * * *

NATIVE RULERS HAD NO THOUGHT FOR THE MILLIONS.

Sanitary measures have been adopted. Before the English supremacy there was no attention paid to the laws of health. The rulers and nobles had vast wealth, and could live with all the comforts which they might choose. *For the life of the millions there seems to have been no thought.* * * * When the English entered upon the rule of the country they looked after the sanitary condition of the humblest, and the increased longevity is the proof of the success of their efforts.

The sanitary department is one of the distinct parts of the administration of the government. A sanitary commissioner is attached to each local government, and under him are several grades of medical officers. Above all these there is a general sanitary commissioner connected with the general government, and to him sanitary report must come from all parts of the empire. * * *

The English, when they found themselves permanent occupants and rulers of the country, had to deal with a great mass of people whose chief occupation had been to find rice enough to keep themselves alive. The national life being one of warfare and perpetual alarm, and but scanty efforts being made even during the splendid reign of the Moguls toward popular education, it could not be expected that any intelligent care could be bestowed on the treatment of disease. *Whenever a plague invaded the country it had to run its race.* The people were at its mercy. Many thousands were swept away by it. * * *

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY.

In order to mitigate the ravages of fever the Government has taken special pains to introduce quinine throughout the country. * * * Many of the early industries which existed when England took possession of the country have been developed within the last few decades to remarkable proportions. The cotton of India, being found inferior to that of the United States, the Government has introduced American cotton plants and American laborers, and already India is becoming one of the great cotton-producing countries of the world. She is rapidly learning the art of converting the fiber into woven fabric. * * *

The development of the natural resources of India by the English has been remarkable. *Millions of arable acreage have been added to the productive power of the soil.* * * * The earth itself has been penetrated and been made to yield its hidden wealth for the enrichment of the masses.

IMPOSSIBLE TO ENUMERATE ADVANTAGES.

But it is impossible to enumerate all the direct and much more the indirect advantages which have accrued to India from English rule and administration, compared with her distinguished and helpless condition at the beginning of the last century.

England has never achieved grander victories at Waterloo or Quebec than those which belong to her quiet and peaceful administration of India.

Mr. President, I have nothing more to say. I have witnessed this debate with profound interest. I do not think the broader considerations involved in this policy of American advance have been comprehensively discussed. This is no new movement in which we are engaged. It is as old as our steady progress toward national power—yes, as old as the varying movements of civilization itself. You gentlemen can not stop it; we can not stop it; the Administration can not stop it; all of us could not stop it. It is a movement of a people. We are placed where we are by elemental considerations and conditions. The Pacific is on our west.

The Republic has the greatest Pacific coast line of any power, and only four or five thousand miles away is Asia, the cradle of the race. Every student in this or in any other country, of present conditions or approaching conditions, knows that the next great world drama will be upon the waters of the Pacific and upon Asia's ancient shores. It is a play of human forces which springs from the elements of an inevitable situation.

Mr. President, the mastery of that great ocean in the future is to be ours. This is not the dream of this day only. It has been the vision of every great statesman, of every great scientist who has ever given any attention to the subject. It was the dream of

William H. Seward, of Lewis Cass, of the far-seeing Humboldt. That dream will come true. The mastery of that great ocean, with the advancement of civilization which it involves, will be ours. To oppose this movement is as if a babe were to paddle against the pouring currents of the Gulf Stream; and in the eyes of history it will be just as ridiculous.

In the long sweep and historical survey of this large business, considerations appear of almost infinite consequence. Even the practical and immediate questions are of serious moment. One question is whether in the near future the door of China shall be opened or closed—whether that Empire shall be partitioned or whether it shall not be partitioned. Whichever policy prevails, the United States must dominate that vast circumstance. But how? Certainly not by retreat from the very position of control and command. Everybody knows that if we had not had our troops in the Philippines when we did, and so had not been able to throw our forces into Peking when we did, the actual partition of that great Empire would have been an accomplished fact, not only in substance, but in name.

As the owner of the Philippines we can keep the Orient's door open to our merchants and producers, even if those doors should be closed to others, and this, too, by negotiation instead of war. If it is decided that our interests require the open door for all nations equally, again the possession of this archipelago is a factor of determining power to that end.

If it is to proceed, then we should control it. If it is not to proceed, we also must control it. Our prestige is involved. It is a national, an ethnical, a world movement in which we are swept along. No party and no administration can or should prevent it. Senators in opposition may debate against this policy, but the master debater who will continuously answer them is Events.