

DESCRIPTIONS OF  
ARMY LIFE IN THE  
PHILIPPINES

BY JAMES R. MEVICKER

Prologue:

This series of documents contain the contents of a scrapbook created by James Rufus McVicker (JRM) (1876-1963) during his term of Army duty in the Philippines Islands.

James R. McVicker agreed to act as a war correspondent, initially for the Ottumwa Courier newspaper and later for other publications.

The books contain all, or most, of the newspaper clippings and notes, which JRM submitted, in addition to other newspaper articles relating to the Spanish American War and beyond.

In addition there are articles relating to his West Point experience as well as his political and vocational careers.

The actual pages are faded, yellowed and extremely fragile. Scanning the contents would have been difficult to accomplish, while maintaining the integrity of the document.

I decided to photograph the pages, as best I could, using a digital camera on a tripod. Some of the pages may be difficult to read without zooming in to small sections. This dictated using a high-resolution image, resulting in a larger file size than I would have desired.

ained there is no record of any other regiment ever being held continuously on a transport so long a period. On Feb. 9 the Third battalion, consisting of Companies B, G, I and K, under Major S. P. Moore, and the Second battalion, Companies C, E, L and M, under Major John P. Hume, and Batteries A and D, First California heavy artillery, acting as infantry, and Troop A, First Nevada volunteer cavalry, occupied the town of San Roque, passed through and constructed a line of entrenchments on the narrow neck of land between San Roque and Old Cavite. Feb. 11 the Second battalion returned to quarters in Cavite. Feb. 18 the First battalion, Companies A, D, J and H, commanded by Major W. J. Poggan, were ordered to Manila to report to Brig. Gen. Owenshine at the front. This order was the first which placed any body of Iowa soldiers in reasonable prospect of taking part in an actual battle since the declaration of war with Spain.

**Bordwine Reported Missing.**

Major Hume, with Companies C and M, reported to the provost marshal in Manila, March 26. Companies E and L reported to the commanding general at Manila, March 29, and were also assigned to duty with the provost marshal. On March 28, Private Alfred J. Bordwine of Company H was reported missing. He was a member of a scouting party sent out south of Culiculi church, and from the time of his disappearance to this day no word has ever been heard from him. The scouting party unexpectedly encountered a force of Filipinos which fired on them. Confronted by superior numbers, the party beat a hasty and somewhat disorderly retreat. When they had reached a place of safety, Bordwine was missing. It was supposed he was wounded and captured. From recent reports of the treatment accorded by the Filipinos to their prisoners it is not unreasonable to hope that Bordwine may some day turn up safe and sound.

Early in April the Iowans, whose letters home had, up to this time, indicated a prodigious bloodthirstiness, mingled with intense disgust that they had so long been prevented from getting at the Filipinos, began to get an experience of real war. On April 14 the second battalion was relieved from duty in the walled city of Manila and ordered to Malolos. The third battalion, with headquarters and band, were, on the following day, relieved from duty at Cavite and sent to Malolos; and the first battalion was, at the same time, relieved from duty with the second brigade, first division, and also sent to Malolos. The entire regiment was assigned to the second brigade, second division, Eighth army corps.

**The Engagement at Quingua.**

On April 22, Companies B, E, G, I, K, L and M participated with other troops in the action of Quingua. During the night Companies A, C, D, F and H joined the command and participated in the action at Pulilan and west of there on April 24, also in the action and capture of Calumpit, April 25.

On May 1 the first battalion returned from Bocane, and the following day the regiment, in company with the First South Dakota, marched to Pulilan. On

May 3, they returned to Calumpit, and crossed the Grande river, camping in Zepit. On May 4 the first and second battalions participated with the second brigade in the capture of San Tomas, the third battalion remaining at Grande river bridge to guard stores. On May 5 the first and second battalions advanced and captured San Fernando, crossing the San Fernando river under fire. This was one of the hottest fights in which Iowa troops were engaged. The two battalions went into quarters in San Fernando. By this time they

were strictly in the enemy's country and on May 25 the Iowans, with the First South Dakota, repelled an attack of the enemy on their outpost. On the following day the Iowans and Dakotans joined in a forward movement, driving the enemy from in front of the line of outposts. Again, on May 31, the outposts were attacked by a small force of insurgents, who were driven off.

**Fighting at San Fernando.**

The regiment was stationed at San Fernando during the month of June. On the 16th the outposts were attacked by a considerable force at 5 p. m., but the enemy was driven back and his trenches occupied temporarily. Again, on June 22, the outpost was attacked by a small force at 8 p. m., and again the assailants were driven off.

July was an uneventful month with the regiment, which was stationed at San Fernando the entire time. Shortly before midnight on the night of June 30 the outposts were attacked and the entire regiment was ordered to the firing line. The enemy's fire was silenced by a few volleys. On July 4, by way of furnishing the Iowans a substitute for the ordinary celebration to which they had been accustomed at home, the Filipinos made an assault at 9:50 p. m., but a brief fireworks display by the Iowans resulted in their repulse without casualty. On July 18, First Lieutenant John L. Moore, of Company L, Council Bluffs, committed suicide by shooting himself through the head, dying during the night. A short time before he had been the victim of a serious sunstroke, as result of which he had been subject to fits of temporary aberration. In one of these he committed suicide.

On July 27, Second Lieutenant Guy F. Logan of Company M, Red Oak, commanded a scouting party sent out to locate the outposts of the enemy in the direction of Mexico. The only casualty officially reported during July, aside from the death of Lieutenant Moore, was the wounding of Private Edwin F. Brown, Company C, who sustained a slight gunshot wound in the left buttock.

**Advance on Caluget.**

August was a month of activity for the regiment. On August 9 the companies, except F and K, were formed at 3:30 p. m. and marched to the outposts of the Seventeenth infantry, where they were deployed as skirmishers, and advanced on Caluget, meeting considerable resistance. Caluget was taken about 1 p. m., and an hour later a scouting party of fifty men, under Lieutenant William C. Mentzer of Company D, and Lieutenant E. L. Von Arnim, Company I, advanced in the direction of Angeles, about 2:30 encountering the enemy and routing them, after a lively skirmish.

Again, on August 11, a scouting party of fifty men, under Lieutenant James C. Ross of Company E, and George W. Wilson of Company C, advanced and, after an engagement with the enemy, entered Angeles, driving the enemy out of the place. Afterward they returned to Calumpit. The regiment remained at Calumpit until August 17, sending out occasional scouting parties and guarding wagon and ambulance train. On August 17 it was moved to San Falan. Companies F and K were left in charge of the Fifty-first Iowa outposts at San Fernando, making daily reconnaissances to Mexico.

During this month three deaths were reported in the regiment. They were:

Clarence W. Mason, private, band, died, August 2, at San Fernando, of appendicitis.

Walter E. Hutchinson, private, Company A, died, August 8, at Manila, of typhoid fever.

Rodney Clark, private, Company D, died, August 8, at Manila, of typhoid fever.

This practically completes the record of the regiment's active service. Soon after the opening of September the regiment was ordered to quarters in Manila, preparatory to sailing for home.

**WELCOME HOME!**

Welcome to the gallant Fifty-first Iowa! That is the one sentiment which beats in the great heart of this commonwealth today. The weeks and months have seemed long since you marched away, but the messages which have come to us from time to time from across the blue Pacific waves have brought joy and gladness to the heart, as they told the same unchanging tale of duty bravely done and a loyalty to your country and your country's flag that was "without variableness, neither shadow of turning." You have been faithful to every trust; you have vindicated the confidence imposed in you by the state and nation, and have added new lustre to the page upon which is written the glorious record of the American soldiery. For heroic efforts and accomplishments upon the field of battle you deserve well of your country, and as with outstretched arms she greets your returning home, with grateful heart she tenders her fullest meed of praise.

**"HOW SLEEP THE BRAVE!"**

In the glad thanksgiving song which Iowa sings today there is an occasional minor strain. It has no suggestion of discord; for there is an unearthly sweetness in the sound. With an especial signification does it come to the hearts of those who in vain must long "for the touch of a vanished hand, and the sound of a voice that is still." Many are the homes whose firesides will seem to glow with an unwonted brightness tonight because of the return of the absent soldier boy. But there are other homes in which fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, with hearts all desolate, must realize in the truest sense what it means to kneel at the sacrificial altar in answer to their country's call. Those sacrifices have not been made in vain. Their names are now written among those inscribed in the pantheon of the immortals. And the people of the state of Iowa, proud of the heroism which they displayed in life and which forsook them not in the valley of the shadow, today mingle their tears with those who mourn and gladly place the tribute of tender regard upon the grave where valor proudly sleeps.

He only lives—  
Who, from the heart's full fountain freely gives  
And takes as freely, love's large heritage.  
Who saves his life shall lose it; and the prize,  
If gained, is not worth having. He who dies  
For God and truth and lost humanity,  
Scorning delights to live laborious days,  
Shall win, not wealth nor place nor human praise,  
But life, indeed, and immortality.

**THEIR LONG JOURNEY**

**TRIP OF THE FIFTY-FIRST TO THE BLUFFS.**

**It Was Enjoyable, Regardless of the Delay Occasioned by the Third Section—What They Did to Enjoy Themselves.**

Special to the Capital. Council Bluffs, Nov. 6.—The Fifty-first has at last reached Iowa and the boys are being welcomed back to the home and made them more exuberant. From the time of leaving Manila until the train pulled into the station here

this morning the trip has been one of conquest and triumph, but there was nothing equal to the final arriving on the Iowa soil and being greeted by the home folks.

The trip across the western half of the continent has been quite a treat to the Iowa boys, and everything possible was done for their comfort and entertainment. The very best of accommodations were provided by the transportation company and the returning soldiers were made to feel that nothing was too good for them. Some of the grandest sights of this great western continent were seen by the boys in their overland journey, and everything they saw was appreciated. The three sections of the train sped by lofty mountain peaks and threaded their way along narrow and torturous passes, spanned high bridges and swept by gullies, ravines, canons and valleys. The magnificent mountain scenery of the great west was unrolled before the eyes of the returning boys like a grand panorama, and the possibilities and achievements of the west were shown in all their grandeur. But grand as was the scenery and interesting as was the trip, by far the best was that home was nearer every minute and that the welcome of the dear and loved ones was nearer and closer at hand. Iowa may possess no magnificent mountain scenery such as the boys saw en route here, but Iowa possesses their hearts, and it was a cheering, enthusiastic crowd that arrived here this morning, after a year in the orient.

The Fifty-first left San Francisco, in three train sections at 3:15 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, November 1, and arrived here at 8 o'clock this morning, making the trip in 113 hours. The mustering out and paying of the regiment was all concluded at the Presidio by noon on the first day of the month, and for three hours before leaving San Francisco the boys were civilians. Their term of service as volunteer soldiers was ended, and although they still wore the blue of Uncle Sam, they were civilians again. The boys wandered to the train in groups and crowds and boarded the coaches that were to bring them back to Iowa and home. San Francisco had been good to them in many ways, and there are fond memories with some of the boys of certain persons there; the citizens had done everything possible to entertain and care for the Iowa boys, but still it was not home, and every soldier was glad when the trains rolled out of the California metropolis and headed toward the great Mississippi.

**Rich in Purse.**

The returning boys were rich in hopes and rich in purses. The paymaster had done his duty and each of the Iowa boys had been awarded about \$140. Many of the boys bought trinkets and souvenirs before leaving Frisco, but the time was short and the great bulk of the money still reposed in the pockets and belts of the boys as the train sped across the fertile, verdant fields of California.

The trip was enlivened in many ways. The scenery was enjoyed and places of interest were eagerly pointed out and examined by the eager Iowa boys. During the monotonous stretches of the journey the hours were whittled away with various card games, of which "nosey poker" still seems to be the favorite. This thrilling game combines the excitement of cards with the excitement and intense interest of having your proboscis pounded by a deck of cards, often soaked in water to make the blow more stinging. As a cure for the ennui and the blues the Fifty-first boys will heartily endorse "nosey poker." Those of the boys who did not while away the time with cards still continued to swap stories of the Philippines, the Filipinos and the experiences and observations of the boys while residents of the Isle of Luzon and while marines on board the transport Pennsylvania at Iloilo. The stories which may still be told are many, but practice makes perfect, and the long trip across the continent. There were various civilians and state officials on board the sections, and they were to be entertained; so these stories came in good play. Tales of the people, the customs, habits and lives of the archipelago, and above all the advantages accruing to both the United States and to the Philippines by the acquisition of the islands, were related by the Iowa soldiers with great gusto and interested every one, narrator and listeners.

**Snow in Colorado.**

The first part of the journey was made on schedule time and the three sections bowled along in regular order and with the proper time and distance intervening between them. As the trains rolled through Colorado the snow was falling and it was a great change from the heat of the tropics to the silently falling shroud of the plains and hills of the western state. Snow had come to be almost a curiosity to the boys born and reared on the broad fields of Iowa, and it seemed more and more like home to look out of the car windows and see the white flakes as they silently fell on hill and dale. The snow was not sufficient to delay traffic, however, and the journey was continued without interruption through the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountain states.

It was not until Saturday that the sections began to lose time and the third department lagged and lagged further behind until it pulled into each station ten hours later than the two preceding sections. The engine which pulled this third section was an old pensioner and not up to the requirements and the enthusiasm of the returning soldiers. It coughed and wheezed and spurted as best it could, but its best was not so good as the best of the other two sections. Then the third department encountered a wreck a short distance out of Ogden, Utah. The three sections had met at Ogden and started out on regulation time, but section three, which had constantly been trailing behind, was delayed Saturday morning by a west-bound train which had been wrecked on the track. The first and second sections had passed the train before the wreck

had occurred, but the third section was compelled to return to Ogden and make the journey to Green River, Wyo., over the short line. The time thus lost could not be regained and the distance between the first two and the third sections constantly increased. The first two sections arrived at Denver at 7 o'clock Sunday morning, and all the day the trains bowled along the fertile plains and skirted the rugged mountains enroute to the home state.

The journey so auspiciously begun and continued so successfully was ended this forenoon when the trains pulled into this city. Iowa boys had come back to Iowa and the welcome accorded them was a hearty and a royal one. The first two sections arrived in good time, but the third section was almost nine hours behind. Still there was a welcome for all and not a soldier boy but was shown how glad were the folks of the entire state to welcome back again the brave boys who have been such an honor to it.

The long journey home will soon be ended for each company. From the Island of Luzon to the commonwealth of Iowa the soldiers have come and the journey was one of triumph and pleasure. By tomorrow morning every boy will be home and the long trip will have come to an end and the Iowa volunteer soldiers will again be Iowa civilians, telling tales and showing relics of the country's new possessions.

**A WARM WELCOME**

**Grand Reception Tendered to the returning Volunteers.**

**OSKALOOSA TURNS OUT EN-MASSE!**

**Generous and Genuine Out-pouring of Joyous Hospitality.—An Event Long to be Remembered.**

After an absence of eighteen months the members of Co. F, Oskaloosa's valorous representation in the Philippine conquest, are home again. Their coming, Monday evening was the biggest event of the year. Oskaloosa's citizens turned out en masse to meet and greet them. Never before was there such a general and genuine out-pouring of joy-

ous hospitality in the capital of Proud Mahaska. Every body seemed anxious to grasp the returning heroes by the hand and bid them cordial welcome.

The streets were brilliantly illuminated. The business houses were beautifully and elaborately decorated, especially for the occasion.

A huge triumphal arch spanned First street, between Neagle's grocery and the Bertsch-Boal Drug store. Over the arch in large letters were the words "Welcome Co. F." On either pedestal were inscribed a list of the various engagements in which the boys had participated, with date of each. Over 500 electric lights illuminated the arch and the electric flag suspended therefrom.

From early dusk until midnight the streets were in a perfect din. Men, women and children, the gray haired veteran and the sunny haired youth, boys and girls, black and white, marched and jostled and scrouged through the streets, yelling, shouting, cheering, beating tom toms, blowing horns and making every conceivable kind of a noise.

As soon as the train arrived in Pella, the fact was announced by the ringing of the fire bell. Then the procession formed as follows:

**FIRST DIVISION.**

- Maj. J. W. McMullen; Capt. John N. Martiu.
- Police.
- G. A. R.
- U. R. K. P.

**SECOND DIVISION.**

- Capt. Frank S. Stone; Col. S. J. Dutton.
- I. O. O. F. Canton.
- U. V. U.
- Woodmen of the World.
- I. O. O. F. Commercial lodge.
- Modern Woodmen.
- Citizens on foot.
- Citizens in carriages.

The procession marched to the depot where an immense crowd had already assembled. Owing to some delay at Evans, where the Knoxville company was switched off, the train did not arrive until after midnight and the assembled multitude were kept waiting until almost one o'clock. When the train pulled in a great shout arose and cheer after cheer resounded. It was the intention to get Co. F in the line and march back to the square, but this was impossible. Parents, brothers and sisters, sweethearts and wives, crowded around the boys, took possession of them, hustled them away and the program practically broke up in disorder. A remnant of the procession managed to make its way through the surging crowd back to the square, where they, too, broke ranks and disappeared.

Judge McCoy who was to have made the speech of welcome ascended

the band stand and said: "If there are any members of Co. F present I advise them to seek rest, comfort and repose at the family fireside; but judging from the appearance of the crowd, the advice has been taken, even before it was tendered." The remainder of the crowd then disbanded.

The reception proper was held Tuesday evening at the opera house, which Manager Fritz tendered free for the occasion. The house was crowded and many were obliged to go away. Company F, the Iowa Brigade band, members of the various committees and prominent citizens occupied a position on the stage.

Rev. R. B. A. McBride presided and Rev. Scott Smith opened the exercises with prayer. Music and unprompted speeches followed, Congressman Lacey, Senator Blanchard, Quartermaster Sergeant Dutton, Buglar Jones and Lieutenant Hearne made speeches. These were sandwiched with music from the band and the Penn college quartette.

After the exercises, the company and a number of invited friends adjourned to Kalbach's hall where an elaborate banquet had been spread by the ladies of the Episcopal church. The menu was as follows:

Oyster Soup	Crackers	Celery
Turkey	Cranberries	
	Bread and Butter	
Escalloped Oysters.	Coffee	
Sallad and Cheese Wafers		
Ice Cream	Cake	Almonds

Toasts and responses followed with Colonel J. F. McNeill officiating as toastmaster. Rev. Scott W. Smith delivered an address of welcome to which Frank Reid responded. Serg't Joe Beason gave an expression of general thanksgiving which struck a responsive chord in every heart present. Dr. Hare sang a solo and James Devitt responded to the toast "Those Who Stayed at Home." Captain Keating spoke briefly on "Impression." Strausberger & Peiffer presented the company with a beautiful silk flag and N. P. Herrington made the presentation speech after which the assembled company disbanded. It was a pleasant affair from beginning to end and one long to be remembered in the history of Oskaloosa.

Company F left here on April 26, 1898, and went into quarters at Camp McKinley in Des Moines. They were mustered into the service of the U. S. with the Fifty-first regiment May 30, 1898.

When the boys enlisted they supposed it was for the purpose of engaging in a war with Spain for the liberation of Cuba. They had no idea of being sent to the Philippines to fight against a people, who, like the Cubans, had been struggling for centuries for their independence and against the same power. Even after they had been ordered to the Philip-

ppines they supposed it was to cooperate with Dewey and the Filipinos against Spain, and they welcomed the coming of the conflict. On June 5, 1898, the regiment left Des Moines for San Francisco, where they were detained until Nov. 5, 1898, when they boarded the transport Pennsylvania and steamed away for Manila. They reached Honolulu Nov. 12, where they remained four days and again started on their long voyage. On Dec. 7, they reached Manila. They were detained on the transport until Feb. 3, 1899, when hostilities between the natives and the United States soldiers were begun. They were then permitted to disembark. A week later they were ordered to the front and from that time until they were ordered home on Sept. 25, they rendered valient service. They took a prominent part, acquitting themselves with courage and heroism, in each of the following engagements:

San Roque, February 9.  
 Quingua, April 23.  
 Pulilan, April 24.  
 Calumpit, April 25.  
 San Tomas, May 4.  
 San Fernando, May 5.  
 San Fernando, May 25.  
 San Fernando, May 26.  
 San Fernando, May 31.  
 San Fernando, June 16.  
 San Fernando, June 22.  
 San Fernando, June 30.  
 San Fernando, July 4.  
 Calulet, August 9.  
 Angeles, August 9.

"Fortune favors the brave."

Fortune favored Company F. Not a single member of the company was killed or even wounded, during the entire campaign.

There were but three deaths in the company during their absence, and those were from disease. They were as follows:

THE DEATH ROLL.

Alfred C. Bebb, of Muscatine, died July 28, '98, at San Francisco.  
 Harry L. Stone, died Aug. 19, '98, at San Francisco.

Edwyn E. Kissick, died at Nagasaki, Japan, Sept. 28, '99.

The remains of Edwyne Kissick were brought back with the com-

pany and buried with imposing ceremonies, Wednesday. The obsequies were held at the M. E. church. The church was crowded and the streets in every direction for blocks away were also blockaded. Rev. McBride preached the sermon and a quartette composed of Miss Ware, Mrs. McNeill, Warren Kalbach and Secretary Lacy furnished appropriate music. After the ceremonies the casket was opened and the remains which were in perfect condition except somewhat discolored, were viewed by thousands of people.

THE BOYS LOOK WELL.

With one or two exceptions the boys are looking well. They are neat and clean and have a good healthy color. If the regiment was made up of men like the members of Co. F it was a regiment of soldiers and a regiment of gentlemen as well. They are all glad to get back to the best town in the best state of the best country on earth and the kindly feelings they bear to our people is fully reciprocated. May they live long, and ever hereafter enjoy the victories of peace.

KEOTA AND THE SOLDIER BOYS.

She Gives Them a Glorious Reception and A Good Time.

Keota did herself honor in her greeting to the soldier boys, Tuesday. The boys arrived in the morning, to find the town well decorated in patriotic folds, and well ornamented with banners of welcome.

The soldiers, on arriving were directed to the G. A. R. hall, where a glorious reception was tendered them. The G. A. R. furnished them with dinner tickets which entitled them to a good dinner, prepared by the Baptist church ladies. There were about thirty soldier boys present to partake of the peoples' hospitality. Rev. Bronnell, of Keota, made the welcome address, which was responded to by James R. McVicker, of Sigourney. Other addresses were made by such men as Rev. Greigg, of Wisconsin, and Rev. Kight, of Wellman.

After the afternoon meeting all the boys took part in the grand parade over the streets of the town. music was furnished by the West Chester band.

In the evening the boys were directed to the Men's club room, where a fine banquet was served, and more addresses given. Lieutenant Reimer and Lieutenant Hearne were among the speakers.

Then the boys were given free admission to a little "side show," which was all right, and the boys will all remember Keota with the kindest regards and feelings of relation.

# The Keokuk County News

Thirty-ninth Year

Sigourney, Iowa, November 16, 1899

Number XL

## Company

# F

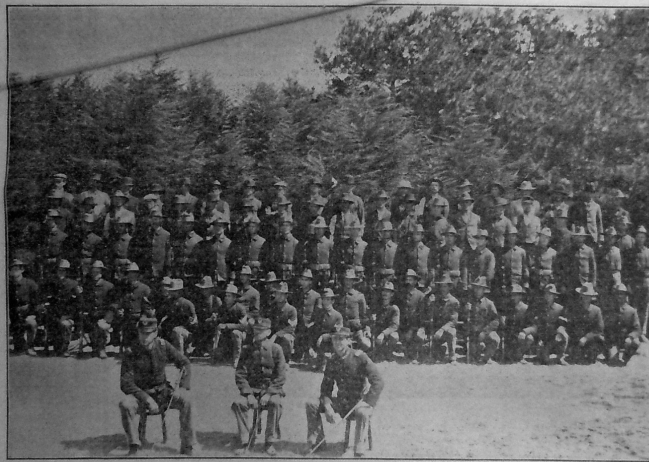


### Fifty-First Iowa Volunteers

IN the return of the Fifty-first Iowa Volunteers to their homes, Keokuk county is more directly interested in Company F than in any other company of the regiment for the reason that her representation in the Fifty-first was in Company F by four of her brave sons who all volunteered at the outbreak of the Spanish-American war in 1898. They have all acquitted themselves well and honorably, and Keokuk county has just cause to be proud of them in common with the pride of other counties and of the grand state of Iowa, in the safe return of their hero defenders of the country and upholders of the Stars and Stripes. The

ilities between the United States and Spain. Mr. Wright always did his duty as a soldier. He never regretted his enlistment but steadily forged ahead. He is happy to be home again, and Keota is glad and proud to have him back.

Herbert Riggs' home is at Martinsburg. He enlisted in June at Des Moines and joined his company as one of the new recruits at San Francisco. He readily picked up the principles of drill and was a genial, military and model soldier. His good qualities were recognized by his captain and he was promoted to be a corporal in March last. His joy is great in return-



COMPANY F PHOTO TAKEN IN SAN FRANCISCO



Keokuk county boys of the Fifty-first are veterans now. They have endured the dangers and hardships of the tented camp and field, they have stood under the baptism of fire and the rain of the cruel bullets and deadly missiles so fiercely shot at them by the enemies of the Country and the Flag. They have toiled and marched through the deadly regions of the tropics. They have bravely and nobly fought--each has tried to the utmost to do his full measure of duty--each has a record in the military service of his country of which the soldier may feel proud--and all have written upon their discharges and endorsed by their superior officers the well merited recommendation: "Character, excellent; service, honest and faithful."

James G. Wright is a Keota boy. He joined the company at Oskaloosa and went with it to Des Moines on the concentration of troops consequent to the outbreak of hos-

ing home, and that of his relatives, friends and citizens of his home town is unbounded.

James R. McVicker, of Sigourney, enlisted at Des Moines May 2, 1898. He was made a corporal soon afterward. His accurate knowledge of military tactics and soldierly bearing were not unnoticed, and when the forty new recruits joined the company at San Francisco, Mr. McVicker was one of the two non-commissioned officers selected to teach the new men the principles of drill and organize them from raw recruits to well-drilled soldiers. Mr. McVicker was always ready for duty while in the service. Owing to the wishes of his mother who was a suffering invalid, Mr. McVicker applied for a discharge on December 23, 1898, upon receipt of the news that the peace treaty had been signed. The discharge was granted and called on the 24 of March 1899. Mr. McVicker sailed from Manila on the transport Grant the next day. On reaching San

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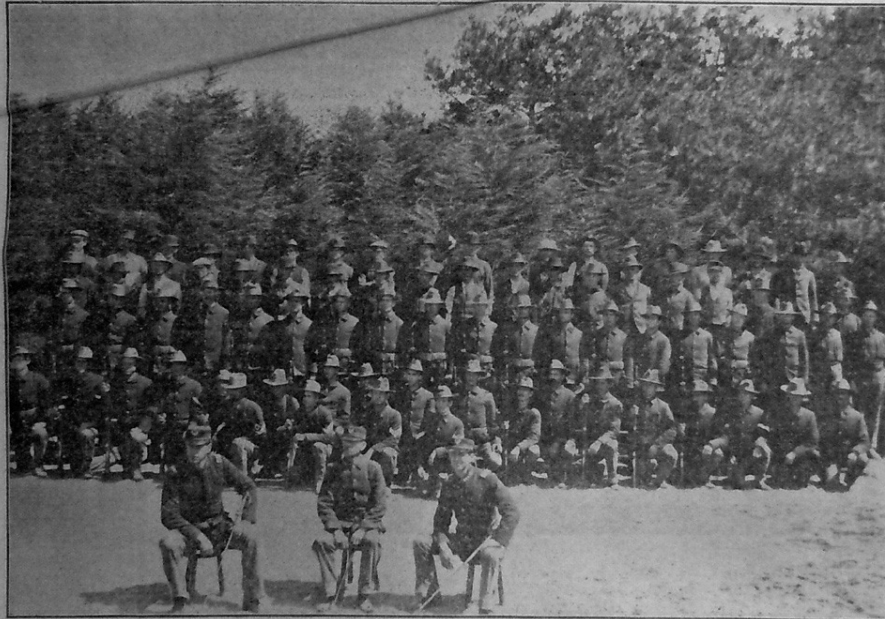


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COMPANY F, FIFTY-FIRST IOWA VOLUNTEERS

**PRAISES THE IOWA MEN.**

**General Otis Speaks of the Work of the Fifty-First.**

Clinton, June 13.—As the special train sped across Iowa prairies bearing the former governor general of the Philippines, Major General Elwell S. Otis, and the switch lights blinked out in the distance, the little man leaned back in the cushions of the chair and with a cheery smile looked up into the face of his interlocutor and remarked that he had a regiment of the sons of Iowa in his army at the time when he needed soldiers, in the stormy days of the outbreak around Manila, when 15,000 Americans held the little strip of land along the shore of Manila bay. In those days, surrounded by a horde of 50,000 half savage Filipinos, it was a question sometimes in the minds of everyone what the ultimate outcome of the affair would be.

"I first learned of the stuff of which the Iowa boys were made," said the general, "on the expedition to Iloilo. They had set sail from San Francisco November 3, 1898, and arrived in Manila December 7. Just at that time the Spanish garrison at Iloilo was calling for assistance and I determined to send the Fifty-first down there. Some delay was met in receiving instructions from Washington and it was the 26th before the regiment set sail. When the troops arrived at Iloilo the Spaniards had evacuated the city and the Filipinos were in possession. Instructions from Washington compelled me to hold the boys on the ship and there they remained until the first of February. It was a trying position but they bore it without a murmur.

"Then, afterwards, on the line at San Fernando, thru the rainy season, I had occasion to appreciate the soldierly qualities of the men of the Fifty-first. The troops to replace the volunteers were slow in arriving, and I had to use the boys longer than I desired. Other regiments were clamoring for relief. I returned them to Manila, but still the Fifty-first stayed on. July passed and most of the volunteers had gone home. In the early part of August an advance was ordered on from San Fernando. The Iowa boys had been six months in the field. Their magnificent regiment had dwindled from 1,100 to 200. The fierceness of the climate and the rain had filled their hospital with sick men. They were the only troops of the original volunteers on the line, but they were trained soldiers and I needed them.

"On that day the boys fought fiercely and well, as usual. They were excellent marksmen and as many dead Filipinos were found in their front always as that of any other regiment. The Iowa boys were splendid soldiers, the best of the army of volunteers in the Philippines and never a better body of men carried a rifle than my western volunteer army of 1898-99.

"You people cannot imagine the hardships that the boys of the Fifty-

first passed thru. They had the worst of any, and bore them better than any. The state can well feel proud of such soldiers as they."



# APPEAL TO M'KINLEY

Filipinos Claim Americans Have Mistreated Them.

SAY THEY ONLY DEMAND JUSTICE.

They Want American Officers to Temper Their Actions With Friendship—Do Not Like Our Distrust.

Hong Kong, Nov. 17.—Following is the full text of the document drawn up by the so-called Filipino junta here, whose members claim to represent Aguinaldo, the insurgent leader, and the government which he claims to have established.

It is impossible to ascertain how far his junta represents Aguinaldo and his followers, and what they call "an appeal to President McKinley and the American people" is more in the nature of an arraignment of the American officials at Manila and a criticism, from a Filipino point of view, of their loings.

It is needless to add that many of the statements made are not in accordance with the facts in the case. The Filipinos write:

"We, the Hong Kong representatives of our countrymen, appeal to the great and good judgment of President McKinley and the spirit of fairness and justice of the American people, as always shown in their regard for the petitions of the weak and oppressed.

### Question Friendship.

"What have we done that we should experience unfriendly treatment? Are the Americans our friends?"

"The tension becomes greater daily, and any moment a shot may be fired by an irresponsible American or Filipino soldier. And the flame thus started can only be quenched by blood dear to us both.

"We beseech the American president and people to help us to control our own people by directing the officials at Manila to temper their actions with friendship, justice and fairness.

"We suggest that Admiral Dewey and Gen. Otis and Gen. Merritt, in Paris, be asked:

"1. If, from the commencement of hostilities to the present time, have not Aguinaldo and the Filipinos under him acceded to every request of the American officials?"

"2. When Manila was captured, although the Filipinos had driven the Spaniards into Manila, completely investing the city and occupying some of the roads commanding in part the approaches to Manila, in advance of the Americans, were the Filipinos not entirely ignored, and even not notified of the intention to attack, or of the time or part they were expected to play, even if such was to stand aside?"

### Not Allowed to Fight.

"3. When the Filipinos, seeing the intention to attack, went to the assistance of the Americans, were they not stopped by an armed body and faced about, instead of being informed by friendly, peaceful request that they were not wanted?"

"This unexpected action would have placed the Americans between two fires, Spanish and Filipino, if shots had been exchanged in the excitement of the moment. Did not then the Filipinos restrain themselves and obey the Americans, although deprived of the fruits of victory and participation in the final triumph and after fighting all the way to the very walls and bearing the brunt of three months' campaign?"

"4. After remaining a month on the outskirts of the city, where we had been stopped, quietly, as a garrison, we were ordered away, did we not cheerfully obey, although having no assurances that the Americans would not give back the Manila posts, vacated, to the Spanish? When located for over months still farther out, we were ordered even beyond the suburbs of the city, where no quarters or shelter existed for troops, and where supplies were difficult to obtain, did not we obey?"

### Have Been Maligned.

"5. Can the cruel allegations that we would murder, loot, steal, and commit incendiarism, if given a free hand, be supported when we conducted a campaign throughout Luzon, capturing all the important points outside of Manila and taking and treating humanely a thousand Spanish prisoners, without being guilty of such acts, beyond which accompanies any military campaign, as the work of irresponsible camp followers?"

"6. We beg that the American officials be asked also if all the Americans visiting the Filipinos' headquarters at Malolos, traveling in the interior, visiting the camps and lines, or seeking favors of our officials, were not uniformly politely treated?"

"In a friendly manner we invite the consideration of other points. Groundless and harmful rumors are being constantly circulated by Spanish sympathizers and malcontents, which are often believed without investigation. Our protests are not heard.

### Treated as Enemies.

"All our launches were seized because of foolish rumors that we would attack the Americans. We asked for an ex-

planation, in seeking their recovery, and were not given an answer.

"Should not some logical reason, other than mere report, be given for suddenly seizing our property in Manila?"

"The Spaniards, the late enemies of the Americans, are shown every consideration, and the Filipinos, friends and allies are often treated as enemies.

"From the beginning of our relations, when Aguinaldo was urged in Singapore and Hong Kong to return to Cavite and assist the Americans until Manila fell, we acted under the advice and with the knowledge of the American officials.

"We can only attribute this sudden change from friendly encouragement and co-operation to an order from Washington to the officials at Manila to avoid compromising the American government by any recognition of the Filipinos or their government.

"They have endeavored to carry out these instructions literally, believing it the proper course to ignore the Filipinos entirely, losing sight of their former friendly intercourse and assistance, and of the assurances the American officials made to our leader, Aguinaldo, who in turn communicated the same to his followers.

### Grateful to American.

"In concluding our humble but earnest appeal to the president and people of the great American republic, we wish to emphasize our absolute confidence in him and them to make it plain that our protests are not prompted by any feeling of animosity, but are directed against the conditions existing at Manila and not against the American government or people, to acknowledge our gratitude to the American arms for destroying Spanish power in the Philippines and permitting the return of Aguinaldo and to express the hope that America will stand by her determination not to return the islands to Spain.

"We wait for the arbitration of the peace commission, for whose good judgment we have profound respect, with even greater interest than the Americans, because it concerns our native land, our happiness, our freedom, and our homes.

"In the meantime, we pray for peace and a perfect understanding with the Americans."

### DEWEY'S PROTEST.

#### Details of Complications Caused by German Tactics at Manila.

Chicago, July 22.—The special correspondent of the Record with Admiral Dewey's fleet cables the following from Manila under date of July 15, via Hong Kong, July 18:

Admiral Dewey has requested from Admiral Diedrichs an explanation of Germany's position in the Philippines. He has also protested against the German admiral's disregard of the American blockade of Manila.

For several weeks Germany has been constantly enlarging its fleet in these waters, until now all German ships on the Asiatic squadron, with the exception of the Deutschland, the Arcona and the Gefion, are either in Manila bay or its vicinity. The German naval officers have taken particular pains to show friendliness toward the Spaniards, as for example in saluting the Spanish flag at Manila on the arrival of every additional German ship. The German officers have visited the Spanish fortifications and trenches, and the Manila newspapers have asserted that the presence before the city of so many German ships enabled the Spanish authorities and the people of Manila to regard the American fleet with complacency.

Three weeks ago the German admiral told Admiral Dewey that three of his ships were to depart, but they went only as far as Mariveles, Subic bay and Ceba. On June 27 the McCulloch met the Irene, one of the German fleet, at Corregidor island, preparing to enter the bay, and signaled to her: "We wish to communicate with you." The Irene paid no attention to the signal, and proceeded on her way until a small boat was sent out to her from the McCulloch. The captain of the Irene explained the matter by saying that he had misunderstood the signal.

The action of the Irene in interfering with the attack by the insurgent vessel, Filipinas, on the Spanish garrison at Isla Grande, in Subic bay, was in line with the attitude adopted by

the German naval officers here. As soon as the insurgents reported the matter to Admiral Dewey he dispatched the Raleigh and Concord to Subic Bay and captured the Spanish garrison, the Irene departing hastily on the arrival of the American warships.

Four days ago Admiral Dewey sent an officer to the German flagship with a request that Admiral Dieckrichs make a statement of the German attitude in the matter of the blockade of Manila. At the same time he delivered a protest against various actions by German officers, such as have been mentioned here. The German admiral sent an immediate explanation. Two days later, however, he sent a protest to Admiral Dewey against the action of American officers in boarding German ships coming to Manila from Mariveles. He cited the incident of the McCulloch and the Irene at Corregidor.

Admiral Dewey replied to this very courteously, but very firmly. He pointed out to the German admiral that international law gave to the commander of a blockading fleet authority to communicate with all ships entering a blockaded port. As international law permitted warships to fly any flag they chose in order to deceive the enemy, the nationality of vessels entering the bay could not be determined absolutely without communication with them. He announced his intention to communicate with all ships entering the bay. For the German admiral's further information Admiral Dewey told him that if Germany was at peace with the United States the German naval officers here would have to change their methods, and that if Germany was at war with his nation he desired to know it at once in order that he might act accordingly.

Presumably the German admiral is still meditating on this message.

The German warships now here are: The Kaiser, flagship, a first class armored cruiser of 7,500 tons, mounting eight 10-inch guns and a formidable secondary battery.

The Kaiserin Augusta, a first class steel cruiser of 6,000 tons, with twelve 5-inch guns and a quick firing battery.

The Irene, a second class cruiser of 4,500 tons, mounting 5-inch and quick firing guns.

The Cormorant, a third class cruiser, about the size of the Concord, but scarcely so well armed.

The Prinzess Wilhelm, a second class cruiser, as large as the Baltimore, but outclassed by her in armament and speed.

## MADE 44,500 MILES.

Brilliant Record of the Oregon for 365 Days.

HERMAN KEHM SENDS A LOG

Guam Natives "All's Same Americano"  
—The Details of a Portion of the Long Voyage Not Yet Ended.

The following letter or log was received recently by Mrs. S. E. Adler, of this city, from her brother, Herman Kehm, of the Oregon:

"United States Battleship Oregon.

"At sea, Feb. 22, '99.

"Dear sister Louise:—

"This must necessarily be a letter of many dates—a log of the events of a long cruise from Honolulu to Manila. We are two days out from Honolulu and there is nothing of moment to record except that at noon today in 159 degrees, 17 minutes west longitude, and 20 degrees, 14 minutes north latitude, we fired a salute of twenty-one guns for the 'Father of His Country.'

There was something strangely impressive in that salute, fired so far from civilization. Each shot that pealed out across the dark waters seemed to speak out in words of praise for the patriot Washington.

"Feb. 27—We have passed into the eastern hemisphere and find ourselves a day behind time. Dropping a day and passing on to March gives us a remarkably short February of twenty-seven days.

"March 10—Still nothing out of the ordinary has occurred. An increase in the size of the swells, which fortunately are running with us, is about the only change in the view spread before us. The island of Guam, Ladrones, was sighted early this morning. What a beautiful sight is spread before us now! Tall steep cliffs tower above the sea, while in the distance can be seen an elegant stretch of tropical forests abounding in mahogany, rose wood, bamboo and palms of every variety. Along the marble-like beach the cocoa and banana trees rear their heads; a few primitive grass huts in the shade of these trees, and the breaking of the surf upon the sands, completes a picture such as nature alone can produce. The Iris is alongside discharging coal, and we are to leave for Manila tomorrow evening. The natives of Guam are polite and friendly and wish to convey the idea that they are 'all's same Americano.' The Bennington was here recently and paid off the native soldiers. The United States government raised their pay from fifteen to about fifty-two pesetas per month. Perhaps herein lies the secret of their patriotism. They brought all kinds of fruit off, also some beautiful shells which they traded for soap and tobacco, these articles seeming more valuable to them than money. It will be remembered that this is the island which was captured by the United States government before the Guam natives were aware that hostilities existed between the United States and Spain. The governor pro tem is a tall slim individual and wears a white stiff hat of the Cleveland-Hendricks persuasion, which distinguishes him from the rest of the population. He is a good natured sort of fellow and displays a very coy smile when he refers to himself as 'the governor.' He was formerly an officer in the Spanish forces here.

"A bark-rigged ship, Ruth, signaled us and a boarding officer was sent to her. He found the crew of a wrecked whaler aboard her and a number of the men were enlisted in the United States service. The ship was named Horatio, and was wrecked in the Carolines.

"We got under way for Manila at 5 p. m., March 11, and taking the narrow straits of St. Bernardino, between the islands, Guzon and Sanar, reached an anchorage at 5 p. m., March 18. Our arrival at Manila on that date is inter-

esting to us as we are just a year out from San Francisco and during these twelve months we have won the world's record for the number of miles traveled for a man-of-war, regardless of class. We covered 44,500 miles in 365 days, and still have a long distance before us. While we were yet in the offing we could make out Admiral Dewey's flag on the Olympia. In it we saw four stars, and we were then aware of Dewey's promotion to a full admiral. We found besides our own fleet the English cruiser Powerful, one Frenchman and one Jap, and a number of ex-Spaniards in the neighborhood of Cavite, the latter being in a bad way.

"I will not attempt to give you any information regarding engagements here between our forces and the insurgents, as it will reach you much earlier by cable.

"Sincerely your brother,

"Herman Kehm."

## MOST BRILLIANT OF THE CAMPAIGN

EXPLOIT OF THE THIRD REGIMENT AT BALIUAG.

Busler Sounds the Charge in Zealous Excess of Orders—Advance of Capt. Hannay's Command on the Well Posted Insurgents—Attack in the Trenches Across Open Country—Complete Rout of the Cream of Aguinaldo's Army—Laurels for the Minnesota Boys.

"The most brilliant fight of the season," is the way Gen. Lawton described the routing of the Filipinos near San Isidro last May by the Third infantry. The following description of the fight, written by H. Irving Hancock, the well known war correspondent, will interest friends of the Third in St. Paul. The letter is dated Manila, June 1, and is printed in Leslie's Weekly, by which Mr. Hancock is employed, dated Aug. 12:

Not even yet is the true and full inwardness of the movements of Gen. Lawton's column, flying to the northward and back again, thoroughly understood in Manila. Starting out from Loma church, pushing onward through strange, new country, going around the great swamp, fighting twenty-five pitched battles with varying forces of insurgents, Lawton's tireless, resistless advance, culminating finally in the capture of San Isidro, seemed brilliant. The reason for his backward march to Manila is by no means clear, but to the majority of the army men here, to whom Lawton is an ideal American soldier, it is certain that he neither committed a military blunder nor suffered any reverses in the face of the little brown enemy. It remains only to be said, then, that the moves of that famous column are something of a military mystery. It is taken for granted that Lawton acted under orders, and so, while the mystery does not lessen, there is only praise for the hero of El Caney.

But one incident of that puzzling campaign stands out sharp, distinct, clear—a Beacon of American Grit, dash, triumph, shining before a background of uncertainty and bewildering motives. That incident was the Third United States infantry's all-day running fight from San Miguel to Baliuag. Pio Pilar, the young fighting idol of the Filipinos, is reputed to have conducted the attack, and orders found on a dead insurgent officer show that Pilar's division was ordered into the movement, though the exact number of the enemy engaged there is no more exact information. The division attacked a regiment and got off with the worst drubbing that a single regiment of ours has given the enemy since the start of the campaign. To be strictly exact, it wasn't a whole regiment of ours, either. The Third had

but ten companies present. On May 23 these ten companies, commanded by Capt. J. W. Hannay, were at San Miguel. That night telegraphic orders were received to move the regiment from San Miguel to Baliuag on the following day. In some mysterious way the insurgents possessed themselves of the contents of that order. They prepared to give the Third a warm reception on its inward march. Instead, they got one themselves.

At about 6 o'clock on the morning of the 23d of May the Third left San Miguel. Though no enemy was known to be within striking distance every precaution was taken. Capt. Butler's battalion led, with Company A, under Lieut. McArthur, as advance guard, and Company L, under Lieut. Ross, supporting. Company M, under Capt. Day, and K, under Lieut. Hannay, came next. Lieut. Hawthorn, with one mountain gun, came between the First and Second battalions, the entire artillery force. Capt. Beal's Second battalion was composed of Company C, under Lieut. Moore, and Company G, Beal's. Capt. Cooke's battalion consisted of Company I, under Lieut. Freeland; E, under Lieut. Giddings; F, under Wygant, and Company H, commanded by Lieut. Houle, acting as rear guard. For the first two hours the regiment toiled over the road, halting just outside of San Ildefonso at 8 a. m. Here details were sent back to build bridges for the passage of the wagon train, which was under Capt. Cooke's protection. Just ahead of the advance guard a squad of a dozen or so of the men of the signal corps had passed along, picking up the wire of the military telegraph laid on the way out. It was this signal corps which ran into the first signs of the enemy. While busily working along the road these wirepullers ran unexpectedly into an advance post of the insurgents. The first our signal men knew was a sharp hail.

**A Demand for Surrender.**

Looking up and ahead, they found themselves looking into Mausers, backed by the grinning, confident faces of the natives. It was a situation that called for yielding. The little American squad, though greatly outnumbered, did nothing of the sort.

"Give 'em ——!" shouted one of the wirepullers. In a twinkling the tiny, almost invisible puffs of smoke began to come from the ground, where the Krags were spitting out their messages of contempt.

"Hurry up, boys!" shouted one of the shooters. The summons was not needed, for at the first sound of shots McArthur's company started forward on the run, taking the road and both flanks, while Ross's company deployed out to the left and Lieut. Hannay's company on the left of that, while M company, Capt. Day, went off to the right to swing in on San Ildefonso. With the enemy in trenches and the Americans in open country without protection, everything was favorable to the wiping out of these companies, for the fire of the little brown rascals was brisk and rattling. It rapidly became less brisk, less accurate, for, as the Third's men advanced, they fired so swiftly and with such accuracy that the brownies soon discovered the peril attached to raising their heads above the trenches. M company getting too far to the right, C company was ordered in between A and M, while Capt. Beal led G as support along the road. Then the charge began, accompanied by that rousing yell taught to American soldiers. For a mile the charge continued, the insurgents forced to give way, yet stubborn about it. Even when they began to retreat, the brownies preserved their organization perfectly. They

**Were Picked Troops,**

the chocolate cream of Aguinaldo's army. On the hill near the town one body of men, the famous "red-legs," halted and sent back a beautiful volley. The return fire made them take to their heels. It was half-past 10 when the regiment got into San Ildefonso, the men fagged and winded. A stop was made for coffee. It was estimated that the fight just finished had been against about a thousand of the enemy. Thirty dead insurgents and twenty-two Mausers were found.

Coffee was being served to the tired fighters when word came forward that another force had attacked the rear guard and the bull train. Houle's company was the first fired upon here. Swift as a flash he wheeled his company about and straight at the brownies they went, shooting as they ran. Capt. Hannay took Companies G and C and the mountain gun and went back to give help. Though the reinforcements hurried, by the time they arrived Cooke's battalion had disposed of their assailants, estimated at 500. Two of Houle's men were wounded in the scrimmage. On to Maasin was the next move. Here, every one knew, the chances were big and bright for fight.

On the way up into this country Lawton's men had driven the brownies out of trenches at Maasin. The trenches were there yet. Capt. Hannay ordered them thoroughly scouted. This was done, but not a single Filipino developed. Therefore the regiment started across the river. Companies A and L and one platoon of Company M had gotten over the bamboo bridge; the second platoon of Company M and the whole of Company K were on the bridge in solid formation.

P-p-p-p-p-p-p-p rang the Mausers. The range was hardly 200 yards. The soldiers tightly packed on the bridge should have suffered frightful loss. Not a man was hit! Company M took the bank of the river as protection and opened fire, while Company A, now on the top of a hill on the other side, hurried off to the left in line of skirmishers. Company K, at double time, got to the right of Company A; L to the left. In that order the enemy's position was charged and taken on the rush. An insurgent captain was found dead here; another wounded. Some three-score of brownies gave themselves up. Private Murphy and one other soldier, who were flankers, were within twenty feet of the enemy when the scrimmage opened. Both soldiers threw themselves down, opened fire and kept it up until the line was across the river. Though exposed to the fire of five Filipino companies neither one was hit.

It is not often that an enlisted man gets a chance to run a part of the fight to suit himself. That chance, however, came to one bugler. Capt. Hannay, finding that Company L was too far away to hear orders, sent his bugler after the company to

**Sound the Charge**

At the first notes L flew onward. It was right here that the bugler forgot, for the time being, that he was only the commanding officer's orderly. He saw another chance for L to move on the jump—too good a chance, he thought, to be lost. He sounded once more, and Lieut. Ross, imagining, of course, that the order came from Capt. Hannay, executed it. Not even yet was the bugler's thirst for forward action sated. He sounded again and again, as the heat of generalship made his blood flow fast and hot. By the time the bugler came to himself and relinquished the duties of fight-director, the poor fellows of Company L were troubled with shortness of breath. In this brisk affair, according to the official report, the dead reached a total of about sixty, including some officers. It is the enemy's dead that is meant, of course. Twenty-one Mausers and six Remingtons were the spoils of this field.

When the forward movement was again begun, at three in the afternoon, Capt. Hannay wanted to relieve Company A from further duty on advance guard, to give the men a rest from their hard work of hours. Lieut. McArthur begged hard, however, and was allowed to keep his position in the lead. A mile and a half he had gone when he discovered the enemy, heavily entrenched to the left, near a bridge that had to be crossed. He deployed his men, having no sooner done so than he fell, shot through the ankle. While Company L was ordered to the left of the road, and M to the other side of the road to take position, K was ordered to move across the bridge, and did so, flanking the trenches. Before the men of Company K had gotten fifty feet,

**Yelling Like Fiends,**

the brownies took flight and fled, making first-class targets of themselves as they did so. Fifty or sixty dead enemies and fifty captured rifles was the tale at this point. K lost four men wounded in the charge; one of them has since died. Just before dark the regiment was fired on from ahead. Two shells from Hawthorn's gun sent the insurgents after something they had forgotten.

Exhausted, but happy, the Third marched into Baliuag at 9 o'clock in the evening. Three men killed and fourteen wounded were the casualties for the day. Two of the wounded have since died, and another is expected to. Had it not been that our men shot so effectively as to demoralize the enemy's fire, this tale of American losses would have been much more gresswome. Gen. Otis promptly telegraphed congratulations to Capt. Hannay. Gen. Lawton wired: "The most brilliant fight of the season, and the most effective." "The telling fight of the campaign," was the message that Gen. MacArthur sent. As the oldest regiment in the army, the Third has sustained its record of a century's quick, decisive,

brilliant fighting. The Filipinos have learned a lesson which will probably do them good.

**VOICE OF LOYALTY.**

Chicago Stands By M'Kinley and His Policies.

THOUSANDS ATTEND THE MEETINGS

Speeches and Resolutions Ring With Praise of the President and His Course—Congressman Dolliver's Eloquent Address.

Chicago, May 8.—Six thousand Chicago people braved the rain yesterday to show their approval of President McKinley's policy in the Philippines. Four thousand, five hundred of them met at the Auditorium, 1,500 at Central Music Hall. Both meetings were enthusiastic. At each fitting resolutions were adopted.

Judge Horton, backed by a group of distinguished speakers and standing in front of a stage full of prominent people, faced the great Auditorium audience, which refused to remain silent. It chopped itself into waves of enthusiasm that swamped the occasional interruptions of anti-expansionists who were present. The people hissed the names of Edward Atkinson and Henry Wade Rogers, and laughed at every reference to the Central Music Hall meeting of last Sunday. They cheered and applauded with clapping hands and waving flags almost every sentence of the speakers, who addressed them on the subjects of patriotism for country and loyalty to the administration. They adopted a set of resolutions which expressed unbounded confidence in the administration and pride in the events of last year by a tidal wave of rising people which left but one man in all of the audience seated. They listened to prayers, local argument sarcasm and praise, and joined in song, applause and cheers.

It was a quiet, dignified Sunday audience, except that it was fully in accord with the spirit of the meeting and insisting on voicing its approval. There were women in nearly all the boxes and scattered throughout the Auditorium, who applauded vigorously, joined in the singing, and laughed at the vein of humor which ran through nearly all of the speeches.

The theatre was lavishly decorated with flags, pictures, bunting, and pictures of some of the heroes of the war. It was filled almost to the topmost rows of the second balcony, and the gallery had twenty or thirty occupants.

The principal speakers were Congressman J. P. Dolliver, of Iowa, William Dudley Foulke, of Indiana, the Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., and Bishop Samuel Fallows. Other speakers were George E. Adams and Judge Tutbill. Bishop Fallows read speeches which had been sent by Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, Luther Laffin Mills, and Father Hodnett.

**Congressman Dolliver's Address.**

Among other speakers at the Auditorium was Congressman J. P. Dolliver, of Iowa, who said, in part:

"I have just come in with an umbrella from an overflow meeting in Central Music hall, put there to illustrate that the patriotism of this town, like the valor of our soldiers and sailors, does not mind the rainy season a particle. I came here upon invitation of Judge Horton, not because I specially desired to speak to you, but because I thought I would like to look at you anyhow, for I thought I saw what was coming. It does me good.

"We out in the country like to feel that the government of the United States has a few old friends left in town. [Applause.] I do not intend to occupy the time given to me by defending the government of the United States. It needs no defense before the patriotism of Chicago. In this country everybody has a right to say exactly what he pleases, and take the consequences [laughter], and all over this country there are a lot of little fellows who are escaping this day the odium of treason against the United States only by reason of their insignificance. [Applause.]

"When a man undertakes to attack his country he ought at least to understand the facts in the case and tell the truth about it. I undertake to say that the men who are filling this country with noisy maledictions against the president of the United States are not familiar with the facts of our Philippine foot race. [Laughter.] They say that President McKinley went to the Philippine Islands for the purpose of subjugating them, and said when he got there: 'Submit or die.' President McKinley is not the man that took the American people to the Philippine Islands. You have a photograph of the man there [pointing to Admiral Dewey's picture.]

"The fact is that nobody in particular took us to Manila. When they blew us up in Havana the law of gravitation did the rest. We came down in Manila [applause], and when we got through there we had responsibilities as well defined as the Ten Commandments. Having wiped out the only existing government that there was there, we had the responsibility for the maintenance of order and the protection of life, liberty and property throughout those islands."

**"Not Sorry We Stayed."**

"For one, I am not sorry that we staid there. [Applause.] In fact, I don't see how we could well have gotten away. Nobody seemed to suggest that we ought to have departed. Admiral Dewey has never telegraphed that he wanted to come home. He has been there now over a year, eating canned roast beef and embalmed beef without a murmur, and he calculates to remain there until the job is done. [Applause.] We have been celebrating his May day all over the United States. What American is willing to disparage our great admiral by leaving his achievements out of the history of the United States? [Applause.] I, for one, would not counsel it and I will not consent to it.

"They say that McKinley wanted to go there to exterminate those people. On the contrary, on the 8th day of January he sent to Admiral Dewey and to General Otis a distinct order not to fire on those people under any circumstances, but to treat them with

kindness and patience and consideration, and get along with them in peace. On the 13th of February, being duly advised by certain humbug senators and representatives in Washington [Applause], on a telegraphic dispatch from a gentleman by the name of Agoncillo, who left town immediately, they fired on us. There were a great many of us that didn't like to see those poor people fired upon, but there wasn't one of us, so far as I have been able to find out, that felt that we were under any obligation to run from that particular kind of people. [Applause.]

**Praises Gen. Funston.**

"I picked up yesterday as I was coming down here a letter written to the Topeka Capital by a young man from Kansas who learned to swim in an old swimming hole down there on the banks of Deer Creek, in Kansas—General Funston. [Applause.] He is not particularly an enemy of liberty. With all due respect to college professors, there is not a college professor in America that loves liberty any better than Brother Funston. What does he say? 'I am afraid that some people at home will lie awake at nights worrying about the ethics of this war. Liberty simply means to them a license to raise —, [A voice: 'Hell!']

"That is the way it looks, and if they get control they would raise a fine crop of it. They are, as a rule, an illiterate, semi-savage people, who are waging war, not against tyranny, but against Anglo-Saxon order and protection.

**Aguinaldo a Dictator.**

"Who is Aguinaldo? He is a young man, 28 years old. What is the Philippine Republic? It is the dictatorship of Aguinaldo. I have here the constitution of the Philippine Republic, laid before our Paris commission durings its sessions last August. I went to read you the tenth article of the constitution: [Reads.] 'Article 10—The president of the government is the personification of the Philippine people, and in accordance with this idea it shall not be possible to hold him responsible while he holds office.' [Applause.]

"That is the government about which this hubbub of liberty is raised. I love the American flag, and I am glad to see it here. We have trusted our lives to it. We are willing today to trust our children and our children's children—all we have and all we hope for—to the institutions and the flag of the United States. And yet, there are men in this city who are teaching the youth that there is more hope for liberty in the proclamation of the half-naked Malay subject than there is in the flag of the American republic. I say that such a man is not only a little one, but not loyal enough to be called an American. [Applause.]

**Nations Broader Future.**

"Why shouldn't the American people now step out into the arena of the world's affairs and do something for the progress of the human race? [Applause.] I don't know how you people are fixed on theology, but I wouldn't believe in this world unless I felt that there was upon the progress of society the divine hand. Thirty years ago we could not go, even under divine guidance, in any direction without carrying with us human slavery and the clank of chains. Today, wherever we go, we go as a united and strong people. I don't know how it seems to you but it seems perfectly credible to me that the good providence of God, having united the American people into a

firmer and better union, is about to use the republic as an instrument in the Divine hand for enlarging the area of civilization and for widening the outlook of human liberty; for making new outposts for social progress in the ends of the earth. And if that should be our destiny and that our duty, I want the statesmanship of these times to approach those responsibilities as our army and navy approach theirs, in the fear of God, as old Bismarck used to say, and nothing else.

**Tribute to McKinley.**

"I believe in our great republic. I back the United States of America against the world [Applause.] Nor do I hesitate to say that since the good days of Abraham Lincoln there has not been at the helm of our affairs a steadier, kindlier, braver hand than the hand of William McKinley, president of the United States." [Applause.]

**PROSPEROUS  
UNCLE SAM.**

**President McKinley Re-  
buked the Calamity  
Howlers.**

**TELLS OF GOOD TIMES  
THROUGHOUT THE NATION.**

**BELIEVES THAT THE DESTINY OF  
AMERICA IS TO BLESS  
OTHERS.**

**Speaks for the Policy of Expansion  
and Says Devotion to Duty  
Makes the Country  
Great.**

Special Dispatch to the "Chronicle."

NEW YORK, March 3.—The Ohio Society of New York held its fourteenth annual dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria to-night. William McKinley, President of the United States, was the guest of honor. More than 400 covers were laid. Before the banquet President McKinley held a reception and shook hands with the members of the society and guests. Among those at the President's table were Governor Roosevelt, Governor Nash, ex-Governor Morton, C. N. Bliss, Senator Mark Hanna, Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff, General Swayne, General Corbin, H. Clay Evans, General Thomas H. Hubbard, John Barrett, Tunis G. Bergen and Julian T. Davies.

The list of speakers on the programme was as follows: President McKinley, Governor George K. Nash of Ohio, Solicitor-General of the United States John A. Richards, Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff and James H. Hoyt. There were no fixed toasts, the speakers having subjects allotted to them as they were called upon.

Governor Roosevelt was late in arriving at the dinner, and was loudly cheered as he came in at 8:30 o'clock. At 9 o'clock Mrs. McKinley, wife of the President, accompanied by Mrs. Abner McKinley and Dr. Rixey of Washington, took seats in one of the boxes. Mrs. McKinley was loudly applauded and she bowed, the applause being renewed. All the galleries were filled with ladies, many calling on the President's wife.

It was 10:30 o'clock when M. I. Southard, president of the society, introduced Mr. McKinley. When Southard mentioned the President's name there was great cheering. Governor Roosevelt leading. Three cheers were given when Mrs. McKinley's name was mentioned, the guests rising. Mrs. McKinley arose and bowed.

The toast "The President" was drunk standing. President McKinley then arose amid tremendous applause. In the course of his speech he said:

"It has been some years since I was your guest. Much has happened in the meantime. We have had our blessings and our burdens, and still have both. We will soon have legislative assurance of the continuance of the gold standard, with which we measure our exchange, and we have the open door in the Far East through which to market our products. We are neither in alliance nor antagonism nor entanglement with any foreign power, but on terms of amity and cordiality with all. We buy from all of them and sell to all of them, and our sales exceeded our purchases in the past two years by over \$1,000,000,000. Markets have been increased and mortgages have been reduced. Interest has fallen and wages have advanced. The public debt is decreasing. The country is well to do. Its people for the most part are happy and contented. They have good times and are on good terms with the nations of the world. There are unfortunately those among us, few in number I am sure, who seem to thrive best under bad times and who, when good times overtake them in the United States, feel constrained to put us on bad terms with the rest of mankind. With them I can have no sympathy. I would rather give expression to what I believe to be the nobler and almost universal sentiment of my countrymen in the wish, not only for peace and prosperity, but for the peace and prosperity of all the nations and peoples of the earth.

"After thirty-three years of unbroken peace came an unavoidable war. Happily the conclusion was quickly reached, without a suspicion of unworthy motive or practice or purpose on our part and with fadeless honor to our arms. I cannot forget the quick response of the people to the country's need and the 250,000 men who freely offered their lives for their country's service. It was an impressive spectacle of national strength. It demonstrated our mighty reserve power and taught us that large standing armies are unnecessary when every citizen is a 'minute man,' ready to join the ranks for national defense.

"Out of these recent events have come to the United States grave trials and responsibilities. As it was the Nation's war, so are its results the Nation's problem. Its solution rests upon us all. It is too serious to stifle. It is too earnest for repose. No phrase or catch word can cancel the sacred obligation. No use of epithet, no aspersion of motives by those who differ will contribute to that sober judgment so essential to right conclusions. No political outcry can abrogate our treaty of peace with Spain or absolve us from its solemn engagements. It is the possible question and will be until its determination is written out in their enlightened verdict. We must choose between manly doing and base desertion. It will never be the latter. It must be soberly settled in justice and good conscience and it will be. Righteousness which exalteth a nation must control in its solution. No great emergency has arisen in this Nation's history and progress which has not been met by the sovereign people with high capacity, with ample strength and with unflinching fidelity to every honorable obligation. Partisanship can hold few of us against solemn public duty. We have this so often demonstrated in the past as to mark unerringly what it will be in the future. The national sentiment and the Nation's conscience were never stronger or higher than now.

There has been a reunion of the people around the holy altar consecrated to country newly sanctified by common sacrifices. The followers of Grant and Lee have fought under the same flag and fallen for the same faith. Party lines have loosened and the ties of union have been rooted in the hearts of the American people. Political passion has altogether subsided and patriotism glows with inextinguishable fervor in every home in the land. The flag has been sustained on distant seas and islands by men of all parties and sections and creeds and races and nationalities, and its stars are only those of radiant hope to the remote peoples over whom it floats.

"There can be no Imperialism. Those who fear are against it. Those who have faith in the republic are against it, so there is universal abhorrence for it and unanimous opposition to it. The only difference is that those who don't agree with us have no confidence in the virtue or capacity or high purpose or good faith of this free people as a civilizing agency, while we believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them faithless and irresolute, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions those distant peoples who have through the issue of battle become our wards. Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations don't grow in strength and the cause of liberty and law is not advanced by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions. The liberators will never become the oppressors. A self-governed people will never permit despotism in any government which they foster and defend.

"Gentlemen, we have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of care and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service and falter not until the work is done. It is not possible that 75,000,000 of American freemen are unable to establish liberty and justice and good government in our new possessions. The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden. May God give us strength to bear the one and wisdom so to embrace the other as to carry to our distant acquisitions the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

President McKinley read his speech. It was greeted with applause throughout. His reference to the maintenance of the gold standard, the open door and the absence of entanglements caused great applause.

When President McKinley sat down the orchestra played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the guests arose and cheered. Governor Nash of Ohio referred to Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff of New York as a son of Ohio. Woodruff was very warmly applauded when he arose to speak and it was some minutes before there was a cessation sufficient to allow him to proceed.

## THE TERRITORIES.

Their Status Under the Constitution of the United States.

AN ARTICLE BY J. BACH M'MASTERS

It Was Written in 1898, and Gives the Position of the Federalist, Whig and Republican Parties on the Question.

Editor Courier—These days, when the Chicago papers are doing their best to array the people against President McKinley as to the status of the territories to the constitution, it seems to me the following from the able pen of J. Bach McMasters, in 1898, will be interesting to your readers as it gives the position of the federalist, the whig and the republican parties in 1860 on this question, when it was fully discussed by the ablest men of our country.

W. H. Fetzner.

New York, Dec. 9.—The suggestion of an "open door" in the Philippines has again brought up for discussion a question almost as old as the constitution. There cannot, it is said, be one sort of tariff for New York and another sort for Manila, for the constitution expressly provides that all duties shall be uniform throuth the United States, and as the territories

are part of the United States they can not be subjects of special tariff rates. If the territories are parts of the United States, if they are under the constitution, the argument is sound and valid. But again and again the great constitutional authorities have denied that the territories are under the constitution, and on more than one occasion congress has legislated accordingly.

Before reviewing these arguments and precedents for the "open door" it may not be useless to recall how we came to have territories. While the war for independence was waging the continental congress appealed to the states to cede their land west of the Allegheny mountains, and promised in return to do three things—to sell the land and use the income to pay the revolutionary debt, to cut up the land into republican states, and to admit these states into the union on the same footing as the original thirteen.

Some land in time was ceded, whereupon the continental congress made good its pledges, created the political organization called a territory, and ordered that when any territory had 60,000 inhabitants it should be admitted into the union as a state.

### Provision of the Constitution.

When in 1787 the convention at Philadelphia was framing the constitution the delegates, well aware of these things, inserted in it two clauses expressly intended to enable the government to fulfill the promises of the old. One declares "the congress may admit new states into this union," the other provides that "the congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." In this the territory is classed with "other property;" is made the property of, not part of, the United States, and as such was treated by congress down to the time of the first great expansion of our country in 1803.

The treaty by which we purchased from France the immense province of Louisiana (region stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky mountains, and from the gulf coast to the sources of the Missouri and its tributaries), contained this stipulation:

"Art. 7. It has been agreed between the contracting parties that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies loaded only with the produce or manufactures of France, or her said colonies, and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain, or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain, or her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the port of New Orleans and all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory (Louisiana) in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain or any of their colonies without being subject to any other or greater duty on merchandise or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States."

### Gave Relief From Import Taxes.

The effect of this treaty stipulation was to relieve the vessels of France and Spain when entered at New Orleans from two kinds of duties they would have to pay in the port of New York, or Boston, or any other seaport in the United States. There was, in the first place, "tonnage," a duty of 50 cents a ton, collected from all foreign vessels, as against a duty of 6 cents a ton on American ships. As French and Spanish craft were to be treated as American in Louisiana they would pay 44 cents a ton less duty than in New York.

There was, in the second place, a 10% providing that certain goods, wares, and merchandise coming to the United States in foreign vessels should pay the tariff rates collected from American importers and 10 cents additional. Under the treaty goods coming to

Louisiana in French or Spanish ships were exempt from the additional 10 per cent duty.

Here, then, was one kind of tonnage duty and one kind of tariff duty for the ports of the United States, and another kind for the ports of the new territory. This, said the opponents of the treaty, when it came before the senate for ratification, is unconstitutional. We are forbidden to give preference "to ports of one state over those of another" by "any regulation of commerce or revenue." Yet this is just what we are asked to do. We are to say to French and Spanish shipowners: "If you bring your vessels to New York we will tax you 50 cents a ton; but if you take them to New Orleans you need not pay but six cents a ton." Is not this giving a preference to the ports of one state over those of another by means of a regulation of revenue?

**Action Favors Certain Ports.**

We are asked again to say to the merchants of France and Spain: "When your goods, wares, and merchandise come to New York you must pay the full tariff rates and 10 per cent more if the goods come in French or Spanish vessels; but if you send the same goods, in the same vessels, to New Orleans, you need not pay the 10 per cent additional duty." Is not this a regulation of commerce which gives a preference to the port of New Orleans over that of New York? Is it not a violation of the constitutional provisions that all duties, imposts, and excoises shall be uniform throuthout the United States?

The answer was, No. The constitution says "ports of one state over those of another," and when it says state it means state. But New Orleans is a port of a territory, and the constitutional restriction does not apply. The constitution does, indeed, require all duties to be uniform throuthout the United States, but Louisiana is not a part of the United States. "It is," said one speaker, "a territory purchased by the United States in their confederated capacity and may be disposed of by them at pleasure. It is in the nature of a colony, whose commerce may be regulated without any reference to the constitution."

It is needless to say that such was the opinion of two-thirds of the senate; that the treaty was ratified, and had scarcely been ratified when both house and senate gave another illustration of their right to have any kind of tariff they pleased in the territories. In March, 1804, the president approved an act which placed new specific duties on a long list of articles, imposed an extra duty of 10 per cent if they came "in ships or vessels not of the United States," and laid a duty of 50 cents a ton to be denominated "light money," on all foreign vessels. Yet a clause in the same law expressly exempted from the 10 per cent tax and "light money" duty such French and Spanish ships as came to the ports of Louisiana.

How absolutely without even the spirit of the constitution a territory was then considered to be is again illustrated by the kind of government set up in Louisiana. "It will hardly be contended," we are told, "that in the exercise of its power to govern territories congress may abolish trial by jury."

**Wide Scope of Its Power.**

The answer is that in 1804 congress did abolish trial by jury in certain cases in the territory of Orleans. It limited jury trial to the superior court. If the offense charged was punishable with death, there must be a jury trial. In all other cases, criminal and civil, there was to be no jury trial unless one of the parties demanded it. But no civil cases could come before the superior court unless of the value of \$100. There was, therefore, absolutely no jury trial for cases of less than \$100 in value. Now, the constitution says

that "in all suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." Not may be, but shall be preserved. Yet in Orleans territory it was not preserved unless the value was five times \$20.

"The judicial power of the United States," the constitution directs, "shall be vested in one supreme court and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior." If this means anything it means that the judges of all courts established under authority of the constitution shall hold their offices during good behavior.

Now, there never was a judge of a territorial court who held his office on such a tenure, and there is not a territorial court judge today who occupies his bench on any other tenure than a short term of years, and who is not removable at the pleasure of the president. The territorial courts, then, are not established by authority of the constitution, because it expressly forbids such a tenure. If the constitution or the spirit of it be in force in the territories such courts are unconstitutional. But the constitution does not apply to the territories.

**Daniel Webster's Position.**

As Daniel Webster said in 1849, the territories are the property of, not part of, the United States. "The precise question is," said he, "whether a territory while it remains in a territorial state is a part of the United States? I maintain that it is not. The constitution is extended over the United States and nothing else, and can extend over anything save the old states and the new states that shall come hereafter, when they do come in.

"What is the constitution of the United States? Is not its first principle that all within its influence and comprehension shall be represented in the legislature which it establishes, with not only a right to debate and a right to vote in both houses of congress, but a right to partake in the choice of president and vice president? Can we by law extend these rights to a territory?"

The history of our country is replete with evidence which demonstrates two great truths.

First—That the territories are not under the constitution.

Second—That in making "needful rules and regulations" for the territories congress has been guided by what has seemed to be expedient, and given small heed to constitutional limitations.

It has authorized the appointment of judges who do not hold office during good behavior; it has forbidden trial by jury in cases where the value in controversy exceeds \$20; it has relieved imported goods from duties in the ports of the territories which have been collected in the ports of the states; it has exempted foreign ships from tonnage duties and light money in territorial ports which the same ships would have been forced to pay in the ports of the states; and it has done these things because it is not bound by the constitutional limitations which apply to the states.

Congress has express power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, between the states, and with the Indians. The territories are not mentioned. The right to regulate trade with them comes from the power to make "all needful rules and regulations," and is not hampered by the restriction that all duties must be uniform throuthout the United States, because the territories are not in the United States, nor under the constitution of the United States.

John Bach McMasters.

**OPEN DOOR POLICY.**

**The Meaning of the Proposed Policy in the Philippines.**

**POWERS MUST NOT DIVIDE CHINA**

**Among Themselves to the Exclusion of American Trade—United States in Accord With Great Britain's Opposition.**

Washington, Nov. 28.—Behind the open door policy for the Philippines, as laid down in proposals of the American commissioners at Paris, is a much more important move in the great game of international politics. President McKinley and his cabinet are not nearly so much concerned in the developments of American trade with the Philippines as they are in the direction of building up close commercial relations with China and the orient generally.

The open door which has been so frequently referred to is therefore to be in the nature of an enterling wedge, or of an international precedent, as the result of which it is hoped, with the co-operation of Great Britain, to establish a commercial status in the east which will prevent preferential duties and place all nations on an equal footing.

Great Britain's interest in the negotiations of Paris largely centers around this open door for the Philippines, for with such an example set by a nation supposed to be wedded to the protective tariff policy as is the United States it will be possible to enforce the open door theory for the Pacific coast of Asia much more easily than if Great Britain alone, an avowed supporter of free trade, should attempt the experiment.

President McKinley's administration is heartily in accord with Queen Victoria's government in the belief that the time is not far distant when China will either be split up among the European nations or else reduced to a condition where they will dictate its foreign policy.

Major McKinley is therefore looking to the vast trade of China much more than to the restricted commerce of the Philippines, and by establishing commercial equality in the conquered islands he will put himself in a position to demand that the same principle shall be applied to China and the orient generally when the break-up comes.

There is no distinct secret understanding between the United States and Great Britain on this point, but the leaders of the two countries have been sounded to such an extent as to make it certain that the United States will back up Great Britain in its open door policy for China, and will point to its own action in the Philippines as an evidence of good faith.

Further than this, it may be said that the tariff which will be created for the Philippines and which will operate against the United States the same as other countries, will not be a protective tariff as the term is understood in this country. Commercial and industrial conditions in the Philippines will make it necessary to revise the customs on revenue rather than a protecting basis.

The islands are essentially agricultural and it seems almost impossible that any general manufacturing system could be built up there. Even if this were possible the operation of a protective tariff could result only in building up manufacturers in the island to the direct detriment of similar concerns in this country.

The United States can supply the islands with wheat, corn, live stock and manufactures of iron in open competition with any other country, and for this reason, if for no other, there will be, it is said, a tariff for the islands which will be decidedly low, and therefore a revenue producer, so that the Philippines will be in no sense a burden to this country, but surely self-supporting and possibly a source of profit.

THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN THE ISLANDS.

There is no doubt that much good will be done by the mission of Mgr. Chapelle from the United States to the Philippines. The grip of the friars on the islands was ended, so far as regards Luzon, at the end of Aguinaldo's first rebellion, and apparently they were not fully restored to power when Spain bought Aguinaldo out and the insurrection collapsed. They were out of power when the Americans took hold of affairs in Luzon, just before Aguinaldo's rebellion against the United States began, early in February, 1898. One of the most earnest desires of the natives of Luzon is that the friars shall be kept out.

On this point Mgr. Chapelle's visit to the Philippines will be beneficial to the islanders and to the United States. The rebel leaders have been telling their dupes that it was the intention of the United States to put the religious orders back in charge of all the church property, and re-establish the oppression and the abuses which were among the chief causes of the rebellion against Spain. Both Gen. Otis and Mgr. Chapelle are telling the islanders that there is no such intention on the part of this country. There will be absolute religious freedom in the Philippines, as the islanders would have known without being told had they possessed the intelligence which their admirers in this country claim for them.

This is the great issue in the islands at present. The rebellion will quickly collapse when the Filipinos learn definitely that there is not the faintest intention on the part of the United States to restore that system of oppression under which they struggled for many years. Perhaps the stories of the abuses of the regime of the religious orders may have been exaggerations. It is tolerably certain, however, that the natives believed they had substantial grievances on that score. They will have no cause to complain on this account hereafter. Most of

the Filipinos who have any religion at all belong to the same church as the friars, but they object to the rule of this order. Under American sway all churches will be on the same footing. All will be free. When this fact is communicated to the islanders the little spark of vitality which still remains in the rebellion will quickly be snuffed out.

BENJAMIN KIDD ON AMERICAN CONTROL OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, the author of some of the foremost economic works of the present day, is in Chicago and has surrendered to the indefatigable interviewer. Fortunately, in this case, the result is welcome both because of the character and well known ability of Mr. Kidd and also because of the recent appearance of his work on "The Control of the Tropics," a book which has attracted much attention and is of special interest to Americans in view of our present relation to the Philippines. Naturally, Mr. Kidd was asked to express himself with regard to the topic of special interest to Americans and his opinion as given is both interesting and valuable.

He is outspoken in his opinion that we ought to assume complete and final control of the Philippines. While he does not say so in so many words, this is the result of the whole discussion. The reasons are apparent. These islands have been placed in our power, and humanity as much forbids the surrender of them to Spain as it forbade our countenancing the condition of things that existed in Cuba prior to the war. This is the main position simply stated. First, humanity demands it, then interest emphasizes the duty. It will be a sorry record for the United States if, after a war, entered upon in the name of humanity, we surrender to a despotic sway millions of beings who came for a time under our flag, only to be given over in the end to a state of affairs that was worse than that from which they thought they had escaped.

As to the method of the government, it is easy to state some "underlying principles." These are drawn from the experience of Great Britain in Egypt, an experience which seems to be the type of what we may expect if we undertake to govern the Philippines. Of this, Mr. Kidd says:

"The first is the straightforward recognition of the fact that we are dealing with a country and a people to which, at present, the principles that control the development of our western democracies cannot be applied. The second is the equally straightforward recognition that the country must be developed, not on our lines, but on native lines. To the natives it is sought that the British occupation of Egypt shall stand for one fact, namely, that, to use an American expression, the government of Egypt shall be 'run on the square.'"

The question arises as to whether a republican government is fitted for such an undertaking. That there are difficulties is to be conceded. The illustrations of our ability as cited by Mr. Kidd are hardly fortunate. We have not been so conspicuously success-

ful in our handling of the Indians and the negro as to warrant us in holding them up as a sample of what we can do in the handling of alien races. That there are reasons good and sufficient for the explanation of our failure in these directions is well known. It is not too much to assert that we have attained a degree of political morality that will render such conditions forever impossible in the future life of the nation. We have learned something from our Indian experiments, and are not liable to perpetuate the evils and injustices that have marked our treatment of the red man. The question of our ability is simply a question of public probity. The day is over when any patriotic American should voice the question of ability and should turn to the more immediate question of national honor which is the thing really at stake.

Mr. Kidd makes short work of the question of American isolation. The simplicity and economy of national selfishness do not amount to much and cannot be considered in the presence of a course of events that is as irresistible as fate. The logic of facts forces the conclusion that we cannot remain isolated, sufficient unto ourselves. We are in the current of world events and the whole course of American history is involved in the position we occupy today. As Mr. Kidd puts it:

"The answer to this question is that you cannot escape your own destiny. Some such question as this has ever been asked by thoughtful persons in the United States at every stage of the nation's development. It was asked when the original colonies were enlarged by the addition of the Louisiana purchase, and again by the addition of the Mexican territory. One has only to look at a map of the United States 100 years ago to see that you are dealing with a law of organic growth. You are now only confronted with the same inevitable destiny at a later stage of growth. Nothing can prevent the United States from becoming one of the leading, nay, probably the leading, world power at no distant date in the future."

This is a good, healthy opinion for the "little Americaner" to ponder.

To a philosophical historian and political scientist of this type the problem appears in its widest relations. The views enunciated in his work on the "Control of the Tropics" find in these questions fresh illustration. The paramount importance of the control of the tropics by the Anglo-Saxon is plainly evident. "In the future the trade of the tropical regions of the world will be one of the leading economic factors in the development of our civilization." And this development must come in the tropics under the control of powers that can guarantee good government, that is to say, the future of the tropics is to be in the hands of the colonizing powers of the world, and the power that is most efficient in its government and control of such territories will have the largest reward in the form of commercial greatness. The lesson for us at the present time is obvious.

The conclusion of the interview is worthy of more serious attention. These are wise words. None more pertinent and wholesome have been uttered.

"These large territories," concluded Mr. Kidd, referring to the Philippines and Porto Rico, "have fallen into the control of the United States without your going to seek them; without violating any right acknowledged by the conscience of civilization. Speaking apart from all national prejudices and viewing the subject simply as it ought to present itself when looked at from the standpoint of absolute detachment, it would seem that the judgment of the historian in the future is likely to be that not only is it the bounden duty of the United States in the higher interests of humanity, but that it is also its deopost interest from the standpoint of its own citizens, to retain as large a share as possible in the future control of the Philippines."

**McMaster's Fifth Volume.**

The fifth volume of John Bach McMaster's "History of the People of the United States" deals with many events in our national life that are now attracting more than the usual amount of attention. The author minutely examines the genesis and development of the Monroe doctrine, and throws into prominence some features of its earlier growth which have hitherto been neglected. Our attitude on the subject of the Russian possessions in America is not generally associated with this question, but McMaster develops the fact that in 1823, when the Baron de Tuir, the Russian Minister, was attempting to define the boundaries of the American possessions of his country, by communicating an edict of the Emperor Alexander to Adams, the then Secretary of State, "he was told that Russia's claim to a right to colonize on the Pacific Coast could not be listened to, because both North and South America, in consequence of the independent position the nations of this hemisphere had assumed and maintained, were closed to colonization by European powers." This doctrine was dissented from by the Baron, but it was reasserted with emphasis in a letter to our Minister at St. Petersburg in July, 1823. Referring to this and the subsequent attitude of Jefferson, McMaster remarks:

"Thus before the days of the long embargo and our struggle for commercial independence, the principle had been announced over and over again that we would not meddle in European affairs. The counterpart of this—the principle that the old world must not meddle in the affairs of the new—was called forth by the attempt of Spain to get back her lost colonies in South America."

Viewed from this standpoint, the so-called Monroe doctrine must be attributed to Washington, who, in his farewell address, declared in favor of peace, commerce and friendship with all and engaging alliances with no European nation, for it will hardly be presumed that the "Father of his Country" would have volunteered total abstention from interference in the affairs of Europe if he did not expect that his declaration would be regarded as an intimation that Europeans would be required to refrain from meddling in the affairs of American peoples. It is true that he did not put the matter as directly as Jefferson, who, when called upon by Monroe for advice, said: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with dissident affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe," but subject were an outgrowth of Washington's idea that America must be permitted to work out its own destiny. The soundness of this doctrine and the value of the advice given by Washington, Jefferson and their contemporaries ought to be recognized by every American, and would be if instead of basing policies on the idea of immediate benefits to the future of the nation, and that of the whole of the North and South American continents was always kept in mind.

An interesting collection of facts relating to the acquisition of Oregon will also be found in this volume, and their bearing on the expansion controversy will be perceived by the most superficial reader. To those who contend that the remoteness of

the Philippines forms an obstacle to their incorporation in the American Union it may be well to recall the fact, as McMaster does, that "to the majority of Congressmen who listened to the report (of the American Commission sent out by the President to receive the formal delivery of Astoria), Oregon and the upper waters of the Missouri seemed farther away and less accessible than Africa." That the United States could ever want a foothold on the Pacific seemed preposterous to Congress, and, having heard the alleged visionary report of the committee, their expansion bill was laid on the table. But the annexationists of that period followed the lead of such men as Benton, who did not hesitate to predict that "within a century from this day (1824) a population greater than that of the present United States will exist on the west side of the Rocky mountains," and Oregon was incorporated in the Union. The prophecy of the Missouri Senator has been amply fulfilled, and that should afford encouragement to those who now contend that our institutions are comprehensive enough to provide for the proper government of territory on the other side of the Pacific, and that our interests demand the retention of the islands acquired from Spain as imperatively as the acquisition of Oregon was demanded in 1824.

Scarcely second in interest to the discussion of political questions is McMaster's graphic presentation of the condition of the American people in the periods which he treats. The wide publicity given to the celebrated work of De Tocqueville is responsible for many erroneous impressions concerning the material side of life in the United States in the earlier years of the Republic. The picture of rude plenty which the gifted Frenchman painted has led many to fancy that the country has gone backward, and that the masses are not near so well off as they were toward the close of the third decade of the nineteenth century. But no one can study the conditions as they really were without being disabused of the curious idea that we are worse off than our forefathers. Take this sketch of the vicissitudes of travelers, which McMaster derives from narratives which he tells us are amply corroborated, and which furnish a correct view of the period (1826):

"We lodged at the City Hotel, which is the principal inn at New York. The house is immense, and was full of company; but what a wretched place! The floors were without carpets, the bed without curtains. There was neither glass, nor mug, nor cup, and a miserable little rag was dignified with the name of towel. At another inn the same traveler was shown to a room with nine other men. 'I secured a bed to myself,' said he, 'the narrow dimensions of which precluded the possibility of participation and plunged into it with all possible haste, as there was not a moment to be lost.' His companions 'occupied by triplets the three other beds which the room contained.' When you alight at a country town, says another, it is ten to one that you stand holding your horse bawling for the hostler, while the landlord looks on. \* \* \* At night you are put with a dozen others in the same room, and sleep two or three in a bed between sheets which have covered twenty wayfarers since they last saw the tub. In the morning you go out of doors to wash your face, and then repair to the barroom to behold your countenance in the only looking-glass the town contains."

Obviously, if travelers willing to pay for the conveniences above referred to were unable to procure them, the general standard of comfort must have been exceedingly low, and not as De Tocqueville and others intimated, the reverse. This impression is borne out by the information McMaster furnishes respecting the condition of the manufacturing industry at the close of the first quarter of the last century. He tells us that:

"Many an early settler (in states now well populated) made the shoes his family wore from leather of his own tanning, clothed himself and children in jeans of his own manufacture and in linen every fiber of which had been grown on his own land, and had been pulled, rotted, broken, huddled, spun and bleached by the members of his household."

The sober student who takes all these facts into consideration will conclude that it is unwise to accept the hasty deduction, made from narratives written chiefly for the purpose of eulogizing democratic institutions, that the material condition of the American people has deteriorated with the expansion of the population of the United States. Nothing is made clearer

in McMaster's history than that the reverse is the case, and that the least remunerated laboring man of the present day in this country can command more real comfort than the well-to-do farmer could in 1826.

It would be inexpedient within the limits of a brief review to enumerate all the interesting subjects discussed in McMaster's fifth volume, and it would be absolutely impossible to criticize the author's views, which he makes clear rather by his method of presentation than by argument. But this notice may be summed up with the statement that volume V of "The History of the People of the United States" fully sustains the expectations which the appearance of the initial and subsequent volumes created, and that the work has an assured place in any library in which the student or reader is likely to seek for information concerning the political and material development of the American Union. (D. Appleton & Co., New York; price \$2 50.)

**COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.**

Expansion is, generally speaking, of too kinds, territorial and commercial, and usually commercial expansion follows territorial growth. The benefits of the territorial enlargement policy which this country has taken up of late are already beginning to be apparent in the world of trade.

Our exports to Asia and Oceania in the fiscal year which ends with the month of June, will, for the first time in our history, exceed \$100,000,000. In no part of the world has our export trade grown with such amazing rapidity, with the single exception of Africa. In 1893 our total exports to all Asia and Oceania amounted to only \$27,421,831, so that in the fiscal year now about to end they will be about four times as great as those of eight years earlier. Imports from that part of the world are also growing rapidly because of the large increase in the share of our sugar supply which now comes from the islands of the Pacific. More than one-half the sugar imported into the United States now comes from the East Indies and Hawaiian Islands. Of the 2,891,806,558 pounds imported into the United States in the nine months ending with March, 1900, 1,553,415,397 pounds came from the East Indies and the Philippine and Hawaiian islands; the amount from the East Indies alone being 1,143,025,446 pounds; from the Hawaiian islands, 360,899,409 pounds, and from the Philippines, 49,490,542. The quantity imported from the Philippines in the nine months ending with March, 1900, is three times as much as in the corresponding months of 1898, and from the East Indies it is two and one-half times as much as in the corresponding period of 1898.

The growth in exports to Asia and Oceania is chiefly in cotton, breadstuffs, provisions and manufactures. Exports of agricultural machinery to British Australasia in the nine months ending with March, 1900, were \$609,323 against \$349,550 in the corresponding months of 1898. Exports of flour to China in the nine months ending with March, 1900, were 46,961 barrels against 14,616 barrels in the same months of 1898, to Japan 417,430 barrels against 107,401 barrels in the same months of 1898, and to Hong Kong 1,009,245 barrels against 647,688 barrels in the same months of 1898. Carriages and cars to Australia amounted to \$413,254 against \$251,802 in the corresponding



months of 1898; cotton cloth to China in the nine months ending with March 1900, was 156,830,255 yards against 77,990,676 yards in the corresponding months of 1898. Raw cotton exported to Japan amounted in the nine months ending with March, 1900, to \$11,517,968 as against \$5,843,710 in the same months of 1898. Builders' hardware exported to Asia and Oceania in the nine months ending with March, 1900, amounted to \$1,254,000, an increase of 50 per cent over the same months of 1898, while boots and shoes to Asia and Oceania in the nine months ending with March, 1900, reached nearly \$1,000,000 against a quarter of a million in the same months of 1898.

**FILIPINO HOPES.**

Wm. E. Curtis, Washington correspondent of the Chicago Record, in writing to his paper, says he has just received from Manila a circular printed by the insurgent leaders which was captured with a lot of other printed matter of a similar character during a recent engagement. He describes it as a little leaflet of eight pages, 4 by 9 inches in size, printed upon yellow wrapping paper, which indicates that printers' supplies are scarce among the Filipinos. It contains an appeal signed by Aguinaldo to his fellow-countrymen to continue their resistance of the Yankees until "Mackinley" is defeated for re-election, when the writer promises that Bryan will give them independence. Aguinaldo says he has received assurances from friends in the United States senate that congress will do nothing to help "Mackinley and Otis, but will sustain Bryan's policy and order the Yankee troops withdrawn from Manila.

The documents most effectually dispose of the claims of the anti-expansionists that they are not responsible for keeping the insurrection alive by holding out hopes to the Filipinos for one page is made up of extracts from speeches and letters of ex-Senator Boutwell, Edward Atkinson and other members of the anti-imperialist organizations. But the most interesting article in the leaflet is the following alleged letter from Washington, under the title "The Near Triumph of Mr. W. J. Bryan and Philippine Independence."

"Washington, 16th of August, 1899. —Mr. W. J. Bryan, the democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States, has achieved a veritable triumph, having been vociferously applauded before the national democratic convention of Omaha, Neb., which was composed of more than 10,000 persons.

"The silver democrats, the partisans of gold and the populists, all united, have accepted the entire platform of Mr. Bryan, with which he will make his presidential campaign of 1900. This platform is especially directed against imperialism, or colonial expansion, which brings with it the necessity of a large standing army.

"Mr. Bryan in his brilliant speech calls attention to the unhappy consequence of the expansionist or imperialist policy, stating that in order to maintain it a permanent army of 100,000 men is indispensable, and that, on the contrary, 25,000 soldiers only would be necessary for a republic of 70,000,000 of people. He showed how unhappy is the imperialistic system, which

is founded only on force, in contrast with the anti-imperialistic or republican idea, which has its foundation on the consent of the people. He predicted legislation against trusts and monopolies and left for future consideration the question of a new coinage system. The democrats of the southern, eastern and western states have all adhered to the political program of Mr. Bryan and predict his triumph. Many anti-imperialistic republicans have also posted themselves at the side of Mr. Bryan. His triumph means the triumph of the traditional democratic ideas of the people. But the triumph of Mr. Bryan is also that of the Filipino cause. Mr. Bryan will declare the independence of the Philippines, as he has repeatedly set forth in his speeches. Mr. Bryan therefore represents the independence of the archipelago and represents also reason, justice and liberty."

**THIS GREAT NATION.**

The Mass of Tradition Which Lies Back of it.

**IT HAS GROWN BY EXPANSION**

Address Delivered Today at Clinton by Lieutenant Governor Northcott, of Illinois — Our Duty Lies Along the Lines of Action.

Clinton, May 30.—Extensive memorial day exercises were held here today. Great crowds were present and orators of more than local fame made addresses. Lieutenant Governor Northcott, of Illinois, was the speaker of the day, and delivered an eloquent oration.

Lieutenant Governor Northcott said in part

Nowhere else on God's footstool is wealth, happiness and intelligence more generally distributed among the people than here in this great northwest. The strength of a nation is not in its army and its navy, but in the number of happy homes throughout the land. Out here more people know how to read and write, more people have three square meals a day and send their children to school, than anywhere else under the sun.

Out of the dim past of 400 years ago, from the background of the middle ages, arises the figure of the Genoese sailor. We can almost hear the Santa Maria bearing Columbus on his voyage of discovery, as it grates upon the sands of the new world; looking back across the years today we stand with Balboa as he catches the first glimpse of the great Pacific; we press on with Cortez to the very halls of the Montezumas, or drag our weary feet thru the southern forests with the brave but unfortunate DeSoto.

We learn from history how the thirteen original colonies, huddled together on the Atlantic coast, expanded by the Virginia cession of the Northwest Territory, out of which was carved the magnificent states of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Illinois. How Thomas Jefferson bought of Napoleon that great territory west of the Mississippi River, and stretching to the Pacific, and out of which came commonwealths that rival the brightest on the pages of history. This expansion of territory was further followed by the purchase of Florida in 1819.

Then came the Mexican war and the annexation of Texas. In this war our flag was never permitted to trail in the dust, and our soldiers won a series of

victories, marred by not a single defeat. They fought with old Zachary Taylor at Monterey and Buena Vista, and with Scott at Vera Cruz and Chapultepec, until the gates of the City of Mexico flew open, and our country again expanded by the addition of a vast domain, reaching from the Gulf to the Pacific, where California's brooks wash down their sands of gold.

Nations are not made, they grow. In the beginning of this republic our forefathers left two great questions for future generations to solve. Ideas are things, and it was a contest upon these two great ideas that moulded the bullets that were fired in the civil war. As the teachings of Voltaire and Rousseau culminated in the great French Revolution, so the discussion of these two great questions ended only at Appomattox.

Standing with a new generation today, looking back, we see the clouds of war lifting. We see our republic entering upon a career of progress unequalled in the history of nations, and yet in the forenoon of its greatness. Seeing all these things, remembering the precious price that has been paid for this heritage, let us not forget the words of the immortal Lincoln, as he stood upon the famous field of Gettysburg: "Here let us highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people and by the people shall not perish from the earth."

Since that great war this republic has grown from less than 35,000,000 of people to more than 75,000,000. A galaxy of new states has been added to our Union. The great Northwestern domain has been opened to settlers and now contains commonwealths that rival the greatest in the pages of history. The Atlantic has been united with the Pacific by bonds of iron. Fires have been lighted in thousands of furnaces and the smokestacks throw their shadows upon the golden harvest fields of the farmers, until today, we are the greatest manufacturing, as well as agricultural people on the face of the globe. The states have been cemented; wages of labor have been raised; the science of finance has been mastered; new markets for the products of the farm have been developed; institutions of learning have been established to enlighten the people; the republic

has had a new material and mechanical progress, that has builded railroads, shops, factories, printing presses, and telegraph lines; thousands of looms have been added that cheapen fabrics to clothe the poor. Its greatest men have come from the ranks of labor; and its people have believed in the equality of man and have defended the rights of the poor without preaching a gospel of hate against the rich.

God never gave us this heritage of liberty and enlightenment that we might sit at home in idle enjoyment. A resistless destiny moves the American people onward and forward, and you and I cannot measure the length and breadth and depth of that great destiny. I only know that nations, like individuals, are permitted to take one step at a time, and that no human force can withhold or erase the future record that destiny has written for the American republic.

Some timorous people who take counsel of their fears, recall the gloomy prophecy of Lord Byron:

"Here is the moral of all human tales,— 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past, First freedom, and then glory,—when that fails,

Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;

And history with all her volumes hath but one page;"

Older nations that had their arts and sciences, their armies and their navies, have perished from the face of the earth, but they were built wrong. They forgot the people. A few were

rich and learned and powerful, but the many were slaves.

Two thousand years ago a flower divine closed its petals upon the cross of Calvary, and today it bears its ripened fruit in that great spirit of human liberty that finds its highest manifestation in the American republic. A republic that is based upon equality and upon manhood's suffrage; a republic that shows to the world that the human race has broken the bonds of servitude, and, escaping at last from its long imprisonment, has struck out on a new pathway.

The scroll of the century is rolled together. The work is done. Peace to the memory of the fathers! Green be the graves where sleep the warriors, patriots and sages—Calm be the resting place of all the brave and true, gentle be the summer rains on famous fields where armies met in battle! Forgotten be the animosities and heart-burnings of the strife! Sacred be the trusts committed to our care and bright the visions of the coming ages!

### NO HAULING DOWN THE FLAG.

Sentiment of the American Soldiers on Duty in the Philippines.

"If you ever hear any narrow minded Democrat preach hauling down the flag in the Philippines, dispute him right from the start, and dispute him with life. I can't possibly conceive how any loyal American would dare to even suggest such a thing. It would be the gravest kind of an injustice to many million of ignorant natives. I am wonderfully interested in the good work the United States has commenced here, and there is but one excuse for a man to advocate a 'haul down the flag policy,' he is either a traitor to his country, or else he is totally ignorant of the true situation here. If you know of a single person who takes such a stand, please give him my address or give me his, for I have something special to say to him. I base my views entirely on facts and on nothing imaginary, but rather things that really exist. I have been from one end of this land to the other, and I have been a close observer of the natives and their surroundings. They certainly were in a sorry plight before our government took a hand.

"On the island of Luzon alone are 9,000,000 natives; 40,000 insurgents, the remainder non-combatants. The insurgents possess all the fire-arms; consequently the masses of people are their slaves and have to come to their terms or die. The insurgents have all the money there is on the island and roll in wealth, while the ignorant masses have none; they barely make a living. American rule puts a stop to all of this and gives them all an equal show, and this is what the insurgents are doing: they go among the ignorant class and misrepresent the state of affairs to them, and, if they don't volunteer to go to war they make them go, and that is why there has been such a slaughter of ignorant people. Now that it is over, can you tell me how in the name of humanity it would be right for us to withdraw our flag?"—Wesley Leonard Co. F., 33d U. S. V.

### SALOONS OR DIVES.

The temperance question, which Senator Pettigrew has put to the president in his resolution calling for information in regard to the sale of liquor in the Philippines, has for a basis the complaints of excessive drinking among American soldiers in Manila.

Since our army entered the city there has been an increase of saloons and the native places where is sold a vile drink resembling gin have been shut up. This native drink was sold at a cent a glass and three or four glasses were enough to make an Anglo-Saxon wild. It is said by an army officer that it was simply a choice of evils; either the soldier must have the American saloon or he would buy the native gin from the Chinese.

Extravagant stories have been told of the amount of liquor sent from the United States to the Philippines, some persons putting it as high as 5,000 barrels to Manila in November. The officials show for that month there were shipped to all foreign countries 21,807 gallons, worth \$36,471.

# THE RIGHT TO SPEAK.

Senator Lodge Says We Are Now an Eastern Power.

## ADDRESSES THE SENATE

Senator From Massachusetts Maintains That We Can No Longer be Turned Lightly Aside—The Mission of the United States.

Washington, March 7.—(By Associated Press.)—Soon after the senate convened today Sullivan, of Mississippi, offered a resolution that the Philippine Islands are the rightful property, honorably acquired, of the United States, and that "while the misguided Filipinos continue the present war, brought on by them, against the rightful authority of the United States, so long as a single gun in their hands is trained upon our flag, no expression of intention as to the future course of the United States with respect to them should be made by the senate."

Sullivan asked that the resolution lie on the table until he should call it up. Mason, of Illinois, then gave notice that tomorrow after the morning hour he would enter a motion that the committee on foreign relations be discharged from further consideration of his resolution expressing the senate's sympathy for the Boers in their struggle with Great Britain. He had, he said, introduced the resolution on December 6 and it had been in the hands of the committee ever since.

"I have no intention of violating the rules of the senate," said Mason, "but it is clearly the intention of the committee on foreign relations to take no action in regard to the resolution and I want it brought into the senate and placed on the calendar."

In accordance with the notice previously given Lodge, of Massachusetts, then addressed the senate on the Philippine question. As chairman of the committee on the Philippines, and as a member of the committee on foreign relations, Lodge was expected to make a notable utterance on the question. He was given, therefore, an attentive hearing. Lodge's speech was based upon the bill introduced by Spooner, of Wisconsin, vesting in the president authority to govern the Philippines until congress should otherwise provide by legislation.

Senator Lodge said in part:

"The possession of the Philippines made us an eastern power, with the right and, what was equally important the force behind the right to speak. Mr. Hay, as secretary of state, has obtained from all the great powers of Europe their assent to our demand for the guaranty of all our treaty rights in China and for the maintenance of the

policy of the open door. I do not believe one of the most important and most brilliant diplomatic achievements in our one hundred years of national existence when I say that the assent of these other powers to the proposition of the United States was given to the master of Manila. They might have turned us aside three years ago with a shrug and a smile, but to the power which held Manila bay and whose fleet floated upon its waters, they were obliged to give a gracious answer. Manila, with its magnificent bay, is the prize and the pearl of the east. In our hands it will become one of the greatest distributing points, one of the richest emporiums of the world's commerce. Rich in itself, with its fertile islands behind it, it will keep open to us the markets of China, and enable American enterprise and intelligence to take a master's share in all the trade of the Orient. We have been told that arguments like these are sordid. Sordid, indeed. Then what arguments are worthy of consideration? A policy which proposes to open wider markets to the people of the United States, to add to their employment, and to increase their wages, and which in its pursuit requires that we should save the teeming millions of China from the darkness of the Russian winter, and keep them free, not merely from the incoming of commerce but for the entrance of the light of western civilization, seems to me a great and noble policy if there ever was such, and one which may well engage the best aspirations and the highest abilities of American statesmanship. I do not believe that this nation was raised up for nothing. I do not believe that it is the creation of blind chance. I have faith that it has a great mission in the world. A mission of good, a mission of freedom. I believe that it can live up to that mission, therefore I want to see it step forward boldly and takes its place at the head of the nations. I wish to see it the master of the Pacific. I would have it fulfill what I think is its manifest destiny, if it is not false to the laws which govern it. I am not dreaming of a primrose path. I know well that in the past we have committed grievous mistakes, and paid for those done wrong, and made heavy compensation for it, stumbled, and fallen, and

suffered. But we have always risen, bruised and grimed sometimes, yet still we have risen stronger and more erect than ever, and the march has always been forward and onward.

"I have unbounded faith and pride in my country. I am proud of her past, and in that past I read her future. I do not read it in any vain or boastful temper, but with a spirit of reverence and gratitude for all that has gone and with a very humble prayer that we may make the present and future worthy of the past."

## WAR AND PROGRESS

Address Delivered by Major Samuel Mahon at Davenport.

### IOWA HORNETS' NEST BRIGADE

Reunion Held in Connection With G. A. R. Encampment—The Brigade That Won Its Name at Shiloh—The Address

Below is published an address delivered by Major Samuel Mahon, of this city, at Davenport before the members of the "Hornet's Nest" brigade, held its reunion in connection with the state encampment

ment of the Iowa G. A. R. The subject of the address is "The Influence of the Civil War on the Progress of the Nation" and the full text has been published before so many errors crept into the type that in justice to itself and the author the Courier reprints the address below

Comrades, do some of you recall the coincidence of this meeting with the closing act of the war drama. From Camp McClellan in this beautiful city, some of us bid our last adieu to the camp and its duties and with Uncle Sam's pay in our pockets, scattered to our homes to continue the battle of life with the experience of four years of obedience, privation, self-reliance and familiarity with danger, for a capital. With the energy of youth we turned our faces toward home and loved ones, with eager anticipations inspired with high hopes for the future.

This is our day of reminiscence and we trace the thread of memory back to the first days of our soldiering, when from the mustering camps, Warren at Burlington, Curtis at Keokuk, was begun the four years of camp and march, and siege and battle. On Belmont's fruitless field the Seventh regiment received its first baptism; again at Donelson the Second, Seventh, Eighth, Twelfth and Fourteenth in a provisional brigade faced death on the hills of Donelson in that three wintry days of siege and battle, which ended gloriously in the assault and capture of the enemy's work by the brigade commanded by Col. J. G. Lauman and headed by the Second under the intrepid Tuttle. Donelson was the first important victory achieved by the Union armies and it changed the whole complexion of the war, instilling new courage into the whole country. This with Grant's adventurous advance of 150 miles further into the then Confederacy to Pittsburg Landing advanced the Union lines practically from the Ohio river 300 miles south to the line of the Charleston and Memphis railroad. This gave control of the great territory comprising the state of Kentucky and Tennessee, except for the brief period of Bragg's daring campaign into Kentucky the following year.

Donelson was a great victory; its fruits were 16,000 prisoners, 100 pieces of artillery and all the supplies and ammunitions of a great garrison.

Shiloh was a drawn battle; a battle of regiments and brigades rather than of an army. Much as has been written, the story of the isolated contests in its wooded depths will never be told in full; the appalling casualties in killed and wounded testify to the hand to hand character of the fight and fierce tenacity of the combatants. Shiloh made few promotions except in its ghastly list of vacancies in the regiments of the line, and the wail from the desolate homes in the far north took the place of congratulatory orders. The achievements and heroism of Shiloh were not paraded in general orders; they came out gradually as the story of the struggle was told piecemeal by the particular actors; here a regiment, there a brigade, always outnumbered at the point of contact, fought stubbornly on thru the long hours of that fateful Sunday.

It was the fortune of the First brigade of C. F. Smith's division, composed of the Second, Seventh, Twelfth and Fourteenth Iowa with the Eighth Iowa temporarily attached, to occupy a salient angle in the general line of the battle near its center about 9 o'clock a. m. of Sunday; the position was about one and one-half miles from the landing with Prentiss on the left and McClellan on the right after both had fallen back from their first positions; this position was maintained until 4:30 in the afternoon without giving a single foot to the enemy. Repeated assaults were directed against the three

left regiments, each attack resulting in disastrous and bloody repulse; meantime as the hours dragged on the sound of battle on both flanks steadily drifting to the rear, was ominous of disaster. About 4:30 o'clock the brigade in imminent danger of being surrounded, was ordered to fall back; the order reached two regiments of the five which broke their way out of the Cul de Sac, attacked on three sides by the enemy, in their retreat. The three remaining regiments being left to their fate for lack of orders, were soon after completely surrounded and captured. The two retreating regiments, after falling back thru Hurlburt's camp, a short distance, rallied, faced about, formed line and discussed the practicability of advancing to the succor of their comrades; the attempt was, however, abandoned as impossible, and after holding the position a short time they leisurely marched back to the line

just above the landing. It is on record that this demonstration delayed the enemy's final attack on the landing for fully an hour, giving time to organize a defense.

That salient angle was the only fixed point in the shifting panorama of that fiercely contested field. Nor did the brigade in a spirit of self-glorification assume the name of Hornet's Nest. The name was given the position by the enemy who had good reason to remember the deadly stings inflicted on them in their repeated attacks; and so separated never to be united, the Hornets' Nest brigade passed into history; General Wallace killed leading the two regiments in retreat, no report of the division has ever been made, and the importance of the achievement of its first brigade was never realized nor understood, until access to the enemy's reports revealed it; and then, and not until then, the Hornets' Nest contest proclaimed itself.

The results of the war for the Union have been accumulating ever since the surrender at Durham's Station in the mountains of North Carolina and at Appomattox. First is a reunited country and the abolition of the curse of slavery and a new birth for the south, rising from economic ruin, the rehabilitation of its industries, agricultural and manufacturing. The great staple of the seceded states was cotton, the decay of which was freely predicted with the extinction of slave labor. What has been the result? From a maximum crop in ante-war years of four million bales, it has steadily risen to nine million bales in 1899, an increase of \$200,000,000. The discovery and utilization of coal and iron has placed them in the front rank of this great industry, in this age of iron. The rice culture of South Carolina, Louisiana and Texas has far surpassed in extent and quality under free labor, the palmiest days of slavery. Its sugar industry has maintained itself against the competition of the bounty fed beet production of Europe. All its varied minor agriculture has increased ten, yes fifty fold; its fruit and vegetables supply the early markets of our northern states and great cities, and the oranges and pineapples of Florida adorn our Christmas cheer; its cities have grown greater and its villages have expanded into cities, as witness Chattanooga, Atlanta, Birmingham and others.

And what of the states of the north. Its million of volunteer soldiery released from military duty, realized that "Peace hath her victories greater than those of war." The great northwest lay an open field for industry and enterprise; with the energy, patience and self-denial born of the discipline of war, these men proceeded to found empires, they opened farms and ranches and defended them against the savage; founded towns and cities, organized communities, built railroads, planted civilization and self government, built

school houses and installed the teachers, established great central institutions for a higher education, and in the name of God built churches and dedicated them to Him who had dedicated the nation to victory thru great battles. From the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, this volunteer soldier of the Union has set his mark on the thirteen states and three territories.

And again in the older eastern states, coming home from four years of arduous service to find his place in civil life filled, he entered boldly into competition for the prizes of life, winning his way steadily to business, political and professional prominence.

The successful termination of the civil war ended forever the pretensions of the foreign powers on the western hemisphere. Sheridan on the Rio Grande served notice on Lewis Napoleon that the French army that backed Prince Maximilian should vacate American soil; the hint was quickly heeded and the Austrian dream of Mexican empire vanished in the tragic death of its representative prince at the hands of the grim Jaurez.

A reunited country cemented by blood and treasure at once inspired confidence thruout the world, and foreign capital, no longer timid, flowed in to supply the waste of war. Vast internal improvements were projected and carried out; the first railroad to the Pacific, was built, fulfilling the dream of the optimist of the decade of 1850-60, quickly followed by others, until today four great transcontinentals span the continent carrying the commerce of the world. The wealth of agriculture and the mine has increased beyond the wildest dream of the political economist. Our manufactories have overflowed our home markets and spread in broad streams all over the world; our population has kept pace with this wonderful expansion.

We are now the creditor nation and our banks have furnished Europe with the gold to replace the interrupted supply from Johannesburg caused by the contest in South Africa. The successful termination of the Civil War made it possible for us to lend our assistance to other struggling peoples. Our strength no longer paralyzed by the fear of a divided nation and contending faction, nerved and inspired us to interpose the strong arm of the nation in behalf of the people struggling against medieval Spanish oppression and cruelty; our responsibility as one of the great civilized nations of the world has imposed on us the task of teaching them self reliance and self government; also in the far off islands of the east the fortune of war and the victory of Dewey has presented to us a new problem, an alien race in color, language and custom, the yellow men of the Orient.

There is one fact that must impress itself on all thinking minds and that is, that barbarism must soon disappear from the earth. This age of steam and electricity is carrying light to all the dark corners, already it has conquered North America and wrested it from the savage. The Trans-Siberian railway nearing completion is destined to revolutionize Asia. Africa is opening up to civilization, and the whistle of the locomotive already sounds in Khartoum in the far off Soudan, on its way thru the heart of the dark continent destined to unite Cairo on the north with the Cape of Good Hope on the south. The Great Bear of the north an absolute government ruling by imperial Ukase nevertheless brings order and safety to life and property wherever Cossacks conquer, and that is the secret of her successful expansion.

Shall it be said that to her shall be left the task of bringing civilization out of savagery and barbarism, or shall the

people who compose the greatest organization of self government the world has ever beheld accept the task which under God has been thrown upon them, in bringing the people of the Philippines into the light of civilization, under the rule of law to establish order and educate them to self government and self control? What nobler task can fall to the lot of citizen or soldier? In the mighty and inexorable consolidation of peoples and nations now in progress, the great republic of America should not withhold her hand.

Shall not the God speed and prayers of the assembly of veterans and of this nation go out to our comrades who are upholding the flag in fulfillment of the task we have undertaken for humanity, civilization and self government.

We wage no war of conquest, but if our system of republican self government is worth the having it is worth the giving. We sought no quarrel but only answered the cry of oppressed humanity, and what the result has thrown upon us, let us not shrink from it but with courage and patriotism work out its consummation. Accord to our comrades in Khaki, who fought thru the chapparal at El Caney, who stormed the heights of Santiago, and who stood with Lawton in the Philippines, and to the brave sailor who with Dewey at Manila and Sampson and Schley at Santiago, sent the boasted navy of Spain to the bottom, a place with the veterans in blue who stood with Grant at Shiloh, with Sherman at Vicksburg and Atlanta with Meade at Gettysburg, with the revolutionary fathers in buff, who stood with Gates at Saratoga, and with Washington at Valley Forge and Yorktown.

Thus we go forward in the march of destiny, the man of the south keeping step with his comrade of the north under the stars and stripes, united in purpose to carry out the principles of self government.

Four stages mark the progress of the western civilization:

1st. Magna Charta in 1215 when the barons wrested from King John the first concessions from the crown prerogative.

2nd. The American revolution which gave liberty and self government to the people.

3rd. The civil war, when the nation elaborated the principles of union with liberty and vindicated its consistency by liberating from slavery four millions of black men within its own borders.

4th. The Spanish-American war, when again the sword was drawn at the call of the whole people and flashing across the sea, east and west, smote for liberty and victory.

Problems yet to solve? Yes, when has it been otherwise? And the American people have always been equal to the occasion. The intelligence and righteousness of the public conscience will also solve the problems yet to come, and will solve them rightly.

Comrades, a few years more, a few more reunions and we will pass off the stage, but our country will live and move on to its destiny. The flag for which we fought will float proudly over the nation whose integrity we preserve. Her institutions will endure because they are founded upon the eternal principles of right. The school master is abroad in the land; universal education is enlightening the people to the responsibility of citizenship. The school, the pupil and the press are all training the nation for the social, political and commercial campaigns of the twentieth century. In the strength of her young maturity

she shall shine forth the beacon light of self governing civilization; our children shall enter into this great heritage inspired by the events of the past and impelled to greater achievements in the future. The impulse of a composite race numbering seventy millions destined to double its numbers within the coming century, united in interests and speaking a common language, is irresistible.

## CHAMP CLARK'S LETTER

**Congressman Grosvenor  
Talked Too Much.**

**FATAL GIFT OF SARCASM.**

**Poking Fun at the Boers May  
Prove Costly Amusement.**

**IN MELANCHOLY NOVEMBER DAYS.**

**Senator Hoar Sends Cold Chills Down  
the Spines of the Jingoos—Predicts  
Downfall of Republican Party,  
Quotes Some "Illustrious Traitors,"  
Defines Powers of Congress Under  
the Constitution.**

[Special Washington Letter.]

The signs of the times indicate that General Charles Henry Grosvenor of Ohio, who is generally supposed to speak for the McHanna administration on the floor of the house, made a great mistake when he delivered a speech poking fun at the friends of the Boers. As a piece of sarcasm the speech was a rare success, but the venerable statesman from Athens has lived in vain almost to the psalmist's allotment of threescore years and ten if he has not yet learned that sarcasm is a fatal gift—as fatal to a man as beauty is said to be to a woman. The Republican warhorse reveled in sarcasm that day. Everybody enjoyed the artistic manner in which he performed, but subsequent events seem to demonstrate that the American woods are full of sympathizers, and the general and his chief are liable to regret that speech once, and only once, which will be as long as they live.

In the days to come—the melancholy days of November—when the Republican chieftains are quarreling among themselves as to who defeated William McKinley for a second term, if General Grosvenor does not keep his optic peeled, his confreres will saddle the whole responsibility on to him. He will find that, like the parrot whose neck was twisted nearly out of joint by his irate master, "he talked too much."

Joseph Weldon Bailey has already won his fight for a Texas United States senatorship, his rival, Hon. Horace Chilton, having withdrawn from the contest. I repeat here and now deliberately what I said some time ago—that within two years from the day that Bailey is sworn in as a member of the less numerous branch of the national legislature he will be recognized as the

foremost debater in the senate. He is now headed for the field of his glory. God speed the lion hearted young statesman in the great career which is opening before him. Of course we regret that he leaves the house. My own feeling toward him is not so much admiration as deep personal affection or, more properly speaking, a mixture of the two. He is a man to trust and love. I am not disparaging Senator Chilton. He is able, capable, courageous, honest, but Bailey is my close personal friend. I have helped him fight many battles, and to men who fight side by side in the house there comes a feeling akin to that which comrades in arms entertain for each other.

**Senator Hoar's Great Speech.**

Senator George Frisbie Hoar of Massachusetts, successor to Charles Sumner, delivered a speech in the senate recently which must have made the cold chills chase each other up and down the spinal columns of the Philippine jingoos. Truly he laid on and spared not. He smote them hip and thigh. He broke them on the wheel, drew and quartered them, roasted them on redhot coals, gibbeted them before high heaven, brayed them in a mortar, stretched them on the rack, whipped them at the cart's tail and otherwise despitely used them. It was a most remarkable speech—remarkable in many ways and for many things—remarkable for its fire, for its historic learning, for its legal lore, for its eloquence, for its personalities and for its length. He was three hours in delivering it. If he had actually spoken every word he printed, it would have consumed five or six hours in its delivery. By reason of its great length no one paper will ever print all of it, and for the same reason it will not be generally circulated in pamphlet form, as that would be too expensive, for be it remembered that congressional speeches are not printed free and in unlimited quantities, as most people seem to think, but are paid for in very hard cash by the author or by somebody else. This great speech by Senator Hoar—for a great speech it is beyond all cavil—will cost somewhere from \$20 to \$25 per thousand. But it is too good a campaign document for the Democrats to be lost. Consequently I offer no apology for making up the bulk of this letter of quotations from it—quotations which should be saved up and used for campaign purposes by all who read these letters. He draws this glowing picture of our position at the close of the Spanish war:

**A Great Achievement.**

"From all over the country came the voice of well paid labor, dwelling in happy homes, full of contentment with the present and of hope for the future. Capital was seeking new investments on all sides. Our domestic market, rescued from foreign invasion, was our own. Foreign markets were opening. The balance of trade was on our side. The product of American industry was carried abroad on an overwhelming and increasing tide.

"We had won the glory of a great liberator in both hemispheres. The flag of Spain—emblem of tyranny and cruelty—had been driven from the western hemisphere and was soon to go down from her eastern possessions. The war had been conducted without the loss of a gun or the capture of an American soldier in battle. The glory of this great achievement was unlike

any other which history has recorded. It was not that we had beaten Spain. It was not that 75,000,000 people had conquered 15,000,000, not that the spirit of the nineteenth century had been too much for the spirit of the fifteenth century, not that the young athlete had felled to the ground a decrepit old man of 90. It was not that the American mechanic and engineer in the machine shop could make better ships or better guns or that the American soldier or sailor had displayed the same quality in battle that he had shown on every field—at Bunker Hill, at Yorktown, at Lundy's Lane, at New Orleans, at Buena Vista, at Gettysburg, in every sea fight on Lake Erie or on the Atlantic. Nobody doubted the skill of the American general, the gallantry of the American admiral or the courage of the American soldier or sailor. The glory of the war and of the victory was that it was a war and a victory in the interest of liberty. The American flag had appeared as a liberator in both hemispheres. When it floated over Havana or Santiago or Manila, there were written on its folds, where all nations could read them, the pledge of the resolution of congress and the declaration of the president. Every true American thanked God that he had lived to behold that day."

**Ominous Prediction.**

In these mournful words he predicts and deprecates the death of the Republican party:

"I believe, Mr. President, not only that perseverance in this policy will be the abandonment of the principles upon which our government is founded, that it will change our republic into an empire, that our methods of legislation, of diplomacy, of administration, must hereafter be those which belong to empires and not those which belong to republics, but I believe persistence in this attempt will result in the defeat and overthrow of the Republican party. That defeat may not come this year or next year. I pray God it may never come. I well remember when the old Whig party, in the flush of delirium and anticipated triumph, gave up the great doctrines which it had so often avowed and undertook to abandon the great territory between the Mississippi and the Pacific to its fate. It held its convention at Philadelphia. It selected as its candidate a great military chieftain. Amid the tempest and delirium a quiet delegate from my own state arose and declared to the convention that the Whig party was dead. It seemed that a more audacious, a more foolish, a more astounding utterance never fell upon human ears. And what was the result? The party carried the country and elected its president. But within less than four years thereafter Daniel Webster, as he lay dying at Marshfield, said, 'The Whig party as a political organization is gone, and it is well.' Let no such fate attend the Republican party. In my judgment, if not now, it will retrace its steps in time."

The two concluding sentences of that paragraph are pitiable when we consider who uttered them. Senator Hoar is an old man. He helped create the Republican party, which, he fondly hoped, was immortal, but he sees its finish. Yet the affections of his heart cling to it, and despite the evidence of his own senses he exclaims, "In my judgment, if not now, it will retrace its steps in time." Vain hope! The Republican party, like Ephraim of old, is joined to its idol, which is the almighty dollar. All the eloquence, all the learning, all the pathos, all the courage, all the patriots of a dozen men like Senator Hoar, cannot check it in its mad career. It is doomed!

**Illustrious Traitors.**

Speaking of Edward Everett's splendid prophecy—that a time would come when Washington's birthday would be celebrated even in the orient—Senator Hoar exclaimed:

"The time which the orator predicted came. In that eastern archipelago, no longer the home of barbarism, a people had achieved their independence and thrown off the yoke of centuries. They were longing for civilization, education and liberty. To the millions, with which that land is swarming, in the dawning of a new light the name of Washington has become familiar. But, alas, the people are citing his example to protect their own liberties against his countrymen. They are nearly threefold in number the people to whom his farewell address was delivered. Pray to God that that revered and beautiful character, our shield so often against distempered folly and unhallowed ambition, may be theirs also."

As to traitors the venerable senator delivered himself of these sizzling sentences:

"If to think as I do in regard to the interpretation of the constitution; in regard to the mandates of the moral law or the law of nations, to which all men and all nations must render obedience; in regard to the policies which are wisest for the conduct of the state, or in regard to those facts of recent history in the light of which we have acted or are to act hereafter, be treason, then Washington was a traitor; then Jefferson was a traitor; then Jackson was a traitor; then Franklin was a traitor; then Sumner was a traitor; then Lincoln was a traitor; then Webster was a traitor; then Clay was a traitor; then Corwin was a traitor; then Kent was a traitor; then Seward was a traitor; then McKinley, within two years, was a traitor; then

the supreme court of the United States has been in the past a nest and hotbed of treason; then the people of the United States, for more than a century, have been traitors to their own flag and their own constitution.

"We are presented with an issue that can be clearly and sharply stated as a question of constitutional power, a question of international law, a question of justice and righteousness or a question of public expediency. This can be stated clearly and sharply in the abstract, and it can be put clearly and sharply by an illustration growing out of existing facts."

He then proceeds to roast the ribs of the jingoes in this artistic fashion:

"I hold that this acquisition, holding and governing can be only a means for a constitutional end—the creation of new states or some other of the constitutional purposes to which I have adverted. And I maintain that you can no more hold and govern territory than you can hold and manage cannon or fleets for any other than a constitutional end, and I maintain that the holding in subjection an alien people, governing them against their will for any fancied advantage to them, is not only not an end provided for by the constitution, but is an end prohibited therein.

**Congress and the Constitution.**

"The constitution of the United States sets forth certain specific objects and confers certain specific powers upon the government it creates. All powers necessary or reasonably convenient to accomplishing these specific objects and exercising these specific powers are granted by implication. In my judgment, the constitution should be liberally construed in determining the extent of such powers. In that I agree with Webster and Ham-

ilton and Lincoln and Washington and Marshall and not with Calhoun or the Democrats of the time of the war of the rebellion and since. But the most liberal statesman or jurist never went further than the rule I have just stated claiming constitutional powers for our government. The constitution says that congress may make rules and regulations for the government of the territories and other property of the United States. That implies that we may acquire and regulate territory as we may acquire and use other property, such as our ships of war, our cannon or forts or arsenals. But territory, like other property, can only be acquired for constitutional purposes and cannot be acquired and governed for unconstitutional purposes. Now, one constitutional purpose is to admit new states to the Union. That is one of the objects for which the constitution was framed. So we may acquire and hold and govern territory with that object in view. But governing subject peoples and holding them for that purpose is not a constitutional end. On the contrary, it is an end which the generation which framed the constitution and the Declaration of Independence declared was unrighteous and abhorrent. So, in my opinion, we have no constitutional power to acquire territory for the purpose of holding it in subjugation, in a state of vassalage or serfdom, against the will of its people.

**Can't Buy Allegiance.**

"In the present case we have not, I repeat, bought any property. We have undertaken to buy mere sovereignty. There were no public lands in the Philippine Islands, the property of Spain, which we have bought and paid for. The mountains of iron and the nuggets of gold and the hemp bearing fields—do you purpose to strip the owners of their rightful title? We have undertaken to buy allegiance, pure and simple. And allegiance is just what the law of nations declares you cannot buy. The power of congress to dispose of the territory or other property of the United States, invoked in this debate, as the foundation of your constitutional right, may carry with it in a proper case a right to the allegiance of the occupant of the soil we own. But we have not bought any property there. The mountains of iron, the nuggets of gold, the hemp bearing fields, the tobacco and sugar and coffee, are not ours unless, holding first that we can buy of Spain an allegiance which this people have shaken off, which Spain could not deliver, which does not exist in justice or in right, we can then go on and say that the constitution of the United States does not apply to territory and that we will proceed to take the private property of this people for public use without their consent.

"Whether the inestimable and imperishable principles of human liberty are to be trampled down by the American republic, and whether its great bulwark and fortress, the American constitution, impregnable from without, is to be betrayed from within, is our question now.

"Will any gentleman affirm that the framers of the constitution or the people who adopted it considered as an object and end of their government of limited powers which the Declaration of Independence had declared beyond the just powers of any government and contrary to natural right? Alexander Hamilton says the Declaration of Independence is the fundamental constitution of every state.

"I have been unable to find a single reputable authority more than 12 months old for the power now claimed

for congress to govern dependent nations or territories not expected to become states. The contrary, until this war broke out, has been taken as too clear for reasonable question. I content myself with a few authorities. Among them are Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, the supreme court of the United States, James Madison."

*Chas. Hoar*

In the following words Senator Hoar tears the jingoes and their fantastic arguments into tatters, or, in ring parlance, cuts them into ribbons.

Why, Mr. President, is it credible that any American statesman, that any American senator, that any intelligent American citizen anywhere two years ago could have been found to affirm that a proceeding like that of the Paris treaty could give a just and valid title to sovereignty over a people situated as were the people of those islands? A title of Spain, originally by conquest, never submitted to nor admitted by the people of the islands, with frequent insurrections at different times for centuries, and then the yoke all thrown off, a constitutional government, schools, colleges, churches, universities, hospitals, town governments, a legislature, a cabinet, courts, a code of laws and the whole island occupied and controlled by its people, with the single exception of one city, with taxes lawfully levied and collected, with an army and the beginning of a navy.

And yet the senate, the congress, enacted less than two years ago that the people of Cuba—controlling peaceably no part of their island, levying no taxes in any orderly or peaceable way, with no administration of justice, no cabinet—not only of right ought to be, but were, in fact, a free and independent state. I did not give my assent to that declaration of fact. I assented to the doctrine that they of right ought to be. But I thought the statement of fact much calculated to embarrass the government of the United States, if it were bound by that declaration, and it has been practically disregarded by the administration ever since. But the question now is a very different one. You not only deny that the Filipinos are, but you deny that they of right ought to be, free and independent, and you recognize Spain as entitled to sell to you the sovereignty of an island where she was not at the time occupying a foot of territory, where her soldiers were held captives by the government of the island, a government to which you had delivered over a large number of Spanish prisoners to be held as captives. And yet you come here today and say that they not only are not, but they of right ought not, to be free and independent, and when you are pressed you answer us by talking about mountains of iron and nuggets of gold and trade with China.

I affirm that you cannot get by conquest, and you cannot get by purchase, according to the modern law of nations, according to the law of nations as accepted and expounded by the United States, sovereignty over a people or title to a territory of which the power that undertakes to sell it or the power from whom you undertake to wrest it has not the actual possession and dominion. Under municipal law you cannot buy a horse of which the seller is dispossessed; you cannot buy a foot of land of which he is dispossessed; you cannot purchase a lawsuit. Under international law you cannot buy a people from a power that has no actual dominion over them. You cannot buy a war. More than this, you cannot buy a tyrant's claim to subject again an oppressed people who have achieved their freedom.

You cannot buy the liberties of a people from a dispossessed tyrant—liberties they have bravely won for themselves in arms. You cannot buy sovereignty like merchandise and men like sheep. The king of England kept, down to 1800, the title of duke of Normandy and king of France. Could any other country or all Europe together have bought France of King George? I wonder what would have happened if, instead of acknowledging our independence, any time before the French treaty France had bought England out and undertaken to assert her title to the United States. These questions have to be answered, not amid the shouting and applause of a political campaign, not in party platforms, not alone in a single generation, but to a single generation. They have conscience of the civilized world, when the people generation have gone by and are cold. And there will be to them but one answer.

"Honor" in the Philippines.

In his speech in defense of the administration's policy in the Philippines Senator Spooner said:

There never has been an hour since the capitulation of Manila to our forces, when, without dishonor to our country, we could have sailed away from Manila.

This statement, in all the tones of oracular commonplace, has been repeated with katechism-like reiteration for more than a year. Yet neither Senator Spooner, nor other defender of the administration, has ever seriously attempted to support it by citation of fact or by orderly argument. It is a mere ipse dixit. The friends of the administration are able; they are skilled in argumentation; that they have not used this ability and skill, and have contented themselves with the naked statement that we could not do otherwise in the Philippines without loss of honor, is presumptive evidence that they themselves have doubts—that they realize the best way to conceal a bad case is to make dogmatic assertion and to play upon prejudice.

When our military commander, after the signing of the peace protocol, received the capitulation of Manila, two general policies were open to us. We could consider that we were in the Philippines, as in Cuba, as a trustee for the inhabitants; or we could consider that we were in the islands for ourselves according to the canons of conquest. The basis of one policy was that the islands belonged of right to the people thereof, and the basis of the other that the islands belonged to us, and that their people had no voice in determining their destiny.

After a period of halting the administration adopted the latter policy. Would it have been dishonor if we had adopted the other policy? Would it have brought a blush of shame to any American cheek, if the president had announced that he proposed using his influence with congress to secure, if that body would consent, the extension to the Philippines of the same policy already congressionally outlined for Cuba? Neither Senator Spooner, nor any other person valuing his reputation for candor, will so assert. If the policy of the Philippines for the Filipinos had been honestly adopted, with the great republic benevolently guiding the first steps of the newly recognized people, Senator Spooner, instead of making the speech he has made, would be eloquently enlarging on the magnified grandeur of the republic, which, in the face of the world, had proved that its soldiers fought, not to subjugate, but to free. One can imagine how the Fourth of July orators would have dwelt upon this theme, and rightfully have declared that not since the signing of the emancipation proclamation had the great republic reached so high a moral level. We would have said to the world: "See, and do likewise!"

But instead of following the conceptions of national honor and glory which theretofore had always been upheld by America, our government elected to follow the tawdry and pinchbeck conceptions of national honor proclaimed by the second-hand Napoleon. We abandoned our own traditions and took up the blood-stained principles which the best thought of Europe is seeking to cast out. Without impeaching everything that is distinctively American, no man may say that we could not have followed a different policy.

Such phrases as "sailing away," "hauling down the flag," etc., are but pettifoggish quibbles. Neither the circumstances required, nor did the Filipino people ask that we should evacuate between two days, nor in any manner involving national humiliation. According to the message General Whittier carried to the Paris conference from the Filipino capital, the Filipinos were willing, even anxious, to have our assistance and guidance during the formative period of their institutions. All that was asked was that the United States should disclaim intention of permanently holding the Philippines in vassalage, as Spain had held them. The Filipinos had had experience with a colonial government and did not like it. They wanted more than a mere change of masters. Assurances that this government would follow no policy hostile to the declared wishes of the Filipino people, and that, if the Filipinos so desired, the Americans would lead them on to a protected independence, would have averted the war and led to a settlement honorable in the highest degree to the United States.

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**Scrapbook provided Courtesy of Dean Norman**

***Compiled by James B. McVicker***

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