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ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE J. M. DICKINSON,
SECRETARY OF WAR, DELIVERED AT THE POPULAR
BANQUET GIVEN BY THE FILIPINO RECEPTION
COMMITTEE, AT THE HOTEL DE FRANCIA,
ON THE EVENING OF SEPTEMBER 2, 1910.

Having spent five weeks in the Philippines, where I have received constant and generous hospitality, public and private, from Filipinos and Americans, and being now about to depart from your shores, I take this occasion to express my thanks for and deep appreciation of the consideration and kindness of which I have been the recipient, and to assure you that I will always hold them in grateful remembrance.

I have seen much in Manila and vicinity and have visited the Provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Zambales, Mountain Province, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Pampanga, Tayabas, Albay, Samar, Cebu, Moro Province, Palawan, Iloilo, and Capiz. I have seen most of the military posts and much of the educational, agricultural, and industrial development that is going on.

Such an experience means much in any man's life, no matter what his career may have been. I have been constantly active and have seen and learned much during my stay here, but by no means all that one in my position would like to see and know. A Frenchman, after spending several weeks in America, wrote a book in which he undertook in the most dogmatic style to say the final word not only upon the politics, economical and sociological conditions existing there, but to tell the people how they ought to conduct their lives and affairs. I have not learned that much about the Philippines, and do not feel that I have attained to the same clear and infallible judgment upon all the

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questions and problems that have been presented to me. While this is true, I do not minimize the importance of having seen as much as I have of the country, the people and the existing conditions, and the greater confidence it will give me in considering such questions as may come before me for action, or for recommendation to the President. Happily the President has full and intimate knowledge of everything pertaining to the Philippines, from the American occupation down to the time he ceased to be Secretary of War. My visit here is intended to supplement this knowledge, and to bring it, so far as practicable, up to date.

The administration of the Philippines is a great responsibility that will tax to the utmost the ability and justice of the American people. There is nothing that touches the government and development of a people that does not arise; and it is frequently complicated by conditions radically different from anything which our government at home has had to take into account.

To my mind, that which most deeply impresses a student of laws and governments is the wise, constructive statesmanship which, created in the midst of the chaos incident to a combined foreign and civil war, in a country so distant from our own, among people so diverse in language, conditions, religion and customs, a government which in its operations has responded so well to the public exigencies, and under which there has been development along all lines that promote peace, education, economic improvement, and training for self-government never before seen under similar conditions within a like period. This great work has never received the recognition and appreciation it deserves. It is a monument to the wisdom, foresight and justice of Governor-General Taft and his able coadjutors. Publicists will in time put a just estimate upon it.

Since I have come to the Philippines I have heard various criticisms of the administration. I would have been surprised if there had been no such criticisms, for it would imply either that all public officials were perfect, which we know is not and never was true, or that the people here were so dull as not to understand public affairs or contemplated them with a listless indifference. We know full well that

neither of these conditions exist. No public officer should resent just criticism. It is wholesome and should be welcomed. It quickens the sense of responsibility of all officials, no matter how high, able and conscientious they may be. If public servants were immune from it conditions would soon become intolerable. There is a just, enlightened criticism that arrays facts, gives them their just value, and demonstrates wrong where it exists. This is good for the body politic. There is, on the other hand, a quasi-criticism which degenerates into mere abuse, whose chief characteristic is inflammatory adjectives. Such outbursts do not bring about, but retard, wholesome reform.

The most insensate way to bring people over to one's way of thinking is to abuse them. This thought is addressed to Americans and Filipinos alike, not only in respect to the government but in respect to their relations to each other.

It has been a source of satisfaction to me that although full opportunity has been given, charges of official dishonesty have been few. Without committing myself to an unqualified approval, I can truly say that my judgment is that the administration here will compare favorably with that given either by the United States or by the several States in America, and that so far as I am able to judge, complaints more numerous and of a more serious character are made there than here. The United States, in the actual administration of government, are certainly doing as well by the Philippines as they are by themselves.

I have confidence in the integrity and ability of the Governor-General, and have had evidences which fully justify me in saying that he is giving his whole mind and heart to his work. He is in full touch with all of the very many activities which are going on in the Islands. There may be a more competent man for this diversified work, but I would hate to have imposed upon me the task of finding him.

I do not mean to suggest that my visit here will result in general acquiescence and indorsement by me. On the contrary, I expect that the actual contact had by General Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and myself with affairs here will eventuate in some wholesome changes.

Much has been said in the public press about the sale of the Friar

Lands. While Congress has appointed a committee to investigate the charges made by Mr. Martin in regard to these sales, I have had imposed upon me a duty, entirely independent of that investigation. The charges made involve the official conduct of the Executive Secretary, Mr. Carpenter, and of Commissioner Worcester. It was proper for me to investigate them as an administrative matter, without regard to what Congress might do. I shall not now go into any general discussion of the sale of the friar lands, but inasmuch as charges of official misconduct of the most serious character have been made against these men, it is an act of justice to let the result of my investigation as to them be publicly known. They, their families and friends have keenly felt these charges. Reputation to any true man is of more value than anything else in life. I shall not attempt to forestall the judgment of the congressional committee, but having investigated for myself, having used every effort to get the bottom facts, and believing that I have ascertained them, and being convinced that neither of these men has been guilty of any official misconduct, I desire publicly to state here this conclusion.

The inference has been drawn, though probably without close analysis of Mr. Martin's speech, that the nephew of Commissioner Worcester had bought some of the friar lands. This is not true. He has not leased or purchased a hectare of friar lands. He has leased public lands in an amount authorized by law and at prices like those upon which they are leased to others. At the time of his lease there was no secret about it. Commissioner Worcester, who approved the lease, declined first on account of relationship, and called the matter to the attention of the Governor-General, by letter. The Governor-General, however, could not act and Mr. Worcester acted, and called his action to the attention of the Attorney-General. While the fact of relationship might give and has given ground for suspicion, it could not deprive the nephew of Commissioner Worcester of his right under the law to lease public lands. No partiality has been shown to him in the matter and he has obtained no preferential treatment. I am convinced that Commissioner Worcester has no interest directly or indirectly in the leases.

Mr. Carpenter had no official relations to the friar lands which he has

contracted to purchase. He acted upon the written authority of the Governor-General. There was no concealment about the matter and no injustice has been done to any one. Although there had been strong dissatisfaction expressed as to the sale of some of the friar lands by Filipinos, I have not found any one who has disapproved of this transaction of Mr. Carpenter, or who in any way reflects upon his conduct. On the contrary, I have from all sources received the highest tributes to his character and to his usefulness here as a public officer.

I will say generally as to the friar lands that at the time the contracts were made for other sales in large amount, it was not supposed that any objection would be raised. The main idea was to reduce the bonded debt as rapidly as possible. Now that opposition has been declared and that the matter is under investigation by Congress, no sale of these lands in large quantities will be authorized until the situation is fully developed.

While my visit has been made solely in connection with administrative features, it seems in the minds of some to have significance in respect to the ultimate future relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands. Some Filipinos appear to magnify my office, and suppose that I will make some authoritative declaration as to immediate independence. This view has been expressed to me as follows:

I, a true Filipino, thank you for your arrival at this, our town, the people of which are anxious for liberty, and for this reason I am convinced that your trip here has no purpose other than to make clear to us that which is necessary to give independence to the Filipinos. I believe that you have in your hands the key of our independence, and for this reason I have ventured to write to you, to express the beatings of my heart and to tell you that they are all for the independence of our people, for your flag diffuses light upon those who are in slavery and sorrow.

On the other hand, some Americans think, as I have been told, that it would be wholesome for me to make a statement which would be a declaration of purpose upon the part of the United States never to part with dominion over these islands. Those who hold the views above indicated are alike doomed to disappointment. It is elementary knowl-

edge that from the nature of my office, any such statement would have no official significance. At most it would only be an expression of my personal convictions or opinions. Any one who understands public affairs in America knows that such a declaration from any one in my position, unless made by higher authority, so far from committing the government as to a policy which is solely within the jurisdiction of Congress and the President to determine, would in all probability engender opposition. I am not now referring to changes in the form of government here which do not involve American control. It would be entirely proper for me to make recommendations on this subject to the President, but it would not be proper for me here to anticipate them.

Mr. Taft, in a banquet speech made at Manila on August 11, 1905, when he was Secretary of War, outlined the views of the administration with the full concurrence of President Roosevelt, with the express purpose, as stated, of removing, if possible, from political discussion in these islands, any element of uncertainty on that head; and he stated that what he said was exactly consistent with the statements which he had made before the congressional committee while he was Governor-General of these islands, and that they represented exactly the policy of President McKinley. Among other things, he said, referring to the American people:

They believe that they have become the trustees and protectors of the whole Filipino people; not alone of the eight or ten per cent who speak Spanish, not alone of the smaller percentage who may be described as the educated part of the people; but of the whole Christian Filipino people and of the whole non-Christian Filipino people; and that they cannot discharge this trust without a due regard to the rights of all their wards; and that they must be especially careful to observe and protect the rights of the uneducated and the poor of their wards, who by reason of circumstances are unable to speak for, or protect themselves. Enjoying as they do a government of free institutions, a government of liberty regulated by law, a republican form of government resting in its last analysis upon an intelligent public opinion, they do not think that their duty to the whole Filipino people can be discharged without preparing that people to maintain a stable, popular government in which shall be secured the civil liberty of all. They do not conceive that they have the right to relieve themselves of the

burden of wardship or guardianship of this whole people by attempting to assign the burden of government to a small party thereof, claiming to be the educated element of that people, however confident that educated element may be of its ability to carry on a government for the Filipino people. The American people have examined into, as far as may be, the capacity of the Filipino people to be developed into a self-governing nation; and while they admit that the proposition to make them a self-governing people is an experiment, never before tried with a tropical Malay or Oriental people, they believe the circumstances to be such that if the high national purpose of treating them as sacred wards of the United States and of dealing with them in every way for their benefit, for their own elevation and for their own education, shall be pursued, free from a desire for selfish exploitation or gain, that the experiment will be a success.

Referring to President Roosevelt, he said:

He believes that it is the duty of the United States to prepare the Filipinos for self-government and he purposes, so far as his administration is concerned, and so far as he may control the policy of his administration, and in this respect the majorities in both the Houses of Congress do not differ from him, to maintain the supremacy of the United States in these islands, and to conduct the government for the benefit of the Filipino people, and with the sole purpose of elevating them as a whole to a self-governing people. He believes, as I believe, and as do most Americans who have had great familiarity with the facts, that it is absolutely impossible to hope that the lessons which it is the duty of the United States to teach the whole Filipino people, can be learned by them, as a body, in less than a generation; and that the probability is that it will take a longer period in which to render them capable of establishing and maintaining a stable independent government. He believes, and so do those who support him believe, that it is absolutely impossible to say just what form of self-government the American people and the Filipino people will agree upon for the Philippines when they shall have reached the condition in which they shall be competent to determine what form of government is best for them. Whether they shall become an independent nation, or whether they shall prefer by reason of mutual benefit to maintain the bond between the two peoples, as is done between the United States and Cuba or between England and Canada, England and Australia, or what form the autonomy may take, may well be left to the future, and to the circumstances and to the individuals who shall be in control of the two nations at that

time. All that can be asserted is that the policy which has several times been authoritatively stated that this Filipino Government shall be carried on solely for the benefit of the Filipino people and that self-government shall be extended to the Filipino people as rapidly as they show themselves fitted to assume and exercise it, must be pursued consistently by the people of the United States, or else they shall forfeit their honor.

Referring further to President Roosevelt, he said:

It follows that the President of the United States (and he himself desired me to say this to the Filipino people) feels charged with the duty of proceeding with the policy of maintaining here the sovereignty of the United States, as the instrument for the gradual education of the whole Filipino people to a self-governing community, and that he intends, so far as in him lies, to continue this policy however insistent may be the demands for immediate independence by those among the Filipinos who deem that they are fit for self-government today.

President Taft further said:

I do say with all the sincerity of which I am capable that the constant agitation of the question of immediate independence by peaceable or other means can do no good for the Philippine people, cannot assist in their preparations for self-government and is simply an obstacle to the main purpose of the American government in these islands. The policy of President McKinley and of President Roosevelt has been in favor of a thorough primary education of the people, second of the instilling in them, so far as is possible, the moral forces of providence, industry and thrift; and third, of instructing them in their political civil rights under the charter which Congress has given them, by which in the pursuit of happiness they may enjoy complete civil liberty.

He concluded his speech by saying:

No officer whose heart does not respond to the cry of the Philippines for the Filipinos can hope to win the approval of the government in Washington, or to remain in the islands as one of its representatives.

In his speech to the Assembly on October 16, 1907, he said:

The avowed policy of the National Administration under those two presidents (McKinley and Roosevelt) has been, and is, to govern the islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filipino people, and by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well ordered government affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self governing capacity.

As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in these islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and the Filipino people, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantage to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

How long this process of political preparation of the Filipino people is likely to be is a question which no one can certainly answer. When I was in the islands last time, I ventured the opinion that it would take considerably longer than a generation. I have not changed my view upon this point; but the issue is one upon which opinions differ. However this may be, I believe that the policy of the Administration as outlined above, is as definite as the policy of any government in a matter of this kind can safely be made.

Now that he is President of the United States, it may be expected that those views will be upheld. No one of sound judgment would expect a member of his cabinet to say anything contrary to them. Knowing, as I do, that he has not modified them, and coming here by his direction as his representative in administration here, I would be disloyal to him and deluding the people here, if I proclaimed any doctrine not consistent with them. I know of no declaration in regard to the future relations between the United States and these islands which can be regarded as in the least degree authoritative that is contrary to the views expressed by Mr. Taft.

Voicing my personal views, I say, without qualification, that I would not be here to represent or further any plan which contemplated the denial of ultimate Philippine independence, and that I would be glad if the conditions which would justify in the American mind Philippine

independence, existed today. It is a consummation devoutly to be prayed for, and I would hail its realization not only because it would proclaim your capacity for self-government and the full redemption by the American people of their pledges, but would lift from America a burden which a purpose less lofty than that which inspired its assumption would not justify.

That the Philippine people have made and are making great progress is manifest. No just man could follow my footsteps and see what I have seen and assert the contrary. I regret that time will not permit a summary of these assuring evidences. But the problem of independence viewed from the Filipino side is much less complex than when viewed from the American side. For the Filipinos the dominant thought is doubtless that of self-government; and the main features involved in the problem, as many view it, are whether or not there are a sufficient number of people of ability, knowledge and training adequate to administer local self-government, and control those portions of the islands inhabited by people who confessedly have no capacity for conducting any enlightened form of representative government. From that standpoint, the time for Philippine independence would be shorter than when viewed from the American side, as indicated by President Taft and by the action of Congress.

Whether fortunately or unfortunately, wisely or unwisely, the American people have entered upon such a career in the East as in the judgment of very many of her people makes it impossible for her to assume any attitude in the future toward the Philippines which will not guarantee their independence of all foreign nations. This necessarily involves, if accompanied with local self-government by the Filipinos, much higher development and governmental capacity than would be necessary for a state of complete isolation. It would also mean the maintenance of such relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands as would insure their not becoming involved in international affairs. Unless the United States should adopt the radical policy of severing all relations with and responsibility for the Philippines, the above considerations and the character of development which they involve cannot be left out of view. It must be borne in mind by

those who manifest impatience that while from the very force of inertia a present status in a matter so complicated may continue from year to year, no fundamental change is likely to come about until after the whole question shall have been discussed and considered by the American people, and presented as an issue. That has never been done except in a general way. If the question shall be taken up now for solution, it will, in all probability, looking by the lamp of experience, be one of slow progress. It is complicated and the considerations are so vast, that they would demand and probably would receive deliberate consideration. Now, I have only gone into this discussion for the purpose of inviting the calm and temperate judgment of those who are asking for immediate independence upon the real character of the problem, and for the further purpose of urging that however loud and insistent the cry for independence may be, no one who has the real welfare of the Philippines at heart will neglect, in grasping at what from the conditions will necessarily be a receding shadow for a long time to come, the real substance, which is the development to the highest degree possible under present conditions of everything that will tend to broaden the foundations for future Philippine independence.

I know full well that all of your political parties have the purpose to achieve independence for the Philippines. I respect this ideal, and if I were a Filipino would sustain it, but I would pray to be guided by that wisdom which would help me to lead my people in the way that would certainly achieve it and would erect it as a stable structure upon foundations that would make it perpetual.

It involves much more than superficial thinkers imagine. It means a reconstruction of the ideas of government which have been familiar to your people. It involves large social problems.

On account of their intrinsic worth, I commend for your consideration the statements of a prominent Filipino who said recently in a public speech:

Political independence does not make a people safe from slavery; the law cannot protect the individual of inferior capacity from the native or foreign individual of superior capacity. That is the reason of the natural subjugation to which I have referred,

and it is only a social transformation that can shield us from this danger.

It is not my purpose to defend the Government nor to bring out its defects, but I wish to say that there is one trait on account of which a government can be pardoned for the defects it may possess, and that is when it is not opposed to the general advancement of the people. Now then, gentlemen, the government we have is not opposed to the progress of our people, but, on the contrary is in favor of it. The difference in the points of view which separate our political parties gives me no concern, nor will I make the least effort to cause this difference to disappear. It is necessary, or at least natural, that there should be different parties; but the fact that at bottom all parties are one and indivisible in defending the ideal of independence and the greater ideal of the establishment of a democracy is comforting to me.

Our social problem will be solved by the only possible means—by education—and it is this work which is of the most moment, as it is of principal and fundamental importance; it must claim the attention of most intelligent men now, under American sovereignty, and in the future, under our own.

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We are forming a new people, our governing class is imbued with the necessity that when our nation shall be free, it shall be able to guarantee the liberty of each one of its citizens, and that individual liberty shall be won not by teaching the people that the Government is a providential being who is responsible for our evils and the author of our happiness. If that is our ideal of government, we do but clearly conceive an authoritative, paternal government, or an oligarchy. If we wish to establish a democracy, let us teach the people that every citizen is responsible and that to be responsible it is needful for him above all things to know his duties. and, what is still more important, to know how to perform them. for the enjoyment of individual rights is the inevitable result of the performance of such duties.

There are many questions which it may be thought I should discuss, but you must realize that it would not only be improper for me here to anticipate my report to the President, but that as to many of the questions I have only assembled the material for study.

In leaving the Philippines, I carry with me the most grateful appreciation not only of the public hospitality but of the private hospitality and personal kindness shown to me by the Filipinos and Americans

alike. A touch of nature makes all the world akin. It is in misfortune that such manifestations go most directly to the heart. It was, one might say, my misfortune, but I rather account it as a blessing, that brought me down with fever while I was visiting Mr. Osmeña and Mr. Legarda. The kind ministrations of which I was the recipient will leave an ineffaceable record on the tablets of my memory. This was but typical of the general good will shown me. Senator Lamar in his great conciliation speech upon the occasion of the death of Charles Sumner, the hereditary opponent of his people, said:

Let us know each other better and we will love each other more.

This is my farewell word to the Filipinos, coupled with the sincere prayer that my visit here may in some degree justify my coming and fructify into benefits for your people.