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ROOT SURPRISED AT OUTCRY HEARD

Many of His Critics Did Not Read His Speech

Does Not Attack Constitution, Nor Dual Form of Government in This Country.

MERELY HISTORICAL REVIEW

Washington, Dec. 19.—A speech made by Secretary Root at the annual dinner of the Pennsylvania Society in New York, says William T. Curtis, in the Chicago Record-Herald, last Wednesday night has created an almost universal sensation throughout the country and has been favorably or unfavorably commented upon by almost every newspaper. Statesmen and semi-statesmen have been interviewed about it and have expressed opinions of more or less importance.

Secretary Root said yesterday in reply to a question: "Of course, I am surprised at the outcry. I have received a large number of letters and have read a large number of interviews with people who evidently have not seen my speech and do not have the slightest comprehension of what I said. Most of the letters, however, are of approval.

"It was not a constitutional speech. I discussed no questions of constitutional law or constitutional rights; I certainly did not 'rip the constitution up the back,' as has been asserted. It was a historical review followed by certain inferences as to what will be the future of the United States under our dual form of constitutional government.

"All these causes have resulted in a change of habits of thought, in a rearrangement of business methods and social customs, as distinct as the departure from the post chaise period to the limited express and the automobile.

The process that interweaves the life and action of the people in every section of our country with the people in every other section continues and will continue with increasing force and effect. We are forging forward in development of business and social life that tends more and more to the obliteration of state lines and the decrease of state power as compared with national power. The relations of the business over which the federal government is assuming control; of interstate transportation, with state transportation, of interstate commerce with state commerce, are so intimate, and the separation of the two is so impracticable, that the tendency is plainly toward the practical control of the national government over both.

"The changed conditions in the sentiments and business and social habits of the country, I said," continued the secretary, "could not fail to produce corresponding changes in our politics and system of government, and those changes are plainly to be seen. The people of the United States are tending steadily to do through national agencies many things which were formerly done through state agencies; and to do for the entire country what the state formerly did for separate communities. I illustrated this tendency by referring to the anti-trust act, the railroad act, the anti-rebate law, the oil-margarine law, the law for meat inspection, the pure food act and other legislation.

"I asserted that one of the most important questions before the American people today is, 'How can the power of the states be preserved?' I did not even intimate that anyone desired them to be crippled or curbed. There was not the slightest suggestion of any such thought in my speech. I assumed that everybody understood the attitude of our people toward that question, and I went on to describe how I believed the rights of the states should be protected.

"In conclusion, I said that the intervention of the national government in many of the matters which it has recently undertaken would have been wholly unnecessary if the states themselves had been alive to their duty toward the general body of the country. It is useless for the advocates of state's rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of necessary control, where the states themselves fail in the performance of their duty.

"There is no attack upon the constitution in all this," continued the secretary of state, "There is no suggestion of a new political issue. There is no politics in it. I think that everybody will agree with the facts as stated and as to the danger of the tendencies I have pointed out, I would not change a word or an idea but if there had been time I would have amplified my arguments a little more and that would have made them clearer."

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BROWNSVILLE CASE IS SENT TO SENATE

(Continued From Page One.)

shots being aimed at a guest sitting by a window. They shot into a saloon, killing the bartender and wounding another man. At the same time other raiders fired into another house in which women and children were sleeping, two of the shots going thru the mosquito bar over the bed in which the mistress of the house and her two children were lying. Several other houses were struck by bullets. It was at night and the streets of the town are poorly lighted, so that none of the individual raiders were recognized; but the evidence of many witnesses of all classes was conclusive to the effect that the raiders were negro soldiers. The shattered bullets, shells, and clips of the government rifles, which were found on the ground, are merely corroborative. So are the bullet holes in the houses; some of which it appears must, from the direction, have been fired from the fort just at the moment when the soldiers left it. Not a bullet hole appears in any of the structures of the fort.

The townspeople were completely surprised by the unprovoked and murderous savagery of the attack, as deliberate murderers, who did start to finish. They met with no substantial resistance, and one and all who took part in that raid stand murder one man, who tried to murder others, and who tried to murder women and children. The act was one of horrible atrocity, and so far as I am aware, unparalleled for infamy in the annals of the United States army.

The white officers of the companies were completely taken by surprise, and at first evidently believed that the firing meant that the townspeople were attacking the soldiers. It was not until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning that any of them became aware of the truth. I have directed a careful investigation into the conduct of the officers, to see if any of them were blameworthy, and I have approved the recommendation of the war department that two be brought before a court-martial.

As to the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, there can be no doubt whatever that many were necessarily privy, after if not before the attack, to the conduct of those who took actual part in this murderous riot. I refer to Major Blockson's report for proof of the fact that certainly some and probably all of the non-commissioned officers in charge of quarters who were responsible for the gun-racks and had keys thereto in their personal possession knew what men were engaged in the attack.

Major Penrose, in command of the post, in his letter (included in the Appendix) gives the reasons why he was reluctantly convinced that some of the men under him—as he thinks, from 7 to 10—got their rifles, slipped out of quarters to do the shooting, and returned to the barracks without being discovered, the shooting all occurring within two and a half short blocks of the barracks. It was possible for the raiders to go from the fort to the farthest point of firing and return in less than ten minutes, for the distance did not exceed 350 yards.

Such are the facts of this case. General Nettleton, in his letter herewith appended, states that next door to where he is writing in Brownsville is a small cottage where a children's party had just broken up before the house was riddled by United States bullets, fired by United States troops, from United States Springfield rifles, at close range, with the purpose of killing or maiming the inmates, including the parents and children who were still in the well-lighted house, and whose escape from death under such circumstances was astonishing.

The effort to confute this testimony



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ny so far has consisted in the assertion or implication that the townspeople shot one another in order to discredit the soldiers—an absurdity too gross to need discussion, and unsupported by a shred of evidence.

The evidence proves conclusively that a number of the soldiers engaged in a deliberate and concerted attack, as cold blooded as it was cowardly; the purpose being to terrorize the community, and to kill or injure men, women, and children in their homes and beds or on the streets, and this at an hour of the night when concerted or effective resistance or defense was out of the question, and when detection by identification of the criminals in the United States uniform was well-nigh impossible. So much for the original crime. A blacker never stained the annals of our army. It has been supplemented by another, only less black, in the shape of a successful conspiracy of silence for the purpose of shielding those who took part in the original conspiracy of murder. These soldiers were not school boys on a frolic. They were full-grown men, in the uniform of the United States army, armed with deadly weapons, sworn to uphold the laws of the United States, and under every obligation of oath and honor not merely to refrain from criminality, but with the sturdiest rigor to hunt down criminality; and the crime they committed or connived at was murder. They perverted the power put into their hands to sustain the law into the most deadly violation of the law. The non-commissioned officers are primarily responsible for the discipline and good conduct of the men; they are appointed to their positions for the very purpose of preserving this discipline and good conduct, and of detecting and securing the punishment of every enlisted man who does what is wrong. They fill, with reference to the discipline, a part that the commissioned officers are of course unable to fill, altho the ultimate responsibility for the discipline can never be shifted from the shoulders of the latter. Under any ordinary circumstances the first duty of the non-commissioned officers, as of the commissioned officers, is to train the private in the ranks so that he may be an efficient fighting man against a foreign foe. But there is an even higher duty, so obvious that is not under ordinary circumstances necessary so much as to allude to it, the duty of training the soldiers so that they shall be a protection and not a menace to his peaceful fellow citizens, and above all to the women and children of the nation. Unless this duty is well performed, the army becomes a mere dangerous mob; and if conduct such as that of the murderers in question is not, where possible punished, where this is not possible, unless the chance of its repetition is guarded against in the most thorough fashion, it would be better that the entire army should be disbanded. It is vital for the army to be imbued with the spirit which will make every man in it, and above all the officers and non-commissioned officers, feel it a matter of highest obligation to discover and punish, and not to shield the criminal in uniform.

By my direction every effort was made to persuade those innocent of murder among them to separate themselves from the guilty by helping bring the criminals to justice. They were warned that if they did not take advantage of the offer they would all be discharged from the service and forbidden again to enter the employ of the government. They refused to profit by the warning.

People have spoken as if this discharge from the service was a punishment. I deny it emphatically that such is the case because as punishment it is utterly inadequate. The punishment meted for mutineers and murderers such as those guilty of the Brownsville assault is death; and a punishment only less severe ought to be meted out to those who have aided and abetted mutiny and murder and treason by refusing to help in their detection. I would that it were possible for me to have punished the guilty men. I regret most keenly that I have not been able to do so.

Be it remembered always that these men were all in the service of the United States under contracts of enlistment, which by their terms and by statute were terminable by my direction as commander in chief of the army. It was my clear duty to terminate these contracts when the public interest demanded it; and it would have been a betrayal of the public interest on my part not to terminate the contracts which were keeping in the service of the United States a body of mutineers and murderers.

So much for the military side of the case. But I wish to say something additional, from the standpoint of the race question. In my message at the opening of congress I discuss the matter of lynching. In it I gave utterance to the abhorrence which all decent citizens should feel for the deeds of men (in almost all cases white men) who take part in lynchings, and at the same time I condemned, as all decent men of any color should condemn, the action of those colored men who actively or passively shield the colored criminal from the law. In the case of these companies we had to deal with men who in the first place were guilty of what was practically the worst possible form of lynching—for a lynching is in its essence lawless and murderous vengeance taken by an armed mob for real or fancied wrongs—and who in the second place covered up the crime of lynching by standing with a vicious solidarity to protect the criminals.

It is of the utmost importance to

all our people that we shall deal with each man on his merits as a man, and not deal with him merely as a member of a given race; that we shall judge each man by his conduct and not his color. This is important for the white man, and it is far more important for the colored man. More evil and sinister counsel never was given to any people than that given to colored men by those advisers, whether black or white, who, by apology and condonation encourage conduct such as that of the three companies in question. If the colored men elect to stand by criminals of their own race because they are of their own race, they assuredly lay up for themselves the most dreadful day of reckoning. Every far-sighted friend of the colored race in its efforts to strive onward and upward, should teach first, as the most important lesson, alike to the white man and the black, the duty of treating the individual man strictly on his worth as he shows it. Any conduct by colored people which tends to substitute for this rule the rule of standing by and shielding an evil doer because he is a member of their race, means the inevitable degradation of the colored race. It may and probably does mean damage to the white race, but it means ruin to the black race.

Throughout my term of service in the presidency I have acted on the principle thus advocated. In the north as in the south I have appointed colored men of high character to office, utterly disregarding the protests of those who would have kept them out of office because they were colored men. So far as was in my power, I have sought to secure for the colored people all their rights under the law. I have done all I could to secure them equal school training when young, equal opportunity to earn their livelihood, and achieve their happiness when old. I have striven to break up peonage; I have upheld the hands of those who, like Judge Jones and Judge Speer, have warred against this peonage, because I would hold myself unfit to be president if I did not feel the same revolt at wrong done a colored man as I feel at wrong done a white man. I have condemned in unmitigated terms the crime of lynching perpetrated by white men, and I should take instant advantage of any opportunity whereby I could bring to justice a mob of lynchmen. In precisely the same spirit I have now acted with reference to these colored men who have been guilty of a black and dastardly crime, in one policy, as in the other, I do not claim as a favor, but I challenge as a right, the support of every citizen of this country, whatever his color, provided only he has in him the spirit of genuine and far-sighted patriotism.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
The White House, Dec. 19, 1906.

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SAYS LEOPOLD TRIED BRIBERY
Briton Declares King Attempted to Silence Congo Missionaries.

Washington, Dec. 19.—Bribery is being attempted by King Leopold of Belgium to silence the missionaries in the Congo Free State and prevent further denunciation of the atrocities which are being perpetrated upon the natives, according to the charge made by Dr. H. Gratton Guinness, an Englishman, head of the Congo Balolo Mission, now in Washington lecturing to awaken public indignation.

"Last summer Sir Alfred Jones, the Congo consul general to Great Britain, called on me in London," said Dr. Guinness. "Sir Alfred, who was accompanied by Sir Ralph Moore, a former governor of Nigeria in the Congo, stated to me that King Leopold had authorized him to offer me a directorate free of charge and a position that would bring me a large income in a company he wanted to form to conduct a rubber business in the Congo. Sir Alfred explained that the king wanted a British company to do some of the rubber operating, and for this purpose he offered to give a 30,000 square mile tract in the Congo region known as the Ibia."

Dr. Guinness says he was astounded by the offer, and that he indignantly declined it as an attempt to gag him and his 112 missionaries in the Congo by making them parties to the atrocities committed upon the natives.

Dr. Guinness also asserts that agents of King Leopold attempted to poison Baccari, the Italian who had knowledge of the deplorable state of affairs in the Congo. He charges that torture of the natives continues and that they are being ill treated and murdered upon the same appalling scale today as months ago, before the disclosures were made.

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