PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S ACCEPTANCE

Maintains That the Chief Issue Is Still 16 to 1, as Shown by the Platforms of the Bryanite Parties.

Special Dispatch to The Call.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9.—William McKinley's letter, accepting a Republican renomination for the Presidency, which was made public tonight, will be the political text book of the Republicans in the present campaign. Placing the monetary issue first, the President shows that the financial and industrial interests of the United States would be as much endangered by the election of Bryan this year as they would have been had he been elected in 1896. Mr. McKinley reviews with satisfaction the record of the Republican party during the last four years and then takes up the issue of "imperialism," which the Democrats have declared to be paramount. His answer to the Democratic charges is a review of the action of the administration and Congress regarding Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, concluding with the declaration:

"The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion—for the republic against both anarchy and imperialism."

Following is the full text of the letter:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 8.—To the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman of Notification Committee—My Dear Sir: The nomination of the Republican National Convention of June 19, 1900, for the office of President of the United States which, as the official representative of the convention you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give to it my hearty approval. Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and indorses the legislation of the present Congress by which that standard has been officially strengthened. The stability of our national currency is therefore secure so long as those who adhere to the platform are kept in control of the Government. In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied.

They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won. While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the Government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprise, we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another, and, we hope, a permanent triumph for an honest financial system, which will continue inviolable in the public faith.

As in 1896 the three silver parties are united, under the same leader who, immediately after the election of that year in an address to the bimetallists, said:

"The friends of bimetallism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race and they will continue the warfare against it."

The Real Issue.

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The Silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says: "We reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system and immediate restoration to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

So the issue is presented. It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.

Turning to the other associated parties we find in the Populist national platform, adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute book, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by the law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

The platform of the Silver party adopted at Kansas City, July 6, 1900, makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the constitution itself, and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the Government and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

Will the American People Hazard It?

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrines. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate. It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is, therefore, the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue. Will the American people, through indifference or fancied security, hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the past year and revive the danger of the silver standard with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is reaffirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City convention. Nothing has been written or recalled, so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangers and revolutionary policies and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principle of tariff, which supplies sufficient revenue for the Government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers; and of reciprocity, which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor and furnishes new channels through which to move the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

Record of the Republican Congress.

The present Congress has given to Alaska a Territorial government for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; it has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of our pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy.

In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of $25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities, and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

During the past year more than $19,000,000 of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the Treasury, and in addition $25,000,000 of 2 per cents matured, called by the Government, are in process of payment. Pacific railroad bonds, issued by the Government in aid of the roads, in the sum of nearly $44,000,000, have been paid since December 31, 1897.

The Treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on September 1, $135,419,000, in addition to the $150,000,000 gold reserve held in the Treasury for all the Government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed, $124,421,000 having been received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been. It was $21 in 1896. It has increased to $26 50 on July 1, 1900, and $26 85 on September 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was $1,506,424,966; on July 1, 1900, it was $2,062,425,496, and $2,096,683,042 on September 1, 1900.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic.

I rejoice that the Southern as well as the Northern States are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development. The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been quoted in years, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshops, and the labor producing them, have increased in value.

Our Foreign Trade.

Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899, was about $500,000 for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over $50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products; $92,692,220 in manufactures and in the products of the mines over $10,000,000. Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad $615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad; in 1899, $529,874,813, and in 1900 $544,471,701, making during the three years a total balance in our favor of $1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years, from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding in 2 per cent bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents due in 1908, the 4 per cents due in 1907, and the 5 per cents due in 1904, aggregating $840,096,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on September 1 the sum had been increased more than $33,000,000, making in all $339,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over $8,379,550. The ordinary receipts of the Government for the fiscal year 1900 were $79,527,060 in excess of the expenditures.

While our receipts both from customs and internal revenue have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing. Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly $14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than $95,000,000. There were required $8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and expenditures on account of Indians were nearly $2,750,000 less than 1899. The only two items of increase in the public expenses of 1900 over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1899 we expended for pensions $139,294,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to $140,877,216. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899 required by the war loan was $263,468 25. While Congress authorized the Government to make a war loan of $400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, only $200,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing 2 per cent interest, which were promptly and patriotically taken by our citizens.

Prospect of Lower Taxation.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our surplus or increase our expenditures, the Congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

Five years ago we were selling Government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par bearing 2 per cent interest. We are selling our surplus of products and lending our surplus money to Europe. One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever money stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer States of South Africa the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well-known traditional policy. It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the Governments of the South African republics to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities. It is to be observed that while the South African republics made a like request of other powers, the United States is the only one which complied. The British Government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign shipowners over $165,000,000. We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. Our citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners. I have called the attention of Congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of December 6, 1897, I said:

"Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged. We should do our full share of the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer."

In my message of December 5, 1899, I said:

"Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth. The past record has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards and the promises of continual prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the Government and since shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world."

I now reiterate these views.

Need of the Nicaragua Canal.

A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our Eastern and Western seaports demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this Government, and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good and should be made the subject for prohibitory or penal legislation.

Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. This uniformity of legislation in the several States and Territories would secure discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject. Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but **conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectually restrained.**

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the Government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products employment should continue to wait upon labor, and, with the present gold standard, the workingman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency.

For labor a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessen the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

During the present administration, as occasions have arisen for modification or amendment in the existing civil service law and rules, they have been made. Important amendments were promulgated by executive order under date of May 29, 1899, having for their principal purpose the exemption from competitive examination of certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities or duties of a strictly confidential, scientific or executive character, which might better be filled either by non-competitive examination or by other tests of fitness in the discretion of the appointing officer. It is gratifying that the experience of more than a year has vindicated these changes, in the marked improvement of the public service. The merit system, as far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments to office in our new territory.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor.

The survivors and the widows and orphans of those who have died in their country's cause are justly entitled to receive the just and considerate care of the nation. Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican war and while many of the veterans of the Civil war are still spared to us, their numbers are rapidly diminishing and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence. These with the soldiers of the Spanish war will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered and will be. Preferences should be given to the soldiers, sailors and marines, their widows and orphans with respect to employment in the public service.

Cuba and Porto Rico.

We have been in possession of Cuba since January 1, 1900. We have restored order and established domestic tranquility. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities in Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 soldiers to less than 6000. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention by the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own Legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other Territories belonging to the United States and a much larger measure of government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A District Court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing on the first day of May last, 85 per cent of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent on the first of March, 1902, or earlier if the Legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay their tariff of 15 per cent of the rates under the Dingley act and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The entire revenues collected from duties, in Porto Rico and the United States, are paid to the government of Porto Rico and no part thereof is taken by the national Government.

All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of $2,250,522, collected at the customs houses in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this we have expended for relief, education and improvement of roads, the sum of $1,513,084.95. The United States military force in the island has been reduced from 11,000 to 1500, and native Porto Ricans constitute for the most part the local constabulary.

Under the new law, and the inauguration of the civil government, there has been a gratifying revival of business. The manufactures of Porto Rico are developing; her imports are increasing; her tariff is yielding increased returns; her fields are being cultivated; free schools are being established. Notwithstanding the many embarrassments incident to a change of national conditions, she is rapidly showing the good effects of her new relations to this nation.

The Philippines.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippines question and to give to the public authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the Executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing.

It will be seen that the Government has been used for the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and the force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

On the 25th day of April, 1898, Congress declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. On May 19, 1898, Major General Merritt, U. S. A., was placed in command of the military expedition to Manila and directed among other things to immediately "publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any part or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection."

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish fleet in attempting to escape from Santiago harbor was destroyed by the American fleet and on July 18, 1898, the Spanish garrison in the city of Santiago surrendered to the commander of the American forces.

The Peace Commission.

Following these brilliant victories, on the 12th of August, 1898, upon the initiative of Spain, hostilities were suspended and a protocol was signed with a view to arranging terms of peace between the two governments. In pursuance thereof, I appointed as commissioners the following distinguished citizens to conduct the negotiations on the part of the United States: The Hon. William R. Day of Ohio, the Hon. William P. Frye of Maine, the Hon. Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, the Hon. George Gray of Delaware and the Hon. Whitelaw Ried of New York.

In addressing the Peace Commission before its departure for Paris, I said:

"It is my wish that throughout the negotiations entrusted to the Commission, the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations. We had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest. Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle and in the final arbitrament of force this country that compelled solely by the purpose of relieving grievous wrongs and removing long existing conditions which disturbed the tranquillity, which shocked the moral sense of mankind and which could no longer be endured. It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action. * * *

"Our aim in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization, rather than to ambitious designs. * * *

"Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila imposes upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career from the beginning the ruler of nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

Instructions to Peace Commission.

On October 28, 1898, while the Peace Commission was continuing its negotiations in Paris, the following additional instruction was sent:

"It is imperative upon us that as victors we should be governed only by motives which will exalt our nation. Territorial expansion should be our least concern; that we shall not shirk the moral obligations of our victory is of the greatest. It is undisputed that Spain's authority is permanently ended in every part of the Philippines. To leave any part in her feeble control now would increase our difficulties and be opposed to the interest of humanity. * * * Nor can we permit Spain to transfer any of the islands to another power. Nor can we invite another power to join the United States in the sovereignty over them. We must either hold them or turn them back to Spain.

"Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the President can see but one plain path of duty, the acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications—administrative and international—would follow any other course. The President has given to the views of the commissioners the fullest consideration, and, reaching the conclusion above announced, in the light of the information communicated the President since your departure, he has been influenced by the single consideration of duty and humanity. The President is not unmindful of the distressed financial condition of Spain, and whatever consideration the United States may show must come from its sense of generosity and benevolence, rather than from any real or technical obligation."

Again, on November 13, I instructed the commission:

"The trade and commercial side, as well as the indemnity for the cost of the war, are questions we might yield. They might be waived or compromised, but the questions of duty and humanity appealed to the President so strongly that he can find no appropriate answer but the one he has here marked out."

Treaty of Peace.

The treaty of peace was concluded on December 10, 1898. By its terms the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands was ceded by Spain to the United States. It was also provided that the "civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of terirories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

From the standpoint of indemnity both the archipelagoes (Porto Rico and the Philippines) are insufficient to pay our war expenses, but, aside from this, do we not owe an obligation to the people of the Philippines which will not permit us to return them to the sovereignty of Spain? Could we justify ourselves in such a course or could we permit their barter to some other power? Willing or not, we have the responsibility of duty which we cannot escape. * * * The President cannot believe that any division of the archipelago can bring us anything but embarrassment in the future.

Twenty days thereafter, on December 21, the following directory was given to the commander of our forces in the Philippines:

"* * * The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their previous rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that **we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employment and in their personal and religious rights."**

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands and to secure with the least possible delay the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of the Hon. Jacob Gould Schurmann of New York, Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Charles Denby of Indiana, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan and Major General Elwell E. Otis, U. S. A.

Instructions to Philippine Commission

Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of their duties the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the city of Manila and to announce by a public proclamation their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

"The Commissioners will endeavor, without interference to the military authorities of the United States, now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of customs and other taxes, the means of transportation and the need of public improvements. They will report * * * the results of their observations and reflections and recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful. The Commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose.

"* * * It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the Commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the Government of the United States. It is also my wish and expectation that the Commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored representatives of the American Government, duly commissiond on account of their knowledge, skill and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation."

On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the Senate of the United States and the Congress immediately appropriated $20,000,000 to carry out its provisions. The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th of April, 1899.

Efforts to Restore Peace.

As early as April, 1899, the Philippine Commission, of which Dr. Schurmann was president, endeavored to bring about peace in the islands by repeated conferences with leading Tagalogs, representing the so-called insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered them which they could accept. So great was the satisfaction of the insurgent commissioners with the form of government proposed by the American Commissioners that the latter submitted the proposed scheme to me for approval and my action thereon is shown by the cable message following:

"May 5, 1899.—SCHURMANN, MANILA: Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine islands shall consist of a Governor General, appointed by the President; Cabinet, appointed by the Governor General; a General Advisory Council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined and the Governor General to have absolute veto. Judiciarry strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the President. The Cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order."

In the latter part of May another group of representatives came from the insurgent leader. The whole matter was fully discussed, when the promise of acceptance seemed near at hand. They assured our Commissoiners they would return after consulting with their leader, but they never did return.

As a result of the views expressed by the first Tagalog representative favorable to the plan of the commission, it appears that he was, by military order of the insurgent leader, stripped of his shoulder straps, dismissed from the army and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The views of the Commissioners are best set forth in their own words:

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat. It is not to be believed that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations, and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

Natives Not Yet Fit to Rule.

After the most thorough study of the peoples of the archipelago, the commission reported, among other things:

"Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and lingulst diversities, disqualify them in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues to undertake the governing of the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-operate 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. * * *

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the Government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse if it did not necessitate the intervention of the 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. * * *

"Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot 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."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission until the rebellion was suppressed, and desiring to place before the Congress the result of their observations, I requested the commission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report was submitted to Congress.

In March, 1900, believing that the insurrection was practically ended and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission: The Hon. William Taft of Ohio; Professor Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; the Hon. Luke I. Wright, of Tennessee; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and the Hon. Bernard Moses, of California.

Instructions to Civil Commission.

My instructions to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of War) will instruct the commission * * * to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, in both cities and rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable and subject to the least degree of supervision and control, which, after a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control, shall be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty. * * * Where the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the commission may be safely transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War) with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control. * * *

"Beginning with the first day of February, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature, is to be transferred from the Military Governor to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the Military Governor under such rules and regulations as you (the Secretary of War) shall prescribe, until the establishment of civil central government of the islands, contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph, or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules or orders having the effect of law for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the Military Governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character. The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for." * * *

Until Congress shall take action I decided that:

"Upon every division and branch of the Government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules: That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, nor be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to security against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peacably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. * * *

To Promote Education in the Islands.

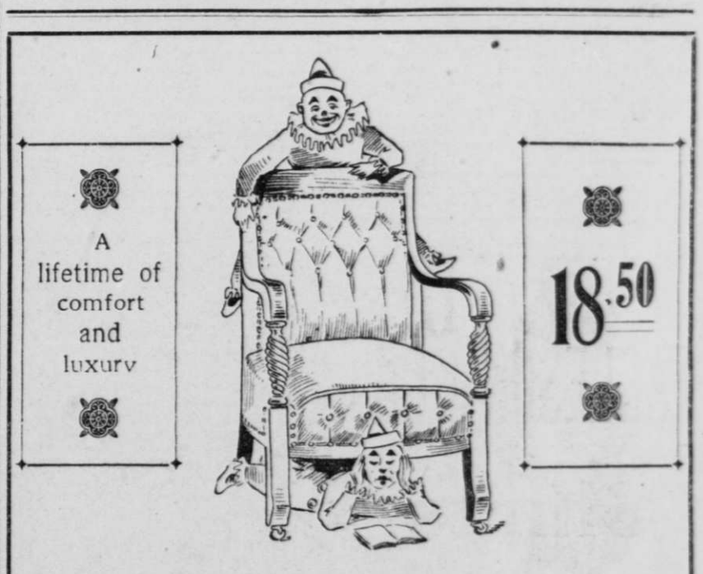
"It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should put as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship, and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. * * * Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the Islands to acquire the use of the English language. * * *

"Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe, not merely the material, but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

"The articles of capitulation of the city of

PRESIDENT WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Makes Clear That the Cry of "Imperialism" Is Political Claptrap and the Republican Party Is Right.



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