

REPORT  
OF THE  
TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING  
OF THE  
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND  
OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

October 20th, 21st and 22d, 1909

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PUBLISHED BY THE  
LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN  
AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

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OCTOBER 20th, 21st and 22d, 1909

Reported by Miss Lilian D. Powers

Edited by the Corresponding Secretary

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1909

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## PREFACE

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The Twenty-seventh Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and other Dependent Peoples met in the parlor of the Lake Mohonk Mountain House October 20, 21 and 22, 1909. About two hundred members were in attendance as the invited guests of Mr. Albert K. Smiley. The topics discussed included affairs among the Indians and in the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska, with clear recognition, however, that the peoples of some of these regions cannot be classed as Dependent Peoples. The discussions are given nearly in full in this Report.

The management of the Conference, while providing opportunity for free discussion of matters not foreign to the purpose of the meeting, assumes no responsibility for individual opinions printed herein.

One copy of this Report is sent to each member of the Conference and several thousand copies are mailed to individuals in public and private life, to libraries and to other institutions. Applications for copies should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Conference.

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#### PLATFORM

OF THE

#### TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES, 1909.

Twenty-six years have passed since the first Lake Mohonk Conference was assembled. Then it was the policy of the nation to push the Indians aside when they were an impediment to national progress; now it is the national policy to incorporate the Indians in the nation and enable them to contribute to the national progress. The most important of the reforms advocated by the Conference have been accepted by the nation, specifically the abolition of the reservation system, the establishment of a federal public school system for the education of the Indians, and the application to the Indian service of the Civil Service rules. This change in the nation's conception of the Indian problem and its true solution has been accompanied by a great improvement in the personnel of the Indian service, in public sentiment upon the Indian question and in the protection of the Indian properties. Meanwhile new obligations have been laid upon the nation toward other peoples who are not citizens of the United States but are subject to its jurisdiction and authority. We take this occasion to reaffirm certain fundamental principles which the nation's failures and successes in the Indian service have illustrated and enforced, and which are equally applicable to these new wards of the nation.

For the duty of the American people to establish by the force of its laws and the influence of its example liberty and justice is the same toward all its non-citizen subjects, whether those subjects be the young men not yet grown to full citizen-

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For the duty of the American people to establish by the force of its laws and the influence of its example liberty and justice is the same toward all its non-citizen subjects, whether those subjects be the young men not yet grown to full citizen-

hip, or the aborigines under our sovereignty, or the newly landed immigrants unfamiliar with the nature and operation of free institutions, or the negroes recently emerged from slavery, or the inhabitants of our insular possessions with no historic preparation for democracy, that is, the reign of the people. The ultimate end of all just government is self-government. Keeping this end ever in view, it is the duty of the nation to give to all under its authority adequate protection of person and of property whether personal or communal, government by law not by the will of a personal ruler, military or civil, courts of law accessible to the poorest and the humblest, processes of law prompt, economical and equal in their operation, taxes no heavier than the expenses of their government economically administered require, sanitary provisions for the prevention of preventable disease and the establishment of hygienic conditions, schools which shall furnish industrial and moral as well as academic instruction, and, through the voluntary efforts of the churches, the inspiration of a religion founded not on the fear but on the love of God.

This means for the North American Indian the abolition of the tribal relation in which the fundamental rights of the individual are denied, the substitution of personal for tribal property, the recognition of the Indian's right to travel freely and peaceably and to buy and sell in the open market, and his ultimate admission to American citizenship. It means for the Filipino opening to him the American market as it has been opened to the Hawaiian and the Porto Rican. It means that the relationship between the United States and her insular possessions should be clearly defined at the earliest practicable date. It means for the inhabitants of the insular possessions the maintenance of local self-government as a preparation for future insular self-government and the complete development of an Anglo-Saxon system of courts and procedure. And it means for all—North American Indian, native races of Alaska, Porto Ricans, Hawaiians and Filipinos—the vigorous prosecution and condign punishment of all men engaged in lawless endeavors to deprive the people of their public or private prop-

erty, the establishment by law of efficient police regulations to safeguard the people against the vices of civilization, adequate sanitary measures for the protection of the people's health, adequate systems of education for their mental and moral development, and the improvement of their industries by providing industrial training, developing their resources, and promoting easy access to profitable markets. Finally, it means securing well paid agents of unquestionable integrity and proved capacity to represent the Nation in its work for the betterment of these peoples. It does not necessarily mean either eventual statehood or eventual independence for our Island possessions. It may mean self-government under American protection and subject to American sovereignty. But whatever relationship may be established between America and her insular possessions in the future, just government must mean for all peoples under her protection and subject to her sovereignty government for the benefit of the governed, now,—that is, justice,—and eventual self-government, which is the consummation of liberty.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL LAKE MOHONK  
CONFERENCE OF FRIENDS OF THE INDIAN  
AND OTHER DEPENDENT PEOPLES

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First Session

Wednesday Morning, October 20th, 1909

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The Conference was called to order at 10 A. M. by Mr. ALBERT K. SMILEY, who, after extending a hearty welcome to his guests, spoke in part as follows:

OPENING REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY

Just thirty years ago very unexpectedly I received an appointment from the President of the United States to be a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. While I had always been interested in Indians, this appointment naturally led to an increased interest which I have ever since felt in a class of people who are worthy of our respect and our utmost endeavor in their behalf. I do not say this of the Indians generally met at railway stations or on trains; they are not the real Indians of this country. The real Indians, in my estimation, are a religious, interesting and estimable people, and they have produced some of the noblest characters in the human race. Carl Schurz once told me the noblest man he ever met was a full-blood American Indian, whom I knew very well. During thirty years I have seen a most remarkable change in our attitude toward the Indian. To-day there is a general feeling on the part of our better people that the Indian should be protected and given his rights. The Indian problem, in my judgment, is nearly solved, and I hope, though hardly expect, to live long enough to see its complete solution. The time is near when the Indian shall be part and parcel of our people having a part in the making of law and suffering its penalties just as we do. That is coming, I think, very soon, and I believe that our Board of Indian Commissioners, the Administration and the best friends of the Indians are working with that end in view.

For many years past the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has been at our meetings, and this year the new Commissioner, Mr. VALENTINE, a man in whom we all have confidence (applause), takes charge of part of the first session. We have also many persons connected with the Indian service. And we have a gentleman who for fourteen years was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives; a man noted for his faithful, conscientious discharge of his duties as the head of that Committee, who is now Vice-President of the United States. (Applause.) We are very happy indeed that the United States Government is so largely represented here.

But if the Indian question is nearing solution, we have other subjects,—the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii — to which we are, I think wisely, giving more and more attention. Fortunately we have with us many men who are familiar with the affairs of these recently acquired possessions, and we shall undoubtedly have an informing discussion of these great subjects.

As Presiding Officer we are to have the gentleman who served us so admirably last year, and who worthily fills the distinguished office of United States Commissioner of Education. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Hon. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN. (Applause.)

Dr. BROWN took the chair, and the organization of the Conference was completed.

(For a list of the Officers and Committees, see page 2.)

The Chairman then delivered the following opening address:

### THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN IN ALASKA

#### OPENING ADDRESS OF HON. ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN

One year ago Sheldon Jackson was one of the speakers at this Conference. Within the twelvemonth he has been called to his rest. It is well known to many of you that in his passing there has been taken from us one of the most devoted, adventurous, and indomitable spirits that have ever been concerned with the education of the natives of this American continent.

What I have to offer in opening this twenty-seventh meeting of the Indian Conference is some account of the recent development of the service of the National Government for the welfare of the Alaskan natives. I am to speak of the work of the past two years and a half, as it has gone forward from the point where Sheldon Jackson's first serious disability compelled him to relinquish its active direction.

One of the most significant extensions of this work, which belongs almost wholly to the past year, is a definite campaign for the improvement of health conditions among these natives. For many years an occasional physician has been employed here and there as teacher in the Alaska school service, who has rendered medical aid to the natives in his immediate neighborhood. The employment of such physicians has now become a cardinal feature of the Alaska service, and particularly the employment of traveling physicians whose business it is to serve the needs of large districts which have hitherto been scantily provided in this respect. It has been easy to draw inspiration for such a service from the work of Doctor Grenfell in the Labrador. Six physicians have been employed in this way. At the same time two places have been provided with physicians as local teachers. At four important points contracts have been entered into with local physicians not regularly attached to the Government service, under which they give especial attention to the needs of indigent natives. Contracts have also been entered into with hospitals at two points, under which indigent natives are received at government expense for necessary medical and surgical treatment. Even with these arrangements there are many points which are still entirely without provision for medical service, though some makeshift provision is made for twenty-nine of these points by furnishing the government teacher with an outfit of the more common remedies and elementary text-books which should assist in giving some sort of relief in case of sickness or accident. A further extension of our medical service has been undertaken for the coming year, which should prove one of the most interesting and useful of all of its forms, that is the employment of trained nurses as teachers of practical hygiene and helpers in case of need.

The work of both physicians and nurses is primarily educational. They care for the sick, but still more, they help the natives to take on those ideas and habits which will insure a lessening of sickness and mortality in coming years. It will be an especial care of our trained nurses to show the native mothers how they may care for their babies and so lessen the prevalent infant mortality.

For the year 1908 the Congress added \$100,000 to the annual appropriation for the education of Alaskan natives, bringing it up to a total of \$200,000 exclusive of the special appropriation for the reindeer industry. This gain in the appropriations has been held since that time. Accordingly, it has been possible to make a steady extension of the work to villages which had not previously been reached. There are still remote regions which

we have not been touched, but twenty-nine new school buildings have been erected within this time, nearly doubling the number of schools in the Territory.

This extension of the service has been accompanied with a broadening of the activities which it embraces. The sanitary campaign is a case in point. It is a service not merely for children in the schools, but for the whole community who are equally in need of education. Some of the best suggestions for such an educational program are to be drawn from the work of college settlements and similar agencies in the crowded portions of our great cities. The problems considered are not simply scholastic in the older and narrower sense; they are the problems of community and racial life, or indeed the problems of racial destiny.

Broadly speaking, we look upon these native peoples as passing through a period of temporary dependency. As savage tribes they were full grown and independent before civilization came. In the face of civilization they have become dependent children. Left to themselves they would quickly fade away and be no more. What we must do as best we can is to prepare them for a new full grown and independent life, in advantageous relations with the white man's civilization. The success of this undertaking may be gauged in the long run by the rapidity with which these people shall become able to take care of themselves, in their new world, and dispense with the help which the government now gives them. They are to be helped in such a way and to such a degree, that they will become independent of outside help.

In addition to provision for the promotion of health among them, a leading consideration must be the promotion of industries suited to their new environment. The introduction of the reindeer industry was a brilliant and successful stroke of social invention directed to this end. The number of distributing centers for the reindeer has now been increased. A code of regulations governing the reindeer industry was promulgated by Secretary Garfield. A prospective herder goes through a course of apprenticeship four years in length as regularly as a candidate for the bachelor's degree goes through his four-year college course. But on the successful completion of each year of his training, the young Eskimo or Indian receives a number of deer for his own. At the end of his apprenticeship, when he is graduated as a trained herder, he has already acquired a small herd which is to be the instrument of his industrial life and a means of support for himself and his family. Already complaints have come to us from at least one reindeer center where it has not been possible to take on all applicants as apprentices, that those who have not been given a place with the reindeer herd have lost favor with

the young women of their village, and have accordingly suffered in their prospects of matrimonial alliances.

It may not be possible to introduce another industry at once so new to this people and so exactly suited to their needs as is the reindeer industry, but a constant endeavor is making in other portions of Alaska to put the natives in possession of such industrial skill and apparatus as will meet their present needs. The improvement of their boat building and fishing, the introduction at suitable points of agriculture and gardening, the erection of saw mills, the organization of coöperative buying and selling, are undertakings which are either already under way, or under careful consideration. Sets of wood-working tools have been introduced into many of the schools, a good deal of systematic instruction is given to the girls in cookery and sewing, and other industrial plans have been put upon trial.

Here as everywhere the need of moral training is the first educational need. Moral education through cleanliness, healthful home conditions, and remunerative industry are of incalculable importance. There are, however, portions of Alaska in which the demand for labor is so great that the natives can easily earn enough by day labor to keep them with their families in comfort or even in a low grade of luxury. The problem in such a case is that of keeping them up to such a moral plane that they will not squander their earnings in demoralizing indulgences. There is a work here to be done by churches and missions rather than by public schools, and at many points I believe this work of religious education is well done. But direct instruction in morals is needed, too, such as public schools can give and in some measure are giving. Still further, there is need of legal restraints, particularly as regards the sale of intoxicants. On the side of legal provisions two important acts were passed by the Congress at its session of last winter. One of these makes the sale of alcoholic liquors to the Alaskan natives a felony; the other provides for the appointment of members of the Alaska school service as special peace officers, with power, under the general direction of the Department of Justice, to make arrests in cases of wrongdoing either by natives or against natives. The importance of these two enactments can hardly be exaggerated. Already the Department of Justice is proceeding vigorously against the traffic in strong drink from which the natives have suffered, and only last week word was received of the conviction of ten men who had been engaged in such traffic, all of whom were already on their way to the penitentiary on Puget Sound.

I will not detain this Conference with a more extended account of new undertakings in the Alaskan field. What has been pre-

of things as they are to-day. I am merely asking you to face with me a work that lies before us, that we may better accomplish it.

The Indian Service is to-day wide open to the whole country for inspection, both in the Office at Washington, and on the reservations where the Indians live. Speaking as a member of the Government, I say that we have nothing to conceal, and everyone, good or bad, who has any worthy or unworthy interest in Indian affairs is welcome at all times to come to see me. I was talking with a man the other day whom I know to be a liar, and a friend of mine protested against my receiving such a man. He thought that I should not countenance such a person by consulting with him or with another one whom I know to be in an underhanded way inimical to me; but I replied that I have no personal feelings of the kind that would make me resent the presence of such a person while I am Commissioner of Indian Affairs. I can no more find time for rows in this fight than can a soldier in a charge. I must listen to all, gather every scrap of information and advice, seek to see every rock and shoal and hidden danger, and think of nothing but of using the knowledge so gained to better the condition of Indians. While I am in this work I am enemy to no man, personally, in the United States, but only to the things which get in the way of the Indians. (Applause.)

But I cannot meet and hear and see all the good and all the bad myself. I must have eyes and ears in the field, going openly or secretly, seeing clearly, hearing fully, all that there is. Congress must give me, and I use the word "must" speaking as one of the people of the United States who elect Congressmen, a corps of inspectors who should be at least thirty as high-grade men in business training and moral sense as this country affords. At present, more or less accidentally, I have some three or four of this grade. These inspectors should be paid enough so that they can give their lives to the work. The Indian Service is weak in the head, weak-eyed, and hard of hearing. The ten millions or so which go to make up the annual appropriation by Congress for running the Service is not well-apportioned. It does not recognize the necessity for leadership. Hundreds of thousands of dollars are wasted because the managers are not paid business salaries.

Likewise we must have real superintendents. It is possible to get cabinet officers for far less money than they can earn in private business. It may, perhaps, be possible to get Commissioners on the same terms, but it is not possible, as a rule, so to get the *170 Men on the Ground*. If the head of a great corporation paid a man in charge of one of his plants to handle a

property valued at something like the number of millions involved on the Osage Reservation, less than ten thousand a year, he would be criminally negligent in the eyes of good business. It is criminal negligence to pay the Superintendent of the Osage Reservation only \$2,000 a year. I am not asking for a cent of increase over the present appropriations. If Congress will do what I ask, I will take far less in appropriations than at present, because with well-paid men I could save more than their salaries each year. In many cases the tribal funds could well be taxed for good salaries to their own safety and preservation from waste. But this business side is the least important side. Superintendents should be big men, for Indian affairs is above all a human business. Only by the closest personal acquaintance with the Indians under his charge can the Superintendent hope to do the right thing for them. His place is out on the reservation, not in the office; and out there are all the intricate problems of humanity which demand a great leader.

There, too, in the field the multifarious activities in the Indian Service fall into transparent orderliness under three main heads — health, schools, and industries.

It is possible to do only two things with the Indians — to exterminate them, or to make them into citizens. Whichever we choose should be done in the most business-like manner. If we choose extermination, we should do it suddenly, painlessly and completely; but, instead of frankly engaging in that course, the country has set itself to make the Indians into citizens. It has no business to bungle this job as it is now doing, any more than, if the course of *extermination* were now to be decided on, it would have any business to bungle that. Our present course is, as a matter of fact, a cross between extermination and citizenship. If we would escape a disgrace greater than any which has attended this Indian business yet, we must stop at the beginning of this twentieth century and think clearly about the Indians, and set ourselves resolutely to certain clean and high courses. The whole American people must do this thinking. No group, no section alone can do it effectively. The pressure of private interest, the clutch of private greed, the political interests of public men, unless smoothed for them by wide public demand, are too omnipresent, too overwhelming for anything less than the attention of the whole people turned to the Indian to avert. (Applause.)

And this course which the thinking of all the people will make clear demands of us more than would be demanded in the case of the backward among our own people, or in the case of the immigrant. We are dealing with a people without generations back of them trained more or less in the ways of civilization.

Within the next few decades we must foreshorten the road which really centuries long, and while leading the Indian along it we must of necessity try to do in months what nature should do in years. We must not forget the order of the process. For example, an Indian is not ready yet to live under a perfectly constructed, highly developed irrigation system. He cannot be planted under it all at once, any more than a child from the east side of New York can be taken healthily in one jump into a Fifth avenue home. He must first be given a little crude teaching from which he can see results, even though that teaching is only a plaything and a matter of one season. In one year, if gone at in this way, many Indians could be taught to use a highly developed irrigation system who without that preliminary training adapted to their growing intelligence would forever fail. All this means that our work must be frankly philanthropic — using not the charity which pauperizes, but the help which nourishes self-help.

Having undertaken this frankly philanthropic task, we can, if we recognize that there are means in our possession as a people to do it without bungling, see the course plainly. Prime above all other considerations in dealing with these 300,000 Indians in our midst is their health. There is no use in continuing all this great machinery of the present and deceiving ourselves with hopes of the future, if we are allowing tuberculosis and all rotten diseases of the blood to creep among these people. Liquor must be kept away from them more than it is kept away from our own weaklings. Rations must be frankly and wisely administered to the sick and to the old. No other of the means by which we would save the Indian to citizenship must be allowed to interfere with this prevention of disease. I am frequently met when I wish to take an Indian from a school because he is sick and can be cured somewhere else and the danger of his affecting some other pupils be averted, by the statement "You will cripple my school." Do the schools exist for the Indians, or the Indians for the schools? What is the use of a maimed and poisoned citizen? The people should give us an Indian medical service unexcelled in the country, to go into the schools and to ride the reservations preventing disease.

The second great principle underlying all our Indian work is that concerned with the schooling of the Indians. They should all be taught to speak the English language, to read easily, to speak objectively, to write clearly, and to figure easily. They should be taught to say Good Morning and Good Afternoon, to look people squarely in the eyes. Beyond these essentials, I care not how far we go, provided we go consistently with other important means of education. I am not worrying as to the respective

merits of the five classes of schools which we now have, but I am worrying as to the results these schools produce, and by which alone they should be measured. You can tell little whether a school is good or not by looking at the school — you must look at its graduates. "By their fruits ye shall know them." But one thing must never be forgotten — that all our distinctively Indian schools are only a temporary expedient. The tendency must be unceasing toward Indians in white schools and whites in Indian schools. (Applause.)

The third great principle is that concerned with industries. In this connection consider with me for a moment the plant at our disposal for the industrial training of the Indians. The school in the narrow sense is only one item in this plant. The school in the broader sense is the property owned by the Indians, or given them by the Government; the per capita payments; the five millions of moneys belonging to individual Indians deposited in National banks throughout the country; the supplies purchased for them by the Government; their ranges; the water flowing through their lands; the forests growing on them; the minerals under them; the portions allotted to each individual Indian; the leasing or sale of parts of these allotments — the money value of it all, running into the hundreds of millions of dollars. In size it is equal to over twice that of the State of New York, scattered through twenty-six states in areas ranging from a few hundred acres to areas as large as some of the smaller states of the Union: all this to assist us, if handled rightly, in bringing the meager 300,000 persons to safety. The aggregate wealth of our own schools and colleges is hardly larger, and yet they train effectively over 18,000,000 students a year. Was there ever such a wonderful means to a clearly comprehended end? Yet, as we are handling it at present, I sometimes feel that the Indian himself is lost sight of beneath it all. The only way to clear the ruck is to remember that every cent and fiber of this plant, whether in the growing tree or in the fashioned plow, exists for the education of the Indian in that largest school of all, the experience of actual life. (Applause.)

This is the thing which I must make all those particular groups scattered throughout the country see, all the associations interested in the welfare of the Indians see, all the neighbors of the Indians living around the reservations see, all the white people scattered among the allotments see, all the five thousand field employes of the Indian Service see, all the 180 employes in the Indian Office at Washington see. Only by all the people comprehending it can these lesser groups be made to see.

venture to say that if you ask the average employe of the Indian Service in the field just what was the end in view in getting an Indian lease part of his allotment, he could not give you any very clear idea. I know many a one in the Indian Office at Washington could not. We must wake them all to clear comprehension. I need not mention here the hundreds of faithful, self-sacrificing people who are helping the Indians. All that can and should be said in their praise cannot obscure the dry rot that encompasses and paralyzes things as they are and will be until the people and the Congress act.

If it be possible, as I believe it is, to bring these three principles of health and schools and industries to the front, the service will waken into full consciousness and intelligence. The superintendent who writes in for \$700 to paint his buildings will not be told that there is no money, and have to sit and see deterioration to the extent of thousands of dollars going on. The superintendent who writes in to say that he needs more rations for the old people will not be told by the clerk in the office that it is the policy of the office to discontinue rations. The superintendent who allows hundreds of able-bodied Indians to lease their allotments and so acquire an ignorance of want which would slowly emasculate their energies will not be allowed to go unchecked. The sales of parts of Indians' allotments which are more than they can make use of themselves, will be encouraged, but the money will not remain in the banks; it will go out to be applied in the building of houses with several rooms, in the purchase of tools for agriculture, and stock, or will furnish the means of increased skill in the trades. The bona fide white settler must come in; the land speculator must go. Broad powers should be given by Congress to the executive officers of the Government by which in such matters as the allotments of Indians these executive officers can use their discretion. Allotments on reservations ready for it can be pushed, but allotments on others by no means ready for it can be held back. There are many cases where allotments should follow actual settlement by the Indians. There are very few cases where all of a tribe should be allotted as a blanket proposition.

Finally, one great force, perhaps above all others, must be met and overcome. It seems as if in many white men there existed a different moral code among themselves and between themselves and Indians. Men who would not think of stealing from white men apparently consider it no crime to steal from Indians. I am confronted now in several distinct parts of the country by thieving from Indians which would make a highwayman blush — he takes some chances. These thieves felt, and, unless it lies

within my power to make them mistaken, *feel* that they ran no risks. In one sense these thieves are not so much to blame as are the American people who have made their dishonesty so easy. If I had not the proof of these things in my possession, they are so astounding that I doubt if I should believe their existence myself; yet I think I have such proof as will convince juries.

If the people of the United States will take note of all these things these evils could disappear in a few years. They will not disappear until some fundamental legislation is passed by Congress in response to the will of the people. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: If any of you have remembered to this time some of the things I have just said, you will see that the first thing in my mind is the health of the Indians. I have asked Congress in our annual estimates with the almost contemporary suggestion and heartiest support on the part of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ballinger, for \$50,000 to further organize our medical service. Mr. Chairman, the Vice-President, who is with us here, assisted last year in giving us a fund to begin with to meet an emergency proposition, in the way of trachoma and tuberculosis. It seems to me there is no one thing that the country should do more important than this. I have asked Dr. Murphy at present engaged in organizing our service, to occupy the first ten minutes. I have pleasure in introducing to you Dr. JOSEPH A. MURPHY, Medical Supervisor of the Indian Service.

#### ORGANIZING THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

##### ADDRESS OF DR. JOSEPH A. MURPHY

The problem of organizing the medical service and of making a thorough and effective campaign against disease among the Indians meets with as many difficulties as does the solving of the general Indian problem.

The vast distribution and isolation of the individual homes from centers of control and inspections, the different languages and dialects, varying degrees of progress and education, degeneration and disease resulting from poverty or riches, laziness, indifference, ignorance, unhygienic habits, customs, pernicious superstitions, uncleanness, neglect of the aged, resistance to sanitary innovations, the vast infections of tuberculosis and trachoma already present, the purifying of infected homes, the treatment of those infected, the prevention of its spread, the need of sufficient money, and of competent, enthusiastic, tireless trained workers; all these factors and numerous others must be considered in the problem of bettering the real results of effective medical service.

It is by the organization of a campaign along the lines of prophylaxis of disease that the greatest amount of good may be accomplished. The great limitation of all health work is ignorance. Administration of sanitary measures can not advance far beyond popular knowledge. Unless the Indians know and voluntarily institute reforms they will not be effectual. A campaign of education especially along the lines of prophylaxis of tuberculosis and trachoma should be instituted and persisted in by all employes of the service. No one should be exempt from responsibility. The employes must be educated first — then the Indian.

The office should send a traveling physician to instruct employes, pupils and Indians, the instruction illustrated by microscopic demonstrations, lantern or photographic exhibits selected especially to illustrate defective local conditions. If a set of moving pictures could be procured, gotten up by such an artist as Mr. Curtis, for example, it would add greatly to the interest and effectiveness of the exhibit. Special effort should be made to have older Indians attend these exhibitions and talks, and if these entertaining features are added the success will be greater.

Inertia of the service physicians should be overcome. They should not simply wait for sick patients to apply to them for cure, but should regularly examine the members of their community, and inspect and correct unsanitary conditions of the homes, tactfully if possible, or forcibly if flagrant violations of health conditions exist in spite of warnings. Sufficient transportation should be provided physicians for this purpose. Sanitary inspectors under the directions of physicians should be detailed to assist where it is impossible for physicians to cover the ground thoroughly. These may be employes especially adapted or local physicians in certain districts. Trained nurses are better fitted for work as field-matrons than untrained women, and there is a wide field for this work and need of more workers. The following are some of the points to be taught by these means:

Care of infants and children, the care of the sick, isolation of contagious cases, necessity for and methods of cleaning clothing, bedding, blankets, floors, dishes, and the person; the avoidance of overcrowding and non-ventilation of sleeping rooms, the proper food and its preparation, protection of drying meat and food stuffs from flies, avoidance of irregular meals, of eating off floors and of eating animals dying of disease, the proper care of the aged, the prevention of spitting, and of passing the pipe and gum. Field matrons should report to the physicians these conditions. Special time should be devoted to Indian homes having cases of tuberculosis. Field matrons should be instructed and directed by the local physician and by those specially trained in this kind of

work. Signs prohibiting spitting should be prominently posted about schools and agencies, and pamphlets on tuberculosis, trachoma, ventilation and personal hygiene freely distributed.

Teachers in the schools should teach from regular text-books on these special subjects, and might act as field matrons in the homes during the school vacation. Teachers should weigh pupils monthly and report to the physician those not thriving.

Ample ventilation of dormitories and school rooms, scrupulous care of teeth, the production of an abundance of milk and eggs for the school pupils and especially for ailing pupils, a less strenuous school routine and more fresh air for the delicate children,—these are matters that should be carefully observed by the individual service employees.

The medical supervisor should inspect, assist, advise, encourage and direct the work in the field.

A special campaign against trachoma\* is being conducted. Three physicians and two nurses spend their entire time in this work. One physician and nurse travel from place to place, assisting and directing the work of the local physicians and nurses, and also doing independent work on the reservations. The chronic nature of trachoma makes the progress in the work very slow, but considering the extent of the field and number of workers, a great deal has been accomplished. All the pupils in the larger schools in the southwest having trachoma (and the percentage is large), have been operated upon and are being treated. More money will be needed to continue the work.

Hospitals and sanatorium schools have been instituted at Fort Spokane and Fort Sapirav, Idaho, for tubercular cases, and others are being established.

These hospitals are only in the experimental stage at present and there is no doubt that if successful, many others will be established. A special appropriation for fighting tuberculosis is badly needed.

One element essential to success in the work is the increase of salaries of physicians. The best of physicians are needed, but the salary is not adequate to command them. More physicians are needed also.

Another factor not mentioned in the weapons for fighting disease is the church. The influence of both the Catholic and Protestant church is enormous, and if they could be brought to use their influence in the correction of some of the insanitary

\* In response to an inquiry, Dr. Murphy stated that trachoma is an infectious disease of the eyes which causes granulations to form very slowly on the lids. It is an insidious disease which gives very little trouble for a long time, but finally results in ulcers of the cornea, deformity of the lids and defective eyesight, and sometimes in blindness.

habits of the Indians, a great good can be accomplished. The duty of keeping clean in a physical sense is as high as moral cleanliness, and should accompany it.

With continuous organized effort against the spread of diseases, with organized inspection of the whole field along sanitary lines, with field instruction upon health subjects given to employes and school children and reservation Indians, with a better and larger paid corps of physicians, stimulated to make regular prophylactic inspection of their own respective fields, with a corps of assistants under their direction, field nurses, matrons, and sanitary inspectors to visit and instruct in the homes, teachers to instruct their pupils to observe and report upon ailing children, with greater nourishment, more fresh air and better supervision over those not thriving in school, with the aid and moral support of the church, with special field work directed against trachoma and hospitals being established for tubercular cases, the prospects of the betterment of the health of the race should be certainly encouraging. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: The next speaker on the program is Mr. B. B. Custer, Superintendent of Indian warehouses. Two years ago I was coming East on the Santa Fé Railroad and I had no time to stop off at Albuquerque; but when I was at some point west I wired Mr. Custer that I should have ten minutes or so on the platform at Albuquerque. He turned up. I do not know where he was. He may have been off a hundred miles from the railroad, but he came. I have asked him to speak to you to-day, as he met me as somewhat of an emergency, on "Meeting Emergencies."

#### MEETING EMERGENCIES IN THE INDIAN SERVICE

##### ADDRESS OF MR. B. B. CUSTER

The unexpected thing often happens to the Indian School superintendent. Then the question is, how to meet it? Some plan to consult the Indian Office; a very proper thing to do if that office holds information you lack and conditions would permit of the delay. Often, however, it is a matter the particulars of which are known best by the superintendent. Imagine, then, as I have tried to, how that office would feel toward a superintendent who, in possession of all details, waits to be told when and how to act. If the superintendent would, for a minute, place himself in the position the Washington official is occupying, when trying to answer, he would, I am sure, meet the emergency and take the credit or censure due him for results obtained.

I believe our work is not unlike the busy life of the city or the teamster on the mountain road. The driver who sits on his wagon, swearing at his luck, as he would express it, cannot expect to progress as the one who climbs from his seat and looks for a timber with which to pry his wheel from the mire, thus saving his team, wagon and temper and accomplishing the work he set out to do.

When I arrived at Greenville, California, I found a school of thirty-three pupils. Having no authority over the parents, I began popularizing the school by organizing a band, giving entertainments, etc., and soon found my attendance at ninety-eight, the school's capacity.

At Southern Ute Agency, Colorado, the matter of re-enrolling the Indians was one I felt must receive early attention as I found that persons whose names were carried on census and payrolls were dead. These Indians were allotted and each had three names, American, Indian and their nickname, the last subject to frequent changes. I finally determined to make a descriptive record of each family, giving weight, build, height, sex, etc., and noting any mark of identification. Mr. Ute, however, objected to being weighed and to answering questions as to wives and children. I dropped that matter and listened to their pleas to *repair irrigation ditches*. In this I induced all to work who would and, when they were ready for their pay, I told them, "*No weigh, no pay.*" The census was taken; the result made it necessary to strike from the rolls the names of over sixty Indians who had been dead from one to six years.

I find that we are often inclined to be cowardly in the meeting of emergencies. They necessitate additional labor and thought and with it comes the possibility of failure. This reminds me of a farmer I had. I felt he had an exceptional opportunity to give the Indians an object lesson in the raising of a field of wheat under conditions similar to those in use by the more progressive farmers in the surrounding country. After explaining in detail just how this should be done, and what a saving it would be to the Indians in labor and water, how it could be gathered with reapers instead of by hand as they were then doing, and how he would, by such an act, establish himself in their eyes, he replied: "Well, don't you think it would lower me a great deal in their estimation if I failed?"

In the matter of liquor selling among Indians the man who shirks additional work will capture no law-breakers. When I found that my pupils at Albuquerque, New Mexico, were obtaining liquor, in three hours' time one night I secured three arrests which resulted in two convictions.

I feel quite proud of a compliment paid me by a visiting parent while I was disciplinarian. He was standing admiring the school, and especially the boys at play, when he said, "My, this is a fine school; I don't see why any boy or girl would want to run away from here." "Well," I replied, "they long for their people and home." "Yes," he answered, "but my boy tells me they got a man here that gets every one he goes after; they *can't* get away." I had accomplished just what I had worked for, left the impression with the pupil that he was sure to be captured. This, however, cost effort on my part; going day and night, on trips from one to one hundred and twenty-five miles in length. On one trip after six pupils I traveled from 6 A. M. till 9 A. M. the next day, without food. The pupils, however, were returned.

The day school, in my opinion, is a branch of the Indian work that if it is in charge of a practical teacher, one who can meet emergencies, will produce wonderful results. It is unnecessary to point out the results obtained if the teacher cannot adapt himself to surrounding conditions and enters the field without a thorough knowledge of the Indian work, excellent health and, back of this, a large amount of energy and ingenuity.

The day school teacher when a pupil is absent, reported sick, has not done her full duty until she visits (where possible) the pupil's home and offers to assist in whatever way she can. Some teachers might feel that this is not their duty, while the superintendent, in this event, might feel that the transfer of such a teacher to a boarding school would be beneficial to the service. Having had, at one time, nine day schools under my charge, it was very easy to draw comparisons, and I am glad to learn that the more efficient teachers have received an increase in salary. Too much praise cannot be given some of the day school teachers in our service.

It is true that one can waste valuable time attending to small details that should be so arranged as to take care of themselves; it is also true that, by giving others certain duties you invite failure, which is equivalent to a *failure to meet the emergency*.

Emergencies are constantly arising with superintendents of Indian schools. We should meet them in a fearless and manly way. On one occasion, when I was offered a superintendency of a certain school, knowing the school and its disadvantages, I prepared a letter to the Commissioner, thanking him and stating why I declined. After reading and rereading the letter I could see nothing but *coward* stamped upon it. My reply was in two words, "Will accept."

I thank you. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: Mr. CHARLES L. DAVIS, who has been for many years in the Indian service as superintendent of an agency and for the last three or four years as supervisor of Indian schools, has seen the work of the agency from these two very distinct points of view; I have asked him to talk to you this morning on "Running an Agency."

### RUNNING AN INDIAN AGENCY

#### ADDRESS OF MR. CHARLES L. DAVIS

The features and problems of Indian administration have changed so rapidly and so radically during the last ten years that the duties devolving on the administrative arms of the service are almost wholly new as compared with those of earlier days. Formerly the duties of an Indian agent were to keep his Indians on the reservation, dole out rations periodically, maintain peace among them, see they did not annoy the public, keep as many pupils in school as possible, pay himself and employees, and once a year report progress. In those days agents wielded almost imperial authority over their reservation domains, had largely to do with selecting their own helpers; their salaries were such as to be coveted by other men of their class, and all in all a sort of official halo hovered over the position and was ever present about the person of the incumbent.

That day has changed, and the old-time Indian agent, like so many other picturesque figures of the West, is found only in history and romance. The imperialistic authority, with few exceptions, is gone, and the modern superintendent of reservations finds his lawful authority so limited as to make it very difficult to police his territory with anything like satisfactory results. He now has little to do with selecting his helpers, and his duties consist very largely of business and administrative details, involving financial interests and judicial questions, calling for education and training along special lines, and withal, an ability to accomplish a large amount of office work and keep it up all through the year. The halo is gone, and even the old-time custom of addressing him as "Major" is fast falling into disuse. His is now a life of detail and official drudgery, and his pay is similar to that of an ordinary foreman or desk clerk in about any of the large business establishments of the country.

The allotment of reservations ten to twenty years ago disturbed existing conditions but little. It took some years to ascertain the exact legal status of the citizen Indian, and the reservation rules and customs continued as before, with little change in home sur-

roundings. But in the last few years have come a number of very important changes that have brought about an entirely different life on the reservation. The first great change came with the leasing system, which brought the white man and his family among the Indians. Such leases not only revolutionize home conditions on the reservations, but to prepare and execute them and disburse the funds involve a magnitude of work that only those handling it can comprehend. Another of the later changes was the sale of lands of deceased allottees or of what we call non-competent Indians who could not use their lands beneficially. These were usually sold under the sealed-bid plan and the money retained by the agency superintendent. That money often runs up to hundreds of thousands of dollars at one time. A short time ago I helped at an opening where an aggregate of the highest bids was \$270,000 in one month's sales. That superintendent will have to handle over a million dollars in a short time.

Shortly after beginning the leasing system the government began a general policy of removing the restrictions from allotted lands; that is, of giving patents in fee to such allottees as might be able to handle their own affairs, instead of allowing their lands to run the full trust period of twenty-five years to be then turned over at one time. This policy of removing restrictions gradually is a very wise one, for otherwise the conditions at the end of the twenty-five year period would be indescribable. But the task of giving patents in fee to worthy allottees is probably the most important task now devolving on an agency superintendent and the one calling for the highest degree of judgment and integrity.

The task devolving on the superintendent and his employees is to determine who among the allottees are "competent and capable of managing his or her affairs," using the language of the statute, and report such to the department that the restrictions on the land may be removed and the allottee given full control. This means passing on applications each year, on some reservations, aggregating many thousands of acres and with values running into hundreds of thousands. It also means determining what Indians are now ready to be stricken off the rolls as wards of the government, having graduated from the state of pupilage so long impressed upon them, and saying to them, so to speak, pass over into the realm of self-sustaining citizenship, with its obligations of self-support, taxation, and protection of self and family without further aid from a paternal government. When you have thus passed over, the bridge will be destroyed behind you — there is no returning. Experience teaches that unless a wise administration is maintained the least competent and worthy will be the first to apply.

Yet with all its burden of responsibility and risk, this work must, of necessity, be left largely on the larger reservations to employees burdened with other cares so that only the most superficial investigation can be given the application. An hour's work, a page or two in way of report, and the future welfare of the allottee and his family passes over the scales. It may be the weighmaster has had a few months' experience only, it may be he is young and inexperienced, it may be he is in daily anxiety as to whether his meager salary will balance his family expenses at the close of the month, yet he must be the judge. It may be, too, the Indian applicant is in great need, or thinks he is, and for an immediate advance of a small amount has bargained to sell his home to some white man for a fraction of its real value, the deed to be made and the balance paid over when the restrictions have been removed. And it may further be that this white man is near by when the employee investigates the application and makes his report. Such would-be purchaser has little to fear except an adverse report by the employee or the superintendent, and his ill-gotten gain is frequently such that he can well afford to spend a few hundred dollars to aid the Indian's application. Such business often becomes so lucrative that men thus engaged keep attorneys employed locally and in Washington, make frequent trips to Washington, seek and obtain assistance of members of Congress, and if a servant of the government will accept it he can frequently make more in one case than his annual salary.

Experience has demonstrated that frequent errors occur through bad judgment, or lack of courage to deny what the Indians insist on, but evidence of collusion is much less frequent than would be expected. As a rule the men in charge of these important functions of the service are honest because it is right to be honest.

There is hardly a single phase of rural life that must not be considered and acted on by those in charge of reservations, and hardly a civil or criminal act common to such life that the superintendent must not consider in some way some time. He must familiarize himself with statutes, decisions of the courts, at times turn prosecutor of his Indians or whites, at others be their advocate, and frequently sit virtually as judge. He must listen to hundreds of wants and complaints of his Indians, trivial to him but all important of them, and advise, admonish, encourage, or restrain, as the case may need. He must also listen to his employees, instruct them in their duties, rights, limitations, and preserve as best he can harmony among them and between them and the Indians. Without his support his employees are virtually helpless, and it may occur that he must, outwardly at least, support them in errors, lest he cripple their power and influence.

Things of this class must make up his daily life, there is no escaping from it, and the greater portion can not be delegated to an assistant. Men with no business training, or who come into the work during the down-hill period of their lives, can never master it, and those of good constitution and proper temperamental poise only can long endure the strain. He must learn to accept commendation and calumny with the same degree of equanimity, and take as his criterion the approval of his own conscience.

That failures will occur under all the difficulties named must be expected, and the wonder is the percentage is not greater. The task calls for trained men, and for men of breadth of judgment and experience. The very meager inducements to beginners seldom attract young men of ability, and the greater inducements of other lines of activity are constantly taking from the service its best men. The outlook is somewhat discouraging.

If called upon to name the one practice or feature of agency service tending to the greatest success or surest failure it would seem trivial to many, but nevertheless true in my judgment. It is simply whether or not the man in charge places himself in the forefront, or shuts himself away from those desiring to confer with him. Many superintendents shut themselves up in a small back room of their office, and it is almost impossible for their Indians to get to see them. Or they may spend all their time at a desk, seldom going out among their people. This may result from indifference, from the over-strain of their numerous tasks, or from a misconception of their official position. The man who has the strength, energy and courage to establish himself in a front office room, make frequent excursions over his territory, and meet any and all callers, will not only discharge his duties with greater ease, but will make for himself an enviable record. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: I want to introduce to you officially Hon. WARREN K. MOOREHEAD, of the Board of Indian Commissioners. This is his short story—I am not going to let Mr. Moorehead speak to you at this time—I want to take over officially from him to myself certain things that he has done. He came to me last year as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, and said the board was short of money so that he had no means of getting out on the reservations. When I find a person who wants to go out on the reservations among the Indians I leave nothing undone to get him there, and if he stays, so much the better—unless he comes back with what Mr. Moorehead brought. He made several investigations for me in various quarters of the country and turned

over to me one of the most valuable bodies of evidence which have come into the hands of the Indian office for some time. I take this means officially of taking on myself the full responsibility of handling what Mr. Moorehead has given me—I want to say that to him and to one other official of the Service I owe all this—and if in due time I do not make good with it I shall turn Mr. Moorehead loose in the country to go after me.

When I was at Pala, California, I found the Indians who had been moved there from Warner's Ranch, living in a little village, a garden around each house, and down in the river bottom where there was some irrigation, a little patch of garden for each family; and their herds were on the mountain sides. These Indians were under the charge of one of the most energetic superintendents we have, Mr. Philip Lonergan, and were doing remarkably well. When the question of allotting these Indians came up, the first proposition was to give each one a little square of land without regard to where his roots were at this time. That is a tendency in allotments which I have been fighting; in many cases Indians have been given these squares of land without regard to where they were living. I know of cases on the Umatilla Reservation where Indians accustomed to living on river bottoms were allotted without due regard to that fact; and then the Indian office and many people in the country are surprised when Indians do not live on their allotments. It would be like allotting Mr. Smiley in the valley and expecting him to go there to live.

One of the brightest rays of light that has come to me showing the use of his individual judgment in this matter came from MR. CLAIR HUNT, who has recently done some allotting on the Spokane Reservation and I shall ask him to tell his story to you.

#### ALLOTTING INDIAN LANDS

##### ADDRESS OF MR. CLAIR HUNT

Throughout the country generally when one mentions allotment work these questions are asked: "How much surplus land will there be? What's its character? How and when can we get it?" Among the members of this conference questions of an altogether different character are asked. "Do the Indians take kindly to the idea of being allotted? Do they live on their allotments? Do they imitate the methods of their white neighbors in working them? Are they progressing in civilization?" I do not like to believe, however, that we have a corner on philanthropy. The general public is quite as unselfish as we are trying to be. If

we are in the advance it is because we have given more attention to the subject.

Allotment work is expected to settle the Indian problem. Whether or not it accomplishes this end depends upon the manner in which it is done. If an Indian lives on his allotment, gets his secular and religious education from his white neighbors, and becomes a self-supporting, respectable citizen, there is no longer an Indian problem as far as he is concerned. If, on the other hand, an Indian does not live on his allotment, but continues his inherited tribal customs, then, in his case, allotment work is a failure. The result depends upon the manner in which the work of allotting is done.

The personality of the Indian must be taken into account and the allotment fitted to the individual. An Indian taught me this. I asked him where he wanted his land; he showed it to me. I told him I knew of better land and showed it to him. He looked it over and then said: "You have told me the truth; it is better land; there is more good soil on it. It would be a better allotment for a white man, but not for an Indian. I want a little garden and a spring of water and a place where I can make my home. I could not use the better allotment so well as the one I have selected."

The Indian was right. I allotted him the land he wanted. He made his home there and secured his support from it. To his children I allotted the better land in the hope that by the time they have reached maturity they will have learned how to use it.

Allot an Indian the best improved farm in the State of New York, or even the best farm in the State of Washington, and if it is not to his liking he will not live on it. In this respect he does not differ greatly from his white neighbor.

I am acquainted with a very large number of allottees who have made their homes on their allotments, sent their children to the public common schools, and who have learned modern methods of farming from their white neighbors. I know of very many others who do not live on their allotments. They camp on them, but occasionally as they would have done were they not allotted. They roam about the country from one hunting and fishing ground to another, in this respect following the practices of their ancestors. No serious results have followed because these dissatisfied Indians could live on other reservations. From this time on the situation changes. In the Northwest there is only one reservation not allotted. When that is allotted and the surplus land disposed of, there will be no place to which these dissatisfied Indians may go. They must of necessity become vagabonds, a nuisance and

a menace to the white settlers. They will be vastly harder to manage than an equal number of white tramps because they lack the resourcefulness and familiarity with local conditions so characteristic of whites.

It would be better by far that allotments were not made if after they are made the Indians do not make their homes on them, because after the allotments are made and the surplus lands disposed of, there is no other available land that these Indians may occupy.

The land hunger of the white people has been so great that in times past the authorities have been unable to withstand the pressure for the speedy opening of reservations. In some cases allotment work has been done hastily with the unfortunate results I have indicated. However, during the preceding and present administrations a different policy is being pursued. The work is being more thoroughly done. Allotting agents are expected to familiarize themselves with the individuality of each of the allottees, and as far as possible to instruct them in the proper methods of using the land. We must fit the allotment to the allottee.

The transition from the tribal state to our present civilization, even with the white race which we claim to be superior, has required many centuries. We are asking the Indian to accomplish the same progress in a much shorter time.

With the Kalispell Tribe, where I am now engaged, tribal customs exclusively prevailed until 1895. The people had no houses and cultivated no fields; but occupied all their lands in common. They camped on different places on their domain according to the seasons, secured their subsistence by hunting and fishing, and from the various roots and herbs to be obtained locally. When white men paid them money they divided it among the members of the tribe. A communistic social state, and paternal government prevailed. Individual occupancy of land and the building of houses began within the last twenty years. Only about a month ago, when I was present in the camp, two young Indians crossed the river to a white village and brought back some whiskey. The chief heard of it and had them arrested. The next morning he called a few of the old men together in council, brought up the culprits and inquired into the charge. They were found guilty and the chief sentenced them to be publicly whipped and the sentence was carried out immediately.

Tribal customs, communistic ownership of property and paternal government is the result of generations of practice and tradition and cannot be uprooted in a day. One of you gentlemen may very justly criticize some habits of mine and show me they

are wrong. They may be business or social practices, or even my personal habits. You may convince me of my error and point out a better course, but it is altogether a different matter for me to change these practices even after being convinced they are unwise. To induce the Indian to change his ways requires not only education, but a good example and endless patience.

After portraying the superiority of modern civilization, if we can show to the Indian as its result a people morally good, socially intelligent and agreeable, and in business honest and successful, only then have we a right to expect the Indian to accept our teachings. (Applause.)

It is very important that the field force should be in close touch with the Washington office. In my own experience I never felt that the office had an understanding of the difficulties of field work until I was visited by Mr. Leupp something over a year ago. He stayed with us for eight days and listened to all of our troubles. He listened to troubles from 7 o'clock in the morning until midnight — day after day; he consulted with the Indians, and drove over the reservations and made a thorough inspection of the work in the field. When he had finished and ever since that time I have felt a confidence that the Washington office understood my troubles and had a sympathetic comprehension of them.

Last week I was discussing this subject with Captain Webster, superintendent of the Colville Agency. The captain said "the Indian office used to think that all I had to do was to step out on the porch and whistle and any Indian in my charge would appear instantly. They know better now. Mr. Valentine has rode over the reservation from one end to the other on horseback, and Mr. Valentine knows."

Mr. Commissioner, if you had heard the satisfaction in the tone of the captain's voice when he said "Mr. Valentine knows," it would have repaid you for the hardships of that horseback ride.

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your patience. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: One of the gravest problems or group of problems that confronts us is the use of land. We have some of the most valuable timber in the country on Indian reservations. We have large reclamation projects on Indian reservations and valuable mines. The Indian allotments have been to a great extent leased to white men. I prefer the actual settler to the lessee, but have asked MR. O. H. LIPPS, superintendent of the Nez Perce Agency, Idaho, to speak to you this morning on some of the problems of the uses of land as they appear to him.

## USES OF ALLOTTED INDIAN LANDS

### ADDRESS OF MR. O. H. LIPPS

What use is the Indian making of his land? This is a question an Indian agent is called upon to answer oftener, perhaps, than any other; and a great deal of uneasiness appears to be manifested by the friends of the Indian as to what disposition he will make of his lands when the restrictions as to alienation, or even as to the leasing and management of them, are removed by the Government. It is urged by many that it is an unwise policy for the Government to give over to the Indian the full control of his lands free from all departmental supervision. Some are of the opinion that if the Indian is given permission to lease his allotment he will be induced by unscrupulous whites to enter into written agreements for the use of his lands for less than a fair rental value. It is also argued that as long as the Indian has his lands, and these lands are controlled by the government for his benefit, his future support is assured, and that at the death of the allottee, his children, who may or may not have allotments of their own, will be provided for, and thus is banished at once all fear of the Indian becoming a public charge on the community.

To the casual observer this sounds like good logic, but to the man on the ground who has been standing face to face with the Indian problem for years it sounds like a bit of sentimentalism and an excuse for evading the responsibility of the real task before us — the task of teaching the Indian to become independent and to feel the responsibility of his own acts.

In order that we may get a clear understanding of the subject under consideration I desire to call your attention to actual facts as they exist to-day on many of the allotted reservations, and more particularly on the Nez Perce reservation in Northern Idaho.

This reservation is a very large one, being about thirty miles in width by sixty miles in length. About 2,000 allotments were made on this reservation, aggregating about 185,000 acres, the greater portion of which is fine agricultural land. In 1895 the surplus lands on the reservation, about 500,000 acres, were settled upon by about 3,000 white families. The fact then is this: in the year 1895 the Government gave to 2,000 Nez Perce Indians 185,000 acres of land and to 3,000 white settlers 500,000 acres of land. No special favor was shown toward the Indian there. His lands were to be free from taxation and restricted as to alienation for a period of twenty-five years. Now let us see which has taken the better care of his heritage or used it more wisely, the white man or the Indian.

To-day the Nez Perce Indians still own 94% of the lands originally allotted to them, notwithstanding the fact they have been at liberty to sell off fully one-half of their holdings under the act providing for the sale of inherited Indian lands, while not more than 20% of the original white settlers still own their homesteads.

The Indians have sold and received patents in fee for only 6% of the total allotments made to the tribe fifteen years ago. They still own more than 150,000 acres of fine agricultural land, or an average of about 100 acres for each man, woman and child now living and belonging to the tribe. They also own in common 32,000 acres of fine timber lands which they refuse to sell at any price. Is the Indian then a person who can not be trusted with the care and keeping of his own property? (Applause.)

Nearly 300 Nez Perce allottees have been granted permission to lease their own lands without departmental supervision. It is really remarkable to note the good judgment and business ability they have exercised in transacting their business affairs in this regard. So far as I have been able to learn not a single Indian has been defrauded and most of them have secured exceptionally good contracts in the leasing of their lands.

What are your Indians doing in the way of farming their own lands? What kind of homes have they, and are they industrious and self-supporting? These are questions that I am frequently called upon to answer.

My reply is that nearly every Nez Perce family cultivates at least a garden and raises a few acres of wheat or oats for hay, and many of them are farming from forty to two hundred acres of land. The Nez Perces have always been self-supporting and it is a maxim of the tribe that "No Nez Perce ever goes hungry." It is true that with the opening of the reservation to settlement by the whites fifteen years ago came large annuity payments with all their attendant evils, and the tribe has not yet fully recovered from the effects. It is particularly noticeable in traveling over the reservation that most of the orchards and houses are old and that few new improvements bear testimony of the energy and effort that marked the industry of former days, when they received no rich returns from leased lands but were forced to obtain their living by the sweat of the face. The Nez Perces were formerly a very industrious and economical people. Quite different now. Very few Indians make any effort to raise anything for market except where they can do so on a large scale and haul their products to market with a four-horse team.

In this connection I desire to call attention to one fact that I believe is often overlooked in considering the lack of industry and ambition in the Indian. Of late years I have observed, more

particularly among the school children, that what often seems to be laziness in the Indian is not in reality a lack of desire to work, but is rather a lack of physical strength and vitality. I am satisfied that many pupils in school are thought to be lazy when, in fact, they have through a weak constitution lost all energy and ambition. I remember two cases of the kind that have come under my observation during the past three years. Both pupils were about fifteen years of age and were apparently in good health. They were not disobedient, but they could not be induced or persuaded to do their work. Both are now dead. They were no doubt slowly dying at the time. I know of several Indians who were ambitious to get along, were hard workers and had big plans for the future, but who suddenly broke down in health and gave up and are now in the last stages of consumption. The civilized Indian is often a physical wreck, and we should not expect too much of him.

But what is the necessity for the Indian leasing his land? Why does he not farm it himself? some one asks. The reason is this, to some extent: on nearly every reservation the Indians own more land than they can possibly farm themselves. Take it on the Nez Perce reservation, for example. Nearly 2,000 Indians received allotments fifteen years ago. The tribe has since decreased nearly 25%, there being only 1,470 Nez Perce Indians on the reservation, including minors and many who are too old to work. Many of these own several hundred acres of land each. The only thing to do for these people is to lease the lands and use the rentals for their support. It is also true that quite a number of the adult healthy Indians are too indolent and thriftless to farm their lands and so they lease it, eking out an existence from the proceeds. How to get the able-bodied adult Indians to improve and farm their own lands is the serious question now confronting us. That we are making headway in this direction there is no doubt, but there is still much to be done before this class of Indians is made independent and self-supporting in the fullest sense of that term.

I am often asked how much money the Nez Perce Indians receive as rentals from their lands and what they do with it.

We collect annually more than \$100,000 as rentals on Indian allotments on the Nez Perce reservation, and this money is mostly used in the purchase of necessities. Occasionally an Indian will draw his rent money and go immediately to the nearest town where liquor can be procured and remain there until the last cent is gone. It sometimes happens, too, that an Indian, just like many white men in that country, will work hard all summer, and when he gets the money for his labor will go to the nearest town and squander it in riotous living. There are numerous cases on the

Nez Perce reservation where white men have made thousands of dollars farming Indian land and then have gone to the bad just as rapidly and degradedly as any Indian has ever done. Still, there appears to be no great alarm on account of the improvidence of our white population. Our Western white farmers are now buying automobiles, pianos and expensive furniture, and yet if an old Indian sells a piece of inherited land and with the proceeds buys a driving team, in order that he may ride around over the reservation in ease and comfort to visit his friends and relatives, we are too prone to criticise him and to tell him he should have purchased a plow and a yoke of oxen instead.

The facts then are that the Indian is not materially different from the average white man with whom he comes in contact. He uses his lands and his money much the same as the white man uses his lands and money under similar conditions in our Western states. There are thousands of white people who are just as much in need of a guardian to take care of their property and money as the Indian, but we would not consider it a wise policy for the Government to exercise guardianship over white people simply because they do not make the best use of their property and opportunities.

We sometimes fall into the error of treating the Indian as a grown-up child. This is a great mistake. I have found that the Indian is capable of understanding the reason for things and that the same reasons that appeal to the average white person are understood and appreciated by the Indian.

What about the issuing of patents in fee to the Indians for their lands, some one asks?

As a general proposition, in my opinion, this is a matter in which the Government should exercise great caution. As a general rule the better class of Indians do not want patents in fee for their lands on the same grounds that many white people who take up homesteads defer as long as possible the making of final proof in order to avoid the payment of taxes on the land. Very few Indians desire patents in fee to their lands except in cases where they wish to dispose of it. It is a difficult matter to determine who is competent and who is not competent. All the Nez Perce Indians who have received patents in fee for their lands have sold them at goodly prices and many of them have made good use of the money. Some have squandered it within a very short time, but even these are in some respects better off without their land, for now they realize they must work or starve and most of them prefer to work. As each reservation presents a different problem; only the man on the ground can form any intelligent opinion as to what is best to do in such matters and each application must

be considered on its merits, taking into consideration all the facts and conditions of each case as it comes before him.

After all, the sooner the adult Indians who are physically and mentally competent are placed upon their own responsibility entirely, both as to the education of their children and the support of their families, as well as the management of their property, the sooner will they evolve into independent, self-supporting and useful American citizens. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: It is one of my ambitions to get as many Indians at work on this business as possible. We have now between thirteen and fourteen hundred Indians among the five thousand employes of the Indian Service. Many of them are giving the finest kind of service, in humble ways, and some are rendering conspicuous service. I will ask an Indian, Mr. PETER PAQUETTE, superintendent of the Navajo School, Ft. Defiance, Arizona, to speak to you.

#### INDIAN LABOR

##### ADDRESS OF MR. PETER PAQUETTE

In the nineteenth verse of the third chapter of Genesis we read: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." This injunction laid upon the first man is the inheritance of us all. We are given strength and a body well suited to the performance of manual labor.

During the centuries in which the Indians had undisputed possession of the Western Hemisphere their subsistence was obtained principally from a natural supply of wild game and no more was slain than was needed to supply their immediate wants which insured to the Indians a permanent supply of food and raiments, as the natural increase of the animals which were hunted was in excess of the demand. This method of securing food during untold generations has inbred in the Indians a faith in the maxim that "The Lord will provide," which has left them in a rather helpless state, as with the advent of the restless, colonizing European and his insatiable desire to accumulate in quantities far and away beyond his present needs the game has practically disappeared and the Indians are taken unawares, so to speak, compelled to learn an art of which they knew little or nothing hitherto. The generation of Indians now ending found it almost impossible to adjust themselves to this necessity. The newer generation of Indians show a much greater ease of adjustment to the new order and only those who have worked with them or among them as

I have for many years can fully comprehend how willingly and well they perform their tasks.

Traveling through Northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, there you will find the Chippewas, Oneidas, Stockbridges and Winnebagoes, in great number, earning bread by working in sawmills, lumber camps, on the log drive, as farm hands, and as guides for tourists, while others are cultivating a few acres of land. The Oneidas especially do a great deal of farming for themselves. Passing on through the Dakotas, Montana and Idaho you will find them as herders and farm hands. In Washington and Oregon the Indians are engaged in hop-picking, fruit-picking and fishing. In California you see them weaving baskets, engaged in farming and fruit growing. The Apaches and Mohaves have proven their worth as laborers in helping to construct the Roosevelt dam.

Throughout the Southwest the fame of the Navajo Indians grows apace as a worker. This tribe of Indians number between 25,000 and 30,000, and occupy, with their sheep, goats, cattle and small farms, 9,500,000 acres of land. Most of the land is composed of sandy wastes, rocky mesas and mountainous country good for grazing purposes mostly, but with a great quantity of excellent timber and a number of fertile valleys upon which corn, peaches, wheat, alfalfa and garden stuff can be raised when water can be had. The Navajos are a pastoral people and many have large bands of sheep and goats to which they give great care. It seems to be the ambition of every Navajo to get a start in sheep, and they can be inspired with this idea and induced to save their earnings for the purpose.

When I was on the Navajo reservation several years ago as assistant to Superintendent Perry, who was then in charge, it was a pleasing thing to note the interest the school boys took in the matter of investing the funds they had earned in the beet fields in getting a start in the sheep industry. They might be owners of the flocks and herds. Superintendent Perry greatly encouraged this manner of investment of their funds and the boys and old Indians became much infatuated with the idea, and during the three years he was in charge many of the large boys purchased sheep and with the assistance of the superintendent arranged with their parents for the care of same. A similar policy is being carried out at the present time.

On the Navajo reservation, twenty-five miles north of the agency there lives an Indian by the name of Chee Dodge, who built himself a beautiful home which he has quite handsomely furnished at a total cost to him of over \$7,000. Besides this he has a ranch stocked with 1,000 head of cattle, 8,000 sheep, a great number of horses, and a deposit in the banks of Albuquerque of

\$40,000, bearing interest at 5%. This was all done through his own efforts in the cattle and sheep industry.

The beet fields of Colorado offer great opportunities for Indian labor, and every year from the different schools and reservations some 400 or 500 boys, ranging in age from fourteen years up, are sent there. They receive pay for their labor at the rate of fifteen cents per hour. They remain in the beet fields from the middle of May to the latter part of July, and I am told that the work they do is excellent.

At my agency during the year ending June 30, 1909, the Navajo Indians earned, freighting supplies for the Government, by working on the roads and otherwise improving the reservation, some \$10,000, and for freighting for traders and others a like sum. The persistency shown by the Navajo women in weaving their beautiful blankets from native wools is a proof of their great capacity for work, and from the sales of these blankets they receive over \$250,000 annually.

To-day we have a great number of Indians in the Government service, employed as clerks, matrons, cooks, teachers, engineers, farmers, blacksmiths and carpenters, and their labor is equal to the white labor and in many instances better.

The Indian must be educated to work and he must work, and in work is his only salvation. (Applause.) The progress of the Indians to-day depends greatly upon the efficiency and sincerity of the men sent among them to administer the will of the Government. These men must be moral, brave, sympathetic and tactful. With the unbounded faith that the Indian has in "Washington," the agent or superintendent possessing these qualifications can obliterate in a very short time many of the superstitions which hamper the Indians and retard their progress. Show them that you are interested in their welfare and they will obey. They need the guiding hand of the United States.

If we wish to save the amount already invested in him we must maintain the protective principle for a time, as a policy of placing the Indian entirely upon his own dependence now would undo the good work already accomplished. I do not advocate an extension of the ration system, nor free gifts of any kind to the Indian, as this has a tendency to pauperize him, but I am strongly in favor of the maintenance intact of several of the reservations, having witnessed many pitiful terminations of Indians' selling allotments of land held by them in fee simple through unwise recommendation. Although the Indian shows signs of advancement, I know he has not developed the business qualities necessary to maintain himself against the whites and other races, especially in the control of property.

In conclusion I may state that as it has been fully demonstrated that the Indian will work and can work and as the quality of his labor is very acceptable to employers, it seems that the time has come for him to be regarded as a human being and less as a curiosity or a remnant of a decadent race. (Applause.)

Mr. VALENTINE: The last speaker of this morning is Mr. C. E. KELSEY, special allotting agent in California, who will speak to you on the subject of "Providing for the California Indians."

## PROVIDING FOR THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS

### ADDRESS OF MR. CHARLES E. KELSEY

One of the features of the recent Mohonk Conferences has been the assurance that the Indian question was in a way to be settled and settled rightly; that the Indians in the United States were now placed where, with the work that was going on, they would become citizens in due time. I think that is true of all the United States except part of California. In California we have a very different Indian problem than has arisen anywhere else in the United States.

In the early days the government of the United States made eighteen treaties with California Indians, and they provided, as all the treaties did at that time, that the Indians would cede their land to the government for a price and take reservations; the treaties were not carried out, not ratified by the United States Senate. Thereafter the Government abandoned the California Indians and never after that made any further effort to acquire the Indian right of occupancy. Everywhere else the Indian right has been cancelled only by payment therefor; everywhere else in the United States the government paid for the Indian right of occupancy, but here in California nothing has been paid.

Some years ago, owing to the agitation made by Helen Hunt Jackson, the Indians in Southern California were taken care of. The Indians in Southern California have land and are in a way to have water; but the Indians in Northern California are on a different plane and basis. The Government not only took away the land from the Indians without payment, but the laws at that time and for forty years after American occupation were such that no Indian could acquire a title to land in California. They were placed so they could not acquire even their own homes, and by the time that forty years had passed there were no public lands worth having, except in a few remote cases. We do not know how many Indians there were at that time in California. The estimates run all the way from 150,000 to 300,000 or 700,000. By the

census made by me in the last four years there are about 18,000 in California, of which 4,000 are in the southern part and 14,000 in the northern. That is a decrease in about sixty years of over ninety per cent.

It is our belief that of the many causes which concurred in producing this decrease the greatest was the absorption by our race of the Indians' every means of existence, for when the Indians were deprived of their land, they were also deprived of the means of making a living.

About fifteen years ago there was formed in California an Indian association, a branch of the National Association, which began the work of looking after the California Indians, a band at a time at first. Some six years ago they began a survey of the field to see how many Indians there were and what their condition was. We found it a very extensive undertaking, but found out about the land and the treaties; after fifty-two years of silence we found the treaties in the secret archives of the Senate.

In our endeavor to benefit the Indians of Northern California, the land question came first. We found them homeless everywhere. Of 14,000 in Northern California, only 1,700 were on Indian reservations. We found about 1,800 allotments were made under the Allotment Act of 1891, and over one-half of the allotments were worthless. The allotting agents who came from Washington were not fully posted on California conditions, and some two hundred of those allotments were absolute desert, without water or hope of water. Some six hundred more up in the Sierra Nevada mountains are located where neither white man nor Indian can live. We found it a very pressing question how to adjust the allotments, and we hope to sell them and buy land which is good for the Indians to live on. When we began the canvass we hoped to make the allotments from the public domain for a considerable number of Indians, but the establishment of national forests has taken practically every acre relied on for the Indian homes. We have about three thousand Indians resident within the national forests without title to an acre of land. We tried to secure them title and various plans were provided or talked of by which we might give the Indians permits or leases, for we can not allot land in the national forests. That is one of our problems. We found that the greater part, some 10,000 or 12,000 Indians of Northern California, were homeless. They were then and are now in small settlements, which they call "Rancherias." These rancherias have from fifty to one hundred and fifty souls. Each rancheria has come to its present condition after being evicted and ejected from one place after another. It is somewhat saddening as well as very interesting to come to an Indian and have

him tell you the story of their frequent evictions. They are now camped on waste places and may be ejected at any moment. That was the basis of our appeal to Congress four years ago—in view of the fact that the Government had taken the Indian lands without payment and had arranged the laws so the Indians were not able to acquire land, it seemed just to us that the Government should provide some land in place of the land taken. We did not ask that they should supply farms, but merely a place for homes. We contended, as you all know, as the Lake Mohonk Conference took a prominent part, that this sort of arrangement should be made. Our contention was successful and an appropriation was made for the purchase of land for some of the hopeless, homeless Indians in California.

We have had something more,—the land question was the smallest of our troubles. We have had to fight against the most powerful adverse Indian sentiment in California. You who are here cannot imagine what that sentiment has been in years gone by. It has been such as to deny the Indian rights absolutely. For about thirty years after California became a state, no Indian was entitled to sue in court, or have his testimony taken; he was made a ward of the justice of the peace. The sentiment has somewhat moderated, but even to-day, in the great majority of California counties it is contrary to the custom of a white jury to bring in a verdict in favor of the Indian.

That prejudice also affected the schools. For many years there was not an Indian child allowed in a white school, and then there were no government schools. Now the government has school accommodations for about four hundred Indian children in Northern California. In small districts, where the schools would otherwise lapse, they have allowed the Indians to attend public schools and there are about six hundred so attending. Sixty per cent. of the Indian children of school age in Northern California are debarred from the public schools to-day and are not allowed to attend, though legally there is no prohibition; the public sentiment is such they do not dare to attend. Possibly, some may not wish to, but I find that Indian parents nowadays are alive to the advantages of education for their children and they ask for schools almost all over the state. This public sentiment is not only affecting the legal rights and schools, but the churches also. For many years, I presume, even up to to-day, the majority of churches would not think of inviting the Indian to attend services. We have in Northern California six or eight missions established; they were established by the National Association, or the branch in California, but do not reach more than two thousand of those fourteen thousand Indians. We have twelve thousand as absolute heathen

in California as exist anywhere on the face of the earth. I believe they are worse, because they have absorbed the vices of civilization without absorbing anything else.

Conditions in the Indian settlements are rather worse than on the reservations. You have heard from Doctor Murphy some of the conditions he found, and he will find it worse in our California rancherias. They are a menace and a danger to the white populations because of their insanitary conditions. We hope the purchase of land in which we have been engaged the last two or three years will prove the beginning of a better state of affairs. We have been buying land, and have bought some thirty-five tracts, which have been divided into small lots. We do not attempt to get land sufficient for them to get a living, but merely secure them a home. We have been very much gratified and pleased to see the way in which they take these allotments and plough every acre of it. Every Indian wants to put up a better, larger and finer house than he ever had before. I might say that among the whites we realize the more we do for them personally, the less likely they are to feel grateful. I think the Indians are still somewhat uncivilized, for they actually seem grateful for every new piece of land; they have been so long without homes they appreciate homes when given to them.

We have a problem of old people in California also. We have some seven or eight hundred helpless old people, many blind, and it is a problem to know what to do for them. We cannot help them or reach the majority, yet what to do we cannot say. The Indians all ask for physicians. We have an Indian conference at Mt. Hermon each year, patterned somewhat after this, and each year the Indians have come forward with a request for field physicians. I am glad to hear there is something of that kind on foot for the Indians of the United States and I hope our long-suffering California Indians may have some share in it, for they need it. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

## Second Session

Wednesday Evening, October 20th, 1909

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We are this evening to continue our discussions of Indian Affairs. We will now have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. A. E. O'MEARA, of the Yukon territory, who has come a long distance, partly to be at this Conference. He will speak to us on the condition of the Indians of British America.

### SOME POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE INDIAN PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

#### REMARKS OF MR. A. E. O'MEARA

I wish to speak for a few moments on some points of contact between the United States and Canada in respect to the Indians. For we have the same great general problems to deal with — health, education, industry.

Coming to the Yukon territory, we have there conditions very similar to those you have in Alaska. We have in that vast territory many scattered bands of Indians, living at immense distances from one another, and some of them in such remote parts of the territory and with such difficulties of travel that they seem almost inaccessible. We have these Indians coming and trading at various trading posts established at centers upon the Yukon River, and also in various remote parts of the territory.

We have been negotiating with the Government of the Dominion on behalf of the Yukon Indians, endeavoring to obtain for them the utmost possible benefits, and we wish to promote especially the matter of medical help. We are strenuously endeavoring to secure more of such help for the Yukon Indians and hope before long to secure a medical man who will devote his whole time to the welfare of those people. In these efforts we have made along the line of education and medical help, as well as in other directions, we have come to one fundamental question, and that is, Have the Indians any rights which the Government should recognize? And we find that the decision of that question will affect what is to be done for the Indians in all these matters. We have been basing our efforts upon the principle of compensation, and we find that that principle has been acted upon to a very large extent

by the United States, by Great Britain, and also by the Government of Canada.

But I come now to say a few words about one great part of Canada, which stands as a notable exception to the application of that principle, namely, the Province of British Columbia, containing about 25,000 Indians. The situation that faces us in that province to-day is very strikingly similar to that which faces you in the State of California, about which you heard this morning.

Let me give you a very brief outline of that situation. Between the years 1850 and 1860 several treaties were made with bands of Indians, under which their right to the land was fully recognized, and certain small parcels of land on Vancouver Island were purchased from them. Between the years 1860 and 1870 the Government of the then Colony of British Columbia adopted the view that whatever they did for the Indians was a mere matter of favor and of policy not founded upon any right of the Indians in the land. And the Government of British Columbia has for forty years acted upon that view and upon that policy. In pursuance of it, the Provincial Government has from time to time set apart reserves for the Indians, various parcels of land in different parts of the province. But the Indians claim they have never been parties to the setting aside of these reserves. Their claim is that when the Government surveyor sets aside that reserve, he is setting aside a part of the larger territory which came down to them from their forefathers and to which they claim title. That claim of the Indians has been mainly based upon a royal proclamation issued by King George III in the year 1763, by which, as the Indians claim, the far-western part of Canada is expressly reserved for the benefit of the Indian tribes.

And they have acted upon what they believe regarding their rights. They have during the past spring presented to His Majesty the King, and to the Colonial Office, a petition setting forth their claims and asking that the question, What are their rights, be as speedily as possible submitted to the judicial committee of the privy council for determination. That action was taken by one tribe of Indians on Vancouver Island, and the movement among the Indians has greatly grown in the last few months. Last month there was held at the city of Vancouver a meeting of Indians at which eighteen different tribes were represented. From that meeting there was sent out a strong declaration of what they believed to be their rights and of their desire to have those rights determined.

Now, Mr. Chairman, having spoken to you of the claims of the Government and the claims of the Indians, I venture to express the hope that this principle of compensation will be firmly estab-

ished by the highest tribunal in the British Empire, for I conceive that much good will result from that. Mr. Chairman, when we white people, we people of the two great, powerful Anglo-Saxon nations, come to deal with the Indians, shall we come to them with outstretched hands, saying, "Indian, this is something that we bring to you and give to you of our mercy and of our charity?" Surely not. Should we not rather come to him and say, "Brother, we bring to you that justice and that liberty which we ourselves love so much!" And shall we not by that course do a great deal toward casting down the obstacles which now stand in the way of successfully educating the Indian people, and doing for them in every way the best possible? And then a great obstacle which stands in the way of reaching them effectively by missionary effort with the Gospel of Salvation, will be removed, and a great blessing may be expected to follow. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is Rev. Dr. S. L. MORRIS, of Atlanta, Ga., secretary of the Southern Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Dr. Morris' subject is "Mission Work for the Indians."

#### MISSION WORK AMONG THE INDIANS

##### REMARKS OF REV. DR. S. L. MORRIS

If I were to speak upon the general work of missions among the Indians I certainly would need much preparation. I assume, however, that you wish merely a few words as to the work being done by the Southern Presbyterian Church.

The Presbyterian church has been carrying on work among the Indians for more than fifty years, confining their work to the civilized tribes. I might almost say that is perhaps one explanation of the fact that they are civilized and Christian people — that they have been under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian mission work during these fifty years. Unfortunately, during the War the Presbyterian church was disrupted; and as the Indian territory naturally fell to the Southern Presbyterian Church, all the work done among these civilized tribes at that time was perhaps done by our church. But after the war a large part of this work was transferred to the northern church, so that for some years we have been confining our efforts to the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. At present we have four white missionaries devoting all of their time to the Indians. There are eight "full-blood" Indian preachers who are devoting their time to their own people. We have nineteen "full-blood" Indian churches beside other churches which are mixed and contain some Indians and some whites.

There are no vacant churches among the Indians. The vacant churches have been the cause of the slow growth of the Presbyterian church in some sections; we have been unable to keep all the churches supplied. But we have no difficulty of that kind among the Indians. Whether our missionaries preach on the Sabbath, or can visit all the churches, makes no difference, for there is always an Indian leader on hand ready to take the Bible and expound it in his way, offer prayer, lead the singing, and they seem to get as much spiritual enjoyment out of it as if there were a minister present; so that all of our churches are open ordinarily every Sabbath. We have at present about 700 communicants among them. The number has not grown much in the last few years, owing to the fact that tuberculosis and other diseases are carrying away the Indians — and as the Indian population is not increasing we could not expect there would be much increase in membership among the Indians. I heard the Rev. Silas Bacon, a full-blood Indian preacher, giving an explanation on one occasion why there was no increase, or rather an explanation why the money spent on Indian missions did not produce larger results. In passing, allow me to say that the Rev. Silas Bacon, a full-blooded Choctaw Indian, is one of the most remarkable men this country has ever produced. I would not hesitate to place that man in integrity, honor and in Christian character against any man I ever knew. It was in the meeting of the Indian Presbytery, when some one raised the question why the amount of money spent on Indian missions did not show larger results, he replied in very eloquent language and said, "If you will come with me to yonder cemetery I will show you hundreds of graves filled with the sainted dead. I will show you where the money has gone that has been expended upon Indian missions. Now," said he, "was the money wasted that filled those graves with Christian people rather than heathen?" If the church on earth cannot give a good account of its Indian missions from the standpoint of numbers, surely the church in Heaven can. "The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there!"

Now, we are not only carrying on mission work in this way, having churches and preaching among the Indians, but we have been for many years carrying on mission schools for them, primary schools and even schools of a higher grade. Out of these schools have come some of the finest characters that are among the Indians to-day. Nearly all of our Indian preachers were educated in these schools. I suppose many in this audience know of Frank Wright, the Indian preacher, a remarkable evangelist,

sought all over this country — and Frank Wright, I say, is the product of our Indian schools.

Rev. Silas Bacon, of whom I have spoken, undertook to develop one of our Indian schools — the Goodland School — into an industrial school and orphanage. I assisted him with money to enable him to start. He donated twenty acres of land allotted him by the United States Government, and secured about eighty acres from other Indian friends. There he has erected buildings, which have cost, I suppose, some ten or twelve thousand dollars, and he has quite a flourishing school. So long as he had no attractive accommodations for these children, certain parties have been sending their children elsewhere; but as soon as he erected these fine buildings, the Indians who had property, the more wealthy ones, wanted to send their children to him, but he declined to receive them and said, "You have been sending them elsewhere and I intend to make this a school for the poor Indians who cannot go elsewhere." He being a member of the Choctaw Legislature, persuaded his legislature to ask Congress to give him 640 acres of land, a mile square, for the support of this school. Congress passed the bill and at some expense he located his land; but it seems that the bill passed by Congress was defective and he could not get possession. In the meantime other people filed on his land and he lost it. Then some of his friends went to Congress and a bill was passed which attempted to correct the defect. That was two years ago, but that is dependent upon the approval of the Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Bacon has located more land, at some expense, but I fear before he can get possession somebody else will "file" on it and he, perhaps, will lose it again. The man is impoverishing himself because he will turn off no Indian child. The representatives of the Government pay him a certain amount for the board of children. There are eighty boarding there now — but if a hundred were to go he would not refuse them or turn them off, but keep them for the money given him for eighty. He hesitates at no sacrifice and recently sold twenty acres of his own land to help the running expenses of the school.

I would like to tell you about other work, but my time is up.  
(Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure of calling again on the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for an introduction of one of his officials.

Mr. VALENTINE: Two years ago I was at Haskell Institute for one day, and that is all I know about Haskell. But Mr. H. B.

PEAIRS, as many of you know, has rendered efficient service as superintendent there. I have asked him to-night to speak shortly on the subject of results, and then to introduce to you in the flesh a result of Haskell.

### RESULTS OF THE WORK OF HASKELL INSTITUTE

#### REMARKS OF MR. H. B. PEAIRS

The subject assigned — Results — I want to refer to again because of the fact that last summer in June Haskell Institute held its quarter centennial reunion. As was well said this morning, every institution should be judged by the results, by the product, by the young people who go out and the work they do. Therefore, we thought it was worth while to gather together the results of the twenty-five years' work of Haskell Institute, because we felt it would not only be of value to Haskell Institute, but to Indian education in general, because what was true of Haskell Institute was true in a very large degree of every other Indian school. I have time to tell you only a few things to give you some idea of these results.

In a statistical way we found there had been enrolled in that institution approximately 5,400 students. Of that number only the small number of 400 had remained long enough to complete any course and graduate from the institution. We prepared a series of questions, asking the pupils who had gone out from the institution what they were doing, how they were living, a great many questions which are of vital importance, but I cannot stop to give them. We sent out these circulars to more than 2,000 students who had been in that institution, and we received in reply something like 1,600 reports and many more letters. I can tell you little of what was in those reports, or any here this evening. But one thing pleased us very greatly. We held our reunion in June, a busy season of the year, and we had present during the week approximately 250 of the former students of the institution. We had literally hundreds of letters from students who had been in the school, saying, "It is harvest time; it is a busy season, and we are at work and cannot possibly come." That was the tone of letters from all sections of the country. An investigation proved that to be true. What more could we ask? We located every graduate of the institution — approximately 400 of them — and we got definite information that 90 per cent., or a little better, are graded as *good*. Please remember these are graduates from a grammar school because we have no higher work in the Indian schools. Ninety per cent. did excellent work. Many are on their

farms, many in the shop, a large number are employed in Government service, in the schools, and at the agencies throughout the country and practically all, as I have said, make good records. We felt well repaid for our effort to gather up the results and to really determine what the institution had accomplished during these twenty-five years of work. There was discouragement, in some instances, of course, but there was a great deal more of encouragement than of discouragement, and we felt that the reunion was a great success. We established the fact that a great majority of graduates and a large number of undergraduates with whom we had corresponded were building homes and doing well in those homes—not only doing well in the matter of amassing property and making money, but in building homes and taking their places in the communities in which they live.

I want to give just one concrete illustration of what we discovered. We took a group of fifty former Haskell students, followed their careers and to our astonishment found that fifty of them earned \$50,000 a year, or an average of \$1,000 each; some as stock raisers, some in the Government service, some in business, and in all lines of work. However, do not believe simply making money marks their greatest success, for as we followed them into the communities in which they lived, we found they were making good, successful homes, and as citizens were taking an active part in the affairs in their communities. One of our graduates, who came to us as a mere boy, finished the business course, started in business as an assistant clerk at Joplin, Mo., and has been promoted from one position to another until to-day he is the head clerk of the Pitcher Lead Company of Joplin, Mo., receiving a salary of \$200 per month. Many such successful boys and girls have gone out from this school. But I will not mention more this evening, except to bring to you a real live issue, a demonstration of the results of what these schools are doing. It has been said that these schools possibly are not accomplishing the work for which they were established. I want to say to you the reunion of Haskell proved beyond question they are doing the work for which they were established.

We have here to-night a young man who was a student of Haskell Institute. He came to us in 1890, was a student for four years, graduating from the industrial department, and then was employed in that department. At the end of his six years he went out into business for himself. When searching for results this last year, we found that he was situated in business in Traverse City, Mich., and was making a great success of his business as a tailor, making from \$8 to \$10 per working day throughout the year. After he had been home a little while from Haskell

Institute, he invited one of our girl graduates to go with him and establish a home. This they did. They have built, own and maintain a beautiful home, are members of the white church and are a factor for the best in the community. I want to introduce to you to-night Mr. ROBERT D. AGOSA, of Traverse City, Mich.

### AN INDIAN'S CAREER

ADDRESS OF MR. R. D. AGOSA

Not being gifted in public speaking, I think I shall only be able to interest you by a short story, based upon my own recollection and experience; but at the outset let me say that I am proud and happy to have this opportunity of enjoying myself with you.

My ancestors and myself belong to a race that has been of vital importance and interest to the United States, since that Government began. We were a nation upon American soil,—many people of different tribes,—no two tribes speaking the same language. I am from the lineage of two tribes, the Ottawas and the Chippewas, and the chiefs of these people for three generations correspond in rank to men of the highest positions in governments of the white race. At present we are very few in number. As for myself, there is no white blood in my veins.

Before I proceed further I wish to say a word of the country in which I was raised; it is situated on one of the arms of Lake Michigan, known as Grand Traverse Bay, Northport Village, which country is now becoming noted for its fine fruits, beautiful summer resorts and rapid progress. The little settlement in which I then lived was made up of a number of families, located on this beautiful shore, and our occupation was cultivating small farms, and working on odd jobs for settlers. About one and one-half miles from where I lived a district school was established. I well remember when I was about ten years of age, my father told me one morning that I must go to this school. I dreaded to go alone, especially as I must pass through a dense wood, and although but a short distance, it seemed a very long way to me. Somehow I managed to get to the school grounds, and my next trial was to go into the school house. It was a school for white children, and I was very bashful, and besides could not speak one word of English. Finally my trembling legs took me inside the building, and I really began my school life. Of course the trip and the work became easier as the days went by, and I continued to attend this school, until I was about sixteen years of age. It was then necessary for me to go to work to earn something for clothing and books if I would have

them. After getting employment I neglected for so long to go back that weeks and months became years, and then I found that I was too big to go to the district school. At that time I knew nothing of Government schools, and only learned of such institutions by being present at Athens, in southern Michigan, where the Indians held three great meetings, called camp meetings. Here I met the man who told me of the great Government school, Haskell Institute, in Kansas. Upon being told of this great opportunity where I could get an education free, I could hardly believe it, as I was not used to having the Government spend money on me. After thanking him for the information I told him I would accept that chance, and he said to see him again in a few hours. After three or four hours he showed me an answer received by telegram that the Superintendent from Haskell was coming. I was very anxious for the day to arrive and to learn my fate. I was right there waiting for his arrival when, before my eyes, appeared a tall and noble man, who soon won my confidence by his cordial manner and kind words. I took my first opportunity to tell him I wished to attend his school, and in a short time, by promising to aid him to get other pupils, I had obtained his promise to visit Northport and hold a meeting there at the Mission Church. In order to get a proper attendance at this meeting, I used a little strategy. I told my people that a white man from Washington, D. C., wanted to speak to them, and I knew they would come from far and near to hear news from that great city, for the reason that the treaty made in 1836 with the great father, Andrew Jackson, had never been fulfilled as they understood it. At any rate, they all turned out, and when Mr. Meserve went to Northport the people were ready to listen to him. The church was filled, and I had the great pleasure there of hearing him tell of a school for Indian boys and girls, where they could be educated and also learn trades of any kind,—in fact be taught everything to make them good and industrious and useful men and women. So well did he represent the good work that he had more pupils enrolled for his school than he could accommodate. I remember particularly that I had been so busy I had not told my parents of my plans to go to Haskell, and they were greatly surprised at the meeting to hear my name given out as one of the pupils. Upon returning home I found my mother greatly worried, because she thought I was going away where she would never see me again; but I explained it all to her so that she was satisfied, and willingly gave her consent for me to go. I hastily prepared along with others who were going, and shortly started for Haskell Institute in company with nineteen other boys and girls. In fact the good Mr. Meserve put the

others in my charge, although I needed the guidance as well as they. I clearly remember the October morning when we left the beautiful shores of our native country. It seemed as though nature was dressed in her most beautiful garb. The end of the season in Northport was at hand and the frost and the autumn sun had turned the leaves to many hues, and all the woods and shores were aflame with red, purple and gold, intermixed with evergreen, and these were doubled and trebled in the surface of the clear water of the bay and all the leaves of the forest, and the waves upon the shores seemed bidding us good-bye. In fact it was not simply the end of the season at our homes, but it was the end of a very marked period in our lives,—the end of the old and the beginning of the new,—and we went down to the great Indian school and arrived there tired, but without mishap, and filled with wonderment and joy. (Applause.)

As a rule at Haskell Institute, each one chooses his trade, but there were so many in each place that I was obliged to take up the work of a tailor, although that was not my first choice, but I went to work, studying and learning the best I could. After being in this training for about one and one-half years I was very much surprised by being placed in charge of the tailor shop and enrolled as a government employee, in which capacity I there remained until leaving for other localities.

One matter I desire to mention as showing the wisdom of Mr. Meserve, our Superintendent. During my first year I had a serious case of homesickness, and told him I thought I should leave. It was then in the early winter, and he said I had better stay until spring; that if I should stay till spring he could pay my way home, but if I should go now in the early winter I must pay my own way. So I decided to stay, and when spring came he came to me one day and said "Now it is time for you to go," but then I thought so much of the school that I would not leave at all, and he only smiled and said he was glad I felt that way.

To go back to my story: While in this school I found myself often thinking about having a place and a shop and a business all of my own, and I also seemed to feel the lack of someone to help me with my life's work. It turned out that I found a young woman of the Chippewa tribe, who was also a student at Haskell, and was able to convince her that we should work on together, so we were shortly married and have worked hand in hand since that time. My first shop was opened at Northport, Mich., on my own account, and I stayed there some years and then went to Traverse City, and it is there that my wife and myself have earned and now own a comfortable home, and have a

good business, all established by the work of our hands. (Applause.)

Now what I want to say in all that I am stating to you is this. It is not myself that has accomplished this much. I could have done practically nothing had it not been for the Government School, and more than all, it seems to me that the great influence in my life has been the deep regard that I have for Hon. Chas. F. Meserve, my former Superintendent. I know when he left the Institute, it seemed as though the sun had gone out of my day, and I did not care to remain much longer. Still through all these years I am living and trying to live in a way that will be an honor to the school and Government which had done so much for me. (Applause.) We all know there are some mistakes and some wrongs that should be righted, but the tendency of these schools is to give us a chance to climb up and to stand on better ground and to do better things. In this regard I can think of some of these who went away to school when I did. Some have gone out for themselves and they are doing good work to-day. Some others have dropped back into their old life. If I might suggest one thing it will be this: that when students have been to these schools, when they leave, some supervision, some care and oversight should be given them to get them into proper lines of work and keep them there for a little time, so that they will not drift back into common labors, and simply doing odd jobs instead of working for themselves. I can think of much that I would like to say, but my words are few. I can only say I am glad and that I wish to thank you all. (Applause.)

Mr. SMILEY: Wasn't that a fine touch that Mr. Agosa gave us describing that autumn scene? That is typical of Indians; they can do that. I have heard similar speeches by them in Washington. That is the real Indian.

The CHAIRMAN: The next speaker on the program is Miss Anna C. Egan. Miss Egan will speak of the conditions on the Yuma Reservation, of which she is Superintendent.

#### CONDITIONS ON THE YUMA RESERVATION

##### REMARKS OF MISS ANNA C. EGAN

Before speaking of my own little problems, I am impressed to say this. Twenty years ago Mr. Meserve, Mr. Peairs and myself were employed together at Haskell, and I don't believe in our most optimistic hours, we ever thought that in twenty

years we would see such a result as Mr. Agosa whom you have just heard; and there are many such as Mr. Peairs has told you.

Now as to my problem. I have the immediate supervision of between 500 and 600 Yuma Indians and they are a primitive lot of people. When I took charge of them a year ago last January, allotment was then imminent as it is now, and Congress had decided that five acres would be given to each man, woman and child, as their share of the reservation. That seemed settled. And so believing that it was settled, I have been making all my own little plans as to how best I may assist my people in this great change that is coming to them—a change to which they do not take at all kindly. I have had many plans. At the present moment it looks as though I would have to change them, because the Indians themselves, to a man and to a woman, feel that they are being most unjustly treated in receiving but five acres of their reservation. They are asking for ten. They have many friends throughout the country, who are agitating giving them ten acres each. It is a new condition for me to face. I had thought out the five-acre proposition, but ten acres will change my plans.

The Yuma Reservation is situated in the southeastern part of California on the west side of the Colorado River. As you all know the valley of that portion of the country is considered, after the Nile, the most fertile soil in the world; so that the small acreage would, after all, have meant a good deal to those people, because they could use every bit of it, and I had hoped that with a small acreage the system of leasing would not be permitted and that we could be sure of our people working it, and so retaining and making homes for themselves. The ten-acre proposition changes that. It will be utterly impossible for them to manage that much land at present because of their primitive condition and inexperience, and probably if it is granted to them, we will have to permit them to lease.

Now I do not want to see any injustice done to my little family. If it is best for them to have the ten acres, if it is simply a matter of justice, I say, let them have it, and we will work out the other conditions later on. But in the meantime we have to remember that the Yuma Indian is not at the present moment prepared to take up farming. He is entirely unfitted for it and probably, after all, the leasing of a portion of the land and working under the supervision of the new element that will come into the country will give him the training that he needs.

Now the land question is not our only problem. The question of health is really paramount. I want to say that I think it is folly to go on educating our Indians and also folly to be allotting

lands to them if they are not going to live and be perpetuated. All over the country to-day the great question is the decimation of our people by disease and the important thing for us to do now, at all points, is in some way to start segregation camps, where those that are diseased can get the proper attention, and where we can keep the disease from spreading amongst those not contaminated, thereby protecting the people and curing those that are infected.

Again, my own Indian people are traditionally indolent, due, of course, mainly to climatic conditions, and it is going to be very difficult for us to encourage them or compel them to go to work and stay there. When I took charge of the reservation in January, 1908, I discovered that the great irrigation project was employing a great many Indians—Cocopahs who are Mexican Indians—and that a number of my people were idle. This I thought very strange and I would ask the Indians as they came to my office why they were not occupied. They would reply, "The reclamation people do not want us; they like the Mexican people better." I wondered why it was, and immediately interviewed the company's engineer. I said that as the project was on the Yuma Reservation, that the Government would expect him to give all the labor possible to the Yuma Indians. To this he said, "I am perfectly willing to do that. I have tried the Yuma Indians, but they are both worthless and lazy; I have a certain amount of money that I must expend during the year and I must do it as quickly as possible. I cannot be bothered with triflers." Then I said, "Look here, will you do this much for me; will you ask your foremen to give occupation to every Indian I send to them with a personal application for work from myself?" He said he would. Then I said, "Please ask your foremen if it is necessary to dismiss any of my people, to communicate with me, giving cause of dismissal." He said he would do that. I went home, and sent out word that I wanted to see the Indians. I put the proposition to them, stating that a great project was on foot here for their benefit, and that the Government expected them to derive the profit from the labor, and that while there was work on the reservation to do I was going to require every man that was ablebodied to do it. I made no threats whatever at that time. Then I told them they could come to me and I would give them letters to the foremen of the different camps and that they could go and select their own camps. They came wonderfully fast, and from that day until this I have heard of but two Yuma Indians that had to be dismissed. They went on and did their work well. I did say, however, as I granted each man his application, "Now, if you return to me, or

if I hear that you have been dismissed, you are coming up on the hill, and you are going to work for me—for work you must—and of course you will get no pay for it; I will give you three meals a day and they won't be very good ones either." They never had to come for their meals, but stood for their \$1.65 a day.

Recently when statements have been made that these people were in a starving condition—a condition that would have been a very great discredit to myself—I asked the reclamation authorities to give me certain figures as to the earning ability of the Yumas, and the project engineer sent me these figures. The originals of the letters I have with me if anyone cares to see them. Prior to January 1907, the Yumas earned \$13,444.80; and from January 1907 to January 1908, they earned \$22,248.82. Now I took charge January 1, 1908. It was immediately after this that I made my request to the project engineer for work for the Indians and that year they earned \$29,304.65—a little increase—quite a good increase; from January first of last year to September first, when I made this request for statistics, they had earned \$23,248.27. In all they have earned since 1907 \$88,084.35.

Now I want you to understand that this was the earning capacity of about ninety Indians; only the young men worked for the reclamation service. There are 18,000 acres that are under the project, and of course much of that is timber land and the timber had to be removed. The Indians have taken care of that. In fact the Indians have always supplied the town of Yuma with fuel and the older men who do not feel strong enough to handle pick and shovel have always handled the wood question. And when I tell you that they supplied the entire reclamation service with fuel for two years, you will understand that they cut some wood, for which the reclamation service paid them \$6,078.07, beside which they sold wood to the town of Yuma and over 1,000 cords were shipped from Yuma to northern cities and they never get less than \$3.00 a cord. From these figures you will understand that the Yuma Indians have been earning something. Of course there are, as in all communities, some who suffer in spite of the earning capacity of all the people. But if the Yuma Indian wants to work, he has work at hand. Of course he is improvident and probably does not take care of his money, but he is learning to do that, too. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to hear Hon. MERRILL E. GATES who, as most of you know has been a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners for twenty-five years, and is now its secretary. He has this summer spent several weeks

visiting Indian schools and reservations in the southwest. While he had not expected to speak, the Business Committee have requested him to present informally some of the impressions gained on that tour.

### INDIAN CIVILIZATION AND PROPERTY RIGHTS. A GLIMPSE AT THE INDIANS OF THE NAVAJO DESERT, AND AT OTHER RESERVATIONS

#### REMARKS OF HON. MERRILL E. GATES

I should have liked to listen with you to fuller details of the incidents referred to by Miss Egan. It would be easy to refer to many cases which have come under my own observation, which prove abundantly the success of many Indians in making money and in using their property wisely. For instance, I was told by a prominent citizen of Washington that a business man, a banker I believe, of Tacoma, had recently said to him: "Some years since, three of us wished to buy a piece of real estate worth about \$300,000. We decided to buy it together, as equal owners; but for several reasons it was deemed by us all desirable that the title to the property should be kept in the name of one person. One of the three equal partners who bought it, was an Indian, a graduate of the Chemawa School at Salem, Oregon. We all preferred to have the title stand in his name; and for several years that property, worth over a quarter of a million dollars, has been in his name; the accounting has been promptly rendered; and the other two of us feel safer that if we held it ourselves."

But why is it that in our conferences we seem so inevitably drawn to the *property test*, as a test of the civilization of Indians, and of the success of our efforts for them? Why is it that we cannot get away from the consideration of *property*, whenever we touch the Indian problem? We began here, twenty-five years ago, with the consideration of property in land as one of the great problems in dealing with Indians. As the growth of our population began to exhaust the supply of public lands, the question of property rights in *water*, and of the ownership of water-supply and water-power, began to confront those of us who are interested in determining the rights of Indians and in securing to them what should be their own property. I remember how keenly the growing insistence upon property in water-rights was forced home upon me, ten years ago, in California. I had been in attendance at the meetings of the National Educational Association at Los Angeles; through the courtesy of the University

Club I was a guest at a reception where many were introduced to me; one exceptionally venerable gentleman had repeatedly sought a private interview, and I had said to myself, "Good! Here is a man, who judging by his look, his venerable white locks and beard, and his clerical dress, is evidently interested in the best side of the Indian problem. I shall have help from him." When most of the guests had gone, he button-holed me eagerly, and drawing me aside said: "There are 300 Indians up here a few miles away, on a tract of land that I bought ten years ago. The only springs of water in all that section are on that land, and the Indians are close to the springs and the stream. *I want those Indians put off that land!* That is *my land!* I have the title to that land, and I want it, and I mean to have it with the water, too!"

"Why, those Indians," said I, "have been, time out of mind, on that land, generation after generation. It has always been Indian land!" "That doesn't make any difference," said he, "I have got the title to that property; water has come to be exceptionally valuable here; and I want the Indians put off!"

For a generation we have been trying to deal justly with the Indians in the matter of property in land; for the last ten years we have been trying to deal justly with Indians in the matter of property in water-rights, although their vested rights have not always been respected as they should have been.

The reason why we do not fear to consider the property test (and I am not wandering from my theme in thus speaking particularly of property), lies in the fact that the whole problem of civilizing and Christianizing the Indians and fitting them for citizenship, when we get at the heart of it, is the *problem of a man's personality*, of how personality is to be reached, developed and strengthened by the recognition and the use of property, as a person lives in social relations with other persons. Property rightly considered is indeed a sacred thing—not because money means nobility of character, and not because the richest persons are by any means presumably the best persons; but because a man's property in material things, and the use he makes of that property, is so closely related to the essence of his personality. The essence of personality is three-fold, self-conscious being, self-directed intelligence, and self-determined activity. And when the thinking man reaches out for relations with others in the material world in which we live, the material thing which he makes his own—his "property"—is in a very true sense a part of himself—of his means of self-expression and of his power to influence others through his intelligence and will, as shown in the use of his property. A man's property is his "will objecti-

fied"—his will going outside itself and laying hold of its environment, to make different things a part of himself. When you are willing to spend labor, time, effort of the intellect and will, for anything outside yourself, you exteriorize your will, you put your thinking and willing into the material things which you make your own property. The Latin derivation of property—the things which are *nearest* your very self, and into which your will and power of management enter so that these things are "next you," are your "*very own*"—peculiarly yours;—gives us the idea. Your own intelligence, feeling and will permeate your property when you really own it and use it. A man's property is thus seen to be as a part of his personality, as that unseen personality manifests itself to his fellowman through what it does. The mere power to amass money, irrespective of the use made of the money is nothing. In these years of commercialism, when wealth is too generally worshiped and ideals of success are too often limited to thoughts of money-getting, we do well to let in the fresh air of larger, higher views of life and of success. It is well to remember the words of the amiable French cynic who said, "You can tell what the good God thinks of money by the kind of men he lets make it!" It is also true that you can tell what God is making of a man—and that means what a man is making of himself, in God's world and under the operation of God's Will—you can tell what God is making of a man, by the use that man makes of his money, of his property.

In all our efforts to get at the Indians, lifting them from savagery to Christian civilization, we have to recognize first of all the primary law of self-support, of the duty for all of intelligent labor. Then we must consider how best to draw them out of a scheme of life which is based on community-ownership and common use of land, without individual ownership or proprietorship. The occupancy and use of land "in common," allies our Indian tribes to the Russian village-community where so many things are held and done "in common," and where the land is always held "in common." Before we can make of our Indians intelligent and useful citizens of the United States, we have to give them a clearer conception of right family relations. Personality has to be strengthened and developed by making the relationship of husband and wife more permanent and tender. The conception of the family, two parents with their children, as an entity and a social unit, in some tribes has to be created, and in all the tribes has to be fostered and strengthened. The old conception of community ownership—the old disposition to give away all one's property recklessly, relying blandly on the disposition of all the others in the community to give away their

property, in like manner has to be checked, before use of property can do its work in building up stronger personalities.

In our first attempts to lead the North American Indians toward our ideals, we *could not get at the person* because of isolated tribal life on reservations, and the communistic ideals of land and property. We met the further difficulty that their so-called "tribal Government" prevented our reaching the individual Indian in his personality by the processes of law, or by any true conception of the reign of law. When these conferences began, twenty-seven years ago, you could not get at the real Indians because most of them were on reservations, shut away from our American ideals by their own tribal, communistic life, and you could not reach their personality to develop it. Christian missionaries had begun to break their way into the reservations. The Gospel of Jesus Christ had begun to do what is its greatest work—to reach the individual spirit, to enlighten it, quicken it, and to direct to purity and higher living the individual, and thus to strengthen personality.

Most of the great Indian reservations have been gradually diminished or broken up; the land problem, vast as are still its difficulties, is beginning to get itself out of the way. But every thoughtful man who approaches the problem of Indian civilization in the spirit of the social philosopher or of the political economist is driven at times to say, with that grim old Man of Iron, yet of tender Christian heart, who by his school-work and his personal influence has forged rather more of Indian manhood than has any other man who has ever been in touch with this work,—with Gen. Richard H. Pratt, our "Captain Pratt of Carlisle"—who twenty years ago in these conferences would sometimes throw up his hands with a gesture of half-petulant despair when discussions about Indian land were consuming our time, and would exclaim: "Oh, *let the property go!* Let the land perish! Strip the Indian of *his land*, if we can only get at the man, and save his manhood. If we can make a man of him, we are sure that he, and such property as he needs, will be cared for!"

Since the first of July, I have visited several of our most important Indian schools, and some of the larger reservations. Such a trip, involving several thousand miles of travel, has enabled me to confer with many of our Indian workers and teachers in the field; and by comparison with my observation and notes in a trip to many of the same places ten years ago, to mark the progress that has been made, or the lack of progress where none

can be discerned. At every point you meet these questions of property and personality. Problems of administration in school matters and in agency affairs, turn largely on property, and the effect of the use or misuse of property upon personality. Racial distinctions and peculiarities are clearly discernible, and must everywhere be reckoned with. We have all come to recognize the fact that some of the marked characteristics of certain Indian races are well worth preserving in our American civilization; and we are hopeful of a genuine contribution to American life through the absorption of the Indians into American citizenship. But this Conference has not stood, and I trust will not stand, for such views of Indian life as would seek to retain the rites, customs and tendencies which make for savagery and pagan life and are most inimical to Christian civilization—merely because such rites and customs are picturesque. This gathering is too clearly humanitarian, to sanction for a moment the plan of any who would keep a group of native Americans pilloried, on a pinnacle or a mesa-top of savagery, with dances and animalized pantomime—merely because of a scientific or ethnological interest in the spectacle. We cannot forget that the sacred gift of personality, God's mint-mark on every human soul, has been given to every man, woman and child of these Indian races. And while we wish to preserve what is essentially fine in Indian ideals and Indian characteristics, we know well that the great principles of social ethics which have been established in the evolution of the race, as they have been revealed in God's Word—are not to be nullified, and should not be suspended because of the spectacular interest that may attend on savage violations of them.

At the Carlisle Indian School, during Commencement Week, after I had spoken to an audience made up of Indian students and of the towns-people of Carlisle, in an address in which I had spoken of every human life as a work of art to be carefully worked out in accordance with a special design given to each by natural endowment and surrounding circumstances—there came from the audience the written question: "Since you have spoken of life as a work of Art, will you give in general terms a definition of a work of Art?" I was not prepared for the challenge; but with memories of Ruskin and Hegel haunting me, and disavowing any claim to originality in the answer, I ventured this reply: "A work of art is a true thought, personal to the artist, expressed with passionate feeling, and in a form of material beauty." Now, the main thing I wish to get before your minds is this: that the work of bringing the individual Indian, man,

woman and child, under the sway of moral law, to a recognized position in an ethical system, organized into family life, holding property with the family as a centre, and in civil and social relations with white families, managing property as other citizens manage property, directed by the light of conscience—that the bringing about of these results in the work of Indian education and civilization through schools, through missionary effort and through law and determination—this is a fine art! And there is not an Indian school in our entire Indian Service which may not give, and I like to believe there are few which are not giving, what Huxley calls the great object, and the decisive evidence, of a liberal education: "The habit of doing the thing that I know I ought to do, at the time I know I ought to do it, whether I feel like doing it or not." In the work that is going on in our better Indian schools to-day, the highest thing that can be given to any man or woman is being given through these institutions. Indian children and youth as they are taught, are given an entirely new life!

Going over our great continent westward, I visited Haskell Indian boys who remain at the school for work during the Institute in order that I might see the summer encampment of summer. I wish that you all might have seen the tent arrangements for out-of-door life for the students there; and that you might have felt, as I did, that pulse of higher life that beats against young Indian life and gives it new energy and new ideals, through the earnest men and women who are engaged in the work of teaching, and through the strong body of loyal students and alumni whose life has been uplifted and directed by the work of Haskell Institute to which an alumnus of that school has paid so high a tribute in the interesting paper to which we have just now listened to-night.

I have long wished to see something of the Navajo Indians,—dwellers in the "painted desert" of the Southwest. They are the only large tribe of North American Indians who still remain almost untouched by the influence which comes from constant and immediate contact with whites. Theirs is a pastoral life, leading their flocks of sheep and goats over the great desert plains and up upon the high plateaus,—each day or two gathering in clustered groups about the streams or springs where they must come for drink, and then disbanding again to go to the far-distant places where enough of scanty herbage can be found to support the life of the flocks; they are wanderers, "nomads"—like the systole and diastole of a great heart-beat,

is this gathering-in of the flocks at the watering-places and their speedy dispersal again to their remote feeding-places in the desert. These Navajo Indians are not without some of those traits which have been ascribed to the "noble red man" in romances, which we have been accustomed to think of as without real foundation in fact. As I think of what I saw there, I find myself again and again repeating half-unconsciously the phrase from Homer, "The Blameless Ethiopians." There was a tradition that somewhere in the desert to the south of Europe lived these "Blameless Ethiopians"—a peaceful, pastoral people, visited by the winged cranes when they fled from the wintry blasts of Europe. As I drove over that marvelous Navajo Desert, one of the most lifeless deserts I have ever seen, and noted the care with which the Navajo Indians concealed their hogans from the whites, keeping them remote from the white man's trail; and as I heard again and again of the kindness and honesty of these native red men—I had to repeat to myself again and again—"the blameless Ethiopians" of the desert. I have seen something of the borders of the great Sahara Desert in Africa, and I have seen something of desert plains in other parts of the world; I might perhaps question my own impression of the lifelessness of this Navajo Desert. But as I was driving out of Fort Defiance I met an expedition of biologists coming into the fort. In the long talk that followed, the chief biologist, who has traveled for years especially to study the life of the deserts of our West, and of South America and Mexico, told me that by actual observation for weeks he had found this Navajo Desert to be more destitute of varieties of life—animal, bird and insect—than any desert he knew. After a drive of forty miles without even the chance to water our horses, we came to the lovely little oasis where the "beautiful canyon" sends into the desert the little stream which makes possible the brilliant green of rich vegetation which strong contrast with the desert makes doubly attractive. The school has been built on the site of old Fort Defiance, and with its few surrounding acres of well-irrigated land, framed in by the rolling swells, the hills and the crags of the desert, the picture is striking!

My visit to the Navajo Reservation happened to occur at the time when the flocks of sheep and goats which constitute the wealth of this pastoral people were being led and driven to the eight or ten central points designated for "dipping," in the interests of animal hygiene and comfort. Flocks of sheep and goats, varying in numbers from fifty to a thousand or two, guided

by mounted Navajo men and boys, horses and men often decorated with the highly-colored garments and saddle-cloths of native manufacture, were making their way from all parts of this vast reservation toward the "dipping pits," where, driven into a corral, the animals are seized one by one by the stronger and more active of the young Indian men, and plunged into a pit filled with the mixture prescribed by the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Agriculture Department as best designed to check the ravages of scab and tick. The Navajo are answering well to the strict regulations which require the dipping of their flocks, for they have already learned how much the health and the wool-producing qualities of their flocks have gained by this annual "dipping."

As you drive through the Navajo Desert you may pass fifty Indian families and not know there is one in the neighborhood. They show remarkable skill in erecting their hogans in spots which are hidden from the trail of the passing white man. Somehow the charms of what we are fond of calling our "higher type" of manhood as shown in the white race, do not always appeal strongly to such Indians as the Navajos and Nez Perces! Some of the racial standards of these two tribes, in matters of truthfulness and matters of property, if generally practiced among white men would certainly elevate the tone of most of our city governments in the United States! Ten years ago a man of large experience in dealing with Indians in the West said to me that he would "rather have the word of a Nez Perce Indian in regard to a horse or a bunch of cattle than to have a written and signed paper from almost any white man trading in horses and cattle whom he knew in the West." The Navajos, as well as many other tribes, have found that after they touch the fringes of our boasted white civilization, within a generation or two they have contracted foul and deadly diseases which their people had never before known; and that by the debased white men who have been among them, standards have been introduced which in their morality are often lower than the Indians had known before. It is something which should keep us modest—shamefaced before God—that we give the vices of the white man to these belated races so much more quickly and more generally than we give them the higher impulses and better standards of life which we should give them! These better influences they do get, wherever our Christian missionaries and Christian teachers do their work among them. But these "blameless ones" of

the desert have learned to keep their dwellings out of sight of the road where the selfish white man travels.

The leading of their flocks to the dipping-places made the desert seem much more thickly peopled. I wish that Superintendent Paquette could tell us how many of these sheep and goats the Navajos are supposed to own?"

Mr. Paquette (from the audience): "In the whole desert I think the number is estimated at over two million."

Dr. Gates: So I have been told. These flocks of herds and goats, moving over the desert to find scanty herbage here and there, give you bits of pastoral life which take you back to Old Testament scenes and times. And they have a rare charm of their own, these glimpses of the shepherd life of our South-western aborigines. Close to the scanty shade of a low and sparsely-leaved tree or shrub you may see one or two ponies, standing near with drooping heads, while their shepherd-boy owners stand or sit beneath the shade, their highly-colored blankets and saddle-cloths glowing in the sunshine. The shepherds are eating their frugal lunch, while the sheep and goats crop such unpromising and scanty growths of gray-green herbage as the desert affords them. Standing and lying in a loose circle about them are the hundreds of goat or sheep of the particular flock these two shepherds are leading. From a high point in the trail you may often see half a dozen such circular caravans—flocks with their shepherd leaders making their way across the desert toward the agency to "dip;" or, dark-colored from the dipping-pits, beginning their long march homeward to the part of the reservation, perhaps two hundred miles away, where is their usual pasturing ground.

When you have passed through many such groups and have made your way to the fort and school you find yourself at once in touch not only with the streams of water that make the desert green, but with those fountains of intellectual and moral life which, through their teachers, are awakening to a new leadership the young people of this remote tribe. Under the sway of ideas you find the naturally strong personalities of some of these young people taking higher and more definite form, as they become intensely interested in their school-work. Such native virtues as they have thrive finely when the touch of broader ideas and the inspiration of Christian motives are brought to bear upon them.

In that entire desert of the Navajo Indian Reservation there are, we suppose, about 27,000 or 28,000 of these Indians. We have as yet only begun to touch them with the influence of

education and missionary work. From 200 to 300 of the Navajo children are sent off the reservation to distant boarding schools. If every possible school opportunity offered them by the Government and by the few stations of mission work as yet established among them were to be filled, *only about a thousand children of school age could be cared for in all these schools.* If there are, as we suppose, 7,000 of these Navajo children of school age, this leaves more than 6,000 of this tribe without any provision whatever attempted either by the Government or by the Christian churches of our land. In past years we have been accustomed to say that the nomadic habits of this shepherd people made it almost impossible to get their children into schools. But Superintendent Paquette, and others who know the Navajos well, tell me that this year they are coming in much larger numbers than ever before and are asking that the children of the tribe be put into schools. Their demands are far beyond the capacity of all the schools. To make adequate provision for school work at suitable points among these people is the next (and almost the *only*) piece of school-extension work which remains to be done by the Government for Indians.

On this whole reservation there is not a hospital maintained by the Government. The physician in charge of the agency at Fort Defiance, when I first saw him, had just returned from a seventy-five-mile ride to see an old Indian who was perishing under the pains of rheumatism. Others who were suffering from other diseases had been prescribed for on the same trip. An old man, most pitifully reduced in strength by disease of the bowels, had been brought into the agency for a major surgical operation. But there is no school or agency hospital—no operating-room provided by the Government. What is to be done? Let us thank God that the Christian women of our land have come forward with an answer to this great need. At Fort Defiance was a little hospital, beautifully built, equipped and arranged for its purpose, standing under the tower of a memorial church. The needs of that great agency are such that this hospital is but a suggestion toward adequately meeting them. It ought to be made much larger. The Government should at once build adequate hospitals at several points on this reservation. But for the particular hospital, the gift of Christian women, established at Fort Defiance, a great debt of credit is due from every true friend of the Indians. Here are a memorial church, a hospital and a marvelous little lady, absolutely competent, in charge of the entire work, keeping the hospital running, opening its wards to

I regret that the few hours that have passed since I was asked to speak made it impossible for me to give you anything else than this incomplete and fragmentary account of a journey which, while it has shown at certain points much that needs to be done, and some things that must be speedily changed, has still upon the whole given me gratifying evidence of the progress made during these last ten years in the work of civilizing our North American Indians and fitting them to be useful citizens of the United States. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We have all hoped that sometime during the Conference we might hear a certain high official of the United States Government who is with us. I am glad to say that the official referred to has consented to favor us informally with some general views on the Indian problem; and we know the value of the views of one who for fourteen years, as Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House of Representatives, has been most familiar with everything pertaining to Indian legislation. Ladies and gentlemen, the VICE-PRESIDENT of the United States. (Great applause.)

#### THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIAN PROBLEM

##### REMARKS OF HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN

First, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Smiley and fellow-members of the Conference, I feel like saying what the little girl told her mother as to the text announced by the minister that morning. She had been told she must always remember the text, and so on her return her mother asked her what the text was. She replied, "Don't be skeered, you get the quilt!" Her mother said, "What?" But the little girl only repeated what she had said, "Don't be skeered, you get the quilt." "But," her mother said, "that could not have been the text, Florence!" But Florence replied that it was, and added, "I know where it came from—" "the eleventh chapter of John, third verse." The mother turned to that chapter and found the words, "Fear not, for I will send you a comforter."

This is not a manuscript (referring to a paper in his hand); this is some scribbled lead-pencil memoranda that I made this afternoon and to which I shall now and again refer. I tell you that lest you be "skeered."

I am not speaking really having in mind the thought to which the little boy gave utterance when a chance traveler found him out in the field digging potatoes. There was no habitation in sight. As forlorn a sight (except the Navajo Reservation!) as indeed anybody ever saw out of doors; with nothing to protect him from the rays of the summer sun save only a crownless straw hat. The traveler said to the boy, "Say, boy, isn't that a pretty lonesome job?" "Yep," said the boy, "it is." "What do you get for digging those potatoes?" "Well," said the boy, "I don't get nothin' for diggin' them—but I get fits if I don't!"

Now, I have gotten something from being here. I have had pleasure out of being here. I have had much profit out of being here, too. The utterance which Mr. Smiley has made at the close of every Conference for the last twenty-seven years is that it has been the best Conference that has ever been held, and I agree with him. The Conference this morning, I think, was educating, instructive, entertaining and inspiring. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs is not the boy that he looks. He is riper in years than he looks, and you know that he is riper in utterance than he appears. His address this morning was an inspiration and it gave us good, practical, sensible thought, it seemed to me; and it did more than that—it gave us a vivid illustration of the fact that the Indian affairs in this country are being administered by one true of thought, true of act and clear of insight and instinct. I admire Mr. Valentine. I have seen something of his work in the department. He didn't have to wait until he became a full-fledged commissioner to show what he could do. When he was assistant commissioner his vigorous mind, his active work, his keen insight, his idea of method and order showed itself in organizing the Indian Bureau, so that more effective work has been brought out of it than during any of the fifteen years that I have been watching it so closely. (Applause.)

Mr. Valentine, in what he had to say, did not touch much upon the past or present; he had more to say about the future, and I am glad he did. His subordinate officials who spoke here—all of them on limited time, and I am glad indeed that I differ from them in that respect, and that I also differ from an Egyptian mummy in that I am not pressed for time—all of them spoke of the possibilities of the Indian service in the future. I propose to say a little as to what has taken place in the past. What problems we have heretofore met, how we have solved them up to the present, what relation the present situation has

to what we have heretofore done and what in my view, in accordance with my ideas, we ought to do to reach the ultimate goal for which we all strive.

The old problem of a century or three-fourths of a century ago was how to persuade the Indian to step aside for the onward march of civilization; and the savage must always step aside for the onward march of civilization, because it is not only human law, but it is God's law that progress and civilization and Christianity shall march on. And the problem was how to persuade them to step aside with the least friction and without force. That problem was worked out and worked out, I think, to the credit of the American people. There was no force that was not invited by the act of our red brother. We started out—and there is a mistaken notion, I think, among many well-thinking people that the government started out to pillage and delude them, and the government did not. From the inception of the government until now there has always been an attempt to prevent pillage. An individual American has now and then attempted it and has been successful. There always will be bad men. Bad men—men of genius are frequently bad men—have always attempted to get the better of their fellows, whether red or black or white or whatever race or nationality. And I expect it will so continue as long as I stay in the world. After I have left, possibly, Mr. Smiley will be able to work out the millennium so that the condition will no longer exist. But I expect as long as I stay here we will find men attempting to get the better of their fellows. The United States government has always attempted to guard the interests of the Indians and treat the Indians fairly and honestly and to take their property only after giving full compensation therefor. That was the problem of the olden times, as I say, and that problem has been pretty fairly worked out. How much easier it might have been to work it out had Champlain approached the Indians hundreds of years ago with outstretched hand rather than the outpointed arquebus I do not know. It may be, had Champlain not fired the first shot but rather presented a message of sympathy and affection, we might not have had quite as much trouble with our red brother as we have had in centuries past.

But the problem now is, how can we withdraw the fostering care that for all these generations we have thrown about the Indians? How can we place him upon his own feet so that he will become an integral part of the civilization of this American republic of ours? That is the problem of to-day. Now, in work-

ing out that problem we meet certain embarrassments, and I see two main forces which are in the way of its speedy solution. And one is the misguided notion of many people that it is well to keep the Indian isolated, surrounded by a wall (practically a wall), upon their various reservations, and to maintain the spectacular in the Indian race. That is one drawback. And the other is the greed of the white man. It is easier to meet the second trouble than it is the first, because we can and do by law check the rapacity and greed of the white man. We can punish the violator of our statutes, and we do punish him. It is a mighty wholesome example for other people desiring to do wrong that those who have done wrong have met with summary punishment for their evildoing. It is not so easy to persuade well-meaning people whose judgment we think is erroneous from continuing along their erroneous ways.

Mr. Valentine said this morning, and I think he said rightly, that he should put health, education, labor as the three foundation principles, the three foundation thoughts in our dealings with the Indian and put them in that order. I think Mr. Valentine is right. But unfortunately we have been proceeding along different lines; for quite some decades we have considered first the question of education, then the question of labor, and it is only in the very recent past that we have awakened to a realizing sense that the physical condition as a race was a matter of the utmost consequence. It is only in the very recent past that we have realized if we did not meet and overcome the disease which was spreading with lightning-like rapidity throughout the race from tribe to tribe that there will be no Indian race for us to do anything for in a century or possibly in a very much less time.

We have done wonders in the education of the Indian race. The government as a government did nothing practically until about the time Mr. Smiley began to take an interest, a lively interest, a manifest interest—he always took an interest in everything that was human and everything that was good and everything that was progressive; but not until he began to invite us to come in and help him out in solving the problem twenty-eight years ago had we done anything toward the education of the Indians as a government. It is true that more than a decade before, or early in the seventies, President Grant invited religious people of the country to do something towards the education of the Indians, and various denominations responded to that call. And in passing I might say that while some of our good friends have been agitated at times because the Catholic church seemed

to have more students in their schools than any other denomination, it simply was because that church responded more generously to the request of the President to do educational and religious work amongst the Indians.

And right here in passing I might say that your business committee invited Mr. Lusk, secretary of the Catholic Board of Missions, to occupy a little time to-night in telling what the Catholic church has done in the way of educational and religious work. But his modesty forbade him taking the platform, and so I may say just this much in a single word, that the Catholic School Mission, located in Washington, is officered by men of education and men of conscience—square men. (Applause.) Time and again (during the past years) these men have come to me when they had in mind something to do with legislation affecting the Indians, and every time their request was couched substantially in these words: "Mr. Chairman, will you be good enough to look at the proposition which we now present, and having given it full consideration, if it commends itself to your good judgment and your fairmindedness, help us out upon it? If it does not, say so to us and the question will never again be raised by us." I want to say just that much, that so far as has come under my observation this bureau maintained for the education of the Indians and maintained to-day at an expense which runs way up into hundreds of thousands of dollars, and almost entirely from private subscription, is well managed and is being conscientiously conducted, and being conducted in a way, I believe, for the betterment of the Indians with whom they have come in contact. (Applause.)

Now I am going back. The first that the government did systematically for the education of the Indians was in 1882, when we appropriated \$135,000 for educational purposes, and at which time in the various denominational schools in the country there were some 4,000 Indians being educated and cared for. In ten years the school attendance had increased from 4,000 to 20,000; and your servants, the public servants in the halls of legislation, had, in obedience to public wish as expressed in Conferences held here and as expressed in the public press of the country, increased its appropriation to \$2,000,000. Now, within the last decade we have increased that appropriation annually until now it is upwards of \$4,000,000, and there are enrolled in the various Indian schools of the country over 30,000 Indian pupils who are now being prepared for the battle of life. In 1882, when we began this work, there were but a few buildings, illly constructed,

with no thought of modern sanitary plans, no thought of the health of the students. The teachers engaged to conduct these schools were chosen simply by chance; anybody that could not get a position anywhere else to teach could get an Indian school, and that was all there was to it. For ten years, until 1890, school buildings have been erected to the number of 200, and now the hundreds have multiplied and the school buildings are erected upon plans drawn by competent architects with modern ideas about sanitation, with modern ideas about heat and ventilation and all that; and they are conducted by teachers chosen after examination for their special fitness for carrying on the work assigned to them. And in many of these schools, like Haskell, Carlisle, Hampton and others, there are manual training departments where the Indians are taught, as Mr. Agosa was taught at Haskell, a practical business trade, in order that they may go forth into the world and meet the competition of the white man with every chance of success; and we want no more striking example of the fact that the Indian can be successful if properly trained in competition with his white brother than we have seen here to-night in the presence of Mr. Agosa. (Applause.)

Now, the education has not been narrow or secular, you understand. We have made appropriations for the last fifteen years or more for what are called matrons and for what are called farmers, the farmers to go about from reservation to reservation, from Indian farm to Indian farm, to teach the Indians how to plow, how to sow, how to do the various work about a farm, when to plant, when to reap, all sorts of things; how to build fences, how to care for their stock. And the matrons drive about from home to home, teaching the women the various arts of housewifery, how to make bread, how to wash, how to mend, how to make overalls, how to tend the baby and how to do all the little things that makes of a home a home. We have been doing this for years. Your money has paid for it. You have been doing it because what Congress does is simply the act of your servants carrying out your will. This is the work, ladies and gentlemen, that you, as American citizens, the supporters of this splendid government of ours, have been doing. (Applause.)

The effect of this educational work is seen in the fact that in 1895 80,000 Indians had acquired the habit of wearing the white man's dress in full, and 30,000 Indians had acquired that habit in part. Ten years later the good work had gone on to that extent that three years ago 120,000 Indians had adopted in whole citizen's dress, 50,000 in part; 170,000 Indians out of the 287,000

there are in this country had adopted the dress and largely the habits of their white brethren, civilized brethren. In 1895 35,000 Indians could read and write. In 1905, ten years later, over 50,000 had learned to read and write.

In 1895 nearly 45,000 Indians spoke the English language; ten years later over 75,000, or one-fourth of the Indians in this country, spoke the English language. Ten years ago 23,000 occupied homes—homes like our homes—I do not mean the grand palaces of the rich, but I mean the homes such as our average prosperous farmer occupies. And to-day more than 35,000 Indians occupy such homes. In 1895 some 20,000 Indians were members of their own Christian churches, and they had erected and were occupying edifices to the number of 270 paid for from their own money, money earned by themselves or to which they were entitled as the proceeds from some of their funds in the treasury. And some ten years later, three years ago, the number of church members among Indian tribes in this country was 35,000, and the number of church edifices increased over thirty per cent.

Figures are trying, I know that; nobody knows it better than I; but if you cannot paint such a beautiful picture as that of Mr. Agosa's in which he described to us the scenery he left in Michigan, you can paint birds and mountains and even Skytop—but you cannot make figures beautiful, and they are not used here to adorn the tale, but to point the moral. It is good once in a while to get our minds down to looking at the moral which is to be drawn from a tale.

Formal marriages have increased among the Indians. Time was when no such thing was known in the Indian tribes. And formal marriages have increased to a very great extent among them; so to-day I think it is fair to say that few marriages occur between Indians throughout the United States which are not solemnized in the manner in which the white man's marriages are solemnized.

I said we had done much in the way of labor. We have done much and it was compulsory to start with. The Indian is naturally indolent, naturally slothful, naturally untidy; he works because he has to work, and primarily he does not differ altogether from the white man in that respect. Mr. Valentine, this morning, very vividly pictured what the Indians were. He said, as you remember, that some drink, some work, and some did not; some saved their money, some provided for their families, and some went to jail. Still I would like to know what single white com-

munity in this whole land of ours that description does not cover? But fortunately one or two treaties, notably the Sioux Treaty, is in such terms that it is possible for us, rather than dole rations out to the indolent and the slothful, to deal rations out to those who do their share of the labor of the community. And wherever that option has been given to the government under the terms of the treaties for the last dozen or fifteen years, that option has been acted upon. In the Sioux Nation particularly, where they have a trust fund of \$3,000,000,000, yielding \$150,000 annually, that money has been expended mainly for those who do something to earn their rations, saving only the old and infirm. We have gotten the Indians in the habit, through education and training schools and our enforced work upon reservations, and through the instructions given them by the farmers and matrons, to work; so that substantially where there were no laborers whatever amongst the Indian tribes twenty-five or thirty years ago, in 1895 there were over 8,000 families who cultivated 400,000 acres of land; and ten years later 12,000 families cultivated twenty per cent. more land than the 8,000 families did. One of our speakers has spoken of the amount of money earned by the Indians as the result of their labor and as a stimulus to others to labor. Much more money was earned. In 1895 over a million dollars was earned by the Indians of this country, by the labor of their own hands; and ten years later, so effective was the policy applied by the government officials, so effective was the education which the Indians received, that two and a half million dollars was earned by the Indians, earned not from their own land but from the sweat of their own brows. Ten years ago—and this is a subject that is a live one to everybody except those who ride about Mr. Smiley's splendid preserves, where there are none but good roads—ten years ago the Indians began to work a little bit upon the roads. At that time 15,000 days were expended upon the roads, and ten years later over 100,000 days' labor was spent annually on improving the roads, right in a circle about Indian reservations and Indian homes.

Now, up to very recently substantially nothing has been done towards preserving the health of the Indian. While most of the fault that can be found by the fair-thinking citizen in reference to the Indians nowadays should be based upon the lack of legislation and not upon administration, so far as the health is concerned, or lack of health, I blame the administration officers more than the legislative bodies. The matter has not been impressed upon the mind of those having in charge modifications or addi-

tional appropriation for the administration of Indian affairs; the monstrous importance of rooting out and preventing a recurrence of disease. I believe Mr. Valentine will find another winter the same as last winter; that Congress is willing and anxious and ready to appropriate any reasonable fund required to stamp out trachoma and tuberculosis, and establish if necessary these isolation camps where the disease can be treated and where it cannot be communicated to others with whom the Indians come in contact. It is a very important question to-day. I think, just as the Commissioner says, it is by far the most important of any question which we have as yet met in the solution of the Indian problem. It will cost more than a few thousands or hundreds of thousands of dollars to save the Indian race from extermination, and those who have studied Indian character do not desire to see all the splendid qualities that go to make up the Indian eliminated from this continent. (Applause.)

Now something has been said about allotments. Of course we must eventually, in order to solve the Indian problem, allot the lands to individual Indians and sell the surplus lands. That is the necessary movement in order to make the Indians citizens. As soon as the allotment is made, he becomes by the act itself a citizen of our Republic, having the right of franchise. And until the Indians all have reached that degree of civilization and education, that we can allot to them, we will not have fully solved the Indian problem or done away with the Indian office, Mr. Smiley, and I sincerely hope that you will be there to lead the procession of jubilant Americans when the Indian office is finally done away with. In granting allotments I think we ought—perhaps I am at fault that the law did not sooner make provisions for this—we ought to consider the moral and the mental condition of each individual Indian rather than the tribal condition. Just as we will find in any single American village some men of competency, some men of industry and honesty and sobriety, and others of quite the reverse characteristics; so we will find in any Indian tribe some who are absolutely competent to care for property, and who desire to look out for their families and better themselves and their descendants. To those we should allot and allot without restrictions, and to the others, for we must allot in order to break up tribal relations, allotments should be made with restrictions, which will prevent their immediately selling their property, selling it say for an inadequate consideration, dissipating the receipts from the sale and becoming an additional burden upon their fellows or upon the Government, by adding to the pauper class. That also

applies to the money which is in the treasury belonging to these Indians. It seems to me perfectly clear we must consider this subject from the individual point of view. Somebody said this morning that we cannot make the allotment fit the allottee. Of course we want to make the allotment fit the allottee. That is common-sense, it seems to me. If I were looking for somebody to take charge of some great railroad, I do not think I should choose Brother Smiley for that. If I wanted somebody to care for my broken leg, I would not choose Brother Crafts for that; and if I were looking for some one to occupy a pulpit in the Presbyterian church, I would not look for my former colleague, Congressman Driscoll, to fill that position. In granting allotments we want to pay attention to what the Indians can do, what each desires, what each has done. There is \$35,000,000 in the Government treasury belonging to the various Indian tribes, on which annually interest is paid amounting to nearly \$2,000,000. Some of it is paid out in our discretion, and some of it in accordance with the terms of the treaty. Fortunately, the Supreme Court in the recent past has held that Congress is guardian of the Indians in the sense of having the right within prescribed limits to expend their money as Congress believes for the best interest of the Indian. The Indian is not always the best judge of how money shall be spent. It is perfectly safe to say that always Congress, as a whole, is anxious to dispose of the Indians money for the benefit of the Indians. I am glad that the court did make that ruling. I think it tends to give us more confidence in the branch of the government which we in this Conference, have learned to admire, to respect to esteem more than we ever did before since Judge Andrews has favored us, honored us, with his presence.

My time is gone and I think I ought not to abuse your patience.  
(Cries of Go on—Go on—)

The Irrigation work that is being done for the Indians and for the white people is a marvelous undertaking. The work has had great results. This reference to the Yuma Reservation to some possibly seems absurd—the allotting of five acres—but it is five acres of irrigated land—land which is the most fertile of any land under our sun. We have for the last ten years, under competent engineers, been installing systems to make the Indian reservations fruitful which have heretofore been barren and to make the Indians, some of whom have a desire to labor but have not had the opportunity to do so upon their own reservations. I say make it possible for them to be self-supporting. Why, we of the East have a notion—those of us who know something of farming have a notion—that a man must be lacking in some particular who on 100 acres of land cannot make a comfortable living for

his family. The more hundreds of acres of land such as that described by Dr. Gates, that they own, the worse off they are—without a spear of grass, or a drop of water, or anything in the way of vegetable or animal life, not so much as a prairie dog—a spear of vegetation of any kind, shape or manner—think of it! And this beautiful reservation, if we may so call it, of Mr. Smiley's, which seems so extensive to us, his 6,000 acres—compare it with the million acres that these Indians have. The more they have the poorer they are. They cannot raise anything. We ought to take that into consideration. Some of that land is so situated that water cannot be brought to it. But in some places it can be brought, like the agency at Fort Defiance, and it blossoms like the rose. What we have done in the way of irrigation for the white man is something marvelous. Nine years ago we passed an act—we did not appropriate a cent—but provided that certain surplus funds from the land office should be used to reclaim arid lands, and within nine years, as soon as the lands were re-claimed, they were then placed upon the market, and the proceeds received from the sale of them were put into the treasury and used over again for irrigation of other lands. Within nine years over 400,000 acres of land at a cost of \$43,000,000 has been re-claimed, and we have to-day \$8,000,000 in the treasury with which to re-claim other lands. Aren't those marvelous figures? Those are worth listening to and thinking about just a minute or two. Some may say what is the use of all that land; of course reclamation of the land itself, if you do not bring anybody there to consume the product of the land is of no consequence; or unless you connect all those lands with consumers elsewhere in the country, and in this great country of ours we have marvelous transportation facilities, transportation facilities exceeding those not only of any other country in the world, but of any other three or five or half a dozen countries in the world—transportation facilities which substantially equal all those of all the rest of the world—we are able to transport the surplus products of the farms and the irrigated reclamation lands and all our other western rich farms to the markets of this country and to the markets of the world. I am going away from the Indian question just a second, but I get excited when I am talking on this subject and I think you will be interested to hear about that transportation service. We transport those products over 250,000 miles of railroad in this country, by the use of hundreds of thousands of engines, dragging millions of cars, that annually carry two thousand millions of freight. The figures are so great they

absolutely paralyze human thought, almost, for In this carrying we employ almost two million Republic, who are paid eleven million dollars in wa~~g~~<sup>g</sup> porting these products to the centres of manufacture, possible to maintain our five and one-half million fe~~l~~<sup>l</sup> who are working as artisans in the mills of this country ing out annually fifteen thousand million dollars' worth factured goods. I won't go any further with that. I mean to go that far, but consideration of the irrigation qu~~e~~<sup>e</sup> brought it to mind.

We hear it said now and then, "Lo, the poor Indian!" That time might have been when that would have been a proper expression to use, but it is not now. There is no people on the face of this earth that is so rich per capita as the Osage Indian tribe and if the funds now in the treasury of the United States were divided among all the Indians of the United States they would receive \$160 per capita all around. That does not indicate poverty, does it? The Cheyennes and Arapahos, if I may submit two or three figures, have a million dollars; the Menominees, over a million and a half; the Sac and Fox the same; the Sioux three million; the Utes a million and a half. All substantially draw five per cent. which is paid by the Government for the support of these Indians. And yet beside this there are nearly ten million dollar's worth of funds in the treasury, not yet distributed to the tribes, that come from the sale of trust lands and timber on unallotted lands. We have been generous in our gratuities to 36 tribes who have no funds in the treasury whatever and to the other 56 tribes that have some funds in the treasury but not sufficient to support them. We have been generous because it has been our belief that the people felt that we owed something to the Indians and desired their servants to pay that debt.

I am interested in the Indian problem, I always have been, I always will be. I believe it is humanitarian, Christian to be interested in this problem. I believe we owe something to those that occupied this territory before our Anglo-Saxon ancestors came here and displaced them properly, I believe properly, because I thoroughly think nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of Christian progress and civilization; but we owe them something because we have pushed them aside, always as gently as possible and never without paying compensation for what we have received. We shall continue our efforts through our lawmakers, through the administrative officers in working towards the ultimate end of making each Indian a self-supporting member of our population. I know we all feel that Mr. Smiley

in the kindness and largeness of his heart, in the goodness of his disposition, has done a great work by having these Conferences here, to point the way that legislators and administrative officers should proceed. Do not get the notion, ladies and gentlemen, that your law-makers think nothing of your acts here. I have been a politician for thirty years. I can say to you that I have never yet seen the politician that did not desire to receive the commendation of good thinking and right thinking people and I have never yet seen—almost never—never in Congressional halls and never in State legislative bodies—a legislature that was not influenced to a certain extent by bodies such as these, that have met here for the last twenty-eight years, and I feel that we all, all of those here now, all those of us who expect to be here another year, will be looking anxiously for those little cards in the mail six or eight weeks before next October—all of those who have met in former Conferences here. I feel as though we all felt a debt of gratitude to Mr. Smiley, not merely for his generous hospitality to us, not merely for the pleasure and the rest he gives us up on this beautiful mountain, but for the splendid work he has done towards the amelioration of the sad condition of a race to which we owe much and whose ultimate citizenship we all desire. (Applause.)

Mr. SMILEY: I was very much impressed with what the Vice-President has said to-night. I think it convinced many, if not all of you, that the United States Government has been very generous to the Indians. I challenge anybody to look over history from the beginning of the world until now and find an instance where a government has been so generous to a conquered people as has the United States. For thirty years I have been familiar with all the appropriations that have been for the benefit of the Indians and there has never been any asking for help, when Congress was convinced that the Indians were needy, that something has not been done, no instance when Congress has failed to make the proper and generous appropriations. All over the country we hear of the niggardly treatment by Congress, and it is not true at all. Congress has always responded promptly and the enormous sum which the United States gives to a dependent people, to a conquered people, is marvelous. I dislike to hear Congress unjustly denounced. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is now opportunity for short speeches from the floor. Mr. J. WESTON ALLEN, of Boston, is recognized.

## LEGAL ASPECTS OF SOME INDIAN QUESTIONS

REMARKS OF MR. J. WESTON ALLEN

It was my privilege during the past summer to spend a short time with Dr. Moorehead, in the special work which he has been doing for the Government. While as an attorney-at-law I appreciate that the work that is done there is properly at this time a closed book, there are two conclusions that I have reported to our Association: First, that the apparent and most obvious weakness in the field to-day, the weak link, is the inspection department. And when our commissioner said that he needed forty able-bodied and efficient men in place of the four or five, he struck at the core of the matter. Any one who has seen what Mr. Moorehead has done as an Indian Commissioner acting in the field will realize what can be done by an efficient inspector. I think it is a certain thing that our Commissioner will sleep better when he has those forty inspectors in the field.

The other thing that is impressed on any one who knows of some of the existing conditions in the West, is that the possibility of the alienation of the Indians' land, the right of alienation by legislative enactment indiscriminately is a failure. During the last few weeks the Circuit Court of Oklahoma has held on demurrer that the United States cannot prosecute in its own name proceedings to recover back lands that the Indians have been despoiled of, where they have become citizens under the special laws governing allotments and alienation of land in that territory, because the United States has no longer a sufficient interest in the land. It has been said that the Indian has disappointed us in the twenty-five-year period in not being able to handle land and sell it. That is probably true of the Indian as a whole, but what the Nez Perce Indians have done and what I am told the New York Indians have done,—when they received the money from the Kansas fund, over \$200 apiece, over 90 per cent. of that money has been put into savings banks,—shows that the goal is going to be reached when all the Indians shall be as capable as the Nez Perces and New York Indians.

One other thing. At this Conference last year, mention was made of the imprisonment of the Navajos, and the sequel of that has been referred to this year. I asked the Commissioner last year what would happen if habeas corpus proceedings were brought on behalf of those Indians. Subsequently I learned that the Indian Rights Association had brought those proceedings, and the outcome of it was the right was denied in the lower court; and in the higher court was obtained a decision (which my asso-

ciate, ex-Secretary Long, said was unanswerable), to the effect that every Indian is a person, even if not a citizen, and a person under the Constitution cannot be imprisoned without due process of law. Now while that is a closed chapter, as the Government has decided not to prosecute the case further, it is perhaps a chapter that is worth while if it has demonstrated that the military establishment in reaching out its policing arm—a necessary policing arm in this country—cannot go so far as to imprison any person under the Constitution without due process of law.

Miss ALICE FLETCHER, of Washington, well-known as an ethnologist, who as special representative of the Government, allotted the lands of the Omaha Indians—the first case of allotment work in the United States—spoke briefly, describing a visit to the Omaha Reservation made by her during the summer of 1909. The Indians, she said, are now in a prosperous condition, most of them having comfortable homes, many of the older ones speaking and writing English and nearly all sending their children to school. The era of drunkenness and debauchery, which followed the sudden accession to citizenship and freedom and the temporary withdrawal at that time of the most of the mission work, left its marks upon the people, but, thanks to renewed and extended Christian teaching, the tribe has almost recovered from its effects.

Col. JOHN S. LOCKWOOD, of Boston, President of the Indian Industries League, to whom the Conference was indebted for a fine display of Indian native handiwork, gave a very interesting account of the manufacture of the famous Navajo blankets. The Indian Industries League has made much progress in introducing this work to the public, but the industry needs scouring and dye-plants in New Mexico which might well be established by the Government. With Government help, Colonel Lockwood declared, the sales of blankets, baskets, bead work, pottery and other Indian wares could be greatly increased and the Indians thereby become more and more self-supporting.

The Conference then adjourned until the following morning.

### Third Session

Thursday Morning, October 21st, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: We are to-day to discuss "The Philippines." Our first speaker will be Mr. J. W. BEARDSLEY, a well-known member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, who has, until very recently, been Director of Public Works of the Philippine Islands.

### THE GOOD ROADS POLICY OF THE PHILIPPINES AND ITS RELATION TO THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE

ADDRESS OF MR. J. W. BEARDSLEY

It has been stated with reference to the irrigation works of India that "no public works of nobler utility have been undertaken in the world." A similar statement holds true of the stupendous works in Egypt, and of the material development of the agricultural wealth of that fertile garden, Java. The Governmental policies of these countries with respect to public works are based primarily upon a direct productive, financial return and in a discussion of such projects the welfare of the people is given the highest consideration. In general the material developments of these countries have been carried out as rapidly as they could be utilized by the people and at the same time produce profitable financial returns. There is, however, seemingly, a neglect of the intellectual advancement of the people, a failure to secure education in schools and a participation in civil affairs. The advancement in real civilization, as we understand it in our national western life, has been slow. It appears that the policy of our Government in the Philippine Islands, the attempt to advance civilization among a Malay race by an Anglo-Saxon people, has radically departed from the policies of other governments controlling Oriental colonies. It is attempting to fit the masses of the people for a large participation in the governmental affairs of their country.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the good roads policy of the Philippines, to note some of the events leading up to its present status, to point out, in part, its importance as a typical work of public utility, in attaining to those high humanitarian results desired by our Government towards a more or less per-

manent dependency, and to suggest that an advance of western civilization can be made in the Philippine Islands more rapidly through such public works of utility than by any other one means.

Perhaps the first step in presenting this subject should be to define Eastern and Western civilization, and to make a clear statement of facts regarding the capabilities of the Filipino, his past and present environments. It will be necessary, however, within the time available, to assume definitions, to omit arguments and to limit statements to a few essential facts.

Our Government is specially concerned in the welfare not of that very small number of educated people but with that large mass, who heretofore have known little outside of the limits of their barrios, who have lived under a system of caciqueism, in servility and poverty, ignorant of thrift, of the dignity of labor, of personal worth, and of political privileges, and whose highest ideal of independence was and is to be left alone.

Spain is an excellent writer of laws. She performed a wonderful Christianizing work up to the early part of the eighteenth century. She failed in applying her laws, she became pessimistic and selfish, and did not even keep abreast with the capabilities of her subjects.

I shall assume that the members of this Conference are familiar with the organization of the Philippine Government, with the transfer from the military to the civil government during the years 1901-2, with the creation of provincial and municipal governments, and of the various government bureaus as necessity demanded. It may be worth while, however, to refresh our memories with a brief abstract from the instructions given by our lamented McKinley, the principles of which were so ably carried out by our President who was then Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, and who so fully gave his heart and hand to the solution of the problem.

Mr. McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission, dated April 7, 1900, directs the

"establishment of Municipal government in which the natives of the islands both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent to which they are capable and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capabilities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty."

He proposed to establish a government

"for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands" and states that "the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits and even to their prejudices to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

The municipalities, nearly seven hundred in primary or ultimate division of the civic government for administrative purposes. The municipal government, like the citizen, its officials are elective and they control the expenditures. These municipalities to-day enjoy a status equaling or even exceeding the privileges and independence of our own towns and villages.

The question arises: Are the Filipino people improving their opportunities under these liberal laws? The answer from the comparative western standpoint must be negative, but affirmative from the standpoint of the present capacity of the people and their ability to use and enjoy opportunities afforded by the American Government.

The people must keep step with their privileges and use their opportunities or no real progress is made. A definite knowledge of personal and national independence and progress possible under existing laws is unknown to that great mass of Filipino people, whose welfare is the special concern of our country. As compared with other Malay people the Filipinos are making a steady and healthy advance, although not as rapid as the Government planned and the enthusiastic friends of the Filipinos predicted. If a danger exists, it is in the fact that the impatient pace set by the Government is too rapid for the masses, and I contend, perhaps from a narrow standpoint, but primarily for the purpose of presenting the subject for consideration, that a real immediate and permanent advance by a colony or a dependent people can be made most effectively by means of public works, of utility to the masses. Such works will succeed practically in direct proportion to the share of the expense borne by the people benefited. They generally fail if given as a charity or if their use is compulsory. They must be financially sound and productive. The culture system of Java and the corvee of Egypt were compulsory and failures. The great irrigation systems of India and Egypt are illustrative of works of utility, effective in benefiting the people and profitable to the government constructing and maintaining them.

To illustrate these general principles an outline follows of some of the events leading up to the present good roads policy and which made its adoption and success probable. Similar illustrations are applicable to practically all progressive and useful public works.

The first law enacted by the Philippine Commission, in September, 1900, set aside one million dollars for roads and bridges. This fund was expended almost entirely by the military upon roads in the vicinity of army posts; consequently, it was of slight value

in the development of a good roads policy. During the years 1903 to 1906 appropriations were made for the construction of nearly five hundred miles of highways. Some of these roads were built to connect centres and for strategic or administrative purposes and for a considerable portion of their length they extended through wild and sparsely inhabited regions. A portion of these roads extended, however, through well developed areas, where improved transportation was urgently needed. The provinces through which these roads passed were required by law to maintain them. The people had practically no financial interest in their cost. Revenues were derived during those years mainly from customs receipts, and a moderate land tax which was frequently suspended. The provinces had small resources, the roads were not maintained; some of them on account of non-use were abandoned and all suffered serious deterioration. This failure to maintain roads led to a general discussion of the road problem of the islands by both Americans and Filipinos. The first result was the enactment of a law, which met with considerable approval and was, therefore, successfully enforced, whereby a type of native carts having the wheels and axles rigidly attached and which were peculiarly destructive to road surfaces, were heavily taxed and suppressed on all first-class roads. A sentiment in favor of a labor road law was created and some of the provincial officials were pledged to its adoption provided its adoption by provincial boards was made optional. All strenuously opposed a compulsory labor law remembering the evils arising under the iniquitous enforcement of the compulsory labor laws of Spanish days.

These conditions led to the enactment in July, 1906, of the Philippine road law, which provided annually for five day's labor of eight hours each. It specified how notices should be served, the supervision of the labor, the commutation of the labor to its cash equivalent, and the method of collecting such commutations and its expenditure. It was optional to the degree that its provisions were to be adopted annually by an assembly of the municipal presidents of the provinces.

The following year an amendment to this law was enacted whereby its provisions could be adopted for a municipality only by a majority vote of its council. While none of the provinces adopted this law, which under a just administration supported by popular approval would have given excellent results, yet the discussion of its provisions by provincial officials, by municipal presidents and councilmen and other influential Filipinos, was of great educational importance and paved the way for the successful enforcement of the present laws.

A law providing for the establishment and maintenance of toll roads and bridges was enacted March, 1907. Tolls are not more popular in the Islands than in the States. This law was applied by local authorities on some roads and bridges but its results are in general negligible.

The primary acts or laws on which the good roads movement now rests are three in number—the double Cedula Act of May, 1907,—the amendment to the Internal Revenue Act of August, 1907,—and the Appropriations Acts for the fiscal year 1907-8 and for succeeding years.

Briefly the double cedula act increased the cedula or poll tax from a per capita tax of 50 cents to \$1.00; the entire increase can be expended only on the roads and bridges of the province in which it is collected. This act is optional in that it must be adopted annually for each province by the three members of the provincial board, two of whom are elective. This tax applies to a total of more than one and one-half million persons. Its provisions must be adopted for any given year prior to October 1st of the preceding year.

In August of the same year the internal revenue laws were amended. An additional 10 per cent. was given to the provinces for their road and bridge funds and 5 per cent. for the school funds. Under this amendment the additional amount for the road and bridge fund was about one-half of the amount derived for roads and bridges from the double cedula act. The benefits of this law applied only to those provinces adopting the double cedula. The regular appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1907-8 contained also the following item:

"For the construction, improvement, and, when necessary, for the maintenance of roads and bridges, in the provinces, to be allotted in the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Police, \$250,000.

The first requirement set forth by the Secretary of Commerce and Police was that participation in this fund would be limited to those provinces which adopted the double cedula law. He also decided to pro rate allotments proportional to population.

A financial summary of these laws gives the following approximate amounts available for road and bridge work throughout all of the provinces, exclusive of the non-Christian provinces.

1. Additional road and bridge funds derivable under the		
(a) Double Cedula Act.....	\$800,000	
(b) Amendment to the Internal Revenue Law.....	400,000	
2. Provincial road and bridge funds derived from various other sources, including a portion of the land tax.....	500,000	
3. General allotment appropriation for the fiscal year 1908-9.....	500,000	
Total .....	\$2,200,000	

The third item was \$250,000 for the fiscal year 1907-8, and \$600,000 for 1909-10. The amounts given in the above summary represent the normal amount of money required annually under existing conditions to accomplish the construction of highways of primary importance during the succeeding five or six years and to maintain them.

It will be impossible within the available time to detail local conditions relative to meteorology, geology and labor conditions, and to the lack of technical forces, trained foremen, constructing plants, small tools, and materials of construction; or to outline the technical organization whereby necessary data were collected, the active co-operation of Filipinos secured, and the work of construction and maintenance supervised. The work was educational not only for Filipino officials and laborers but also for the American engineers and even for the highest American officials.

It is also unnecessary to more than suggest that the future prosperity of the Philippine Islands depends upon the development of its agriculture which to-day is inferior; that in the varieties of produce and fertility of soil, nature has been lavish in her gifts; that highways are necessities in the development of natural resources, and that highways during Spanish days and especially during the insurrection and the immediate succeeding years were in a deplorable condition or entirely lacking. The highway problem involved many untried conditions. It was experimental. Its successful solution required tact and patience, the service of both hand and heart. The essential features of the present good roads policy are rigid maintenance of existing works, and of new work as rapidly as construction is completed; the construction of permanent road beds and structures; the selection of projects by local officials, who were in a large measure responsible for the distribution of the funds; and the creation of local interest in the work through the direct assistance furnished by local taxation and local responsibility for maintenance, the latter to be under efficient American supervision only until such supervision can be safely transferred to Filipino officials.

I wish, however, to point out that this road work, like most public works, of utility to all of the people, is of exceptionally large importance in fitting the Filipino people for self-government. It increases the productiveness of the agricultural property, in which the great mass of the people are interested, in almost direct proportion to improvements in transportation facilities. It increases the ability to pay taxes whereby a government becomes possessed of revenue for progressive action along other needed lines. It increases rental values, whereby improvements in property are possible. It increases wages on account of which

necessities are increased, and improved methods of operation are sought. It necessitates the employment of a hundred thousand laborers who are trained in the use of modern tools and methods and who will apply this training to farm work and to all other ordinary vocations. It is developing a knowledge of the dignity of labor, of thrift and industry which have been so notoriously lacking in the past. It is creating a working belief that a public office is a public trust. It is dealing directly with the men of the present generation who are the wage earners of the homes, and who are participating more and more in the affairs of the State. It is creating a personal interest in public property, and a local responsibility for the expenditures of public funds. It is showing the advantages derived from self-help rather than the destructive helplessness which usually follows a simple charity. It is tending toward personal independence and civic liberty to a degree impossible under previous forms of government. (Applause.)

Civilization is a relative term and what is best for the Anglo-Saxon may not best meet the needs of the Malay. Improvements in habits and customs of any people require self-sacrifice and a considerable period of time—usually several generations. The conclusion is evident that a real and permanent advance can be made only as rapidly as the mass of the people can follow, can assimilate such advance and make it their own. This work appears to be the important problem of our Government so long as it controls the affairs of the Islands regardless of the ultimate position they may occupy through independence or annexation. I am led to the conclusion that in attaining to the progress desired in the Philippine Islands, and generally in all colonies and dependencies, the development and conservation of natural resources by means of properly selected public works of utility are powerful instruments through which the interest of the people is aroused, their capacity and their ability increased, their co-operation secured, and environments favorable for a permanent advance in civilization are established. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper is by Hon. ARTHUR F. ODLIN, of Cleveland, formerly Judge of the Court of First Instance of the Philippine Islands. I am sorry to announce that Judge Odlin has been detained at the last moment by an imperative legal case demanding his personal services. His paper will be read by the Secretary.

## THE FILIPINO AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

ADDRESS OF HON. ARTHUR F. ODLIN

After long and sometimes too bitter discussion, public opinion in this country seems to have practically adopted the idea that the American occupation of the Philippine Islands is to continue indefinitely. We hear each year less from our own people about withdrawal. Many of those who conscientiously opposed the policy of retention still believe that they are right and that our Presidents and Congress have been wrong; but their criticisms are not so insistent and vigorous. This change of attitude is not entirely due to discouragement; some people of this class begin to realize what to all of us who have been on the ground was so clearly apparent, namely, that the control of the Islands by the United States was an accident of war more beneficial to the masses of the Filipino people than any other result which might have followed.

The limits of this address do not permit me to dwell upon one most important feature of that great question,—the duty of the United States created by the treaty of Paris, whereby the sovereignty of Spain ceased and all the international obligations theretofore resting upon her became ours. Whether wise or unwise that treaty was duly adopted. Its provisions are legally binding upon every branch of our Government and its spirit is morally binding upon all of us as individuals, if we love our country.

The specific topic assigned to me rather embodies the duty of America towards the Filipinos. The general policy was clearly outlined by the lamented McKinley eight years ago and has been scrupulously followed by his distinguished successors. Briefly stated, it was to the effect that we were under the obligation to establish a stable form of government in these islands with an eye single to the protection of life and property, and then the gradual uplifting of the Filipino people until such time as our services should be no longer needed.

The cry for independence comes from a limited number of the Filipino people. This assertion may seem to be a bold one; yet close association with those people for nearly six years, more than half of which was occupied with judicial work, convinced me absolutely of that fact. Putting aside for a moment the half million or so of Mohammedan Moros who cannot safely be entrusted with self-government according to the admission of Mr. Bryan himself, the leading exponent of anti-imperialism, we may classify into three groups the six millions of Filipinos proper who have been brought more or less under the influence of Christianity. At least it may be said that unlike the Moros, they are not actively

hostile to the Christian religion nor to the white face. The first group comprises the leading men in the various islands who interest themselves in political parties, possess a wonderful influence over their neighbors, and while not unfriendly towards our Government, eagerly yearn for the time when the reins of power shall be dropped from American hands. Some of these men are highly educated. All are keenly ambitious. Many of them perfectly honest. They control the native press. They dictate the policy of the newly established Filipino Assembly. A respectable number are doing good work in the Government service. All of them keenly desire independence at an early day and they doubtless believe that they truly represent the spirit of all the people. But I am convinced that they do not.

The second group comprises that element among the people who are not keenly interested in politics, but who are busy on their farms or occupied in commercial affairs of little or appreciable importance. This class enjoys the benefits of the American occupation. They like our new public school system which is doing such marvelously good work among their children. They approve the new roads we are constructing—both the railroads and the ordinary highways. These men pay their taxes cheerfully because they see the benefits daily coming to their country. Not all of them publicly declare their opposition to the independence idea because they dislike to become unpopular with the group first described, but I have had more than one important Filipino tell me that it would be a great misfortune to his people if the American Government were to withdraw before its work was all complete. They realize just as well as we Americans did the utter incapacity of the native leaders to maintain a stable, safe and sane government if left alone. The possibility of Japanese control is ever before them. And as between American and Japanese control even the native politicians themselves would infinitely favor us.

The third group, and by far the largest, comprises the vast masses of the people who take little or no interest in the government they have, provided no interference is had with them. Probably two millions of them have no accurate conception of what independence or government mean. In time, of course, they will learn. Our schools during the next decade will work wonders, but at present any attempt to enlighten most of the people in this group as to their duties and rights under a government of their own as compared with their duties and rights under the present government would be utterly futile.

One of the most intellectual men in the Islands is Bishop Brent, the distinguished head of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I

wish I could quote at length from a powerful address delivered by him in 1907 at Richmond. I was especially impressed by his warning that we were pushing the Filipino ahead too fast on the road leading to self-government, and that we were treating him too cruelly with respect to the economic relations between the two countries. "More freedom of trade and less political advancement" was the keynote of his address.

I felt a keen joy last July when I read that the earnest labors of President Taft, the American who is undoubtedly pre-eminent in the hearts of the Filipinos, had, after eight years of unwearying effort, finally induced our Congress to remove a few of the larger stones in the tariff wall which had been created. Cruel indeed it was to take away from these poor people the market they had with Spain and not give them at once the opportunity to freely trade with us. With the revival of business which is sure to follow this tardy justice on the part of Congress, this spirit of dissatisfaction will speedily disappear and we shall hear less talk of independence. (Applause.) That there has been actual discontent in the Islands for the past six years is undeniable. But in the opinion of those who have the best opportunity to study the conditions there, this discontent is based very largely on economic and not on political grounds. (Applause.)

In the matter of miles it is a far cry from the Philippines to Porto Rico, but when we compare conditions many points of similarity are visible. We gave free trade to Porto Rico within three years after the Spanish flag disappeared. But we have never given to the Porto Ricans the boon of citizenship. They ought to have it. Congress has thus far denied their appeal. A Porto Rican is merely entitled to a certificate that he is under the protection of the United States. He is now a human being but not a citizen. He is not a subject. Surely such an anomalous condition is not in harmony with American ideals. Sooner or later this appeal of the Porto Ricans will arouse a public sentiment in this country which will induce Congress to place the native inhabitants of that charming but over-crowded island in a position where he can truly say he has a country. In view of the millions of foreign born whose ballots in the States often prove controlling, it does seem harsh and unreasonable to reject the repeated recommendations of our Presidents that the Porto Rican be made a citizen. (Applause.)

The Filipino is rapidly reaching the position where he also will clamor for citizenship. Shall we grant it to him? Can we safely do so, either now or ever? This most important question will ere long press the conscience of America for an answer. All patriotic and thoughtful Americans must consider it. I am one

of those who believe that while the United States will never attempt to govern these far distant lands after the period shall arrive when our flag may safely be lowered, equally am I convinced that we will never drive away from the protecting folds of our national banner any people who desire to remain under it. (Applause.)

Another conviction forced itself strongly on my mind after six years close association with the Filipino people. And that is the successful future of their present attempt to climb the ladder of civilization. One element alone satisfied me on that point. I refer to their unusual devotion to the cause of education. The welcome they have given to our noble body of American teachers, the sacrifices that poor parents make in order that their children may attend our schools, the actual thirst for knowledge shown in hundred of instances that came under my personal observation, in at least nine of the thirty or more provinces, satisfied me that all Americans here at home need not worry about the future of those people, provided we will stand by them and encourage them until such time as they can stand alone.

After our schools shall have had time to educate 50 per cent. of the children in the Philippines, instead of 15 per cent., so that a majority of the inhabitants over eighteen years of age shall have acquired a reasonably correct idea as to the duties and responsibilities of self-government, the wise, humane and just course on the part of America would be to determine by a plebiscite properly conducted whether such majority desire their independence or to permanently remain under us.

I predict that when such time shall come, say in one, two or three generations, there will exist in the Islands such a friendly feeling toward America, despite the racial differences between the two peoples, that the decision will be overwhelmingly against independence. (Applause.)

Questions of statehood will never disturb us. The decisions of our Supreme Court have established already that the Constitution amply provides suitable powers in Congress to so modify different forms and limitations of territorial government as to afford full protection both for us and for the islanders.

In conclusion we must always bear in mind that the Filipinos are the only Malay people who have ever been brought under the beneficent influences of Christianity. They worship the same God whom we worship. Although the nation and the church in America must always be separate the history of the human race tells us that of all the bonds which unite different bodies of human beings, religious bonds are among the strongest. The work of the clergy in the Philippines, both Catholic and Protestant, is a marvelous power for good. No fair minded man can live

among the Filipinos for several years as I did without admiring many qualities which they possess; generosity, courtesy, love of children, eagerness to learn, devotion to aged parents and interest in religion.

Speaking merely as one individual who knows them well I would vote to-morrow to confer the boon of American citizenship upon every native of the Islands who can intelligently take the oath of allegiance to our flag. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is Mr. W. W. PETTIT, principal of a high school at Malolos in the Philippines, who has seen eight years of continuous service in the Educational Department of the Islands.

### THE MISSION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN THE PHILIPPINES

#### ADDRESS OF MR. W. W. PETTIT

*Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:* An instructor in economics recently explained to his class that the 25 per cent. ad valorem duty on Philippine tobacco had been removed. On being corrected and informed that the tax done away with was a 25 per cent. reduction on the Dingley tariff rate, he replied that it was a matter of little importance anyway. (Laughter.) The American people are markedly apathetic concerning the Philippine Islands and are correspondingly unacquainted with facts about them, although whatever affects the prosperity of 8,000,000 people in one of their possessions, is, or ought to be, a matter of importance not only to instructors in economics, but to every citizen of the United States. (Applause.)

Fortunately for the Filipino people, we have at the head of our Government a man well informed in Philippine affairs, a man who understands the Filipinos and is respected by them. While President Taft was Governor of the Islands, the policy of their government was formed; the development of a self-governing people and the preservation of the natural resources for the native inhabitants. The path toward that ideal is long and strewn with many difficulties. The goal cannot not be reached in a day; possibly not in a generation. Indifference and ignorance, selfishness and avarice confront one on every hand; but these must and shall be overcome, and a self-controlled, responsible, altruistic population developed.

Every enlightened nation looks to education to emancipate its masses, and the United States, with the end just sketched in view, established an efficient public school system in the Islands, almost

immediately upon taking possession. It is of the public school in the Philippines that I have come to morning, a work in which seven hundred Americans, thousand Filipinos are engaged, and the benefits of half million pupils are receiving. What I shall say will be personal, for I shall try only to place before you the in the town where I have been located and to tell you briefly what we have tried to do, through the school, to better those conditions.

Malolos, the one-time seat of Aguinaldo's government and the capital of the Tagalog Province of Bulacan, is about an hour and a half from Manila by rail. Here we have a school of four hundred pupils in the last two years of grade work and the four years of the high school course, about half of whom live in neighboring towns. Our equipment comprises a trade school of reinforced concrete, built at a cost of eleven thousand dollars, two thousand of which was contributed by the natives of the province; a building for domestic science and a girl's dormitory, besides the structure for regular academic work. We are teaching in Malolos, besides the common and high school branches, which are practically the same there as in the States, cooking and sewing to the girls, and to the boys, wood-working, iron-working and the rudiments of mechanics.

Naturally, the intellectual status of the Islands is as yet low, but the Filipino children are anxious to study and their parents make great sacrifices to educate them. The father of one of our graduates last year sold all his property in order that his daughter might finish the high school. Our pupils come principally from the middle and lower classes, the children of the upper class generally attending private schools in Manila. Every vacation I have spent two or three weeks in travel, persuading the wealthier parents that the public schools can better take care of their sons and daughters than the private institutions, and the poorer parents that a few years in school will increase the child's earning capacity, an argument as potent to the Filipinos as to Americans themselves.

The dormitory furnishes a home for the non-resident girls, but our boys board in private houses, more accurately huts, about the school. Most of them live on four or five dollars a month, sleep on the floor and eat very coarse food. Their morning meal consists of a cup of coffee and a piece of bread, at noon and night they have boiled rice, meat or fish. They still habitually use their fingers to carry food to the mouth. Such is the mode of life which the larger part of the pupils are leading, because the majority of the provinces are too poor to construct dormitories for them. Last year in Malolos, we rented a small building and put a man

in charge. Into this house we crowded some thirty boys who paid four dollars a month to cover the cost of their food and to pay the man who prepared it. In several places, the churches are interesting themselves in the matter and in Manila the Y. M. C. A. Secretaries, Messrs. Tenor and Grove, are trying to obtain funds for the erection of a three-story dormitory for students.

The Filipinos are a social people, and we try by every means possible to train their social instincts along wholesome lines. The pupils are encouraged to mingle with their teachers in friendly intercourse. Class dances are frequently given and the students occasionally get up some entertainment for the benefit of the faculty and other guests. Last year our senior class presented "A Midsummer Night's Dream." The young actors threw great enthusiasm into the preparation, and showed a real appreciation of Shakespeare's art. The scenery, it is true, consisted chiefly of palms with a haycock for Titania to fall asleep upon. The costumes which pupils and teachers combined to make, were of Japanese crêpe in delicate colors and the ass's head was a truly wonderful creation on a bamboo frame, covered with portions from the principal's linen trousers, and painted with purple ink. Yet the production was a huge success and the participants felt amply repaid for having spent their recesses for two months drilling before the assembled school, to gain confidence and ease.

The Filipinos are intensely interested in athletics, and the inter-provincial meets, held throughout the Islands are attended by hundreds of people, who grow as enthusiastic over the baseball and track events as they do over their favorite cock in the cock-pit. Athletics are, therefore, fostered among both boys and girls, one of the instructors managing the baseball, basketball and track teams. Baseball, by the way, might well be called their national game, for the merest children on the streets are imitating, with club and stuffed stockings, their elder brothers with their Spaulding balls, and the boy is exceptional whose knowledge of English does not at least include the terms "foul ball," "out," "base," and "strike."

Occasionally, teachers make excursions with their pupils. In Malolos we made this an annual affair and have visited with the boys the principal places of interest in central Luzon. Such excursions are very common in Japan, and, where they have been tried, have proved of great value in the Philippines. Besides giving the boys a first hand knowledge of the country, its inhabitants and products, the instructor is given a rare opportunity to study his pupils and to gain their confidence. During the last Christmas vacation, twenty-four of our pupils spent a week in the mountains. We visited a volcano, examined several battlefields, called on

Aguinaldo and interviewed a number of Filipinos prominent during the insurrection. In all, we covered some two hundred miles, tramping about half the way. The boys prepared the meals and we slept in town halls, in schoolhouses or out in the open air.

The greatest need of the Filipino youth is in his moral life, and the schools in the Philippine Islands are, I maintain, doing more to meet such a need than are the schools of the States. The influences brought to bear upon the students outside the school are the very worst and there is practically no religious training—to which cause, I attribute much of the immorality among the people. In our graduating class from the high school this year, there are eleven boys and not one of them is connected with a church, a condition not exceptional.

Although a teacher in a public school can, for obvious reasons, take no active part in the religious life of his charges, yet his influence may be very potent in developing the moral sense, for the young Filipino is very easily led either for the good or for the bad. In the class rooms, questions of the most vital importance in life are discussed, questions which our American schools should bring before their pupils, but seldom dare to do.

On bringing their sons to us, the parents entrust them to our care, and the young people feel their dependence upon us. When they are sick, they come to us for medicine; when they get into trouble, their teacher is frequently their sole hope of salvation. Four of our boys were recently arrested for playing cards, and immediately sent for me to get them out of the difficulty. The native policeman claimed that they had been gambling, because one of them had been found with money upon his person. Unable to convict the suspects upon such slender evidence, he hunted up an old municipal ordinance prohibiting the playing of any game without a license, and fined the boys on that charge. Gambling has, of course, been strictly forbidden and the practice has largely disappeared. The students have been, in our experience, conspicuous by their absence from the cock-pits, where the older generation finds its most popular amusement.

Can the Filipino youth be depended upon? He has not in the past held a record for his veracity; on the other hand, he has richly earned a reputation as a prevaricator; but our boys have shown constant improvement in that respect, and I feel that I can say to you truly that they have earned my confidence and faith. Pupils frequently have had to wait for their allowances from home and our teachers have often been called upon to help some one out financially. It is very exceptional that we have not been repaid.

The missionary character of the teaching profession is more apparent to instructors in the Islands than in the States. Results immediately seen, and efforts instantly rewarded, make the teacher's task more interesting and inspiring. I doubt whether there exists a more devoted band of workers than the men and women who are spending their time, both in school hours and out, in the making of the Filipino people. (Applause.) Both American and native teachers feel that they are factors in the rapid development of a race of people who, at least in their youth, are anxious to learn and to do. There is much to be accomplished, but the results of the past eight years give promise of a brighter future. I believe there are great possibilities in the Filipino people. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to have a few reminiscences from Brigadier-General WILLIAM AUMAN, who commanded forces in the Philippines during our early occupation of the Islands, and later became President of Examining Boards there.

#### SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PHILIPPINES

##### REMARKS OF BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM AUMAN

It is seven years since I was in the Philippines and things have changed very much since. You have heard of the improvements made from former speakers. I will speak only of things I saw and heard there at that time.

After the Cuban campaign, I was too ill for a time to go with my regiment to the Philippines, and it was not until 1900 that I was ordered to proceed by way of the Suez canal to join my command at Manila. On the transport on which I went we stopped at many places, Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Suez, Aden and Colombo and passed close by Singapore and Hong Kong, all of which places were either garrisoned or occupied by the British people. I think it is well that is so, for they have brought by occupying those points, safety to the commerce of the high seas, and peace to the inhabitants of the countries which they occupy.

When I arrived at Manila I went at once to the headquarters in the walled city. The walled city is only a small portion of Manila, about one-eighth of the city itself.

What first attracted my attention there was the great number of churches. I subsequently counted them and there were thirteen with the walls. The people were certainly a church-going people and they often had religious processions in which they carried figures of the Christ, the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and

other saints. In these processions the priests and men who composed the procession marched in the centre of the street, while on either side the women and children carried lighted candles and the people were wrought up to the highest degree of religious enthusiasm. It was very interesting to look on, and watch them marching through the streets. While they were a church-going people, I do not know that they were a religious people. That is a question that I will not discuss, but speaking of churches, I have seen men carry their fighting cocks to church, fasten them to a peg outside, and after service take them to the cock-pits and there gamble on the results of the contest.

The people were not an industrious people. Some of them worked and earned a little and after they had received their pay they would go off and have a good time until all their money was gone; then they were willing to work again. They were very poor workmen. I have seen carpenters trying to plane a board. They would lay one board on a pile, sit astride of it and shove the plane ahead of them with the hand. I have also seen them trying to saw a board by placing it on a pile that way (indicating) one man taking hold of the saw at one end and one at the other, the two men sawing a board in that way.

Going along the streets of Manila one day I heard a band of music, and looking up I saw a party coming toward me. In front was a lady dressed in brilliant costume with a wreath of flowers on her hair; behind her were about a dozen young ladies, and a band of music back of them. They marched along the street and seemed to feel very proud. I inquired as to what it was and found that it was a marriage procession. The young lady had just been married. I looked around for the bridegroom—he was on the other side of the street following at a distance; but when they reached their home he was master. Also at a christening they had a band of music. While I was in Santa Cruz where I was in command for a little while, I saw a christening party where the woman, the mother of the child, was carrying the baby, very brilliantly dressed, and a band of music followed. She seemed very happy that she could have this band of music with her at the christening party.

At funerals they had a great display—all they could afford: brilliant trappings to their horses, if they had any or could afford them. The poor often rented coffins to take the remains to the graveyard, and there they were taken out and deposited in other boxes. Even the graves were rented. Frequently the parties who had rented the grave would pay so much a year and when they failed to pay, the remains were taken out and thrown on a pile. I observed among the common people that the women went

barefooted in their houses altogether and on the street many of them wore what they called the toe slipper, which was held on by the toes only, so that it gave them a sliding motion, a swaying of the body which was peculiar. Going along the streets one would notice a woman of good figure and apparently very fine looking, but when one came alongside of her, and looked into her face, he would see she was smoking a cigar and was marked with smallpox.

You have heard of the products of the island from other sources. The United States Government has not taken the tax or duty off their principal products. It is a great mistake, I think. We ought to admit everything they have free. It would not affect at all the markets of this country.

Very few of the Filipinos spoke the Spanish language. They had a dialect of their own, and some of those in the northern islands could not understand those in the southern islands. While we were there there was an insurrection, and war is terrible at any time—it is what General Sherman said it was. I leave it to others to say whether the people are now fit for self-government or not. There has been great improvement since I was there and it promises to continue indefinitely. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is more than one public man in the vicinity of Oyster Bay. We will now listen to Hon. W. W. Cocks, member of Congress from that district, who visited the Philippines in 1907.

#### SOME IMPRESSIONS OF THE PHILIPPINE PROBLEM

##### ADDRESS OF HON. W. W. COCKS

I trust you will not expect me to give you more information about the Philippines with my two months' visit than you have received from these men who have spent years there. The best I can do is to give you the impression of a Long Island farmer, who visited the Philippines. This Long Island farmer is of Quaker descent and of Quaker persuasion, so that some of the characteristics that he finds in the Filipino he does not appreciate as much as some who come from a less strenuous lineage and a less strenuous neighborhood! We had a strenuous life at Westbury before Theodore came to Oyster Bay. (Dr. Draper. More after?) Yes.

On the transport as I neared the Philippines I gathered from the army officers that the Filipino as a general proposition was no good, the only way to civilize him was with a Krag. They have a little song there which they have had to repress, and I

won't repeat it. But it was something about the best way to repress the Filipino was with a Krag!

I looked particularly into the conditions of the island relative to labor possibilities of the Filipino. I attended few festivities and functions in the island. I was charged with deserting my party at such times, because I desired to see conditions as they really were there. I spent some two weeks in the southern islands apart from the company with whom I went. I talked with all classes of people. I talked with the Filipino through an interpreter. I talked with large employers of labor, and anyone who has seen the result of the labor of the Filipino, seen the great work done with regard to street improvement, the laying of trolley roads, the building of breakwaters, the building of the railroad in Cebu, and spent a day on the road with the chief engineer and seen the Filipino at work and talked generally with them about labor conditions—I think must see that we will have to handle the Filipino differently if we desire to get the best results from him as a laborer. We cannot handle him as we would a gang of Europeans, with good big Irish foremen—because he can get more work out of a bunch of men than anyone I ever saw; but with the Filipinos, we have got to treat them a little differently. We must treat them more as children, make them interested, praise them for the little things they do even though they do not reach perfection. I was in the Government printing office and saw the excellent work that is being done by the Filipinos, only three white men being employed there at that time out of a total force of about one hundred. The trolley road is operated almost entirely by Filipinos and they handle the motor as well as the average American. That means something, although traffic conditions are not as congested in Manila as they are in our cities many times. Still, they handle cars very nicely.

Now in regard to improvements. It struck me we had expected too much of the Filipino. We had expected him to appreciate and pay for a high priced macadamized road when he had little use for it and I thought of an anachronism in regard to Carnegie's library—"He gave us a library in our town, where nobody had any time to read"—and they had to pay for it. In the Island of Negros they have a very well macadamized road, but there is very little traffic. I rode on it in a little bit of a cart and drove a black bull, who trotted along at a nice gait, very nice indeed, it wasn't exactly the kind of use that the road was built for. The economic conditions were deplorable in that great island, the chief product of which is sugar. It occurred to me, because I have been used to starting in a small way on a good many projects,

if we could improve the trails before undertaking to build great macadamized roads, with fine concrete bridges, that we would improve the means of communication to the towns in some small way: the average engineer could not do it for professional reasons, because it would not be a credit to him. I have had that experience here in the construction of roads. They have said, "Cocks, you could do it, we could not." I could, because I was a farmer and simply improved the means of communication with the things at hand. I took my Long Island gravel and made a fair road—but they must get Connecticut and North River trap rock, for their contention was that the roads must be built of homogeneous stones so that they would wear to a uniform surface and, in other words, all go down together like the wonderful "one-hoss shay;" however, we had very fair roads from our own material. Most of the Filipinos do not have any wagons in which to travel over that road when it is constructed. Either afoot or when on a pony or as I drove, at a slow pace, they could get along very well over a dirt road, made so as to shed the water. Not that I did not approve of the good roads. I did; but I think we tried to start out from almost too high a position, tried to make the Filipino realize what we have not yet convinced a whole lot of farmers in this State, that is to submit to a pretty severe rate of taxation for good roads. The thing we must do is to improve the economic conditions and I would suggest by all means to improve the means of communication by improving trails, erecting cheap temporary bridges, perhaps, over chasms and water-courses and in that way bring up the people to appreciate the good roads proposition.

I was wonderfully impressed with the possibilities of the Philippine Islands and also the importance of a fixed policy as to when we are going to get out, for no one wishes to invest money in the proposition if it is going to be turned over to the Filipinos. I heartily agree with Bishop Brent's views in that regard. We must insure stability if we expect to interest capital, and it will take capital to develop the Philippines. The sugar industry is impossible to help unless there is a large capital invested, for it is a business that cannot be done by an individual of small means. Whether the Philippines will ever be the home of the white man is a question. The Island of Mindanao now offers the best place in my judgment; it is by far the most productive island, taken as a whole, there is less waste land; I think there are a great many settlements where Americans could make good progress, but they have, also, a turbulent population of Moros, who, while they are good workers and fighters, do not appreciate our civilization. Yet army men tell us the word of the Mohammedan Moro is better than the Filipino Christian. That is a sad commentary on our

civilization; but as an army officer, who went out with me from Jolo, said "a people who will fight and work the soil are a great people." In that turbulent island of Jolo a larger area by 100 per cent. had been cultivated in 1907 than ever before because, after the severe battle at Mt. Daho, we practically put an end to the depredations of mountain tribes, who previously had descended upon the coast villages each year and taken away all that the inhabitants had raised. It seems strange, but true, that in the Philippines as elsewhere, the mountain people are able to overcome those of the coast, and it is particularly true in every part of the Philippines which I visited. They fear those from the mountains, but owing very largely to the good work of Colonel Scott, who is now superintendent at West Point, the whole province is in very satisfactory condition.

When you hear of a little disturbance in the Philippines, do not think it is an insurrection against the authority of the United States any more than when you read of the disturbances at McKee's Rocks or the night riders in Kentucky. It is not an insurrection against the authority of the United States but simply an interior disturbance. If you were away from home and did not know anything about this country and read of where a band of men went to a man's home and fired his buildings and shot his family as they came out of the house, you would think this country uncivilized, but such things have happened in this great country of ours. While the Filipinos have been guilty of a good many crimes, they were committed usually by bands of outlaws, who should not be considered as representative of the Filipino people.

The thing that concerns us is what we can do for the Filipinos. One thing is to back up the Government in the position it assumes. I believe a great many of the lives of our boys have been lost through the efforts of some misguided people in this country, who, desiring to give the Filipinos independence, imagined that they could create such an agitation here that we would relinquish the Islands. The Filipinos told me they never expected to whip the United States, but they did hope to create such a political condition at home that we would turn them loose. If we had been at war with a great nation, we would probably have asked such Americans to step within some walls where we should expect to hold them until the unpleasantness was over. Here there was only an insurrection and yet these people aided the enemy; and even if it was done with the best of intentions, it made a bad condition for years in the Islands, which is to be deplored, as I believe we are all concerned in the welfare and tranquillity of the Islands. While the Dutch, English and Germans do not believe we can ever teach the Malay to govern himself, still we are mak-

ing an earnest effort to do so. All the officials of the insular government with whom I came in contact appeared to be using great care with regard to the expenditures of the Government and I was pleased to note this; seemingly, they had appreciated the very limited resources of those from whom they drew their revenues.

Thank you very much for your attention. I realize it is a privilege to be here and speak to you about these things and I also want you to realize that what I have told you was gained from only two months' experience in the Philippines. Any impressions I may have gained may have been erroneous, although I took the greatest pains to get at the truth. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker was to have been Col. J. G. HARBORD, U. S. A., Assistant Director of the Philippines Constabulary. We have just learned that the serious illness of Mrs. Harbord prevents his presence, but we are to hear his paper which will be read by a fellow officer, Major George H. Shelton.

#### SOME TRAITS OF THE FILIPINO CHARACTER

##### ADDRESS OF COLONEL J. G. HARBORD

No tradition regarding the mystic East is more widely accepted than that of the inscrutability of the Oriental,—as witness the stately verse of Edwin Arnold:

“The East bowed low before the blast,  
In patient deep disdain;  
She let the legions thunder past,  
Then plunged in thought again.”

and Kipling's

“Oh East is East and West is West  
And never the Twain shall meet.”

There is the old story too of the Spanish Friar who spent his life among the Filipinos, and at its close left a large volume inscribed “What I know about the Filipino” which when eagerly opened by those who knew his unrivalled opportunity for such knowledge was found to be entirely blank. Many a man's confidence in his understanding of Oriental character has been shaken by some strange manifestation unexpected and forever unexplained. I make no more pretensions therefore than attach to nearly eight years spent among the Filipinos, over six of them being in the provinces remote from Manila. I have been too often the recipient

of their charming hospitality; have been too loyally served by native soldiers; and have enjoyed the friendship of too many patriotic and high-minded Filipinos, to fail to have for their peculiarities that kindly eye and sympathetic heart that alone can win to an understanding of the soul of an alien race.

Of the approximately seven millions of Christian Filipinos, the great majority are poor villagers of the *pâdi* fields, toiling and enduring, in good seasons and in bad, with the unquestioning acquiescence in conditions as they are, which is one of the strong characteristics of the Malay race. The tale of their lives is of insignificant items; the common everyday incidents of childhood; of love making; of the bearing and the tending of little ones; of uneventful maturity and querulous worn out old age. All they ask is peace; to be let alone; and to enjoy a reasonable measure of prosperity. They are the plain people of the country—those whose ability intelligently to participate must be considered when the possibility is contemplated of popular self-government in the Philippines. The small educated minority lead, plan, and strive. They are generally holding office or seeking it, and it is because this restless, ambitious minority give tongue so lustily while the passive minority hold their peace that one is apt to imagine the hearts of the whole people burning for independence.

The difference between the highest civilization and the lowest is one of degree. No one can say just where civilization ends and barbarism begins. The very lowest of our stock are to some extent civilized if you can master the art of seeing life as they see it. To learn much of Malay character, you are obliged to cultivate a liberality which can regard without outward sign of disapproval many things which differ from your most elementary home standards. Nevertheless, your first impressions of the Filipino, however humble, are that he has the bearing of a gentleman, is courteous, dignified and reserved. When you see much of his home life, you are obliged to admit that such courtesy and gentle bearing comes to him as his natural heritage without special education or training.

The Filipino tells you in conversation, or in response to questions, that which he believes you wish to hear. He spares you the relation of disagreeable facts and is expert in reading your wishes in your face. He comes slowly to the object of his visit, loving the appearance of conference with power and authority. He will digress to talk on many subjects, and then in the act of leaving, suddenly seem to remember as a sort of afterthought the one thing which he really came to say. The polite language of Castile lends itself to circumlocution and verbal bouquets, and with his dignity and courtesy he is many times shocked by American abruptness

and lack of composure. He admires the qualities in which he himself is not strong, and self-control, and straightforward sincerity presented with courtesy win him and hold him.

He reads but little, or not at all, and his conversation with his friends is generally personal in its nature. A strong Malay characteristic is racial reticence. A whole Filipino community may ring with comment on some fact concerning one of their race. The native priest may allude to it from the pulpit; it may be the theme of the market place, lisped by babes and mumbled by old age, and yet not one word reach the ear of a white man in their midst, there for the purpose of hearing it, and with his reputation depending upon it. Closely allied to this reticence is his loyalty to chiefs or influential men of his own race. It is very close to the feudal tie which once bound the English yeoman to the lord of the manor. The humble villager lives near or works the land of one whose ancestor ruled his perhaps two centuries ago, and the relation of authority on the one side and respect on the other has been handed down through the generations. This peculiar relationship is at once one of the principal aids to government, and one of the great obstacles to political progress. In every community there is some individual, not necessarily an official, who, for good or evil, sways the populace. With that man won, the problem of peace and order becomes easy. With that man doing their thinking for them such a community travels a slow road toward fitness for self-government.

One of the attractive traits of Filipino character is devotion to family. Parents are affectionate to their children, who, as a rule, are respectful and well mannered. The old are venerated and tenderly cared for. In almost every well-to-do home there are aged relatives, parasitic hangers-on, but, nevertheless, made welcome. Degrees of relationship are counted to distant cousinship, being lost finally in the Spanish term translated "Something of a relative." The headship of a family carries with it quite substantial precedence. An elder brother's authority over his juniors is generally recognized, practically all the native dialects having a word for "elder brother" beside the ordinary term for brother. The relationship of God-parents and sponsors is quite as binding as blood connection, and the invitation to an American to be God-parent to one of their children is one of the highest compliments we can receive,—equivalent to inviting you into relationship.

The Malay, of all classes, is extremely sensitive to ridicule. This sensitiveness is so keen that he may be ruled by playing upon it where persuasion or force would fail. Perhaps closely allied to this emotional sensitiveness is the love of music and dancing. Filipinos of all ages dance and learn music easily and love it.

Practically every village has a band or orchestra, even if its instruments are improvised from bamboo. Even little children play the guitar, harp, or piano as if by instinct. Much of their music is Spanish, though they play by ear various popular airs from America which are taken over by our army bands. Native airs are set in the minor key, and beneath the tune often jangly and discordant to the Caucasian ear, there is a plaintive, yearning strain, soft, tender and sad, telling the story, not always appealing to the Western heart, of unresisting resignation to Fate ordained from the beginning of time.

As a people, they are rarely humorous or keenly witty. His own fear of ridicule keeps the Filipino from being a joker. His jokes are clumsy and his wit is awkward. Out of harmony with his emotional sensitiveness, is the cruelty to animals which is conspicuous in his use of them. So too, with his indifference to the suffering of others, and his lack of compassion sometimes shown to a fallen foe. The mutilation of a dead enemy is not of rare occurrence. The loss of a limb in a railway accident, or the wreck of a vehicle by a frightened horse, attracts a crowd, but it is seldom that it finds one person willing to succor such distress. This may be but a manifestation of fatalism and a resignation to the inevitable. He is not easily moved to anger and when angry will often conceal it, enduring cruel wrongs with almost incredible calmness. Again an insignificant trifle will seem to spur him into fury. He loses control of himself and shows the unreasoning spasmodic rage of a child striking madly at inanimate objects, or alike at friend and foe.

There is no instinct stronger in him than his love of his home pueblo. Thousands never travel twenty miles from the place of their birth, and are unacquainted with the roads to the adjoining province. A political candidate can present no more powerful claim for preferment than sonship in the voter's native town. One of the strong claims of the Philippines Constabulary on the favor of the people is the fact that its soldiers are enlisted to serve in their native provinces. Sooner or later the Filipino who wanders always returns to his native place. This is so well known that it is made use of in the suppression of crime. The picturesque bandits left over from the insurrection, or their imitators that have from time to time arisen since, when close pressed, circle towards home, and are eventually captured or killed within a few yards of scenes that knew them in childhood.

No sojourner in the Philippines can fail to notice the intense desire of all classes of the people for education. It is the wish of which he will be most constantly reminded. Servants, coachmen, laborers, hundreds of them carry little phrase books or short

language methods, and are earnestly striving to learn English. Our tongue is already more extensively understood than Spanish. The latter is the language of the educated adult Filipino, but you will scarcely find a hamlet so remote that some child in it does not understand simple English. Public money for education is one appropriation never criticised by the vernacular press of Manila. Night and day schools are well attended, and in some of the former, local officials, overcoming their fear of ridicule and swallowing their pride, have sat beside their own children as pupils learning English. Just what is passing in the Oriental mind which justifies such striving, one cannot say. Many Americans believe that it is the eagerness of all classes to get into some one of the professions and escape manual labor. The well nigh universal ambition of youth in the Islands is to become a lawyer, and the country swarms with worthless pettifoggers. A friendlier view is that the Filipinos are thus getting a glimpse of better things, and find in their learning the doctrine for the first time taught in the Orient, that the government belongs to the whole people. Certainly the desire for education is one of the moving motives of Filipino life to-day. Parents make the most complete sacrifices to send their children to school, and the pupils themselves endure hunger and privation to secure learning.

The popular idea of our Oriental ward includes the belief that his indolence bars him from an agricultural or industrial future. It is true that he does not easily lend himself to the exploitation of his labor by the outsider, but already some foreigners who know how to manage him are successful in handling Filipino labor on a large scale. This requires a knowledge of native character and some deference to custom. He has for many generations taken his meals at certain hours, beginning work early without food; stopping for breakfast about nine; working then until about noon; resting until two, and continuing work until nearly dark. He desires to have his board furnished him. He would much rather work a day for fifty cents and twenty-five cents worth of rice and fish, than to receive seventy-five cents for the day. He expects the legal holidays and the Saints' days for himself. His reason for observing this arrangement of hours, meals, holidays, and hire with board are the same as those of his American employer for desiring him to conform to the practise of laborers in America. Each clings to that to which he has been accustomed. As to which should meet the other's views,—the employer has capital invested thousands of miles from home and everything depends upon labor. The workman lives in a land where the gods have been kind; the climate is balmy; little or no clothing is needed and board grows on the trees. To me it seems the wise

employer will conform, nor do I believe that a sufficient deference to custom to retain his laborers will prevent material success. He will attach them to him by kind treatment and I know of no land in which the personal allegiance of employees to their employer means so much as in the Philippines. Such handling of labor by the American planter will soon colonize around him a loyal tenantry devoted to him and faithful to his interests, and in time will enable him to sway them toward the customs of the temperate zone. The Filipino will not do the coolie labor of the Chinese, Hindoo, or Japanese. He will not pull a rickasha, nor does he hitch himself, his wife, or his child to the plow. He is inclined to till the fields without animals. Nature has been so lavish that he probably asks himself, in the slang of the period, "What's the use?" It cannot be denied that in his veins there is the languor inherited from many generations bred under tropic suns. And yet every hill of rice of the millions that grow each year in the Philippines is planted singly by hand, the planter standing knee deep in mud, bent to the hips with a torrid sun beating upon his back,—as slavish work in as tiresome a position as man can be called upon to do. The Philippines supply the hemp of the world, and every bale with present methods means twelve days' hard work by one man in stripping the fibre alone, to say nothing of cultivation, transportation to the sea, pressing, baling and shipping. The Islands export millions of dollars worth of woven goods made by women on hand looms; besides pillows of tree-cotton; pearl shell; edible birds' nests; gutta percha; wax, rattans; coffee; sugar; copra; leaf and manufactured tobacco; all of which involve labor. The tobacco factories, printing presses, automobiles, steam railroads, electric street railways, and inter-island shipping are worked by the Filipino. He has a natural aptitude for machinery and is fond of that work. He should not be too severely blamed for his idea of the discredit to an educated person of manual labor. It came from the Spaniard and is shared by practically all civilized nations except our own. But agricultural and manual training schools are teaching new views of labor. Everyday American occupation creates for the Filipino new wants which can only be satisfied through labor. As has been said: "We are making him industrious by tempting him with new luxuries."

It is as a host that the Filipino appears to greatest advantage. There is none so humble, so prosperous, so untutored, or so cultured, that he does not welcome the stranger within his gates. His unvarying hospitality is traditional. Whether it is to offer you sleep on a beautifully carved four-poster bed in a grand old mansion, or to give you a straw mat and space on the floor among

his family in the only room he owns, he freely gives you the best that he has, sacrificing, if necessary, his own comfort to do it. It is given, too, with every sign of good breeding; there is no false modesty, no apology for poverty, but he and his are "at your disposition," and you have but "taken possession of your house" as the Spanish phrases have it. If he is the principal official in his town, the privilege of entertaining you is one of the dearest prerogatives of his office. Your comfort and pleasure are the prime considerations for the time of your visit. Any one who has enjoyed such kindness will testify that in this beautiful trait of his race the Filipino stands well in the front rank among the hospitable peoples of the world. The charm of such winning hospitality lingers long with you. In time, it tempers disappointment at ingratitude and wasted endeavor, and softens the memory of weary days and tropic suns.

No one who studies the Filipino can fail to note the influence on his character of the Christian religion, and of his contact with the Latin civilization. He is the only Christian of the Malay race, and he turns toward Europe and America for his ideals in civilization and government. His Christianity places him in a class apart from any other Asiatic, and with his face set toward the occident in his political hopes and aspirations, he constitutes a different problem from any worked out under Great Britain, by whose skill in handling alien races we are sometimes told that we should profit. Education in the English language; the constant travel between the Islands and America, with hundreds of Filipino students returning after several years of the most impressionable period of their lives spent in our country, must in a few years very noticeably affect the character of the Filipino people. Their really admirable qualities will endure, and some sterner attributes, including greater stability, will be added. The commercial prosperity now believed to be dawning will greatly modify Filipino views of their own welfare. Time, too, will soften the bitterness bound to have followed the insurrection. It is no reflection on the sincerity of our Government toward the Filipinos to believe that their best friends have faith that when they are some day fitted for popular self-government, they will be drawn by ties that will bind, into a choice of relation with the United States, like that of Australia or Canada to the remainder of the British Empire, not desiring separation, and realizing that independence, no matter how near or how remote, would be disastrous. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Our next speaker had not prepared an address for us; but, by the urgent invitation of the Business Com-

mittee, he has consented to make some remarks on the subject of the Philippines. I have pleasure in presenting Hon M. E. DRISCOLL, of Syracuse, Member of Congress, and one of the Taft party visiting the Islands in 1905.

### OUR UNFORTUNATE PHILIPPINE EXPERIMENT

#### REMARKS OF HONORABLE MICHAEL E. DRISCOLL

Two years ago I was at this Conference and spoke a few minutes on the Philippine question. My remarks got into the press, and shortly thereafter I was invited by the Anti-Imperialist Society of Boston to make a speech in Faneuil Hall. On account of the historical associations connected with that old hall I would rather speak there than in any other place in the world, except in this most beautiful and picturesque assembly chamber. But on account of my notion of the anti-imperialist principles I was not exactly in accord with them, and therefore did not accept the invitation. I am on the same platform with reference to the Philippine proposition on which I stood two years ago. I am one of that very large and rapidly growing class of American citizens who regret exceedingly that we ever got into the Philippine Islands, and hope to live to see the time when we are honorably out of them.

I am aware that this Conference is composed of kind-hearted and philanthropic ladies and gentlemen who take pleasure in extending the hand of sympathy and help to inferior and dependent peoples, and therefore you may not be entirely in accord with my remarks. I doubt if you were two years ago. But you have heard the statement that we want a little dispute and contention here; that we are not looking for entire harmony and agreement on any proposition that is submitted. (Mr. Smiley: That is so.) Therefore I was called out for the purpose of introducing the bone of contention. (Mr. Smiley: We always want to hear both sides in this house.)

I am aware that our good people say the Philippines fell into our lap as a result of our war with Spain, and that we are a great people and must bear our share of the white man's burden. That may be true, but I still believe there were some selfish motives in this country when we took possession of the Philippines; and it was not all on account of love for our fellow beings, nor for the purpose of bearing our share of the white man's burden and doing our share in Christianizing and civilizing the world that we became entangled in the Orient. All of the really white-skinned people who now inhabit the globe are derived from the northwestern part of Europe—a small spot on the map of the earth—and yet they practically dominate the world, and have for

centuries, and aside from Japan will in the future. Those white people of northwestern Europe since they ceased to be sea pirates have become landgrabbers. The love of land is very strong in the heart of the Anglo-Saxon, and for that matter in the hearts of the white people generally.

At the close of the Spanish War the fire of battle was in our people's blood, and the lust for expansion and acquisition was in their hearts. They thought there would be some advantage to us in the possession of the Philippines; that they would open the door of trade of the Orient, and that it would be a fine thing to see "Old Glory" waving on the opposite side of the earth. The temper of our people was such that President McKinley yielded to the clamor and consented to the occupation of the Philippine archipelago. From a financial, business, economical and strategic point of view we got a big white elephant on our hands when we appropriated them. We will leave the question of philanthropy out for the present. They have cost us somewhere from five hundred millions to a billion dollars up to date. No one can tell the exact cost, for no two can agree on the method of computation of our expenses. We are maintaining over there about twelve or fourteen thousand American soldiers and about six thousand Filipino soldiers under American officers, and they are costing us nearly twenty millions a year. We also keep a detachment of our navy in the islands at heavy expense for their pay and maintenance. Under our new tariff law we allow them to import into this country a certain amount of sugar and tobacco which if imported by other countries would pay a revenue duty of many millions a year. That is practically a gift, because reciprocity will not amount to very much. The Filipinos do not like the Americans. That is natural. Great nations have reduced weak ones to submission, but no powerful nation ever pounded a weak one into love and affection. They prefer, naturally, to trade with Spain, Great Britain, Germany, Japan and China, and whatever trade they give to the merchants of our country is given grudgingly. Our Government guarantees their bonds for railroad construction, and in many respects we are under expense on account of our occupation over there. But I do not mind the expense in dollars and cents. We are a great nation and do not feel it. But they are a burden and a source of weakness in many ways; and I am almost tempted to say they are a menace to our civilization and political institutions.

This is a Government by majorities; that is a government by force; for if our army and navy were withdrawn our authority there would be short lived. Our soldiers, sailors and civilians in the Islands who become accustomed to government maintained

by military force cannot help being somewhat influenced thereby, and can hardly be as good citizens of this nation where we are striving to maintain the ideals on which this Republic was founded. A life of even two years in that climate is somewhat deteriorating to any constitution, even the best, and no matter how strong our young men are when they go there, when they return many of them apply for pensions and some of them get on the pay roll while they are still young, and will remain perhaps for fifty years as pensioners of Uncle Samuel. That condition of dependency is no benefit to those young men. It were better, much better, for any young man to have his health and rely on himself than to become a pensioner on the Government, trying every year to increase his allowance by additional and stronger affidavits as to the condition of his health.

Again, our young men over there are away from home, from our country and all moral restraints, and their association with Filipino women does not improve them for domestic life in this country. They treat those women as slaves and inferiors and call them niggers. That sort of relations cannot improve their character and make them better citizens or better husbands.

I am not here to cry over spilled milk, and we must make the best of it. I believe in the policy adopted by President Taft. He is a big man, big-bodied, big-brained and big-hearted. (Applause.) I was with him, as the Chairman said, four years ago on his trip through the Philippines. I heard him make many speeches to those people, full of hope and encouragement. His policy was to do everything possible in order to raise them up educationally, politically, industrially, morally, and in every way, so that they may be able to maintain a reasonably sound form of government for themselves; and as soon as they are competent to maintain a reasonable degree of law and order and protect life and property, to withdraw the American occupation, bid them Godspeed, and let them work out their own political destiny in their own way and without foreign interference. With that policy I am entirely in accord, and am pleased to hear of all the progress they are making under our teachers. But I believe the teaching should be industrial and mechanical rather than in books, because the ordinary young Filipino who learns some English wants to do fancy work, or become a clerk in an office where he can wear starched clothes instead of working with his hands, on the land or in the shop.

Those people in the Philippines are small, weak and feeble. They are the result of that climate and environment. The men are only about half size, the chickens only half size, the eggs are not half size, and the horses are hardly half size; but they are

the most balky and ugly little animals I ever saw. You can import to those Islands large horses from America, Australia or Manchuria, and when they are inbred for a few generations they will shrink to half size. It is the result of the Philippine climate. If we were over there we would not want to work any more than they do. The American people in that climate and environment would probably degenerate to half size, and possibly they would become a worse breed of beings than are the present Filipinos.

My friend, the Vice-President, said it was right for the white man to drive the red man out. Whether it was right or wrong it was necessary and inevitable, because the red men had more than their proper proportion of the world's acreage. The Islands are fairly thickly settled, and the people have no more than their proportion of the world's land; and they are entitled to it. I believe in the policy inaugurated by President Taft—"the Philippines for the Filipinos." Besides if every living thing in the Islands were destroyed there would be no benefit to white men because they could not live there. The climate is still worse for white women, and worse yet for white children. We could not occupy, and prosper in, those islands in the way we do in the lands taken from the red man.

It would be an easy matter for our Government to secure from all the powerful and aggressive nations a convention to keep hands off the Philippines. This is the most powerful nation of all, and its wish would be respected because of its power; and all the nations for the sake of commerce and trade, as well as for other reasons, would be glad to recognize the Philippines as neutral territory, or as an independent people. If we could accomplish this end and establish the Filipinos as an independent Republic in the Orient it would be a glorious event in our history.

I have stated these facts not in a spirit of censure or criticism, but I have settled convictions that we made a mistake when we got into the Philippine entanglement, and the sooner we can get out of it the better for this country and for its political institutions. Our people pay but little attention to the Philippines or the expense which they entail, because they are far removed, and we are rich and do not feel the cost. My hope is that they may consider the question carefully in all its bearings, so that when the time comes when we can honorably withdraw our occupation, American sentiment will be unanimous in favor of it.

As I said, I do not believe in crying over spilled milk or complaining of the past, but I do believe in our people aiming at a time with reference to the Philippines when we can let go and withdraw the American occupation and set them up in a government by themselves.

Immediately after the battle of Manila President McKinley did not want to keep the Islands. There is plenty of evidence of that. He was in favor of occupying a single island, or part of a large island, with a good natural harbor, without improvements, and of constructing our own improvements and retaining it permanently for an American naval, coaling and commercial station, for the benefit of our trade in the East, and surrendering the balance of the Islands to the Filipino people. I believe in that policy; of taking possession of Alongapo on Subig Bay, or some other natural harbor, putting on our own improvements, and retaining it as a naval station and as a strategic point, and in surrendering the rest of the Islands to the people as soon as they are reasonably competent to govern themselves. And I do not mean that they must be able to govern themselves in the way in which the American people govern themselves. That is asking too much. No tropical people have ever yet shown that they possessed the requisite qualities of mind and heart to maintain a high class form of government. No Asiatic people ever have; and we cannot expect the Filipinos will immediately maintain as high a standard of government as we do, or maintain that high standard of civilization. But if they must be permanently governed by a small proportion of their own people who are recognized as the educated class, or governed by our soldiers, I would rather they would be governed by their own people; because I do not want the great Republic to enter upon a permanent policy of government of a foreign people by force, which is entirely contrary to the genius of our institutions. It cannot be for the ultimate good of our free institutions to maintain a republic here and an empire there. I am old fashioned enough to believe that it is not well for us to treat our Magna Charta and organic law as a mere formula and a rubber rag. I believe that we should still cling to the pillars of liberty established by the fathers of the Republic; that we should keep our eyes steadfastly fixed on the Declaration of Independence as the pole star of our political institutions. And in this rapid age of expansion and commercialism, gold and steel, greed and aggression we should continue to keep before our minds and the minds of our people the traditions, ideals, sentiments and principles on which the great Republic was founded. (Applause.)

The Conference then adjourned until evening.

## Fourth Session

Thursday Evening, October 21st, 1909

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The Philippine discussion of this morning is to be continued this evening. I have pleasure in presenting as the first speaker Professor GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE of Clark University, Worcester, who has made a tour of the Philippines for the purpose of study.

### AMERICA'S PHILIPPINE POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FAR EAST

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE

There is a movement of vital importance taking place in the Far East. There is a change going on, constituting an epoch of much the same significance in the Orient as was the Renaissance in the history of Europe. The Far East is coming to the stage of constitutional self-government. This means that each of the great countries of the East will eventually control at least its own local affairs; and control them by a government in which the people shall express themselves by constitutional means.

This advance is merely in accord with the natural law of governmental evolution as is clearly shown by the history of Europe. From the fall of the Roman Empire to the present day, Europe, as a whole, has passed through three distinct stages: first, Feudalism; then, Absolutism; and finally Constitutionalism. Asia is doing to-day substantially what Europe has accomplished during the past hundred years. A little over a century ago, there was not a single leading power in Continental Europe which had a constitutional form of government; to-day every country, even including Russia and Turkey, has some form of Constitution.

This epoch—this constitution-securing epoch—which Europe is just completing, Asia is just beginning. This should occasion no surprise, for, in a general way, Asia has had much the same governmental evolution as has Europe. A study of the East will show that the great countries of that continent, Japan, China and India, have had their era of Feudalism, and their

era of Absolutism; these naturally are followed by an era of Constitutionalism.

This great era the Far East has already entered. Twenty-one years ago not a single state in Asia had any form of constitution; to-day, with the insignificant exception of Siam and Afghanistan, every independent country on the continent either has a constitution or has decreed the establishment of one. Just twenty years ago a constitution was declared in force in Japan. Four years ago Russia granted the famous October constitution; and the people of Siberia now elect delegates who represent them upon the floor of the national Russian Duma. Three years ago the people established a constitution in Persia, and up to the present have maintained it against cunning and force. Within the past year Turkey, which is entirely Asiatic in race and civilization, and very largely so geographically, has overthrown its old absolutism and formed a constitutional government.

In China a constitution has been solemnly promised by the Imperial power. September 2nd, 1906, the Empress Dowager issued the decree: "Let there be no delay in making China a constitutional government." Already local representation has been established: a year ago this last August there met in Tien Tsien the first popularly elected Assembly ever officially constituted in China. Just a week ago, according to the papers, a new Imperial edict was issued, authorizing Assemblies to convene in the several provinces. These in turn will elect members to an Imperial Assembly whose task it will be to draft a constitution for the whole Empire. And so China has come into line. Thus to-day every one of the leading independent states of Asia—Japan, Russia, China, Persia and Turkey—are either constitutional or are becoming so.

This trend towards constitutionalism is also seen in the countries which are held as dependencies or colonies of some Western Power. It is seen in India, which is to-day struggling to obtain self-government. The present unrest there is not ephemeral; it is not the work of a few agitators; but it is profound and fundamental. That England can, in the old absolute way, forever govern this capable and highly civilized people against their strong and increasing opposition is unthinkable. As Goldwin Smith very recently declared in speaking of the future of English dominion in India: "Some day the end must come."

Some day India must have control of her own local government; it is decreed by the immutable laws of governmental evolution. In the mean time, until India is prepared for this, must England either, on the one hand, continue to carry on an

increasingly hopeless struggle to maintain her present absolutistic regime, or, on the other, withdraw in the near future, and perhaps leave India to be racked and torn by years of the same kind of civil wars that followed the breakdown of the Mogul Empire? There is an alternative; and this is found in America's Philippine policy.

This policy marks an epoch in the history of the government of dependencies. It is based upon new conceptions—upon principles which alone meet the demands of these resistless laws of governmental progress which have just been traced. America aims neither at exploiting a dependent people, as most colonizing states have done in the past; nor at ruling them permanently, in their interest but against their wishes, as England believes she is doing in India and Egypt; nor in allowing them to run wild, while they are still in the school-age of nations, as the so-called Anti-Imperialists would do; but America aims at taking a dependent people by the hand and leading them slowly and gradually along the pathway well marked by the footprints of the most highly developed nations, until they are fully prepared to enter the great field of constitutional self-government.

To attempt to rule over a dependent civilized people forever, is simply hopeless: to leave them entirely to themselves until they may be fitted for constitutional self-government, is unwise. The world is coming every decade to be more and more a family of races; and the race children in this world family—children in need of development and yet in the school age—should be under instruction as much as the children in the cities of America. It must, however, be a school in which there is finally a graduation, and from which the race child may pass, sufficiently matured, to take his place as a man in the world. The Western Powers have been school teachers to the East for over four hundred years; but the United States is the only nation school-teacher which ever founded a school in which a race child may look definitely forward to graduation, and to a time when its school days shall be over.

America's Colonial policy is, in its ultimate aim, as well as in the means adapted for carrying it out, fundamentally and profoundly different from those of the other colonizing powers. This is usually recognized by students of the subject. Alleyne Ireland, the well-known English colonial authority says: "Broadly speaking the American policy in regard to the control and development of the Philippines, is the exact opposite of that adopted by every other nation. \* \* \*"

But the American policy, which was originally opposed and well-nigh laughed at by the colonial administrators of other

nations, has more recently been followed by the British Government in India. Ten years ago, the English were, upon the whole, well contented with the character and methods of their Indian administration; to-day there is a general apprehension among thinking people that the old absolutistic policy is breaking down, and that something new in principle must be adopted. The great English explorer and colonial authority, Sir Harry Johnston, says in a heart-searching review in this August's "Nineteenth Century;" "It seems to me that unless we can \* \* \* admit the demand of the black, brown and yellow peoples under our sway for a voice—and a slowly increasing voice—in their own destinies, we must be prepared to face an awful national rebellion in India and an uprising of the negroes throughout British Africa." This new policy which Sir Harry Johnston believes England must adopt, the policy of giving to dependent peoples "a voice—and a slowly increasing voice—in their own destinies"—this is merely the American policy in the Philippines. Another English colonial authority has declared within the past four months: "We must give them (the people of India) a reasonable share, commercially and politically, in their own concerns. This up to the present time we certainly have not done. \* \* \* The whole of the system on which we govern India must, in fact, be reconstituted afresh." Even the British Government itself has come to feel that something different must be done: this past year it was moved in Parliament that comprehensive measures of reform were necessary in the direction of giving the people of India control over their own affairs; at about the same time it was urged in Parliament that the Indian people should be permitted to elect a body of native representatives.

But the significance of America's Philippine policy is seen most clearly in the famous reform which Lord Morley has just introduced into India—for these reforms, whether consciously or not, are an almost exact imitation of the American methods in the Philippines. In certain of the highest advisory and executive councils of India one or two natives have been appointed—not elected—and in the consultative assemblies in the provinces, the natives are given the majority; and many of the members are elected. These councils do not, however, possess full legislative power, as does the Philippine Assembly. Lord Morley's reforms, in short, increase somewhat—perhaps one should say, considerably—the native representation in the Government of India, but they go but a relatively short distance along the path which America is treading in the Far East. And there still remains this profound difference: the United States publicly aims at fitting the Philippines for self-govern-

ment; England never has, and does not to-day, make any such promise in regard to India.

In the general and relatively rapid transformation from absolutism to Constitutionalism which is taking place in Asia, the American policy is absolutely the only one which will sufficiently satisfy the native peoples so that they will give up their agitation for immediate independence and cooperate willingly with the sovereign power in the developing of their nation, till the time shall come when it will be fully ready for complete self-government. This has been true in the Philippines; the grant of a national assembly did more than anything else to put an end to insurrection and to bring peace to the islands. To-day, while the mass of the people probably desire immediate independence, the leaders are, nevertheless, working harmoniously with the American authorities, in the carrying out of the policy of training their people for Constitutional self-rule.

As for India, Mr. Gokhale, probably the best known native leader, has very recently declared that the additional amount of self-government granted by Lord Morley's reforms "had saved India from drifting into chaos." Yet, as we have seen, these concessions fall far behind those given in the Philippines. Sir Henry Cotton declares, in an article which appeared but a few days ago, that the leaders of India, as a whole, do not wish separation from Great Britain. "They desire to obtain self-government and the detailed management of their own affairs. Their ideal is that India may ultimately be placed in a position corresponding to that of the self-governing colonies of the Empire." Since Lord Morley's relatively small concessions have done so much, it is but reasonable to say that a complete following of America's policy would make the present Indian crisis no longer acute nor dangerous.

Much the same situation exists in Egypt, which may well be called Asiatic, for it is so in race and civilization. It, too, is profoundly and growingly dissatisfied. It, however, demands not so much the expulsion of the British, as, to use the words of a recent Egyptian petition to the English Government, "some Parliamentary control of their own affairs." The petition states further; "We appeal, \* \* \* with confidence to the support of the British public in our desire to obtain a sort of representative assembly with limited powers." This is substantially what America is granting in the Philippines.

In summary—the Far East is passing rapidly to the stage of constitutional self-government; this means that, sooner or later, each leading country, whether now independent or dependent, must control its own local affairs. This result cannot be permanently prevented, for it is in accord with the law of historic

evolution. America's Colonial Policy is the only one which is in harmony with this law; for it is adapted to meet the needs of dependent peoples who are in the transition period, preparing for self-rule. Further, recent developments show that the best of the old Colonial policies—the British—is now breaking down in the Far East, but that America's policy would reasonably well satisfy the dependent states. Finally—and this is the highest tribute—Great Britain has now been compelled to follow America's Philippine policy in her dependent Empire of India. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The next speaker is Dr. J. D. BURKS, Director of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, who spent six months in the Philippines as special Commissioner of the United States to study the schools of the Islands.

#### EVIDENCES OF FILIPINO SATISFACTION WITH AMERICAN CONTROL

ADDRESS OF DR. J. D. BURKS

The Chairman of the Conference has correctly stated the subject that I had set for myself this evening, and I hope still to speak upon the subject announced. However, in view of certain statements made this morning by Congressman Driscoll, with your very kind consent and I am sure with his I shall assume the privilege of disagreeing radically with him regarding an argument which I feel sure is based upon a fallacy of fundamental and very far-reaching significance in our national life. I shall therefore review in a somewhat summary way the evidences of Filipino satisfaction with American control and then shall attempt to make an answer which I know our friend from Congress will accept wholly, in the spirit in which it is offered.

I desire at the outset to disclaim any pretension to a complete knowledge of the facts concerning the American regime in the Philippine Islands; for I was there only a few short months. I can say, however, that I did make an honest effort to get at some of the facts. To secure a proper appreciation by the American people of the problems that confront us in the Philippines and in the Orient at large, what is most needed is a clear understanding of the facts regarding the conditions which prevail in the islands and of the spirit and efficiency with which our government is attempting to meet those conditions.

The evidence concerning the attitude of the Filipino people toward the American regime is of two different kinds. First, there is the direct testimony of the Filipino people themselves.

Second, there is the indirect evidence found in the conduct of the people. I am confident that the every-day conduct of the people is often more convincing and more true than any explicit utterances that they may have made. To the indirect evidence may be added the statements of Americans and other foreign observers who by long residence in the islands have become acquainted with conditions prevailing there and with the attitude of the Filipino people.

In considering the direct testimony of the Filipino people, it must be recalled that there are three social classes in the Philippines with which we must reckon. The first of these is the upper, or so-called *cacique* class—the bosses. The second is the middle class of self-respecting, self-supporting families; without great wealth or conspicuous social position. The third is the great mass of ignorant and dependent men and women; the so-called *tao* or peasant class who make up the great bulk of the population of the Philippine Islands.

It is probably within the truth to say that of the eight million people in these islands, seven and one-half million belong to the third class. As might be expected, the third class has little direct testimony to offer. As a class, the people of this group are so submerged in ignorance as not to comprehend even the meaning of independence. They look to the cacique—the boss—for direction in all matters concerning their economic and political welfare and so long as they have enough rice to supply their simple wants, they are not likely to concern themselves with matters relating to the control of the islands by the United States.

It has been said that there is no middle class in Filipino society. In a measure this is true; and it is the great weakness of Filipino society. There is, however, a growing number of men who ultimately will constitute a substantial middle class; and in this class lies the hope of a Filipino democracy. I interviewed about a hundred men of this group in various communities—tailors, postmen, shop-keepers, small land owners, and other men of that type, and I undertake to say that those men were quite unanimous in their support of the American regime. Some of these men, to be sure, look forward somewhat vaguely to a time when a national consciousness and a national integrity may be realized; but they remember well the time when forced military service, confiscation of property, and military terrorism were employed in the name of freedom. There is no doubt that these men appreciate the present regime of prosperity, order and safety.

In the middle class might be placed the Filipino teachers, of whom there are now about six thousand. With a very large

number of these it was my privilege to talk directly and confidentially, and I am prepared to say that the great mass of Filipino teachers are in thorough sympathy with the American program.

There remains then the first class—the cacique or wealthy class—for us to consider. To this class, with but few exceptions, belong the members of the Filipino assembly. It was my privilege to interview about twenty of the fifty members of the assembly. With but few exceptions these men favor the immediate withdrawal of the United States from political control of the islands. The only difficulty in the way of establishing a stable, safe, and sound Filipino government that is recognized by these men is that of inducing the United States to withdraw from the islands. These men, the political leaders of the people, seem to have not the remotest realization of the enormous difficulties involved in working out a constructive national program for a people without even a common language; without common traditions or laws; easily torn by internal jealousy and dissension as shown so conspicuously during the insurrection following American occupation; exposed to foreign interference on every side; possessing no experience in the administration of autonomous government, excepting the recent brief experience under American tutelage. The naive attitude of the men in the assembly is well illustrated by a remark of one of the members who observed that "the Filipino people have all the elements of a successful republic at hand. They have a few men habituated to the exercise of power, and the great body of people habituated to implicit obedience." These two factors, he believed, constitute the great guarantee of a republican form of government in the Philippine Islands. It is these men, the caciques, whose voices reach us over the breadth of a great ocean. They are the men who control the native press; who dictate the public policies; who control the wealth and power of the islands. It is quite natural for us to interpret these voices as the voice of the people which Western tradition has identified with the voice of God. Let me assure you, however, that it is neither the voice of the people, nor the voice of God; it is the voice of the cacique.

It is easy to understand why these men, with traditions of class privilege and power, should look with suspicion upon the program of the United States which undertakes to give a "square deal" to every man, regardless of wealth, social status, or political prestige. To these men it does seem as if the very foundations of their social order were being undermined and they will undoubtedly continue to raise the cry of "immediate independence" until they awaken to the fact that independence

is more than a name; that any independence worth possessing must be *achieved*, not merely taken over as a gift from an external power.

Not all of the men even of the cacique class have this attitude toward the American regime in the Philippines. I was fortunate enough to have interviews with several Filipinos who were active and influential leaders in the insurgent government of Aguinaldo. With hardly an exception these men have come to a point where they acknowledge that the insurrection was contrary to the real interest of the Filipino people and that experience had demonstrated the wisdom of American control of the islands. These men frankly look forward to a time when the Filipino people may attain to such independence of character as will make possible a genuinely independent national life; they nevertheless see clearly that for the present, no such independence is possible. In the assembly itself, there is a small group of men who likewise recognize the impossibility of anything like genuine independence for the present generation of Filipinos, and even Aguinaldo, the military leader of the insurrection, is contentedly following the pursuits of agriculture and has been convinced, as he himself stated to me in an interview, that the American program is in accord with the best interests of the Filipino people.

The best index of the real attitude of the Filipinos toward American control is to be found in their every day relations with their American advisors and sponsors. In this connection I should like to refer to the many attractive buildings for schools and other public purposes which these people have erected at their own expense, with self-imposed taxes. Mr. Beardsley spoke this morning of the public works of other sorts; notably of artesian wells which the people of many municipalities, with the cooperation of the insular government, have constructed; whereby the health of entire communities has been materially improved. There are many other illustrations that might be cited to show this disposition to cooperate with the American authorities in the upbuilding of a larger and finer national life and character.

Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the cordial attitude of the Filipino people toward American control is the readiness with which they have learned the English language and the eagerness with which they have accepted the educational advantages provided by the government. Ten years ago English was practically an unknown tongue in the Philippine Islands. To-day there are 500,000 children gathered in 4,000 schools, who are being taught in English by 6,000 native teachers. One-third of all school children of school age in the islands are gathered

into the public schools. It was my pleasure to visit a large number of these schools and to talk with the pupils and teachers. Let me assure you that there is abundant evidence of a sincere and general appreciation of what the American educational program means for the younger generation. There is more English spoken in the Philippines to-day than ever was spoken of Spanish—although the Spaniard was dominant in the islands for three hundred years, and we have been there under civil rule barely ten years. It is difficult to understand how any one looking fairly at these facts can feel that the attitude of the Filipino people as a whole is hostile to the American people or that it is lacking in loyal appreciation for the institutions of democracy that have been set up in the islands. (Applause.)

A gentleman distinguished for a life of long and honorable public service in the commonwealth of Massachusetts, recently asserted in a public discussion that no man could consistently accept the Declaration of Independence and at the same time justify the United States in retaining control in the Philippine Islands. With all due respect to this gentleman, it may be said that he belongs to the class of emotional and dogmatic, rather than calculative and critical citizens. Granted his premises, his argument follows with logical accuracy; but it does not occur to men of this type to question closely the premises upon which their argument is based. I refer to this incident because a statement in almost the same words was made this morning in this conference by Congressman Driscoll of New York. He invoked the Declaration of Independence as an unanswerable reason why the United States should withdraw at the earliest possible time from control of the Philippine Islands.

In reply to this argument, I would submit that the declaration served in a most admirable way its original purpose, as a campaign document, in arousing the enthusiasm of a people in a successful revolt against the mother country. In our own Civil war and at many other times, however, this nation has put itself on record as ready to interpret the principles of the declaration by the logic of experience and of actual conditions in the interest of the fullest social welfare.

There is a sense in which the ideas of the Declaration of Independence are fundamentally and eternally true; and in that sense it is the great obligation of the United States to insure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to eight million ignorant and helpless people who for centuries have been held in complete subjection by a few thousand more fortunate and more powerful men who have maintained, for their own selfish ends, a system of political, economic, religious and social slavery in these islands. The United States undertook its war with Spain for the purpose

of liberating the people of Cuba from oppression and exploitation that had become intolerable. As an incident of that war this nation came into its present relations with the people of the Philippine Islands. This nation will not have discharged the obligation which it deliberately took upon itself until it has established, not merely in form, but in very fact the institution of democracy among this people who have hitherto known only the institution of monarchy and servitude. (Applause.)

This is the greatest problem to which a nation has ever pledged its credit. Its final success means a complete readjustment of the relations between the East and the West; for through our position in the Philippines there has come to us the opportunity and the obligation of leading the Orient in an intellectual and social reconstruction perhaps the most significant in all history. We must not, we cannot prove unequal to this great task. It should fire the imagination and command the devotion of every man who has faith in the destiny of this nation as the uncompromising champion of democracy. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have an address by Mr. EDMUND ENRIGHT, Superintendent of Filipino Students in the United States.

### THE FILIPINO STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

#### ADDRESS OF MR. EDMUND ENRIGHT

I presume to address the Conference only to place before you a few facts about the students whom the Philippine Government is educating in the United States, and who are under my direction.

This movement was initiated in November, 1903, by President Taft then Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, when 100 students were sent to the United States. Since that time 105 additional students have been appointed, but in less number each year: during the past year only two students have arrived from the Islands. Fifteen of these students were in the United States pursuing courses at private expense when appointed; the others were selected for appointment in the Islands. At the present time there are but fifty remaining in the United States. The largest number here at any one time was 188, three years ago. Of the 155 who have returned, 95 have completed courses as follows: Agriculture 11, architecture 1, chemistry 1, general science 2, civil engineering 12, mechanical engineering 3, law 17, medicine 6, pharmacy 4, teaching 29 and business courses 9.

They have received degrees or diplomas from about thirty schools, including many of the prominent institutions in the

country. Ten of the students have received the degree of Master of Science or Master of Laws, and two of them have been granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Of those who have failed to finish courses, the work has amounted to all the way from one to nearly four years of college training. Two of the students have died in the United States, five have returned on account of ill health, and ten have been returned on account of unsatisfactory conduct.

The purpose of sending students to the United States is obviously, to enable them to obtain a special training which the schools in the islands do not afford, and to enable them to profit by observation and close contact with the institutions, customs and life in general in this country. In doing this the Philippine Government has followed the precedent set by several foreign governments which have sent students to the United States, and some of which are still sending students. Each of the students upon accepting his appointment signs an agreement to return to the islands at the end of his course, and enter the civil service, remaining in it, unless separated by competent authority, for a period equal to his stay in the United States. The period of appointment is four years, but this has been extended a year and in some cases two years to enable students who had maintained excellent records to finish courses on which they were engaged. The maximum sum of \$500 a year is appropriated from the Philippine treasury for the use of each student; but only so much of this sum as is actually necessary may be expended.

It is the intention of the Government that students shall take such courses as will enable them to become efficient civil servants, and on leaving the service later, if they desire, to be useful workers in fields of endeavor that will most benefit the country. These courses are—teaching, medicine, engineering and agriculture; and the majority of graduates that have returned to the islands have been in these courses, although the largest single group of students in any one course is in the law course. The character of the scholastic work of these young men and women is indicated pretty well in the statement of the degrees conferred upon them which has just been read. They show the same faults that appear in many American students. They have a lively intellectual curiosity, and like to take a variety of subjects, and in that way scatter their fire. Some like to learn a little about a number of unrelated subjects, and obtain an exact knowledge in none. They are partial to law and political sciences, which admit of much discussion, and do not demand such exact knowledge or clear demonstration as scientific studies or mathematics. They are not averse to taking easy

courses to obtain credit, and they are apt to attach more importance to the mere granting of a degree than to the acquirement of the power which the course leading to the degree should develop.

They have been allowed considerable choice in the selection of their courses, more choice formerly than is now the case. I believe they do better where less election is allowed, unless the superintendent insists upon their concentrating their energies in one channel, when they attend larger universities. They are apt to wander off into courses for graduates of which the less varied life of the Philippine Islands does not afford a good field. On the other hand they show a more single interest in their work than most American students, are little disturbed by social distractions, and are energetic and industrious.

When we consider how long it takes the American student to adjust himself on going to college, the experience these students have had before coming to the United States, and the change that is involved in transplanting them from the extremely simple existence of the Philippine village to the life of a busy American city and the surroundings that they find in a large American university, it appears to me little short of remarkable that some of these students have done excellent work, and that a majority have been able to finish their courses with credit.

There has been a tendency on the part of a few instructors to give students credit for work they did not do, to interpret as a difficulty with the language, a lack of knowledge or ideas or ability to think. In my experience I have found that many of the best students speak English with the least fluency while some of the most apt talkers were little else. Owing to the fact that most of the students are not prepared to take up full college work immediately on their arrival, they have done a great deal of work in summer schools, but where that has not been necessary those taking courses in agriculture and engineering have gotten work in shops and in the harvest fields, and have acted as hired men in various capacities in the field and in engineering work. From the reports received from their employers they have rendered very good service; in most cases the report is that the work is equal to that which would be expected from an American of the same training in the same capacity. Two of the students who have graduated as civil engineers are now employed in the United States in profitable positions, and will remain here a year to get experience. During this time they support themselves, getting no pension from the Government.

The students almost without exception have been very well received in the communities to which they have gone—

in fact, too well received in some communities. In one or two instances the attention that has been bestowed upon them has turned their heads. The newspapers once or twice have been more energetic than wise I think, in the attention they have bestowed upon the students. They are here to work, and of course we like to have them work and not get undesirable publicity.

A number of them have been elected to scientific and engineering societies and fraternities, which is at once a test of their ability in those lines and of social popularity. While they have not been prominent in athletics because they are of slight physique, yet they excel in military science. They have been commissioned officers in the various military organizations of the colleges from lieutenant colonel down. One of the students succeeded in winning a first prize in an oratorical contest held between the normal school students of Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri and Wisconsin. Of their conduct as a whole body it is difficult to speak too highly. I do not think the same number of students of any other race or nationality could show a better record than these students have, and I am very sure that one superintendent would find his hands uncomfortably full if he attempted to oversee the same number of American students.

Eight of the students thus far appointed have been young women, six of whom have completed their courses and gone back to the islands, where they have been engaged as teachers and are doing very good work. The two remaining are in the Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, where they have made exceptionally good records. Most of us are familiar with the type of American woman who goes in for medicine, usually very strong-minded and strong-bodied. It has been a source of great surprise as well as satisfaction to the professors in that college to see these little women keeping up their end in the severe course that is given there.

Only one of the students is from the non-Christian tribes of the Islands. He is an Igorot, who was taken from one of the villages brought here for exhibition purposes last year and who was placed with another boy who had been taken from a similar village two years before by a gentleman interested in educating him. We are watching his progress with a great deal of interest. He had no education whatever before coming to us. He was a primitive boy, and he is capable of doing only the most elementary work, but he is making quite satisfactory progress, and we expect in four years he will be a good man to send up into the mountains to work among his own people.

In addition to the students supported by the Philippine government, there have been quite a number of private students sent to the United States. I think there are perhaps thirty or forty

here now in addition to the fifty government students. The Jockey Club of Manila supports two in the same manner the government supports its students; and a wealthy merchant in Manila supports four; a number have come with army officers returning from service in the Philippines, and with school teachers and other civil employees, and have been put in school by them. These latter students as a rule have come as servants and are only in the elementary courses. It is to be noted, too, that several of these Filipinos have succeeded in supporting themselves in this country while taking college courses. This is usually considered a very creditable thing for an American student, and is doubly so for a Filipino student.

The falling off in the number of government students appointed from 100 the first year to 40 and 39 the next two years and only two this year requires some explanation. It is due to three causes. In the first place, there is a diminished appropriation for educational purposes, but the more important causes are the raising of the standard of examination required for appointment, and dissatisfaction of the insular authorities with the results of the movement as shown by the work of the students who have returned. The standard of examination was raised because it was found that the students were required to spend from one to three years in preparatory work, which left some of them only one year in which to do any college work on their four years' appointment. When the students returned to the islands they were made the subject of a good deal of unfavorable comment and criticism. The American press ridiculed their clothes, caps and college pins, and the jaunty air with which they carried themselves; while the native press lamented their slangy English. The American government official who was called upon to take them into his bureau, contrasted them very unfavorably with the men he had trained in the Islands. There was probably much ground for this criticism. This is particularly true of the first sixty who returned in 1907, but I believe before a final judgment is passed upon these students due allowance should be made for the conditions under which they were appointed. The first 100 were appointed upon personal recommendation, by favor; no examination was given them, and it was inevitable that some unfit in character and many more with insufficient preparation should be included in this number. I believe there were not in the islands in 1903, 100 boys eligible to receive appointment under the law, and willing to accept it who were prepared to enter a standard American college and carry the work with profit.

Then, these students when they came here had to be placed more or less experimentally. It was not possible to decide

immediately what colleges were best for them and for what courses individuals were best adapted. This experimenting is still going on. Too much was expected of them, I think, in the first place; the program was too ambitious, and yet in reporting their work the Director of Education says of the number that returned in 1907—which we must understand included the poorest students and those taking shorter courses, because the other forty were reappointed for a year—of that number twenty were reported as doing superior work; twenty-two as doing good work; seven as doing fair work; and five poor. Six were not reported on at all. It is not as large a percentage as ought to be obtained from pupils returning in 1908 or this year. I believe they will develop into efficient workers in an increasingly larger proportion each year.

A number of persons have said to me, "I suppose when these young men return to the islands you expect them to become leaders among their people." I hope and believe some of them will, but it is an exceptional American college student who becomes a leader among his people in the first two or three years following graduation. The criticisms made of their "freshness," their clothes and their slang in regard to the students who returned are made every day of American students, and if that were the only criticism, we could dispose of it easily. If it should develop, however, after their return to the islands that a considerable number of these students remain inefficient and are indifferent about fulfilling their obligation to the government, there is little further to be said in favor of this movement. I am firmly of the opinion, however, that if the students are carefully selected and examined in the islands and well looked after while in the United States, it will pay to send twenty or twenty-five students a year to the United States for instruction in special lines. The civil service of the Philippines does not attract a sufficient number of well-trained Americans and most of those who do go out return just as their length of service renders them most valuable. To reduce the high salary expenditure, to secure a stable civil service and to fulfill the promise of the United States to give the Filipinos every opportunity to prove themselves and to meet the requirements of the Civil Service Act that Filipinos be placed in the government service as fast as they qualify themselves for such positions, it will be necessary to place them in many positions now filled by Americans. For many of such places the insular system of education does not offer sufficient training, nor will it do so for many years. The purpose of the government is to diffuse primary education through the mass of the people, and when this is accomplished, to develop the higher institutions. This will take a long time.

In closing I would like to acknowledge the support given this movement by the educational institutions of the United States. The Philippine government has spent a large amount of money in educating these students, but the movement could not have been carried on as it has been if the American educational institutions had not given such cordial and generous support. In remitting tuition in whole or in part these institutions have contributed a sum which, while I have not the exact figures, I believe approximates \$50,000, certainly a very generous contribution. I would also like to express my appreciation as one who was long enough in the Philippines to know—and not as a member of the Bureau concerned—of the splendid work done there by the corps of teachers in the Bureau of Education, to whose representatives we listened so willingly this morning. I think the work of the American teachers in the Philippines has been unique. (Applause.)

I want also to say of one of the Filipino students to whom you will listen later, Mr. Huisung, that he is one of the most earnest and painstaking of the students under my direction. I thank you. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We are now to hear from Mr. GERONIMO H. H. HUISUNG, a Filipino Student at the Lowell (Mass.) Textile School, who is endeavoring to fit himself, by study, and by actual factory experience, to help his people along textile lines.

#### THE GREAT POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

##### ADDRESS OF MR. G. H. HUISUNG

I am indeed profoundly delighted to have an opportunity to speak tonight before this most distinguished audience. But, before I begin, I wish to thank my thoughtful superintendent, Mr. Enright, who gave my name to Mr. Smiley, and then the latter, our host, who in his turn kindly invited me to take part in this conference.

Once I had accepted such an appreciated invitation, I began to think on what subject I should speak. As a Nationalist by faith although not by baptism (for I am not yet a member of that political party at home) I am in deep sympathy with the platform and doctrine of the Philippine Nationalist Party. As such, I was tempted first to speak on a subject through which I could advocate our immediate independence. But, in view of the fact that an address of such nature always causes after-

wards all sorts of comments here and there, I at last decided to speak on an entirely different subject which, although it would not be wholly pleasing to my people at home, yet would suit a minority of them, Filipino business men. My theme, then, is: "The Great Possibility of Developing the Textile Industry of the Philippine Islands."

In truth, one of the main industries of my people is textile manufacturing. The materials used in that work are pineapple, Manila hemp, cotton, jusi and silk fibres. The first two are native products of our own soil; the third, cotton, is also produced there on a small scale, but owing to the fact that as yet we have no spinning mills, nearly all cotton yarns are imported either from this country or from Europe. The jusi and silk are all imported from both Japan and China.

All the processes used in the manufacture of cloth are slow and primitive, and all the work is done by hand with only wooden implements. In weaving, one person, usually a girl or a woman, tends only one loom. This is when the cloth is of an ordinary plain weave with no pattern. In the weaving of fancy cloth, two girls are necessary to work on a loom. I am not going to stop to explain the mechanism of these hand looms of ours, but I will simply say that they are of similar type and on the same principles as your primitive hand looms used in this country seventy or eighty years ago.

The finishing of the cloth is also done by a very crude and hard method. Soap, lime and starch are used on this work. The last finish is given while the cloth is not too dry in starch, by folding one piece in a convenient size and then laying it over a flat and smooth piece of board. After this it is pounded all over with two small wooden mallets. This process gives the cloth a soft feeling as well as lustre, and when perfectly dry, it is ready for market. The process of pounding corresponds to the rotary press commonly used in the mills of this country.

I may say, here, too, that this slow industry is done independently by each Filipino family engaged in this kind of work. There is no business firm, no trust on this industry. Neither is there a factory where hundreds of thousands of looms are all set together in a building, with a managing director or superintendent over the work. However, each family has from one to even thirty looms, depending upon the financial condition of the family. These looms are set either in the kitchen or in the basement of the home. It is all then a domestic work. The most objectionable and even the most pitiable part of this domestic industry is that many times the poor weavers, or poor families, cannot sell their goods at their own price, but

they are rather at the mercy of the more prosperous weavers and rich individual merchants. There are no regular commission houses there where one can sell on commission his or her products.

While this domestic trade is slowly going on, commercial establishments and large business firms incorporated by Americans, Europeans and rich Chinese merchants mostly, are running on a big scale very nearly all of our foreign dry goods trade such as: light woolen and union cloth, linen, all kinds of fine lawns, madras, cheviots, etc., and above all of these, white cotton duck, or white drilling. An average Filipino uses for his wearing apparel goods which are imported mostly from this country or Europe, especially England and Germany. We wear almost every day in the year that white cotton drilling, commercially known in the Philippines as Manchester. Almost everybody in my country from our governor-general to the most humble Filipino citizen wears that imported white drilling. We have it tailored in the European fashion and enjoy dressing up in that way without being very conscious of the millions of dollars we spend every year for such imported goods.

Now, what shall the poor Filipinos do to improve that particular industry? What shall we do to revolutionize, or to modernize our textile industry? About seventy-five years ago there was not a single power loom in this country. The first loom brought here, as I read the story, was smuggled from England at great risk to the adventurer. A few years after that the first weaving mill was established in Waltham, Mass. Nowadays, modern textile mills fill up almost every corner of this great republic. They are also found, even at random, all over the countries of the South from the Republic of Mexico to that of Argentine. Up-to-date cotton mills are also found all over Japan and northern China, and even in some parts of young Cuba. When shall we, then, follow this laudable and practical example set first by Uncle Sam and then copied faithfully by those countries? Some of my rich friends at home told me in their letters which I received about a year ago, their pessimistic view of these new things. They said that such questions will have to be decided not by the present generation of my race but by the coming one.

In my poor opinion, however, and under my acquired habit of looking at things optimistically, I said to them, and even now I maintain, that we of the present generation should decide ourselves to act favorably upon those questions, because the sooner we can do that the better for us, and that there is no need of putting off for tomorrow what we think we can learn to do today. (Applause.)

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am going to ask your kind pardon if during the rest of my address I am compelled to use a good many personal references. I do this because I do not know of any third person, a Filipino student in this country or anywhere else, whose purpose and aims I can mention in connection with this theme of mine.

Almost five years ago when I left my beloved native land for this country in search of a good American education, I had partly in my mind the idea of taking up an academic, or literary course. You know the young Filipino students at home are more inclined to study the science of letters rather than engineering or to take a business training. Thus nowadays, we have more lawyers, philosophers, semi-poets, newspaper editors, and politicians of all kinds than anything else, and while we are contented in being able to write some good articles and eloquent enough to make some agitating public speeches, we at the same time seem to be satisfied also to see almost every good food we eat, every good cloth we wear, and even the best of household furnishings, all imported. Also most of our local business, our mines, railroads, etc., are all under the management and exploitations of foreigners. So, in view of all these sad facts, and when I once saw the great activity of the Japanese people and visited some of their factories in Nagasaki, Japan, on my way over; after I had seen some of the booming industries of the Hawaiian Islands; and more than all these, after I once set my feet on the rich soil of this wonderful country, and visited some of your great factories of different kinds in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Chicago, I at once changed my mind. Instead of pursuing an academic course, I decided to take one of engineering or its particular branch, textile manufacturing.

To this effect I was sent here east to attend the Textile School at Lowell, Mass. For the past four years, then, I have been an active member of that practical and scientific institution and only after a hard and persistent struggle for both my studies and existence (for I had to work for a part of my expenses) at last I succeeded in completing my ideal course—cotton manufacturing. With this I also had an extra course in wool manufacturing. While in my last year at the school, or indeed last spring, I experimented in some original work of my own and fortunately I was able to produce two woolen or worsted suits, blue and gray serges; half a dozen cotton shirts, cheviots of different patterns, and above all, three suitings of that white cotton drilling in which I am interested the most. All of these practical works, I designed, prepared warps, wove dyed and finished myself.

Yes, I have had a dream; indeed, I have had a vision of that great possibility of developing our present textile industry at home. In order that I may be somewhat prepared to do my part in the coming revolution of that industry, which will naturally take place before many years are gone, I have devoted the last four years of my life to the study of the textile business in general, not only within the walls of my alma mater, but also within the walls and among the dust and dirt of some of the big factories of Lowell. This year, especially, I am engaged working in the big Merrimack Cotton Mills in Lowell as an apprentice. I am given there a splendid chance to work from department to department. I have already worked on plain looms, on fancy looms, or looms with dobby heads, and on Draper fancy and heavy looms. My plan is to work from the raw stock department to that of the finest finished cloth, and this will take me about one year. Even as an apprentice, I have to work just as hard as anybody, getting up at 5:30 in the morning and work  $10\frac{1}{2}$  hours every day. Yet in spite of all of that, I work without pay, for I cannot afford to stay in one department long enough to secure paying work of my own; and yet very soon I am to be left to pay my own expenses. All this, of course, causes me to bear oftentimes great privations and sacrifices, suffered and to be suffered yet, all for the sake of practical knowledge and consequently for the probable realization of that textile development, which is my constant dream and vision.

Nevertheless, the hardest of all difficulties I now find in my way is, how and where shall I obtain a capital reasonably big enough to start a small cotton mill at home. To somewhat help that, I have recently been studying privately how to organize a textile corporation and the rules and laws governing the same. Of money, indeed, there is a little at home. It is, however, hidden in the secret arks of some of my rich countrymen, remaining idle in their possession. Again, I fear, too, that those persons who never saw in their old life any textile machinery would not put their money without great hesitancy in such a new business. But, if I could not raise money at home, I should do it somewhere else.

Yes, the development of said industry is not only possible, but probable. My people, as a rule, are very intelligent and industrious. They are quick to learn and to master new things. For instance, just in one of many cases, Manila never had an electric railway until about three years ago. Yet, shortly after the inauguration of the Manila Street railway, most of the conductors and motormen were Filipinos, performing their duties just as efficiently as any white men. And if by chance, some willing rich friends of mine, whether Americans or Filipinos, will back

me up financially and start, therefore, my or our ideal work, I can assure you that in less than two months I could teach native operatives how to run any cotton machine and consequently run the whole mill at its full capacity.

Now, the last thing I am going to say is this. The development of the Philippine textile industry is not only probable, but profitable. Here I could linger for a while and try to prove to you by means of analyzing every process of cotton manufacturing from the raw cotton in the bale to the finest finished cloth, giving in detail, the time spent to produce such a yardage or pieces of cloth; the cost of labor, etc. But, as my time is so limited, suffice it to say that the cost of materials for building a mill at home is a great deal cheaper than in this country. The cost of labor there is very cheap, too. I could get many proficient Filipino operatives with an average pay of about one-third that paid by manufacturers in this country. The machinery, although it is likely to be imported from this country, would not cost very much comparatively, because when once installed, it will keep, under proper care, even for half a century or more of continuous use.

Finally, in regard to marketing the goods, I can also guarantee that my people under ordinary circumstances and moved by patriotism, would prefer ten times better to buy the products of our own factories than those of the foreign ones, particularly during these years of our great political development.

In view of all these favorable facts, I take it for granted that if some of the numberless mills of New England, sometimes pay an annual dividend to their stockholders of as high as 40% or 45%, with stronger reason, the first few mills built in the Philippines would also be able to pay, if not more, at least a like sum in annual dividends to their stockholders or proprietors.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, after you have afforded me the immense pleasure of speaking on my own chosen subject, advocating to you the great possibilities of the development of the Philippine textile industry, let me repeat, that if I succeed in finding someone to back me up financially in this undertaking, I am assuring you, barring accidents, that in less than a year, a textile corporation can be successfully organized, beginning from this country and with the first modern cotton mill in operation in the Philippine Islands.

Would to God that all the time that I have already spent and sacrifices that I have already rendered, and my continuous hard work and constant efforts to reach that very goal of my ambition, which is also that of my poor country, would not prove all in vain! I, therefore hope to find some willing hearts who will help me carry out, not precisely in a philanthropical way, but in

a business way, my sole purpose of developing the Philippine textile industry, which to my mind is only another way, and the best, too, of getting nearer to that final goal of our national ambition, Philippine independence. I thank you for your kind attention. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: There is now opportunity for general discussion from the floor. (After a pause.) The Chair recognizes Major GEORGE H. SHELTON, Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

#### A DEFENCE OF OUR PHILIPPINE POLICY

##### REMARKS OF MAJOR GEORGE H. SHELTON

I have not risen to express serious disagreement because I find myself in hearty accord with most that has been said today. One or two statements have been made, however, with which I cannot altogether agree, though perhaps if they could have been extended, they would have left me unmoved. But the demands of brevity necessary where so many are to be heard clearly make it impossible for every speaker to go as far as he might like on every point. I realize this and must plead it as my apology for differing from a few statements that, if left in the form uttered, might convey, it seems to me, a wrong impression.

It was stated in the midst of an eloquent appeal that the Philippines are costing the United States immense sums annually, and that by more liberal tariff relations we are denying ourselves millions of dollars of revenue. Again, it was stated that by the employment of American troops in the Philippines we are not only endangering the lives and health and ruining the morals of thousands of Americans, but maintaining a government by force, and erecting an empire in the East at the expense of a republic at home. And, finally, the constitution was cited in support of the contention that we should turn the islands free.

On these several points I wish to touch briefly. On the subject of the cost of the Philippines to the United States, Mr. Taft who, if anyone, should know, has said:

"The most astounding and unfair statements have appeared \* \* \* in respect to the cost to the United States of the Philippine Islands. The question of the cost of the islands to the United States as affecting its future policy can not of course include the cost of a war into which the United States was forced against its will, and which whether it ought to have been carried on or not, was carried on and was finished more than five years ago. The only question of cost that is relevant to the present discussion is the cost to the United States of the maintenance

of the present Philippine government, including in that the cost of the maintenance of that part of the army of the United States which is in the Philippine Islands. Nor is it fair to include the entire cost of the army of the United States in the Philippine Islands for the reason that even if we did not have the Philippines, we should certainly retain the present size of our standing army which hardly exceeds 60,000 effective men, a very small army for 80,000,000 people. \* \* \*

"The only additional cost therefore that the maintenance of the army can be said to entail upon the United States is the additional cost of maintaining 12,000 soldiers in the islands over what it would be to maintain the same number of soldiers in the United States. This has been figured out and roughly stated amounts to about \$250 a man or \$3,000,000 together with the maintenance of 4,000 Philippine scouts at a cost of \$500 a man, or in all \$2,000,000, which makes a total annual expenditure of \$5,000,000. The United States at present contributes something, perhaps \$200,000, to the expense of the coast survey of the islands. With this exception, there is not one cent expended from the treasury of the United States for the maintenance of the government in the islands."

In other words, the Philippines are, and have always been since the establishment of our control, absolutely self-supporting. It is true that the United States has guaranteed the interest on a part of the bonds issued for the construction of the railways in the Islands. You may remember that we occasionally cite the names of eminent individuals as patrons or patronesses of some entertainments for charity's sake and sometimes give to these free admission to the bazaar. The use of these names serves a worthy purpose—and costs their owners nothing. The United States is in a not dissimilar position. We have guaranteed the interest on the Philippine bonds in part, but we have guaranteed only that the Philippines shall pay this interest. We have given the use of our name for a worthy purpose, but its use will cost us not one cent—and we have free admission to the bazaar. We gave the use of our name and the Philippine government is grateful for it. Beyond all question it enabled that government to dispose of these bonds more advantageously but the bonds themselves and the interest on them are to be paid wholly from Philippine revenues.

It was stated that the free admission of Philippine products would probably reduce the revenue of the United States by thirty million dollars annually. This is possible. I do not know. But it is to be remembered that the free entrance of Philippine products, with certain limitations, has been granted by the United States only after a ten years' struggle, and that the first shipments under this privilege have been received only during the last few weeks. What we shall eventually deny ourselves in revenues by our liberality in this respect, I do not think it possible to estimate at this time. But I think you will agree with me that though we have sacrificed money we

have gained at least the consciousness of a just act finally performed. Doubtless we were liberal, and the Philippine government is grateful for our liberality, but I cannot agree with the statement that in the reciprocal trade relations with the Philippines we shall gain nothing. During 1908 we imported eight million dollars worth of hemp. There was no duty paid on this even at that date, but by the exaction of an export duty on shipments of hemp to other countries the United States acquired, in a measure a monopoly of this product that could not have been entirely without benefit. This trade is not likely to decrease and I think and hope that trade along other lines is likely under freer trade conditions to increase immeasurably. Moreover, the building up of trade with the Philippine seems bound to give us a commercial point of vantage in the development of our trade with China and other parts of the Far East. I cannot estimate the value of this to the United States. I do not think anyone can.

But I do not believe that our relations with the Philippines should be considered wholly from a financial point of view. They were not so considered this morning. The Constitution, as I have said, was cited, I think, to show why we should not be in the Philippines at all or, being there, should not remain. I yield to no man in my admiration of the Constitution or of our wise forefathers who put that instrument into words. I yield to no man in my admiration of the legislative body that enacts our laws under it. Yet some one has said that if the Constitution were introduced in the form of a bill before Congress today, it could pass neither house. This was witty, and its wit lies in the fact that the statement contains a large element of truth. There is no reflection in this truth upon the instrument itself nor upon those who drew it, nor upon the Congress that today could probably not pass it in the form in which it is drawn. It means only that conditions have vastly changed since its adoption, that our connection with the outside world is closer, that our environment has broadened, and that we occupy a larger field in the world's affairs than was then even guessed at. The strongest element of the constitution lies in the fact that notwithstanding these changes, an interpretation has almost always been possible in strict accord with the prevailing spirit of the republic. Men who drew an instrument so strong as that would themselves, if alive to-day, be men of such breadth that they would interpret the instrument in the same spirit and in the same way as their sons interpreted it, and as the sons of their sons will go on interpreting it through the ages to come. A constitution that cannot keep pace with the spirit of the people for whom drawn, cannot endure and we are the last to believe, I

think, that the instrument of which we speak shall not endure forever.

One more point and I am done. It is something of a personal matter, and I am open to the charge of natural prejudice. It was charged this morning, as I have said, that not only were the lives and health of our soldiers in the Philippines endangered by the frequency of service demanded thereby present conditions, but that their morals were undermined, that their presence indicated the maintenance of a government by force, and that individually they treated the Filipino women as slaves. I am not here to enter upon a general defense of the army. If it needs defense, I am content to leave that defense to history, past and future. But I have been in the army for fifteen years. I am a soldier and whatever there is of good or bad in the army, I am a part of. For a soldier to let such statements pass without comment is to admit their truth, and from my own experience in the army and in the Philippines I cannot for one moment admit the truth of charges so grave as these. The army is made up of Americans—just such average Americans as you know and have seen about you all your lives. There is no difference between you and me because of our different trades. I do not claim any higher standard of morality for the army than for Americans generally. I claim no difference between them and a selected body of Americans anywhere. They are no different, and any body of Americans anywhere will find in its midst men who sometimes disobey every law of God and man. The army finds them and it rids itself of them as quickly as it can, just as you find them in every other profession and rid yourselves of them as quickly as you can. But we are charged with calling Filipinos "niggers." I am afraid that this was sometimes true. I admit it with shame. The other charge I do not admit. There may have been some instances where American soldiers have treated Filipino women as slaves. Personally, I know of none. And I venture to assert that the American man, whether soldier or otherwise, who has treated, or would treat, a Filipino woman as a slave, would treat an American woman in the same way. That is not because he is a soldier nor because he is in the Philippines. It is simply because he is a violation of our American manhood.

Finally, we are charged with maintaining the Philippine government by force because of the presence in the islands of American troops. Outside of the non-Christian provinces the troops are in the Philippines to-day exactly as they are in the United States. Even the proportion of American troops to the Filipino population is but little greater than the proportion of troops on American soil to the American population. If we are maintaining a government by force in the Philippines we are

maintaining government by force in the United States. All government is force. Without the right to employ force a government cannot exist. We have a police body in New York City. Without it, I am inclined to believe, New York would be less habitable for honest folk than would the Philippine Islands. Yet we do not think of New York as being governed by force. Troops are maintained in the United States to insure order and as a proper preparation for possible war. They are maintained in the Philippines for no other purpose.

It is unfortunately true that the health of many soldiers has been undermined by too much tropical service. But I for one am not ready to admit that we should turn from the road that destiny seems to have built for us along the way of a higher civilization for less fortunate peoples on this account. In other words, this seems to me, an argument not for less Philippines, but for more soldiers. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Brigadier General G. A. GOODALE of Wakefield, Mass., is recognized.

BRIG. GEN. G. A. GOODALE: Two years ago, on a voyage from Boston to Norfolk, I saw a young Filipino on the deck very much engrossed with a large volume. Later I found that it was Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and that the young man was on his way to the exposition at Norfolk from the Lowell Textile school; it was Mr. Huisung, who has addressed you this evening. I thought this might be of interest. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there further discussion? If not, the Conference stands adjourned until to-morrow morning.

## Fifth Session

Friday Morning, October 23d, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: We are now to take up the subject of Porto Rico. And we are fortunate in having as the first speaker Major-General GEORGE W. DAVIS, formerly Military Governor of Porto Rico and Later Governor of the Panama Canal Zone.

### PORTO RICO—ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE

ADDRESS OF MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE W. DAVIS

In the limited time available, it will be impossible to do more than to refer very briefly to the issues that have been raised in Porto Rico between the House of Delegates of her Legislative Assembly, and the Upper House, or Executive Council; and it would be unprofitable for me to do so, did time permit, for you are familiar with the situation, which has very recently been so ably reviewed by the President of the United States.

The Act of Congress of April 12, 1900, known as the Foraker Act, effective May 1, 1900, provided for a civil government to take the place of the military regime that had existed from the time when the sovereignty of the island passed in 1898 from Spain to the United States. It contained some fiscal provisions of a temporary character, which by the terms of the Act as respected customs, duties, etc., on Porto Rican exports to the United States, could not continue in force after March 1, 1902. The provisional features were in fact discontinued by the President's proclamation eight months earlier than the date specified. Thereafter there was not, in my opinion, any provisional feature in the Organic Act. This Act for the establishment of a civil government for this island, as amended subsequently in a few particulars, is what may be called the Charter of Porto Rico, and it has been in force for almost ten years.

The island was a Spanish colony for nearly four centuries, and in 1899 had a population approximating 1,000,000 souls, of whom more than one-third were of the colored race, pure and mixed blood descendants of the negroes brought thither as slaves from Africa. The language of all save a few foreigners was Spanish and the form of government and laws were an

adaptation of those of the mother country. The established church was Roman Catholic and there were but a few hundred worshippers of any other faith. Except a feeble attempt to throw off the rule of Spain in the first half of the 19th century, when all Spanish America save Cuba established by force of arms its independence, there was no unrest in Porto Rico nor was there active resistance to the same rule during the last half of the century, while the Cubans were struggling for independence. If the term "Ever loyal and ever faithful," which was officially applied by the Spanish kings to Cuba, was ever properly applied, then Porto Rico deserved the superlative designation of "Most loyal and most faithful." The island was always governed from Madrid through Peninsular appointments to the higher positions, made by the Crown. At times during the last half of the last century, there was some local agitation for Home Rule, and just as the second Cuban rebellion was beginning, the much lauded regime of self-government or autonomy was conceded by royal decree for the two American colonies remaining to Spain, but both islands passed to American control in less than a year and the so-called autonomical regime was never established. It was a mere shadow of self-government, not the substance, that was conceded. The governor, a military officer, could in his discretion suspend the constitutional guarantees, and he could take away the freedom of the press, the right of free assemblage by the people, permit arrests without warrant, and delay judicial action in the case of persons charged with crime. There could be no local legislation touching contract obligations, civil rights, and civil or criminal procedure. The Spanish Cortez only could legislate as to these and many other matters vital to the welfare of the inhabitants.

The Foraker Act gave to these people certain fiscal and economic privileges and advantages that have never been accorded to American Territories; there was a deviation from precedent, but the conditions were markedly different. The Chief Executive and the high judiciary were to be appointed by the President, thus conforming to early territorial practice; the members of the Upper House of the Legislative Assembly, at least five of whom had to be native inhabitants, were required to be appointed by the President instead of elected as in the territories, and the inhabitants of the island, nearly a million in number, 87% unable to read and write, very few of them speaking the English language, and a very large proportion of the people having a low order of intelligence, were declared to be citizens of Porto Rico, "\*" and as such entitled to the protection of the United States." The salaries of the officials appointed as above were fixed by the Act and to the

Executive Council, with the Governor's and President's approval in each case, was committed the entire control over all grants of franchises, privileges and concessions of a public character. Six of the members of the Council were by the Organic Act required to discharge the duties of Secretary, Treasurer, Attorney General, Auditor, Commissioner of the Interior and Commissioner of Public Instruction, all appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Since the law took effect the only Federal officers not native inhabitants, have been the Governors, the six heads of Departments or Bureaus, two Justices and a Marshal of the Supreme Court, the District Judge and his attorney and marshal; all other officers, assistants and employees have been appointed or elected and have discharged their duties in conformity with the laws enacted by the insular Legislature.

Section 32 of the Organic Act conferred upon the Assembly entire control over all other matters of a legislative character, including municipalities and the power from time to time to alter, amend, modify or repeal all laws of every character then in force except those of Congress; yet this grant of self-government by the United States has been compared unfavorably by Porto Ricans with the so-called Regime of Autonomy granted to Cuba of November, 1897, a tentative arrangement revocable at the pleasure of the Crown and conceded in the hope of placating the Cubans who were in rebellion.

A disagreement resulted last spring between the lower chamber or House of Delegates and the executive council over several questions of internal legislation, the delegates demanding assent by the Council to these measures, or in default thereof, a denial of any appropriation of funds to carry on the government. A dead-lock resulted and the Congress of the United States intervened, enacting as an amendment to the Foraker Act a provision that made the last previous appropriation of supplies a continuing one in case the Legislature should fail to make appropriations for the future. Thus the *impasse* was overcome, but apparently it has not ended the discontent and this is based on the claim that so long as six members of the Executive Council can prevent the Lower House from dictating its own policy and rendering the government helpless, the people of the island are victims of grievous oppression and rank injustice.

Let us understand, if we can, why the Congress in organizing this government, restricted the citizenship of the natives and why means are provided for the control of one house of the insular legislature by presidential appointees. I wish to remark in this connection that I hold no brief for the United States government, but simply express a personal view formed during

two years residence on the island and this supplemented with some four years official relation to the government of other of our exterior possessions.

Reference has already been made to the fact that in 1898 we became responsible for the protection, peace, happiness and well-being of nearly a million people of an alien race who had had no opportunity to show that they understood what self-government as illustrated by Anglo Saxons really means. Complete autonomy such as we have given our territories, signifies ultimate statehood; incorporation of the political and geographical entities into the Federal Union.

The "Act Temporarily to Provide Revenues and a Civil Government for Porto Rico," etc., declared that the former subjects of Spain were to be citizens of Porto Rico; to them very large powers of self-government were granted. Citizens of the United States in adequate numbers cannot reasonably, consistently and rightly be denied ultimate participation in federal affairs, but to the citizens of Porto Rico, all of an alien race and foreign tongue, there could and should be such denial until it be shown by experience that they are fitted for such participation. If the word "temporarily," as used in the caption to the Foraker Act, be held to qualify the words "Civil Government" in the same caption—which I question—then it seems manifest that the Congress proposed by this charter to place these people in a state of probation and afford them an opportunity to show by example what are their capacity and abilities to exercise the granted powers and to supply a basis for judgment as to the propriety or necessity of an extension of those powers by eliminating the provision that insured to federal appointees the capacity to prevent legislation that they deemed to be unwise. It seems evident that such was the intention of the Congress and recent events have shown that there was justification. Before making Porto Ricans full citizens of the United States, which means ultimate statehood, it was desired to observe the use they would make of qualified citizenship.

But it seems evident that there was another and equally cogent reason for retaining, at least provisionally, effective federal control of one of the legislative chambers. The inhabitants of our territories who consume or use commodities imported from foreign countries, must pay the ruling price for such articles and this includes the import tax levied as customs, the proceeds of which are a federal revenue; so too, the inhabitants of territories who consume articles paying an excise tax, such as tobacco, wines, beers and liquors, thereby contributing to the general funds by means of which government is supported, but the Foraker act said in effect to the people of Porto Rico, "Since

your economical future is uncertain, the people of the United States will remit in your favor all customs and excise taxes on the goods you import and consume, and besides we will forego the collection at our ports of every tax and charge on imports that foreign countries and the Philippines and Hawaii have to pay, with exemption from taxation will increase by the amount of our regular duties, the local value of your productions that you export to the United States. Besides these concessions, we will assume as a national charge the cost of your harbor improvements, the marine hospitals, postal deficits, the weather service, the agricultural experiments, lighthouses, coast survey, a native regiment, and a contribution under the Morrell act toward the Agricultural College, and we will also pay you 60 cents in gold for each one of your 7,000,000 odd Spanish pesos instead of buying the silver contents of these coins in the market at the ruling price of about 45 cents."

It is impossible to compute the cash value of all these concessions, but it is not difficult to arrive at an approximation of the value of some of the items. From October 18, 1898, the date of formal transfer of the islands by Spain, to May 1, 1900, the date when the Foraker act became effective, the customs collected in the United States on insular productions imported amounted as officially stated, to over \$2,000,000. By act of Congress this sum was presented to the people of Porto Rico, and in addition, a further sum of \$200,000 in aid of the cyclone sufferers of 1899. From May 1, 1900, to June 30, 1908, the net revenues collected by United States officials in Porto Rico on imports into that island as shown by the records, amounted to over \$7,000,000, and including estimated collections for 1909 at the average for the last three years, say \$1,000,000 more, we reach an aggregate of customs collections given to the Porto Ricans of ten and one-third millions dollars, all going to aid in paying the expenses of the local government. As respects excise taxes, data is not at hand for a close approximation of the total. The insular treasurer's report for 1908 shows for that year the receipt of \$1,917,000 of such taxes, based on rates fixed by the local laws. These rates are much lower than those prevailing in the United States. It is conservative to estimate the excise taxes which the United States rates would have produced at a million and a half a year or say fifteen millions in all after 1899. Here then is a total of twenty-five million that, were Porto Rico organized as one of our own territories—which it is said she desires—would have inured to the federal treasury instead of that of the island. What would be the economic condition of the insular treasury had it been deprived of this vast sum it is not difficult to imagine.

Since July 25, 1901, Porto Rico has enjoyed absolute free trade with the United States. The importations and products of this island which, if coming from foreign countries would pay a duty, for the year 1908 reached a total value of over 25 million dollars, of which sugar and molasses represented nearly 19 millions. Tobacco, cigars, etc., reached five millions. Duty paying sugar would have been imported in lieu of that from Porto Rico and would have yielded a revenue of over seven million dollars. The Dingley rates applied to an equal quantity of foreign tobacco and cigars would have produced two million more; so then the people of the United States in 1908 deprived themselves of nine million dollars of revenue in order that the agriculture of Porto Rico and business in general might be stimulated. That free trade has been worth to Porto Rico 60 or 70 million dollars from 1900 to date is a very conservative estimate.

To provide and pay for the several other public utilities to which reference has been made, has cost the people of the United States several million dollars in addition. Had Porto Rico remained a Spanish colony or been restored to Spain in 1899, the United States treasury would have been 100 million dollars better off to-day than it is.

These figures are not submitted for the purpose of impressing you with the extent of our altruism nor are they cited as a reason why gratitude should be felt toward the United States by the native inhabitants. We have not begrimed a penny of this vast donation nor asked nor expected a *quid pro quo*. We assumed the burden of the future of this island and we have been endeavoring to discharge the obligation. There are now 2,000 schools and some 80,000 children under instruction. Since the occupation, over seven million dollars have been expended for public instruction. Every municipality has a good road to the coast and soon all will be connected. Life and property are secure and all laborers receive a wage very much higher than formerly. Real estate values have advanced from 30 to 122 million dollars. At federal expense, a new custom house and extensive harbor improvements are in progress. The exterior trade has grown from about 22 million to 56 million dollars. The sanitary condition of the people has been vastly improved. The government has been able to effect large loans for public improvements at 4% and all municipalities balance their budgets.

Here then, is an island with a million inhabitants, just started on a new political and economic basis, but the representatives of the people have shown, in the opinion of the President, and apparently of the Congress, that the United States has been too hasty or generous in conferring political power. The President has very recently announced that he will recommend to the

Congress that Alaska, whose civilized inhabitants are nearly all American citizens, be not given a full territorial government at present, but instead, that its affairs be administered and controlled by an appointed commission with power, subject to the direction of a cabinet minister in Washington, to legislate on local questions, the Congress to retain control over the mines, forests, customs, excises, public lands, superior judiciary and franchises; in fact, a government for Alaska with very much less power than Porto Rico and the Philippines now possess. But the Porto Rican lower house object to any participation of federal officials, save the governor, in their legislative and judicial affairs, but no protest or remonstrance has been heard against the application and continuance of the fiscal policy of the United States whereby more than three-fourths the income of the insular government is contributed indirectly by the taxpayers of the United States. All the officers in a territory save the personnel of the Federal Court are elected by the voters. It has complete autonomy not only as respects legislation, but as respects its budget. It receives no bounties or gratuities or allowances from the federal treasury, and financially it must stand alone. How would Porto Rico like to stand alone?

Unless there is a misconception of facts in the foregoing or some important omission, a reasonable understanding may be reached as to why the United States Congress and the President limited the autonomy of the government of Porto Rico in 1899, and why they still limit it; why absolute unrestricted home rule is still denied to the native inhabitants. One reason seems to be, and this alone ought to be conclusive, that these inhabitants, all of a foreign race and tongue, largely illiterate and without experience in conducting a government in accordance with Anglo Saxon practice, or indeed to carry on any government, were not deemed to be fitted and qualified, unaided and without effective supervision, to fully appreciate the responsibilities and exercise the power of complete self-government.

The other reason, of equally cogent force, is found in the economic situation, in which the island was found in 1898. That its separation from Spain would radically and perhaps disadvantageously disturb its trade relations and industrial conditions was to be expected. A very small part of its revenues had been applied to public instruction and it was proposed to greatly augment this expenditure and to hasten the work of bettering communications; a new currency was to replace that of Spain; the system of jurisprudence and court procedure it was hoped to gradually change and improve.

In order that these reforms and many others might be carried out without straining local resources, financial aid was needed,

and this aid took the form of a grant of free trade, of exemption from our excise system, and in large donations of funds outright from the treasury. That the island might have the assistance of a few public officials thoroughly conversant with the new conditions and that the government of the United States might have its own representatives on the spot to advise, assist and if necessary to restrain, the Congress wisely provided that the power to directly control one house of the Legislature be retained by the government in Washington through federal representation in that house, and that the United States Court hear causes of diverse citizenship, etc. These six American members of the Executive Council became responsible as such to the court of public opinion, agents of the United States, or trustees, as it were, until such time as it might be shown that the people, alive to their new responsibilities and privileges, could be trusted with a larger grant of autonomy, that they show they had been faithful over a few things before being given to rule over many.

What has been the result? These six Federal officials were told that unless they submitted to dictation and passed certain bills they deemed obnoxious and detrimental to the interests of the island, every governing activity must cease. It required the intervention of the President and Congress to break the dead-lock, and we find in this action of the executive and legislative branches of the government, an approval of the stand of the Council and their interpretation of the Porto Rican Charter.

Now it is for the representatives of the native inhabitants of this island to proceed as they should have done in the first instance and convince, if they can, the President and Congress that they desire a larger and more liberal delegation of power. If the Foraker Act ought to be amended, and the President suggests such a possibility, there can be no doubt that our National legislature will make the required changes at the proper time.

As has been said before, the national sequence of a delegation of all the rights of citizenship is statehood, to come sooner or later. May we not consider for a moment what has been the measure of success of our efforts to better the condition of those alien races upon whom this boon has been conferred? The negroes in the Southern States who were slaves, but all speaking English, and who had always lived among us, were made citizens shortly after the Civil War. Do all the people of the United States or even a majority of them, now consider that this was a wise act?

The descendants of our aboriginal Indians can have the rights of citizenship. Do they make intelligent use of this boon?

Many of the tribes our forefathers found in occupancy of the land that they took, by so-called purchase, by fraud, or by force, are extinct and others nearly so—tribes with whom we have been longest in close contact. Rightly and honorably we are now and have been for many years doing much to ameliorate the condition, to educate and elevate the Indians, some 300,000 in number. Suppose that all these were collected together and lived alone as one people in some suitable locality. How long would it be before the Friends of the Indians at Mohonk would seriously propose a discontinuance of government aid and to endow them with complete territorial autonomy? With the annexation of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, probably 100,000 Mexicans were made citizens of the United States. The visitor to the border who inquires into their past and present condition, will find their social, moral, industrial and mental condition is not markedly different from what it was two generations ago. If they all lived together as one people, would it be wise and prudent to give this Spanish speaking and alien race, such autonomy as Ohio and Oklahoma had before their admission to the Union as States? There is of course no thought in my mind of rating the white inhabitants of Porto Rico as respects intelligence, culture and civilization with our Indians and negroes as races. An illustration is attempted, however, of the futility of the hope to speedily transform the masses of alien races into self-respecting, law-abiding citizens. There is more analogy in the comparison of the Porto Rico people with the Mexicans. Among the latter as the former there are many intelligent, well educated, bright minded men. Some of the inhabitants of New Mexico, native to the territory when it passed to the United States, have held important Presidential appointments and by election, but taken as a whole, considered as a race, the condition of those former Mexicans remained unchanged in any considerable degree.

The fact is that we do not, we can not, absorb, incorporate and assimilate foreign races *en bloc*. As individual immigrants coming to this country as home seekers, cut loose and separated from their former environments, they adapt themselves to their new surroundings, adopt our ways, learn what citizenship means, acquire our language and become a part of the body politic, citizens not only in name but in fact.

The Island of Porto Rico, hundreds of miles from the nearest mainland, is one of the most densely populated areas on the globe, 270 souls to the square mile. There is no vacant arable land for home seeking immigrants. There can be no foreign element save as proprietors, their agents, employees, and

visitors. No considerable number of Americans can ever permanently reside there. The native population doubled in the 40 years previous to our occupation. In another 40 years it may be expected to reach 2,000,000 unless there is very large emigration or pestilence. It seems that the inhabitants of this beautiful and attractive land are certain to remain in physical characteristics, customs and aspirations as strictly Porto Rican as they now are. There will be an educated class, speaking English, but as large a proportion of the whole will continue Spanish in their language, customs and aspirations, likes and dislikes, as is found to-day with the former Mexicans along the Rio Grande, in New Mexico, and in Arizona. After full American citizenship must come statehood, the ultimate to which all the native inhabitants of Porto Rico who think, declare that they aspire. Porto Rico as a state would have two senators and probably a half-dozen representatives in our Congress. Should Cuba fail to justify her aspirations and our hopes, and we should be so unfortunate as to find it necessary to annex it, that island would be represented in Congress by two more senators and a dozen representatives. The Philippines would supply two senators and twenty or thirty representatives.

Do we want, should we permit, their participation in our law making and policy?

It is probably an unrealizable dream, the idea that has been suggested, of a Federal Insular Union of Cuba, the Spanish part of Santo Domingo and Porto Rico, the three as well able to support 50,000,000 inhabitants as Java does now her 30,000,-000. These three islands would make a nation of nearly 4,000,-000 to-day, all speaking the same language, members of the same church, observing the same customs and laws, and having the same aspirations. Supervised in their foreign relations, etc., as is Cuba now, under the Platt Amendment, which is incorporated into her constitution, a naval station in each island being retained if desired, every advantage that we could secure by annexation would be gained. This West India Republic could make her own laws, establish her own courts, arrange her own fiscal system, and hold all the offices. The inhabitants would trade with our country and we with them as their and our interests might dictate. We could afford to give to their products that we imported the same preferential advantages as to customs that Cuba now enjoys and that would insure to them a comfortable economic situation, one vastly improved over that existing in any other West India island. But this is probably an iridescent dream; I wish it might be a reality.

But if this aspiration is unrealizable, what of the future of Porto Rico under the sovereignty of the United States, its inhabitants remaining citizens as now? When all her people realize, as they ultimately will, and as many do now, that they are not subjects or vassals and politically oppressed, but entitled to and receive the protection of the United States laws at home and abroad in all their personal rights and relations; that through loyal and hearty cooperation with the representatives in their government of the sovereign power responsible for their destinies, giving a proof of their capacity for and an intelligent exercise of the powers already delegated, make it manifest that they are qualified to receive a larger measure of self-rule; and when party lines are drawn it will be always on questions of public policy and not alone on questions of the control of patronage; when they realize that there is no tropical island on the globe politically and economically so fortunately situated, then those responsible for the recent unrest will look back with regret at the attempt to render their government helpless.

Among the native inhabitants of this beautiful and rich island I have many acquaintances I prize and whose friendship I would be pained to lose. It is possible and I also fear probable, that some of my friends still hold views at wide variance with those here expressed, but whatever may be the merits of their position and basis of their grievances, all Porto Ricans have learned that not by means of an attempted paralysis of their government, are they likely to succeed in its reform. I was glad to see ended the military rule that I once exercised and to see launched nearly ten years ago a civil regime that should not require for its maintenance the intervention of superior power. I was pained to see exhibited what I considered unjustified hostility to that government. Apparently the recent occurrences have resulted in retrogression, shown by the fact that a supervision of the affairs of this island has been again devolved upon the Department of War, with a former military officer for governor. It is for the people of Porto Rico to forget the past and show that such supervision or indeed, *any* supervision is unnecessary. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next address will be made by Mr. WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY, of Washington, who, after eight years of service in Porto Rico, has very recently resigned the office of Secretary of State and President of the Executive Council of the Island, to accept a high place in the Census Bureau.

THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL EDUCATION  
IN PORTO RICO

ADDRESS OF MR. WILLIAM F. WILLOUGHBY

If the attempt were made to single out the one feature most characteristic of the policy that has been adopted by the United States for the government of its dependent territory, it would undoubtedly be found in the determination of our Government so to administer affairs in such territory as progressively to educate and train the people governed to the end that, as far and as fast as circumstances will permit, the management of their own affairs shall be placed in their own hands. So definitely has this policy been adopted that, in order to attain the end sought, our Government has been willing in no little degree to subordinate it to other considerations. This position has been taken not merely upon the belief that it represents the wisest course that can be adopted in the long run, but upon the sincere political conviction that no country should govern the affairs of another against the will of the latter as a permanent arrangement. If this principle is deviated from for a time, such departure must, therefore, find its justification in the fact that the principle itself is held in suspension for a time in order that it may find fuller expression in the future. It is upon this theory, and upon this theory alone, that our assumption of the government of dependent territory can be squared with the principles upon which is based our own political system.

The foregoing being accepted, it is evidently a matter of supreme importance to determine how this end of government can best be attained. Careful study of this phase of our problem of the government of dependent territory as a concrete question is, therefore, exceedingly desirable, not only because it constitutes, as has been stated, the central feature of our policy in respect to the administration of dependent territory, but because it is only too evident that the people of the United States—and, indeed, many of those intimately concerned with the administration of affairs in the dependencies—have contented themselves with the mere adoption of this aim as a general policy without giving close thought to the specific means by which it can be most quickly and certainly attained. The reason for this failure to give detailed consideration to this question lies in the easy-going belief, so generally accepted and acted upon by the people of the United States, that in education is to be found the cure for most or all social evils. Those of us who remember the time, some twenty or thirty years ago, when the question of municipal reform first began to receive earnest

attention as a special problem, know how in those early days municipal misrule was almost wholly charged to the account of the illiterate foreign voter, and how the belief was firmly held that if only this mass of illiteracy could be removed the problem of good government would be solved. We now know that this was a mistake. An enlightened public opinion successfully demanding a proper conduct of public affairs has not come into existence, and found means of effectively expressing itself, as a result of the wider diffusion of education. Bad government exists in our highly educated as well as in our less progressive municipalities.

The lesson thus learned, or that should have been learned, has apparently been lost on those who are now seeking the solution of the somewhat similar problem of securing good government in the territories that have recently come under our control as a result of our war with Spain. One sees constantly the figures representing the educational advance that has been accomplished in the Philippines and Porto Rico paraded not only as the best measure of progress achieved in those islands, but as the best indication of the advance that has been made toward the preparation of their inhabitants for the exercise of more ample powers of self-government.

Now, it is not for a moment contended that education is not a very desirable thing in itself, though there is some reason to believe that in our dependencies it has been over-emphasized at the expense of economic interests, or has not conformed strictly enough to such interests; nor is it held that the wide diffusion of education is not in a measure a condition precedent to the successful working of any scheme of self-government. It is one thing, however, to say that any system of self-government must rest upon an electorate having at least a minimum of education, and quite another to hold that by furnishing such a minimum the people are thereby given the qualifications necessary to the proper operation of such a system. We might as well make this point perfectly clear at the start. Education paves the way for efforts looking to the solution of the problem of preparing a people for the exercise of the power of self-government, but it by no means solves the problem itself. No system of self-government upon a democratic basis can be other than a pretence or mere form unless there exists in the community, not only an effective public opinion demanding that those in public office shall exercise their powers for the welfare of the community as a whole rather than for the attainment of selfish and party ends, but the people themselves must possess those qualities of self-restraint, tolerance, obedience to law and constituted authorities, and acquiescence in the deci-

sion of majorities which are the absolute prerequisites of the successful operation of popular government.

In our own country, after centuries of effort to create such a public opinion and to develop the qualities enumerated, success has been only partially achieved. It is not remarkable, therefore, that when we turn to a country such as Porto Rico, inhabited by persons having none of the traditions of self-government behind them, with temperaments more excitable, with the custom of valuing immediate rather than ultimate results, and with the characteristic firmly ingrained in them of emphasizing personal, family and other considerations at the expense of public interests, to find that these fundamental bases of real democratic self-government should be largely lacking. Nothing is more certain than that the present incapacity of the people of Porto Rico for the enjoyment of complete self-government—a fact that is recognized and openly avowed by many of the inhabitants of the Island themselves—is due to this failure rather than to the lack of education on the part of the majority of the population. We believe that it is beyond question that all who have had an opportunity of participating in or personally observing public affairs in Porto Rico since the advent of American control will testify that whatever may be true in individual cases, as a general proposition, the more highly educated classes of the population show little if any desire to subordinate selfish ends to public considerations than do their less favored brethren. In the recent absolutely inexcusable attempt on the part of the political party now in power in Porto Rico to subvert the government by refusing to pass any appropriation bill for the support of the government unless its wishes were met in respect to the securing of certain legislation desired by it and having no connection with appropriations, and in the subsequent efforts of the directing committee of that party to prevent the governor of the island from filling certain positions except with persons selected by the party organization, we have to deal with the acts of persons representing the highest degree of education, wealth and culture in the Island.

This is but one indication among many constantly in evidence that go to demonstrate that the solution of the problem of preparing a people for the exercise of the powers of self-government is something far different from that of their education, in the technical use of the word as applying to instruction imparted in the ordinary schools. It is primarily and essentially one of training rather than one of education, of character-building rather than scholastic instruction.

It is not until we have grasped this point securely that we are in a position to make even the first approach towards formulating

the precise policy that should be followed in order to accomplish this fundamental task to which the American people have applied themselves in assuming the government of a territory such as Porto Rico. In our own mind we have reached such a position, and it is our purpose in the present paper, in the light of it, to proceed to a consideration of the specific policy that in our own opinion should be followed by those intrusted with the administration of affairs in that island to bring about this training in character-building through which alone can be laid the basis upon which to rest the grant of power of self-government which constitutes the legitimate aspirations of the Porto Ricans, as they should of any people.

Viewing, therefore, the problems from this standpoint, two main lines of action leading to the end desired suggest themselves: That of immediately granting to the people of the island large powers of participation in the management of their own public affairs, even though it is known that for a time such powers will be abused, and that of limiting strictly this grant of power, at the outset, in order that there may be secured a maximum of efficiency and integrity in the administration in affairs and by only gradually surrendering this power into the hands of the people as they give evidence of their ability properly to exercise it. The statement of these two possible alternatives shows how important is the question we are considering—whether one or the other is adopted determines the whole character of the government that will result. In considering, as we propose to do, what can be urged in favor of each of these policies, we may as well state at the outset that our opinion is strongly in favor of the second; that it is our belief that if the administration in Porto Rico has erred in the past it has been in placing too much reliance upon the first method and too little upon the second.

The whole argument for the first method rests upon the claim that it is only by going into the water that one learns to swim. This is true, but there are so many other considerations that should be taken into account both in the case of a person acquiring the ability to swim and of a people acquiring the capacity to govern themselves—considerations which, as we shall see, are by no means identical in the two cases—that unless we use extreme care the parallel that it is attempted to establish between the two but furnishes another illustration of the loss to correct thinking resulting from the loose application of general principles and arguing from false analogies.

In the first place there is no question, or at least it is assumed that there is no question, not only of the desire of the person entering the water to learn to swim but of his willingness earnestly to put forth the efforts necessary for him to accomplish

his desires and to subordinate to it all other considerations. A man does not learn to swim merely by going into the water. It is only as he does so with the deliberate purpose of acquiring the art and makes a determined attempt at its acquisition that success is likely to crown his efforts. Now in the case of people acquiring the ability to govern themselves such an assumption is taking for granted the one essential thing that requires demonstration. Granting that a people earnestly desires self-government in the sense that what it wishes is a government that will be of the people, by the people, and for the people and not of, by, and for the interests of a select few, and that the people as a whole are willing to make not merely the efforts but the sacrifices that must be put forth and continuously maintained for the securing and enjoyment of such desire; granting this and there is none who will question that the road of practical experience is the one that should be followed. Unfortunately this is an assumption that can not be made in the case of Porto Rico at the present time. There may be a desire for self-government, in fact there undoubtedly is, but this desire is not that of a people who appreciate that government is but a means to an end and not an end in itself, that any government and above all one of a popular or democratic character finds its justification only in serving as an instrument through which the interests of the entire community rather than those of a particular party or group of men are to be served, or who, if appreciating, are willing to make those sacrifices, that subordination of personal and party advantage to the public good, and that exercise of forbearance and respect to the rights of others, whether of the same political affiliations or not, by which popular government can alone be made tolerable. If one is to judge at all by the history of events in Porto Rico, not merely during the times before the American occupation, when no real efforts were made to inculcate in the people these political virtues, but since when no effort has been spared to bring home to the people the fact that government or the control over the administration of public affairs is not a prize to be striven for in order that its advantages may be enjoyed by the visitor, but something the possessor of which should be sought in order that power may be obtained to do good to the whole community, one cannot but reach the conclusion that, though progress can be detected, the people as a whole still fail to grasp all that is contained in the idea of self-government, its disadvantages as well as its advantages, its obligations as well as its benefits, its sacrifices demanded as well as its advantages conferred. It thus may be said to be in the position of the person professing the desire to learn to swim and having

a general idea of what is meant has no real conception of all the operation includes, of the danger as well as the pleasure involved, or if having such a conception has not reached the position where he is willing to make the efforts and sacrifices that may be involved.

There is a still further distinction between the case of the would-be swimmer and the people desiring to acquire the power of self-government. In the first case only the person entering the water is concerned in the result and no one but himself will be benefited or injured in the operations. In the second case the people concerned are necessarily divided into two classes, the one small consisting of the governors and the other large consisting of those governed. If social, educational and economic conditions were such that passage from one of these classes to the other were easy or there was in existence such a highly formed public opinion that the large governed class could at all times exercise a real control over their governors this division into two classes might be without significance. As it is, however, no such condition of affairs exists in Porto Rico. To a large extent the minority has no or few rights that the majority feels bound to respect. The party or persons in power looks purely to its and their own selfish interests, and the great mass of illiterate governed have neither a full realization of the extent to which these interests may be being disregarded; nor, if they have, of enforcing a remedy.

The problem thus has to do not merely with the few who will be the ones really to exercise the power if complete self-government is conferred but the many who will play no part in the actual direction of affairs. Could we consider only the interests of the first few thousands there might be some strength in the argument that they should be allowed to manage their own affairs as they saw fit whether they benefited or lost by the operation. It is the interests of the million others whose welfare is entirely at stake, however, that we must think.

Now the bearing of this upon the problem under discussion is that until the upper class, from which must be drawn the directors and administrators of public affairs, have developed those civic virtues the existence of which is a *sine qua non* of good government and there has come into existence an enlightened and effective public opinion relative to public affairs any attempt to educate the people of Porto Rico politically by turning over to them the actual administration of affairs is bound to be a failure. By this is meant, not merely that bad governmental conditions will exist, but that no advance will be made in the direction of the political training of the people. On the contrary the danger is grave that the people in this

respect will be progressively demoralized. The country will continue to see public affairs administered as in the past, and what is most serious, will continue to accept such kind of administration as the normal condition of affairs to be expected. To turn over to them the spoils of office under such circumstances is like attempting to erect a house without first laying the foundation, or even coming to an agreement regarding the purposes or character of the house to be erected.

It is our belief that there is but one way, given conditions as they are in Porto Rico, by which this political education can be achieved. This is by so organizing the political machinery locating power and controlling the administration of affairs as to make certain that the government resulting will be honest, efficient and permeated throughout with the principles that government exists solely as a means for serving the interests of all the people governed, and in its operations should accord to all absolute equality of treatment. It is not merely that such a government will furnish greater advantages in the way of more and better schools, roads and public works of all kinds, greater care of matters relating to public health and the like, impartiality in the administration of tax laws, economy, etc., but that it will serve as an instrument of instruction constantly at work training the habits, methods of thought and ideals of the people. Maintained long enough the people will outgrow the remembrance and practices of the past and will look upon such efficient, disinterested and impartial administration of affairs as the normal one to be expected and insisted upon in the same way as they formerly looked upon the old regime, where personal motives and interest had full sway, as the natural and unavoidable one.

In thus urging the adoption of this policy by which training is to be imparted through actual demonstration it is important to note that this does not mean that the people governed should not be given any participation in the conduct of affairs. All that is required is that the control shall be vested in such hands as will insure that proper principles and practices shall prevail. If this is done there is no reason why the great bulk of public work should not be placed in the hands of the people. This is the policy that has in great part actually prevailed in Porto Rico, and one or two examples of what has been done in this way in respect to certain of the public services there will serve to make clear the more important considerations that it is here desired to bring out.

Far and away the broadest field in which the adoption of one or the other of these two policies that we have been contrasting find greatest play, is in that of local government. Here the insular government had definitely to decide at the outset

whether the administration of local affairs should be turned over to the inhabitants of the respective municipalities to work out as they saw fit or be rigidly controlled from above. The latter of the two policies was adopted. While the people were allowed freely to elect the officers who should have immediate charge of the actual administration of local affairs, the insular government not only made the performance of certain duties obligatory, but retained to itself full powers to supervise and control at all important points the operation of the municipalities and their officials and to compel due compliance with all legal provisions. The result of this policy has been to work a revolution in the administration of local affairs. From a condition of affairs where at the time of the establishment of the present system in 1902, of the sixty-six municipalities into which the island is divided, sixty-four were more or less heavily in debt; many of them so much so that no pretense was made of paying salaries until months after they became due, where expenditures were devoted almost entirely to the payment of salaries, and little or no work of real utility was accomplished, and where public office was used as a means to favor personal and political friends and oppose opponents, the municipalities have now been brought to a condition where every single one is on a firm financial basis, where every obligation is promptly met as it falls due, where a large proportion of expenditures go for works of permanent public utility, and where affairs are administered with an honesty and even-handed justice that will compare with the municipalities of any of the states of the Union.

This result has been due almost entirely to the fact that unrestricted control was not at the outset given to the local authorities, and that good government has been compelled by superior authorities. Now the point that it is desired to make here is not that a proper administration of affairs has been secured, but that the citizens of these municipalities have received a training in self-government that they could not possibly have obtained had they been allowed at the outset to take affairs entirely in their own hands. All who have lived in the island through this period know, not merely that affairs are now better conducted, but that an entirely different spirit actuates both the municipal authorities and the people themselves. That most difficult of all things, the creation of a spirit of real civic pride has been accomplished. In consequence of this change, it has been possible by successive modifications to the municipal law to surrender powers originally retained in the insular government, and liberalize all along the line the system of government. As first created, it was believed to be absolutely essential to vest in the Secretary of Porto Rico the right peremptorily to veto any municipal ordinance or annul

any act of a municipal officer that he believed to be improper or ill advised. This was done on account of the extent to which municipal officers had in the past been accustomed to use their powers to oppress individuals to whom they were opposed or other reasons. This practice has been so thoroughly eradicated that it has been found possible to repeal this provision and provide instead that a remedy for abuses must be sought in the courts. In the same way the provision that, in case a municipality failed to make due provision for the payment of any legal obligation, the next budget should become effective until it had been submitted to the insular treasurer, who was given full power to change such budget as he saw fit, has been modified so as to provide that in such cases action must be had by way of mandamus proceedings.

Another example equally striking, though not on such a large scale, is to be found in the organization of the system for the collection of the general property tax. This service is entirely in the hands of the insular treasurer who appoints all the collectors in the different municipalities. He holds them so rigidly to the proper performance of their duties that there is scarcely a suggestion of any of these officials making any improper discrimination in the enforcement of the payment of taxes or of misconducting themselves in any other way. The service is organized in a hierarchy with graded salaries and promotion from one grade to another is made strictly upon record of efficiency. Personal or political considerations have absolutely no weight either in the matter of the appointment or that of promotions. This system has been in operation so long that the members of the service feel absolutely secure in their position as long as they perform their duties properly and certain of receiving advancement as merited. The result has been to change radically the whole morale of the service; and not only are its members now giving to the public as efficient and conscientious effort as could be demanded from any body of public officials, but what is equally important the public generally feel that it is receiving fair and impartial treatment from its officials.

Now there is but one conclusion that can be drawn from this experience had with the municipal and tax-collection services. Apart from all other advantages the people of the island have been given a knowledge of in what good government consists, of the motives and principles that should govern public officials, of the service which local governments can and should render, and a training in the art of government itself that they could not possibly have obtained in the same length of time in any other way. The refusal at once to grant full power of self-

government has hastened the date when such power could properly be exercised. That there can be no doubt of this is evidenced by the fact that no such results, either material or educational, can be shown by any other service where the contrary policy has been pursued. As an illustration of this we need but cite the general health service of the island, a service concerning whose failure to meet the requirements of good administration is open and notorious. That this has been due to this failure to centralize control in the proper insular authority is we believe recognized by all. In consequence of this, if we except the special health service for the study and treatment of tropical anemia, where such central control was created, not only has the island had to suffer from an inadequate administration of its public health and sanitary matters, but the people themselves have received little or no education or real training in respect to this important department of governmental activities.

Time is lacking in which to follow out further the points that we have attempted to raise in this discussion. The subject is a large one and one which it has been very difficult for us to handle with complete frankness without giving possible offense to those who differ from us. We hope that we have done this and will regret exceedingly if we have failed. Of one thing, however, we wish to make sure. No one recognizes more fully the legitimacy of the desire of the Porto Ricans for self-government and no one more ardently desires to hasten the day when this desire can properly be gratified. We know that it is usual to class all those opposing the immediate grant of powers as opponents of self-government. This is not so. We differ with those urging such immediate grant only in our ideas regarding in what real self-government consists, in preferring the substance of real popular participation in public affairs to the mere form of democracy and in believing that the day when both the form and the substance can be obtained will be hastened by pursuing the policy urged in this paper. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We are now to listen to an address by Mr. CHARLES HARTZELL, formerly Secretary of Porto Rico, and now a practicing lawyer in San Juan.

#### WHAT IS JUST TO PORTO RICO

ADDRESS OF MR. CHARLES HARTZELL

No one better than myself appreciates the power, and in almost every respect the truth, of the statements which have been made by General Davis and Mr. Willoughby in their ably

to the West with joy to hail the country of the grand old Stars and Stripes, which we all love and honor. It is time, my friends, to consider and to agitate the question of a permanent status, because, you may be assured, until a reasonable decision of this matter has been made, there will exist discontent and hurtful agitation in the island.

I am not here to ask or even suggest the immediate granting of statehood; that would be a greater calamity to the Porto Ricans themselves than to anyone else. But I do urge that the question be taken up by the American people and the American Congress, and a thorough and generous investigation be made, to the end that we may say to our Porto Rican brother that he and his relations with the American Union have not been forgotten. (Applause.)

I appreciate the fact that roast beef is not perhaps a very good food for infants, but on the other hand it would seem that ten years is a long time to feed a lusty infant on condensed milk. (Laughter.) I shall not discuss the facts of the present Organic Act because there are others here prepared to present that aspect of the problem, but my thought is to go beyond any question of amendment of existing law, and ask what it shall be finally, when the period of preparation has passed? Shall it be a permanent American colony with an American Governor General sent down by the President, or shall we say to Porto Rico, as we have said to every other territory under the flag, "Prepare yourselves for statehood. It may not come for twenty years, it may not come for fifty years—but when the proper condition has been reached you shall have an opportunity to come into the Union on equal terms with any other territory of the United States."

Shall we ingraft a new theory on the constitution, and create a dangerous precedent by establishing a new and permanent colony of American subjects who are not citizens? New Mexico has been knocking at the door for statehood many years, and was not admitted for the reason that would militate against Porto Rico; namely, diversity of race. But New Mexico's day has come, and as surely Porto Rico's day will arrive. This question should be determined, not left to conjecture. Porto Rico will always be part of the United States. Geographically it is so located as to be a necessity. It will be a great half-way station to the Panama canal, and commerce from Europe to the canal will pass by it. Let it not be said that that beautiful island, teeming with riches and more prosperous than any other American territory, shall remain a permanent colony of American subjects who are not entitled to citizenship. Give the people of Porto Rico something definite to accomplish. Make it the

stern condition that it is for them to say, by their conduct and development, whether this term of preparation shall be short or long—but stop for all time this distracting uncertainty as to what the future holds in store for them. In my opinion the fixed star of ultimate statehood would more surely lead them out from the wilderness of doubt and uncertainty than any other step which could be taken. (Applause.)

In conclusion, I invite you, one and all, to come to Porto Rico and be convinced. If only a fraction of the Americans who go every year to Florida and California were to take a pilgrimage to this beautiful new American possession, their enthusiasm and pleasure at what they would find there would soon make itself so strongly felt that our law-makers would take up this subject, and such missionary work as we are now doing would not be required. We would show you a system of courts presided over by judges a vast majority of whom are natives of the islands and who are giving out exact and equal justice to rich and poor alike in accordance with the American law and procedure and in a manner which was unknown before the American occupation. We would show you more miles of perfect macadamized road than are to be found in any state of the Union, with scenery combining the rugged beauty of the Catskills with all the tropical beauty of the Southland. We would show you a system of police that would be a credit to any American community, and a regiment of Porto Rican soldiers, marching under the American flag, who would go as far and as bravely in the defence of that flag as any regiment in the American army. (Applause.)

And finally, my friends, we would show you, about eight o'clock every morning, seventy or eighty thousand children, of all classes, colors and conditions, gathered together, under the leadership of more than a thousand teachers, with bared heads, all standing in the shade of the American flag, all of them with their shrill and lusty voices, but in very broken English, shouting the glad refrain of the old "Star Spangled Banner." It is worth a trip to hear just that. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We have heard much of late concerning a disagreement between the Houses of the Porto Rican Legislature. Following the Mohonk policy of hearing both sides of every question, Mr. Smiley invited several members of the Porto Rican House of Delegates to take part in this Conference. One of them, we are glad to say, is present, and I have pleasure in presenting Hon. CAYETANO COLL CUCHI, of San Juan, who comes with the special endorsement of the Speaker of that House. (Applause.)

## A DEFENCE OF PORTO RICO

ADDRESS OF MR. CAYETANO COLL CUCHI

It is no easy task to deliver a speech in the presence of such a brilliant and talented assembly, and when constrained to employ a foreign tongue with which one is hardly sufficiently conversant to express one's thoughts in ordinary daily conversation, the difficulties are increased a hundredfold. Nevertheless, I would not make my lack of knowledge of the English language serve as a pretext for declining the honor of an appointment to represent the House of Delegates of Porto Rico on the occasion of the kind invitation that Mr. Smiley was good enough to extend to the said Legislative Assembly to take part in this Conference. Natural as well as Divine laws exact the sacrifice of our personal happiness, however great and enjoyable it may be, when the defence of the mother-land is involved. And, seeing that duty, honor, and country may justly claim the sacrifice of our lives in such noble struggles as that in which we are engaged, how could I have interposed the excuse of a defective pronunciation or made any such similar pretext to avoid couching lance on behalf of that poor, little island, so unjustly down-trodden, without being given an opportunity to defend itself? (Applause.)

We have been recently accused of transgressions of which we are completely innocent; and, in appearing before you in your capacity as a chosen part of that august tribunal and future judge of the justice of our aspirations—the American people—I ask you not to weigh my arguments according to the eloquence of my language, the beauty of my rhetorical pauses, the ardor of my words, which eloquence, beauty, and ardor I am unable to associate with this speech, obliged as I am to deliver it in a language that is not my own. But I do ask you to study the facts, to analyze our sentiments, and to weigh the proofs; and, if I fail to succeed in enlisting your sympathy in the noble cause that I defend, then the blame must rest upon my incompetency and not upon the lack of legitimate right of the country that has commissioned me to appear before you.

My discourse may assume an apparently disagreeable aspect. My words will not be palatable, because I am here to protest. The bitterness, however, is but on the surface, as the Porto Rican masses have the greatest confidence that the people of the United States will see that justice is meted out to them. (Applause.)

When General Miles, bearing in his hand the standard of Columbia, landed on our shores but ten years ago and addressed

our people in the name of Liberty and in the name of American Democracy, he was inspired by those noble sentiments of equality and honor that have made the United States "The land of the free, and the home of the brave." On that memorable occasion General Miles was greeted with the applause of the men and saluted with showers of flowers from the women of our island. Never did music sound so sweet in the atmosphere of Porto Rico as the tidings of the entry, not of a triumphal victor, but of a brother people. By virtue of those actions and relying upon those words, we, the Porto Ricans, cast our gaze upward upon the banner in the name of which we were promised the most ample liberty to which our aspirations could soar; that liberty that rendered possible the creation of such men as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln; that Liberty that found its birth in Yorktown, that has not since ceased to flourish, and that will never die so long as it leans for its support upon the people whose pen traced the Declaration of Independence, whose steeled fist sounded the Philadelphia campaign, and whose falchion has ever shone in defense of the most noble ideals. (Applause.) That day engraved in our minds in a manner firm and unshakeable the necessity of being a free people, a people as free as those of any of the States of the American Union. And, ladies and gentlemen, did not such a sublime sentiment flourish and throb in our bosoms, we should have been but little worthy to view, flying in our winds off the battlements of Morro that flag that announced to the world at large that all men were born equal and that a deprivation of the just rights of the colonies was sufficient to justify the latter in detaching themselves from the mother country.

Had I written a speech and delivered it here, I believe you would have been the gainers. I am so accustomed, however, to hear abuse heaped upon Porto Rico, that I felt sure I should have necessarily to devote the greater part of my time to the refutation of the statements of other speakers. (Laughter.)

Here, let me say that General Davis is one of the men for whom we in Porto Rico have the greatest esteem. (Applause.) Towards him I profess a deep regard. Nevertheless, his speech this morning is based on information obtained, clearly from other than Porto Rican sources, while acting as Governor of our Island some ten years ago, or immediately after the terrible cyclone of 1899. The first grave error is the statement that at the time of the American occupation, Porto Rico was a Spanish colony. Such is not the case, for Porto Rico had then ceased to be a Colony for some time. As a matter of fact, Porto Rico was a Spanish Province, such, for instance, as "Castilla la Vieja," and the rights and privileges of the Porto

Ricans were on a par with the natives of Madrid or Barcelona. In making this affirmation I do not refer in the slightest way to the autonomic period that we enjoyed, as our enemies have always strenuously striven to show that such autonomy was not ceded to us in good faith and that it was not even established in Porto Rico. We used to send three Senators and sixteen Delegates to the "Cortes," and our votes influenced the decisions of the most important questions, even though in such questions were involved the life and honor of the Spanish nation. And I wish here to go on record—and I feel highly honored in making the statement—that so often as the Porto Rican representatives had occasion to express themselves in Parliament, they did so, from the standpoint of liberty and justice, with as much regard to the honor of the people that elected them as to that of the nation that had called upon them to participate in its government. (Applause.)

Such was our status when the Americans arrived at our island. Nevertheless, we cast our glances toward the United States, because we were not content to be the only American people subject to the restraints of a monarchical government. We were a Spanish province and were burdened by the same government that to-day oppresses the noble Spanish people. We could not shake off the yoke, because it is not given to every people to elect its own government. I cannot make comparisons between a monarchy and the American republic. When we refer to the "Government of the United States" we mean to say "The American People;" because the government depends upon the will of the people. But "The Spanish Government" is not synonymous with the "Spanish People," which latter struggles and strives to secure its liberty from a government forced upon it. Yet, let me avail myself of this opportunity to say in honor to Spain and to its government, that it never failed to place Porto Rico on the same footing as the provinces of the peninsula proper. Could we hope from the Spanish monarchy a republican form of government? We were oppressed by the government of Spain, but so were the Spaniards themselves. A Porto Rican was shot for the same motives that have to-day caused the execution of Ferrer—for loving liberty. To-day, however, we are not equal but inferior to the Americans. Individually, I am a free man; collectively, I am your chattel, your property, I belong to you. My fate is in your hands, and you can dispose of me at any price without my voice being heard in the transaction. We are like the old slaves of the soil; our destiny is dependent upon the land wherein we live, but of which we cannot dispose, our servitude having reached such an extreme that, without a flag of our own and with that of our masters having been denied us,

we cannot even start out in search of another nationality to which to teach our children love and fidelity.

We protest against our treatment, and are insulted. We are answered with a balance sheet showing custom house revenue, but never can we be satisfied with such a response, because we do not look for the solution of our problems from the standpoint of the dollar, but from the glorious standpoint of liberty and man's natural dignity. (Applause.) When we thus express ourselves, we are termed "ingrates," and the most artificial arguments are brought forward to combat our desires. Take for example the following:

During the last discussions in Congress, free trade was spoken of as a concession to Porto Rico and as prejudicial to American interests. General Davis has laid stress upon such presumed ingratitude by stating that free trade with Porto Rico has cost the American government one hundred million dollars in ten years. A more deceiving argument could not have been presented. *Free trade*, as indicated by the name itself, entails reciprocity, and the United States has benefited at least as much as, and perhaps more than Porto Rico by the elimination of custom tariffs between the two countries. Accompanying free trade came the Dingley tariff, and granting the truth of the statement that our products are allowed free entrance into the United States, it is no less true that we are obliged to purchase in the American markets all goods for home consumption, paying for the same a much higher price than if we were to buy them from France or Spain; and statistics show that this difference is equivalent to more than the one hundred million dollars to which General Davis alludes.

Then comes the change of currency to which my honorable friend makes reference. Money possesses two values—its intrinsic and its nominal value. The silver from which our money was coined equalled that from which the United States currency was coined. Nevertheless, each of the native dollars was taken over at the rate of sixty American cents, immediately recoined and placed on the market in the United States for circulation with a palpable gain to the latter of 40% of its intrinsic worth. If we search the matter carefully and endeavor to ascertain who brought about the change, we shall find that the benefit is not to be debited to our account.

I shall now proceed to reply to a question asked by General Davis. My answer does not alone embrace my personal view, but is made in the name of the Porto Rican people in its entirety, and I am sure that I shall faithfully and precisely interpret the views of my compatriots. When we were informed that we should lose our internal revenue and our custom revenue the

moment we were declared a state of the Union, General Davis asked: "How would that appeal to the Porto Ricans?" My good and respected friends, were Porto Rico to be granted the rights enjoyed by the State of New York or the State of Massachusetts, were the United States flag to convey the same significance in Porto Rico as it conveys here, we would willingly relinquish our gold, seeing that we cannot sacrifice our lives. We should then have a governor with a salary of \$2,000 a year instead of \$8,000 per annum. He would not live in a palace, nor would the people be compelled to pay for his household or other service. Neither would he be allowed \$100,000 to cover other expenses that he might incur. True, we might not live in luxury, but we should be masters of our own destinies; there would not be so much splendor in our budgets, but we should enjoy the most perfect form of government at present acknowledged by the thinking world—the rights of a State of the United States of America. (Applause.)

And now I shall touch on a matter that caused me to smile when I heard the same commented upon this morning by other speakers. I refer to the difficulties that have lately arisen between the House of Delegates and the Executive Council in Porto Rico. It was stated—and I will admit the statement for the sake of argument—that the Lower House or House of Delegates of Porto Rico refused to appropriate sufficient money for the maintenance of the government in Porto Rico because the Executive Council refused to accede to its desires and meet its wishes. This has been the principal weapon employed for many months past to demonstrate the incapacity of the Porto Ricans for self-government. England, at this moment, is face to face with the same problem that originated the conflict between the two Porto Rican legislative bodies. It is four months now that the House of Lords and the House of Commons have been endeavoring to reach an understanding in connection with the budget, without avail, since the House of Commons wishes and is strongly resolved that its will shall be respected by the House of Lords. In commenting on the situation, the free press of the world at large showers encomiums and praise on the leaders of the English House of Commons for its firmness and patriotism, citing them as great politicians and as the defenders of the traditional liberties of the English people. Six months ago the same deadlock occurred in Porto Rico, and those who desire an explanation of what passed in the American island have but to glance at what is now passing in the great European isle. But—no! I confess my error! There is a vast difference between England, the powerful mistress of the seas, and the insignificant and almost forgotten island of lambs. In the former, the will of the people

is all-powerful; in my native land, we are denied even the possibility of right.

It is not well nor sufficient to view these questions altogether from the American standpoint; in treating Porto Rico, let us take into consideration a little the view of the native Porto Ricans. Otherwise, we are liable to write innumerable bulky substances in the manner that Mr. Willoughby has done, about the situation in Porto Rico without once touching upon the salient point applying to our problem. According to Mr. Willoughby, no nation is fit to govern itself unless it establishes and maintains institutions identical with those of the United States. Such an exclusive outcome is entirely opposed to the principles of political science, and if taken as a base for the education of a people, must inevitably lead to disaster. Governments, laws and public institutions do not make a people; a people makes governments, laws and public institutions. A law that is beneficial in New York may well be prejudicial in Porto Rico. A government that may be acceptable to a people in the North may not be satisfactory to a people in the South. Were other the case, then would become possible the uniformity of the human species, and distinctions of race and the influence of climate, traditions and history would be but negative points. And it is an error to suppose that liberty is the exclusive patrimony of the United States. France, the Argentine Republic, and other countries, where the citizens not only enjoy equal personal and collective rights as the citizens of the United States, but where, being the home of science and arts, liberty nourishes and produces the greatest creations of human genius—are they not also free? It is a grave error to affirm that Porto Rico cannot govern itself until its present idiosyncracies be a thing of the past and until for them can be substituted the customs habits and language prevailing in the United States. Those born in Porto Rico will always be Porto Ricans, even though their parents be natives of Texas or of Maine, and this for the same reason or natural law that makes an Italian born in Rome, through whose veins might run the purest Latin blood, the progenitor of a perfect American, should fate cause him to emigrate to New York, without there being the slightest difference between his issue and the children of a Swiss or of an Englishman. A glance at the most elementary principles of political science will convince the most casual observer that the destiny of Porto Rico must be entrusted to the Porto Ricans, who alone appreciate their necessities, and who, therefore, are alone capable of making laws to cover them.

I regret that I have not sufficient time to dwell more fully on this scientific side of the discussion. I will, however, refer to an ex-

ample showing the practical capacity of the Porto Ricans for self-government, and will appeal to the testimony of General Davis for a corroboration of my statement. I firmly and sincerely believe that the period during which Porto Rico has been best governed has been during the administration of General Davis, and during that time all the public offices with the exception of that occupied by the governor and the military employees were filled by Porto Ricans. To-day, with a civil government, the reverse is the case. The administration of our island is burdensome, and the majority of the positions are filled by Americans. This is the great drawback of the Bill Foraker—it created a purely personal government. If it should so happen that an able official be constituted governor or placed at the head of a department, everything proceeds satisfactorily. If, to the contrary, the official appointed should prove incapable, there is no manner of securing his removal, seeing that, according to the law, he himself renders account to headquarters of the progress of his department. Had I the time to cite examples, you would remain horrified.

I must now conclude. My time has expired. I do not wish the American people to judge the Porto Ricans by statements either of Porto Ricans or of American officials. Everything that we have asserted is corroborated by written documents, and can easily be corroborated. Do not take my poor word as against the statements of any high official of the United States. Let us treat the matter as though before a court of justice, where neither litigant enjoys an advantage over the other. The American people should entrust the government of Porto Rico to the Porto Ricans to the end that we may avoid the sad spectacle of the United States flag floating over a people without a country. You that listen, you that glory in the greatness of your country, aid us in our struggle, and bear in mind the bitterness of a people in whose country strangers and foreigners enjoy greater rights and privileges than the natives themselves. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We are now to hear HON. REGIS H. POST, Governor of Porto Rico, who very kindly offers to answer any questions the Conference may care to ask.

#### SOME FACTS OF INTEREST CONCERNING PORTO RICO.

##### REMARKS OF HON. REGIS H. POST.

I hope that you will pardon me for not having prepared any special address, but I was so occupied in the last weeks of my stay in Porto Rico, getting off my annual report, and other matters, that it was impossible for me to give the time necessary to prepare an address, and I also thought it might be more interesting if I

came here and found out what the Conference would like to have me speak upon.

We have been through a most interesting period of our history in Porto Rico, in which a number of local and political problems were involved, and I shall be very glad to speak on any which the Conference may wish to have discussed.

**Dr. ABBOT:** We would like to have Governor Post's views respecting citizenship for the Porto Ricans.

**Mr. Post:** Doctor, my views differ slightly from those of anyone who has spoken to-day. My own personal opinion is that the Porto Rican should be given an opportunity, if he wishes citizenship, to obtain it, without expense and without further residence under the flag, but if he does not wish it, then it should not be imposed upon him by force, nor should he be placed in a position where he can say that he was made a citizen whether he wanted to be or not. I base this upon conversations which I have had with friends of mine on the island, and from official data, letters and communications. There is no doubt about it that 80 per cent. of the educated Porto Ricans want citizenship, but about 15 per cent. of these will tell you that they want it *if it carries with it autonomy, or "all the rights and privileges to which an American citizen is entitled," showing that the idea of citizenship is confused in their minds with autonomy, a greater degree of self-government.* There are, undoubtedly, also Porto Ricans who do not desire to be American citizens at all, and I think we would have complaints from those men against having citizenship imposed upon them.

My own personal view would be that any Porto Rican who has lived in Porto Rico or the United States since American occupation should be allowed to appear before a tribunal of the island, the District Court, the Supreme Court, the District Courts of the island, or even the Municipal Courts, and take out his papers as a naturalized American citizen, without further expense or residence. We would thus remain in the position of giving citizenship freely to those who desired it, and would avoid the difficulty of imposing our citizenship upon those who did not desire it.

I want further to say one thing. It seems to me that the form of government, or the system of government, or whether or not we are citizens of one country or another, is one of the very least propositions we have to deal with to-day. To me all this is merely the skeleton, the dry bones of a government, and unless we have breathed into it the spirit of self-reliance, of brotherly love, and the desire for mutual helpfulness, it does not matter

whether we are a colony, or a state, or anything else. It seems to me that the one thing which is most necessary is to bring together the people into a mutual understanding, to overcome the antagonistic points of view between Porto Ricans and Americans, and to bring the people of the United States and the people of Porto Rico to a feeling of mutual interest and closer relationship. It does not really make any difference to-day whether we are going to be a state, or a colony, or an independent nation—the road to self-government is the same, and it does not make any difference whether our children or our children's children are going to live as a state, a colony or an independent country—self-government and self-reliance are the same no matter what the status of the people, and what we have to do to-day is to get a closer relationship; to get the subordination of the individual to the welfare of the country, and to bind ourselves in ties more close than mere questions of policies or parties.

Mr. Coll Cuchi expressed the Porto Rican view very well when he said "We do not care for money; we care for the rights of man." When he says that he means it, even though it is virtually saying, We are willing to commit social and political suicide to get what we want. They are willing to sacrifice the revenues of the island to obtain their ends. This is the true Porto Rican point of view; the Porto Rican does not care for money, it is mere dross to him; and he goes for his ideal without regard to consequences.

A MEMBER: How do you think we can attain this end, of mutual helpfulness?

Mr. Post: By remembering St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians. I would like to have an amendment made to the Foraker act which would require every official of the island to have written in his hat, "Remember that even if you give your body to be burned, and have not love, it shall avail you nothing." I would like to have it written on every Porto Rican's forehead, that unless he loves his fellow countrymen we are all making ropes of sand and bricks without straw.

A MEMBER: What were the essential points of the differences that arose last year between the branches of the legislature?

Mr. Post: Yes, I can tell you, without going too much into details of the particular bills. When the Philippine act was drawn and when the Hawaiian act was drawn, a clause was inserted in both which made provision that in case the legis-

lature should fail to make provision for the expenses of carrying on the government, then, by a mechanical method, it would be carried on automatically. I will not describe this fully until later. But when the Foraker act was drawn (the organic act of Porto Rico) no provision was made for the automatic carrying on of the government, in case of the failure of the legislature to make appropriations. In other words, we handed a loaded gun into the hands of the House of Delegates of Porto Rico. Now what particular bill caused the split last winter does not especially matter; we had had this trouble for eight years. As to the right and wrong of it, I should be the last man to endorse the action of the House of Delegates, but there is less blame on the heads of the House than upon the men who gave this weapon into their hands and allowed them to shoot themselves with it.

It was not alone the trouble of last year, but a question of six or eight years; we have always had trouble in the legislature, and the very last bill to pass was always the appropriation bill. I remember that in my first session, in 1904, we went into conference on the appropriation bill at three o'clock Wednesday afternoon (we have a sixty days' session there, and it has been the custom to stop the clock at about eleven on the last night of the session, of the sixtieth day, and then sit continually until the important business is finished). As I say, we went into conference on Wednesday afternoon at three o'clock and not until four o'clock on Sunday morning was the appropriation bill passed. That was six years ago and every year the appropriation bill has been held back and held back to see what little advantage could be gotten out of it. We have always known that Armageddon was coming, and every year it has been a little harder to come to an agreement between the House and the Council, until this year it came to a point where there was no possibility of breaking the dead-lock.

And it was not absolutely the fault of the House of Delegates. Four or five men did it all. I saw it all; I was sitting outside and I saw that every time it looked as if things were going smoothly toward an agreement some little rumor would start, or some new canard go 'round, and for four days the fight went on, finally coming to a dead-lock.

The particular matter in dispute was the question of whether or not the municipal judges should be elected or appointed, but broadly and roughly it was a question as to whether the Governor, in making appointments to fill vacancies, had to take recommendations of the political party in power in that particular town, or whether he could refuse the names and appoint his own candidate. You know the mayors of the municipalities

are elected, and it has been the custom for the Governor, in filling a vacancy caused by death, resignation or removal, to ask for a recommendation from the party which had elected the former incumbent, but a stand was made as to whether the Governor could refuse the recommendation of the party. There were a thousand ramifications, but finally we came to a point where there was no breaking the dead-lock, and we had to go to Congress to have provision made to carry on the government.

Apropos of this, I want to say another thing. Mr. Hartzell has told you that you would see a lot of good things if you went to Porto Rico—good roads, prosperous plantations, children singing the Star Spangled Banner. You will see another thing. You will see a people in a peaceful revolution, fighting by constitutional methods, by American methods, for what they believe is right. I am glad of this because it shows that the Porto Ricans have the self-control and grasp of American methods to fight what they do not like by constitutional methods. I know that in the old days no one ever saw a Porto Rican bringing suit against the Governor General, but in the past year I have had two suits of mandamus brought against me, and one injunction, on official matters. I consider this a hopeful sign. I am prouder of that—I will not say than anything else—but I am very, very proud to think that the people have the self-control and have so sufficiently grasped the idea of American liberty as to bring suit in the courts against the administration and against the highest administrative officer of the government, in endeavoring to obtain their ends.

A MEMBER: Did the Porto Rican members of the Executive Council vote with the House of Delegates on the matters of difference in the last session?

Mr. Post: I am not sure; I was not on the floor of the legislature, but I believe that on some questions they voted with the House, and on others with the American members of the Council, but I think that on the vital questions of difference they voted with the Council. There was no unanimity between the native members of the Council and the House.

A MEMBER: Is it true, as I am informed by a Porto Rican official, that there is little social intercourse between the Porto Rican and American officials and their families?

Mr. Post: I am inclined to think that there is a little in that. There has not been as much cordiality in the social relations of the Americans and Porto Ricans in San Juan as there should

have been. The fault is partly that in San Juan there are enough Americans to form sets by themselves, and they do not mingle with the Porto Ricans as they should, but I think that in other parts of the island you will find less of that feeling than in San Juan.

A MEMBER: What is, exactly, the difference between a citizen of Porto Rico and a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Post: There is very little. The Porto Rican is entitled, under his Porto Rican citizenship, to absolutely every right which we enjoy, save that of voting for the President. An Ohioan can come here to New York, live here for one year—I think that is the time of residence—and cast his vote for President, just as a native born New Yorker, but the Porto Rican cannot. As far as I know, that is the only difference. He is entitled to receive a pass-port from the Governor of Porto Rico, which entitles him to every protection which the American receives. But I must confess that it is humiliating to him. Men have come to me and said, "Mr. Post, I do not want that thing. I can take care of myself; I do not need the protection of the pass-port, but I would like to have a pass-port as an American citizen."

A MEMBER: Just what stands in the way of the Porto Ricans obtaining full American citizenship?

Mr. Post: Nothing but Congress, that I know of. I do not know of any other earthly reason why a Porto Rican should not be an American citizen if he wants to be. The matter rests entirely with Congress.

A MEMBER: What is the question being discussed about salaries of teachers in the schools of Porto Rico; is it not true that they are equal to those of the teachers of the same grades in the United States?

Mr. Post: I do not know just what the salaries of teachers in the United States are now, but the question, in brief, was this: The Codified School Law fixed the salaries of the teachers of the various grades at a maximum and minimum. The salaries, for instance, of the teachers of English were fixed at not less than \$40 nor more than \$60 per month, which gave the Commissioner of Education the option of paying a teacher \$40 or allowing him to pay more, if he could not obtain one for that amount. Some teachers he might have to pay more; and some he could get for less. Year before last, in the appropriation bill—the

island was feeling particularly rich then—they passed a very large appropriation for schools, increasing the appropriation for common schools nearly fifty per cent., and in that appropriation bill they fixed the salaries absolutely of the English teachers at \$75 per month. The Commissioner was allowed no choice, and every teacher received the \$75 per month last year.

When the appropriation bill failed of passage last winter, and after the passage of the Olmstead act—the Congressional amendment to continue the government—the question came up as to what amount the Commissioner of Education should pay his teachers; whether they should be paid in conformity with the school law, or in conformity with the terms of the appropriation bill of the previous year. That is, whether the provisions of the appropriation act of 1908 could be considered as a permanent amendment to the school law, or merely applied to the salaries of that particular year. I believe that I am right in saying that the Attorney General of Porto Rico held that the provisions of the appropriation bill referred only to the appropriations of last year. Hence, the Commissioner of Education had no option, but was obliged to return to the salaries as fixed in the school law, and these, in the case of the English teachers, was \$60 per month. The result was that these teachers came down this year, many of them, expecting to receive \$75 per month, and found that they could get but \$60. There was a good deal of disappointment at the time, but I am glad to say that the teachers behaved splendidly. It was a bitter blow to a great many of them, but they all signed their contracts and went to work without the loss of a day.

A MEMBER: What effect did this change in salary have?

Mr. Post: Only that they got less money. I mean by that, that the only effect, so far as I know, is that the teachers were naturally disappointed at receiving less money, but not one of them flinched, took their contracts and went right on teaching; the schools went on as if nothing had happened. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Limitations of time make it necessary to close the Porto Rican program at this point, and to take up the Platform of the Conference. The Chair will ask Vice-President Sherman, Chairman of the Business Committee, if the Platform is ready to be presented for the consideration of the Conference.

Hon JAMES S. SHERMAN: *Mr. Chairman:* The Business Committee have considered with a great deal of care the various subjects before the Conference and have laid down for them-

selves one general rule of action, and that was, that in presenting the platform to you, we should in no case deal with specific cases; that the platform should be applied in a general way to subjects which we have been considering. We have, therefore, been unable to bring into the proposed platform specific reference to certain subjects of great interest to some members of the Conference. Some of those subjects may be presented at a later session of the Conference in separate resolutions. But this morning we are prepared to present a general platform, covering all of the subjects which have been considered, as well as those which we expect to discuss this evening. That platform has been prepared under the supervision of a sub-committee, the Chairman of which is Doctor Abbott, who will present the platform to you, and after it is presented, I shall move on behalf of the committee that the platform be adopted by the Conference. I will now give way to Dr. Lyman Abbott.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT: I wish to make one preliminary explanation—not by way of discussing what has been already discussed—but by way of interpreting the platform which I am to read.

Last year the Conference declared itself emphatically in favor of giving citizenship to the Porto Ricans; this year no such clause will be found in the platform. The reason is to be found in difficulties which have been presented partially this morning. In the first place, all Porto Ricans are not in favor of citizenship, and it is to me at least, a question to be discussed whether citizenship should be forced upon them, whether they like it or not. In the second place, under the present law, all the receipts from federal taxation in Porto Rico—that is, all internal revenue taxes and all the customs taxes—are paid over to the insular government, and spent by the insular government in the island. Of course, all know that federal taxes are paid over to the federal government and spent from Washington. We have nothing to say about the expenditure of the federal taxation in this state, except as we say it through our national Congress. If Porto Rico should become an organized territory, unquestionably under the Constitution that money could no longer be paid over to the insular government and no longer expended in the island. And there are people, constitutional lawyers, who hold that if by one act of Congress all the citizens of Porto Rico were made citizens of the United States, that would *ipso facto* make Porto Rico a territory of the United States, and then it would no longer be possible to give them that money for expenditure in the island. I am not prepared to discuss the question, and do not propose to discuss it; but the Platform

Committee were of the opinion that the Conference should not express itself on the question of citizenship until these various aspects had been thoroughly discussed on the floor of the Conference. With that word of explanation, which I think due to those who may be disappointed or surprised not to find citizenship reiterated in this year's platform, I read the platform.

(For a copy of the Platform see page 7.)

Hon. JAMES S. SHERMAN: *Mr. Chairman:* I move the adoption of the Conference report, and in that connection may I say a single word, and that is, that the committee, in preparing this platform has attempted to voice what it believed to be the sentiment of the Conference. It has been forced to gather that sentiment partly from the spoken word of some members of the Conference and partly by the clapping of hands of other members. We think that so far as one mind can discover what is in another mind, the other mind not giving utterance to the thought, this platform meets the general wishes of the general body of this Conference. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the platform as read be adopted as the expression of the Conference. Are you ready for the question?

MEMBERS: Question, question.

The question being put, the platform was adopted with but one dissenting vote. (For a copy of the Platform, see page 7.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is informed that Doctor ABBOTT has a supplementary resolution to present.

#### INVESTIGATION OF CONDITIONS AMONG THE NEW YORK INDIANS.

Dr. LYMAN ABBOTT: I have another resolution to present on behalf of the Business Committee. It is known to many of the Conference that the condition on some of the Indian reservations, in this state at least, is not to our credit, to put it mildly. That condition has been often described and discussed in this Conference. It has been brought before the Business Committee at the present time by certain members of the Conference. It was not thought best by the committee to take any action at this time without further investigation, the seriousness of the subject seeming to require thoroughness of inquiry.

We therefore recommend the adoption of the following:

"Whereas, the Indian reservations in the State of New York persist in spite of the well-settled policy of the Government to end the reservation system, distribute lands in severalty, and to make citizens of Indians; and

"Whereas, official investigations show that the physical and moral conditions upon at least some of the New York Indian reservations are as bad as were common upon any of the Western reservations; and

"Whereas, notwithstanding these facts, it has seemed impossible to correct the wrong because of the legal questions which are involved; and

"Whereas, there must be a remedy for such a situation, therefore,

"Resolved: That a Committee of five members of the Conference be created, and be named by the Chairman of the Conference, and that the Honorable Charles Andrews, formerly Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, be requested to accept the Chairmanship of the same; that such Committee gather the pertinent facts bearing upon the matter, from the published reports and other sources, take into consideration the legal questions which are associated with the subject, and report to the next annual Conference what course ought to be taken to realize the general and well-known purposes of this Conference in the case of the New York Indians and prepare the legislation which will justly accomplish that end."

The Committee moves the adoption, sir, of these resolutions.

The motion, duly seconded, was put to the Conference and unanimously adopted.

After due consideration, and at a later session, the Chairman appointed the following:

#### COMMITTEE TO REPORT ON THE NEW YORK INDIANS.

Hon. CHARLES ANDREWS, Syracuse, *Chairman.*

Hon. W. W. COCKS, M. C., Old Westbury, L. I.

Hon. REGIS H. POST, New York.

Mr. DANIEL SMILEY, Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

Hon. J. S. WHIPPLE, Albany.

Hon. ROBERT G. VALENTINE, Commissioner of Indian Affairs: I simply wish to say that although the federal government has no jurisdiction over the New York Indians, I shall be glad to put the Indian office and the entire federal machinery we may may have at the service of this Committee to report on the New York Indians. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Conference stands adjourned until this evening.

## Sixth Session

Friday Evening, October 22d, 1909

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject for our closing session is Hawaii, and the first speaker is Mr. A. F. GRIFFITHS, President of Oahu College, in Honolulu.

### PRESENT POLICIES IN LABOR AND IMMIGRATION IN HAWAII AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

#### ADDRESS OF MR. A. F. GRIFFITHS

Since the beginnings of the sugar industry, the questions of labor and immigration have been almost one, for immigration in Hawaii has been promoted almost entirely to supply labor for the sugar plantations, the almost constant shortage in which has been a source of concern both to rulers of the State and the employers. To just the extent that an immigrant must work, must a discussion of plans for his coming include accounts of his prospects when he arrives. No apology need then be made for this rather explicit setting forth of actual conditions under which a laborer will live and work in Hawaii.

The ingenuity and resources of those interested have been taxed to find even an approximate relief for this scarcity of labor. In the last thirty-five years, about 215,000 laborers have been brought to the Islands at an expense of not less than \$10,000,000. The ends of the earth have been searched in an attempt to find immigrants who would at the same time be satisfactory in the cane fields and acceptable members of the community. It must be said that up to a comparatively recent time more emphasis was placed upon supplying the industrial need than in building up or safe-guarding the civic and social fabric. No people have been found, except possibly the Portuguese, who have the qualifications for American citizenship and are also content to remain as field hands under the plantation system.

In general three main sources of supply have been favored and the influences attached to these have largely shaped the immigration policy. For reasons of state and church and society, the monarchs and others as well urged the bringing of other Polynesians or kindred peoples who on account of race and language would fit into the body politic. Many who sought the greatest financial gain from the industry urged the getting of cheap labor particularly from the Orient. The third element,

composed of these who originally favored annexation and who now are desirous of building up a community on traditional American lines, favored the bringing as far as possible of Caucasians who would establish homes, become permanent residents and take their place, in the next generation at least, in the roll of citizens upon whom the State can count for support.

The experiment with the South Sea Islanders gave no hope of any dependable supply of labor from that source. The 2,500 of these people who came contributed nothing to the permanent solution of the question.

From the Orient have been brought Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Filipinos. The Chinese came in numbers as early as 1852; by 1900 there were 25,762 in the Islands. But now owing to the Chinese Exclusion Act and the return of many of the Chinese to the fatherland, their number is diminishing. It is estimated that there are now only about 18,000 Chinese in the territory. The Japanese, who first began to arrive in any considerable numbers in the '80's, are the most numerous single foreign element which have come to the Islands. Probably not far from 150,000 have come altogether, although there are probably not more than 72,000 at present resident in the territory. Since 1900, about 7,500 Koreans have been imported but many have already left the territory so that not more than 5,000 remain. The Filipinos are a comparatively recent introduction. A few were brought in 1907 as an experiment and more are now being induced to come.

The cheap-living, cheap-working Asiatic has been the bulwark of the plantation system. His gregarious methods of living, willingness to work in gangs and his need of supervision all contributed to the maintenance of the system. Upon the ability to get large numbers of such laborers has depended the profits and possibly the very existence of the sugar industry. It is no wonder then that men of business put a large emphasis on the industrial and financial side of the immigration question.

But the civic and social side has pressed forward at times for consideration. Owing to the diminution of the native population and to the relatively small number of whites, in 1887-8 restrictive measures were placed on the further admission of Chinese. Now by Federal law the Chinese are excluded and through the initiative of Japan the incoming of Japanese severely regulated and restricted. But the instability and aggressiveness of the Japanese, the preponderance of this one nationality which creates serious difficulties in management and renders strikes more probable, their migratory habits, the invasion of trade and the skilled and the semi-skilled occupations by Orientals, the spread of the Asiatic tenement-houses throughout the residential sections of Honolulu,

and the fear, possibly somewhat vague and formless, based on the activity of the Japanese in nearly all lines of trade and industry and on the increasing number of native-born Japanese, that the Asiatics might acquire a commercial and political control comparable to the control they now have in the field of labor—all these have united in making the conviction quite general that both the welfare of the sugar industry and the good of the state demand that heroic efforts should be made to obtain a class of immigrants who would at once form a source of labor attached to the soil and, in the end, a body of desirable citizens. These efforts were to promote the coming of men who would be laborers and men with families who would take up small farms, thus contributing at once to the development and wealth of the territory and forming a self-propagating supply of laborers upon whom the plantations could draw.

The recent strike of Japanese laborers on the Oahu plantations, in which their susceptibility to the influence of agitators, their disregard of law, their arrogant assumption of power, their attitude of self-sufficiency were brought prominently to light, has intensified the feeling that the dependence of the prosperity of the industry on this one class of labor must come to an end.

Mention should possibly be made of plans and attempts on the part of the planters to break this dominance by the importation of Porto Ricans at a time when the exclusion of the Chinese had given increased assurance to the sons of Nippon, by the advocacy of the admission again of Chinese under restrictions with penalties which provided for a limited stay, confinement to the field of unskilled labor, and the bringing in of men only, and now by the importation of Filipinos. But these are admittedly temporary and ineffectual. The controlling opinion is that the change must be deeper and more vital.

This has resulted in a demand for a white population which calls first for Americans. But the overcoming of the obstacles of distance, expenses of transportation, unexperienced tropical conditions, uncertainties about land is too slow a process. Under favorable conditions, this class will come gradually. Meanwhile, immigration of white Europeans on a large scale is being promoted. In pursuance of this policy, the Government and the industrial interests co-operated in securing the passage of a law in 1905 which created an Immigration Board. Under it 2,400 Portuguese and 2,200 Spanish were introduced at a cost of \$250,000, the funds being largely supplied by corporations. They were not brought under contract but were perfectly free to enlist as laborers or to take up public lands or to engage in any industry or to go to the coast. But a Federal statute which took effect

July 1, 1907, as interpreted, forbade contributions by corporations, directly or indirectly, to Territorial or State Boards of Immigration. Upon the suggestion practically of those upon whom its burdens will primarily fall, at the last session of the Hawaiian Legislature, a special tax of 2 per cent., in addition to a similar tax of the same amount, was imposed on all incomes over \$4,000. Three-fourths of the revenue thus secured, or about \$300,000, is to be used in promoting the immigration of desirable white settlers. This is an indication of the extent to which Hawaii will go officially in meeting this great problem which it is at present facing.

But appropriating money to import settlers and the bringing of the settlers to the Islands are but half the solution. It yet remains to place them upon the land, to provide them with favorable opportunities for work by which a living can be made and a home supported, to give their children the privilege of schools, and to surround them with such social, religious and educational influences as will mold them into acceptable citizens.

The plantations are supplementing to a degree this plan of bringing Caucasian laborers by offering favorable terms of employment to those who wish to work in the cane fields. The offer includes a proposition as usual for work at wages with house, fuel, water and medical attendance free and also and more significant, an agreement to furnish employment for \$20, \$21, \$22 per month respectively for three years, and employment for members of the family, and, during the term, free of charge, a one-acre parcel of land, a house, fuel, water and medical attendance and then to give at the end of three years of residence and work, with certain protective restrictions, a quit-claim deed of this property to the laborer.

While the willingness to pay practically a self-imposed tax of such size is important, it is more significant that the sugar interests are ready to receive these laborers on such terms as promise to change quite completely the system under which sugar cane is to be grown. Of course the plan is not new. It has been advocated for three-quarters of a century. It is evolutionary and not revolutionary. The condition of labor in the last few years, especially, has emphasized its desirability, and brought it to fuller trial on several plantations. Its success in these cases is one of the strongest arguments for its general adoption now. The working out of the plan, adapting it to present conditions, and the solving of innumerable details in administration constitute a problem which will call out the ability, tact and executive skill of the men upon whose shoulders the burden will rest. As the chief difficulties of building up the new system are artificial and

social, incident to the development of the old plantation system, a union of all the forces in the community,—governmental, educational and commercial,—will be necessary to overcome them. The significance of this change in all its promised developments which are not perhaps fully appreciated, is going to be far reaching. It will affect not only the plantation system but the civic and social life of the Islands as well.

The immigrants must be settled on the soil. The laborer must be domiciled. They must have land enough for their partial support which will give a comfortable home and occupation for the older and younger members of the family who are not able to do the heavy work of the fields. The planters will desire of course that these lands be near the plantations so that the labor will be convenient and so that the habit may be formed in the family of seeking employment in the days of their strength at the plantation.

The question at once arises where and in what way is the land to be secured. Fortunately to get this land does not mean the sacrifice of the sugar lands or any material diminution of them. In general, the uplands on which sugar is not economically grown are the best for fruits and such subsidiary products as a homesteader would wish to produce. The cane raised on the lowlands would become a plantation asset. Not to break down existing industries but to add to them is the end sought. At least three sources of help suggest themselves.

Such areas of land as lie near to the plantations which are owned by the Territorial Government should be devoted to homesteads for settlers. Under proper encouragement by the plantations, this might often result in an increase in the area of cane land for the mill, for the homesteader could often raise cane on his land and sell it to the plantation.

As one illustration of the establishment of small homes near a plantation, the use of the public land at Kalaheo for this purpose may be cited. The McBryde Sugar Company Ltd. surrendered its lease of these lands, which adjoined the plantation and which had been used for grazing, on the agreement that the land should be given out to homesteaders. The public land department made easy terms for the purchase of the five acre lots into which the land was divided. A corporation associated with the McBryde interests agreed to build homes if necessary. The plantation laid in water pipes; a fruit company subsidiary to the plantation, to encourage a secondary crop, agreed to buy the settlers' pineapples at the ruling market price. No attempt is made to force the settlers to work on the plantation, but as an inducement to do so the

plantation offers to furnish fire wood to those who are employed in any way by it.

The present administration has adopted a policy of opening up lands for settlement purposes under agreements favorable to settlers and hostile to speculators. The plantations in some cases will be called upon to provide lands for this purpose either by direct sale under certain restrictions or by long lease. The offer which the plantations are now making to this end has already been described.

The possibility of a loss of an area of land within the limits of a plantation is one of the risks to be run. But the need of ready money on the part of homesteaders whose land will not entirely support them will minimize this.

The Federal Government may be able to help by providing irrigation projects which will recover land now arid and which may then be devoted to homesteading. Director Newell of the United States Reclamation Service estimates that there are 100,000 acres of such land, capable of supporting 5,000 families. An attempt is now being made to have the Federal Reclamation Service extended to Hawaii. It is urged that Hawaii, being an integral part of the United States, properly comes within the scope of the service and that the making of homes and the building up of a white population are necessary if Hawaii is to do her full share in the family of States. The United States is building in the Islands a mid-Pacific Malta. For food and supplies and even for military assistance, behind this there should be an independent and patriotic citizen population. The very security of this naval and military base may depend upon the support to the garrison which the prosperity and loyalty of the Hawaiian people can give.

The extension of the share planting and of the cultivation contract systems on which the laborer will get a just percentage of the profits is sure to result. A plan, by which the plantations furnish the seed, expensive machinery, water, and fertilizer and the labor for the cultivation of a crop on both the plantation and outside lands, will be developed which will enlist the interest of the laborer not only in the crop under cultivation but also in the succeeding crop. A revolution will be effected in the methods of handling laborers and in plantation discipline.

Beyond the direct gain in a stable and satisfactory labor supply, there will follow many other results whose extent cannot be gauged and whose significance cannot be measured. The material increase in a crop-producing population located in groups in various parts of the Islands will necessitate a great increase in the facilities of cheap transportation for the laborer to his work and for his products both to the local market and to the mainland.

This means good roads, and railroads which will have to be built under private enterprise or government subsidy. It also means an increase in the steamships between the Islands and to the mainland. It will require more harbors,—at least one good protected harbor for each large island—the dredging and breakwaters for which will have to come from the Federal Government. That policy which is making Pearl Harbor one of the best military harbors in the world will of necessity have to include several convenient commercial harbors as corollaries to its main proposition. Cheap and quick transportation must offset the natural disadvantages of our location and of the smallness of our land areas. Factories like the pineapple canneries, will follow as a matter of course.

The change which will be wrought in the character of the public schools is to be considered. An immigrant population, brought in in families under such a plan as this, will demand many more schoolhouses both in the old localities and in the new ones around the homesteads. The expense of these and of teachers and equipment for instruction will be great but in the end will be made up by the contributions of the new people to the wealth of the territory. Every additional race will add, too, one new factor to the already complicated pedagogic problem.

The increases in the secondary population—white mechanics and tradesmen—which follow an agricultural community, in new and larger crops of tropical fruits and products, and possibly in garden truck and table delicacies which will give variety and cheapness to the table fare are all pleasant to contemplate.

The greatest significance however attaches to the change which will be effected in population. A permanent population with self-supporting homes will be established on the soil. This force will gradually gather power in numbers and influence and will reduce, though probably never eliminate, the Oriental influence. The new comers from the mainland will at once be strong factors in supporting American ideals. In the next generation at least the European immigrants will rise to a place of civil dignity and power. Together, in co-operation with elements now active, they will bring to the island territory not only commercial prosperity in varied industries but also that political security in which both the people of Hawaii and of the mainland as well are so vitally interested. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** We will now hear from Mr. A. F. JUDD, one of the leading lawyers of Honolulu.

## THE FUTURE AMERICAN CITIZEN IN HAWAII

ADDRESS OF MR. A. F. JUDD

The greatest problem that Hawaii faces to-day is that of its future American citizenship. This question engages the thoughtful attention of Americans everywhere in our country where the alien has come in any numbers. In Hawaii the problem is an urgent one, and must not be left to posterity for its solution.

Where is Hawaii's problem located? In the middle of the Pacific Ocean, 2,000 miles from North America, over 3,000 miles from Asia, on an archipelago of eight islands separated by deep channels, with an area about that of the State of New Jersey, a mountainous country with hills perpetually green, fertile valleys, dry plains conquered by irrigation, mountains 14,000 feet in elevation, rainfalls of 200 inches per annum in the tropical jungle, and desert stretches of lava wastes with no moisture, a country north of the equator and just south of the Tropic of Cancer with all the wonderful beauties of tropical color and vegetation, and a climate second to none. Hawaii is truly the fairest fleet of islands anchored in any sea.

This small area has a small population estimated at 180,000. Yet, last year it produced besides the food products locally consumed, over 500,000 tons of sugar, \$1,500,000 worth of canned pineapples and other commodities in smaller amounts. Hawaii's people are efficient in industry as this record of production shows, but half of the population, perhaps more than half, is Asiatic.

I do not have to tell you that Hawaii is an organized territory of the United States, in no sense historically or otherwise a "Possession" although it is insular, an integral part of the Union, regulating its own affairs through a local legislature, and providing for its own schools, sanitation, roads and public works with local taxation,—with a governor and judges appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate and a system of courts, federal and territorial, comparable to that of a state. Annexation was simply a step in the evolution of representative government that began early in the last century. Hawaii was American in many ways before the Spanish War brought the Stars and Stripes.

I mention these facts to suggest the apparatus, or part of the apparatus, which Hawaii has in her laboratory for the making of citizens. Our public school system is perhaps now playing the greatest part in the evolution of the future citizens. The teaching of English is a great crucible helped out by patriotic exercises and daily baseball. No finer work is being done in Hawaii to-day than that of the public school teacher.

The strong influence of the church, Catholic and Protestant in this character making is ever present and ever alert.

The non-Asiatic population may be roughly analyzed as aboriginal Hawaiians, Portuguese from the Azores and Madeiras, other Europeans and Americans with their descendants locally born.

Let me assure you that you have no reason to regret that the aboriginal Hawaiians are to-day your brother Americans. He has his limitations, chiefly due to his former isolation and his lack of racial training; but he is accommodating himself to his advanced condition to a remarkable degree. The statute books of the legislatures since annexation, in each of which the native Hawaiian has been in the majority, are books of which you may be justly proud. The Hawaiian legislator is, of course, not a paragon of virtue or of wisdom. He realizes that he is an American and since annexation has allowed no legislative steals to be perpetrated or public graft to go undiscovered and unpunished. The Hawaiian appreciates and is proud of his American citizenship.

The Portuguese and other Europeans bring strength and vigor to our body politic. These elements with the leaven of Americans, mainlanders and island-born, are living side by side with an equal number of Asiatics, Koreans, Chinese and Japanese.

I do not ask you to consider the subject of the future American citizen in Hawaii from the Hawaiian point of view nor the effect on Hawaii if the efforts now being put forth are to prove disappointing in results; but what will be the result, the reasonable result, on the American nation and on the shores of Asia to have during future generations, in Hawaii a community of patriotic, virile American citizens, homogenous in their ideas of right and wrong though originally of different bloods, jealous of their free institutions and tenacious of their privileges under the Constitution?

Hawaii is to-day the tide-rip of the Pacific where the waves of the Orient and the Occident meet in opposition. Constantinople is just such a place. The world watches Constantinople and the struggles that there take place. In a smaller measure but just as intently the same forces of East and West meet in Hawaii.

As to the Asiatic in Hawaii—I believe I can say that the American born citizen of Chinese blood in Hawaii will play his part in America's future to the satisfaction of his fellow citizen on the mainland. There are now 350 voters of this class. They form a self-respecting and respected part of our island community sharing the burdens of citizenship without complaint and exercising its privileges with credit to themselves.

The Koreans have been in Hawaii too short a time to allow us even to make a guess as to what they will add to or subtract from the desired end.

Of the 100,000 Asiatics in Hawaii it is estimated that 72,000 are Japanese. Of this number 10,000 are children. These children are not yet old enough to demonstrate what they will contribute to the Hawaii of the future. Some of them after the public schools close are sent by their parents to spend the rest of the day in Japanese schools. In the morning they sing "My Country 'tis of thee, sweet land of Liberty" and are taught to salute the flag as it is unfurled from the school flag pole; in the afternoon they sit at the feet of the Buddhist school teacher where they can look out of the open window and see the stone monument erected to the memory of the heroes of Port Arthur or the shrine in which is kept the photograph of His Imperial Majesty. Some Japanese parents send their children when five to eight years of age back to Japan to escape the American influence and to educate them as Japanese.

We can only guess what the ultimate effect is going to be on representative institutions in Hawaii of this large and strong Asiatic element; we are using every effort, we are hopeful of the future. Time will show us the results.

The Asiatic in Hawaii at the present time is vitally necessary to her prosperity. Our agricultural activities are growing apace, faster than is the population. The demand for labor is unceasing and imperative. We do not need to displace or supplant the Asiatic; but the margin of safety is now too small with so many of them. The industrial problem must be solved from the citizenship standpoint. Hawaii must have a large infusion of European stock and have it soon to make no uncertainty what her future citizenship is to be.

While it may be that the Hawaiian born Japanese will not upon attaining his majority assert his right to American citizenship, but will prefer to remain a subject of the Mikado—I for one believe that the majority of them will remain Japanese—yet if he continues to live in Hawaii (and they are fond of the islands of their birth) he will reside there as an alien with all that that means.

Hawaii needs European immigration—10,000 people a year for the next five years.

Immigration is impossible without transportation. The two subjects are inextricably connected. The flow of immigration to the islands must if possible be made automatic. The immigrant must be tied to the land. The soil must be manned. A home-owning population is what we must have or we will not have the right kind of citizen.

The public lands and other lands must be opened up and settled; again it is transportation that must be provided. The folly of opening public lands without providing first the means of marketing the products raised on the homesteads has already been amply shown in Hawaii.

The perpetuating of American citizenship in Hawaii is of national importance, if it is desirable that the most western outpost of American civilization be made American in fact, Christian in spirit, able to send a back wave of such influence to the shores of Asia.

No one will dispute but that there exists a military reason why Hawaii as the first line of defense to the Pacific Coast States should have a population predominantly American.

If this subject concerns the whole nation, the nation should not forget little Hawaii. Give us ships. The nation is already giving us harbors. Give us ships under the Stars and Stripes for those harbors, so that we may get the necessary population to our shores. Do this before it is too late. Give us who live in Hawaii a chance to complete the work already begun by allowing us to have the necessary reinforcement in this work of citizen making. (Applause.)

The island of Hawaii has much unopened country which will remain virtually closed until railroads are built. Capital unaided hesitates. The territory is prohibited by the Organic Act from assisting the building of such an enterprise. Our incoming peoples must be placed on the land and be afforded transportation to markets. It is my belief that Congress should allow the Hawaiian Legislature, under restrictions, to further the building of railroads so that this may be done.

Little Hawaii in her strategic position as the western outpost of the nation, jealous of the control of her local affairs, wants to do her share and carry her part of the nation's responsibilities.

She has already given much to the dependent races, Bingham to the Gilbertese in the South Seas, Armstrong to the American negro.

Her problem to-day is different from what it was. Help us to perpetuate forever in the Islands of the west those ideas and ideals which inspired both Bingham and Armstrong and which make the American Nation what it is to-day. (Applause.)

Mr. W. K. MAKAKOA, of New York, a pure-blood Hawaiian, greatly entertained the Conference at this point by several Hawaiian songs, accompanying himself on a Hawaiian native instrument, the uku-lele.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** There is now opportunity for five minute speeches from the floor, on the subject of Hawaii. The chair recognizes Dr. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, of Washington, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau.

**Dr. W. F. CRAFTS:** In this last session of the Conference, let us remind ourselves that one of the prime purposes of these Conferences is to inform and arouse and express public sentiment in behalf of needed Congressional legislation. In my view, this Conference is the Committee on Dependent Peoples of the "Third House." The first House has been represented here by its eminent presiding officer, the Vice-President. The second House has been represented in the speeches of Congressmen Cocks and Driscoll. And now let all the non-official part of this audience acquit themselves, as members of the third House, by rallying support for all pending bills that are in harmony with the Mohonk spirit. One of these is a bill that has a tragic interest to-night because its author, Senator Johnson, died yesterday. In the passage of his bill, designed to save the Hawaiians from extermination by the white man's drink, we may continue his beneficial career. The Johnson Bill provides for the restoration of the prohibition of liquor selling in Hawaii which prevailed for fifty years under the native government, which was also voted by the House of Representatives in the Enabling Act, but which was lost in Conference Committee. Prohibition would be in accord with the action of Congress in providing twenty-one years of prohibition for Indian Territory when it was about to become a part of the new State of Oklahoma. The Hawaiian and other evangelical churches in their last annual meeting, and the Anti-Saloon League's agents, favor it with a repealing clause added to make sure the contrary provision in the Enabling Act shall be cancelled. Some politicians, of course, oppose the proposed action with the cry of "home rule," but all these years since annexation good men have asked the territorial legislature in vain for laws that will safeguard the Hawaiians against drink, and now they "appeal to Caesar." Let us all friends of dependent peoples support the Johnson Bill to prohibit liquor selling in Hawaii.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** Is there further discussion? Mr. JAMES TALCOTT, of New York, is recognized.

**Mr. JAMES TALCOTT:** The trying situation in which Hawaii finds herself on account of the lack of American ships should, it seems to me, emphasize the need that pressure be brought to bear on Congress favoring a merchant marine for this country.

Our political parties are striving to increase our exports; yet we have to call upon Europe to furnish ships in which to carry our merchandise. In the early history of our country, the Presidents and the Congress realized the need of ships, particularly in case of war, Congress gave assistance to American shipping and a substantial merchant marine was built up, which, however, has now dwindled until we are without one. We on the mainland, as well as the Hawaiians, need ships, and I hope this Conference will do what it can to encourage Congress to meet the need.

Rev. D. P. BIRNIE: Will Mr. Judd explain to us briefly the peculiar conditions under which the Hawaiians labor in this matter of American shipping?

Mr. A. F. JUDD: Briefly, people on the mainland who want to get to Honolulu cannot get bookings on the steamers, and after they get to Honolulu they cannot get away. The law is that a man can only travel from one American port to another on a vessel carrying the American flag, the penalty for violation being \$200. It is a good law and I believe in it, but we want more ships that carry the American flag. It has been suggested that our community is divided on the question. We have asked Congress to suspend the coastwise law. I, personally, think no exception should be made. We are just as good Americans there as you are in New York State. We want no exemption. That is the element of the community that I side with. Nor do we want legislation from Congress prohibiting the saloon; we do not want the saloon, but we want to stop it ourselves! We want to control our internal affairs. You cannot expect us to attain full American citizenship if you take from us our independence of action. Our situation there is extremely complicated. Give us a chance to work out our own destiny and our own local affairs. We have men who can do it. We have handled revolutions, insurrections, plague, fire and cholera—and we intend to handle this question of American citizenship. I think we can do it. (Applause.)

Rev. PAUL DE SCHWEINITZ: May I ask Mr. Judd whether the Asiatic inhabitants of the Island can become voting citizens,—that is, the Japanese and Chinese?

Mr. JUDD: Those born there, yes; but not those immigrating from away. The situation is not at all different what it is in New York. The Chinese and Japanese you have here, but they cannot become naturalized unless born in this country when, if they choose, they may become American citizens.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there further discussion? If there is no objection, the general discussion will now close. The Chair hears no objection.

At this point, Mrs. J. T. BERGEN, of Dubuque, Iowa, a talented soloist, delightfully entertained the Conference with several songs, including some of her own composition.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed to the closing exercises of the Conference, I will ask the Secretary if there is any unfinished business.

THE SECRETARY: At the request of the Business Committee, I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, "That this Conference suggests that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs be asked to take under advisement the calling of a meeting of physicians and of other interested scientific persons for the purpose of considering the health and vital statistics of the Indian tribes."

The question was put, and the motion was unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair has a few words to say as we near the end of the Conference.

#### CLOSING REMARKS OF THE CHAIRMAN

Fifty years ago or more, Arnold Guyot, the great geographer, in his lectures on Earth and Man, traced the great history of continents and oceans, through the ages in which the world was clothed with vegetable life and peopled with animal life, and through the ages in which man appeared and the races of men, till the more favored peoples rose to civilization with its ordered governments, its arts and institutions, its science and religion. He showed a world in which the tribes of men, spread abroad over all the great land areas, show the most civilized and the most savage peoples, living as contemporaries and indeed as neighbors. Then, passing from the scientific survey to the highest moral conclusions, he gave eloquent expression to the belief that the more advanced of peoples and races are charged with a sacred duty of uplifting those that have been retarded and put to disadvantage.

The sense of such racial obligation and opportunity has overshadowed this Conference. We have seen a vision of world-education—not merely the education of the children of a family by their parents and instructors, not merely the education which the schools of a nation give to the youth of the nation, but the

education which the peoples of the civilized world give to the more backward peoples of the world. We have seen nations as the teachers of nations and races as the teachers of other races. Back of all other considerations, economic, political, humanitarian, has been the recurring and persistent endeavor, the half-conscious but unremitting endeavor, to frame this wider definition of teaching. Health, schooling, and industry have been among the leading themes. But to the student of educational theory and practice, every session from first to last has been engaged in a restatement of fundamental educational doctrines.

How may an enlightened people shorten the way by which their less fortunate fellows may come to enlightenment? How may we avoid the danger of shortening that process overmuch, so that only the appearance of success is gained, while the essential character of the pupil remains unchanged? How may the new learning join hands with the old heritage of the learner, take hold upon his inborn character, and itself become modified in the process? The wise teacher of nations will expect to be taught while she teaches. We may present to a backward race the ideal of modern civilization; but the ideal will be changed by the attempt to set it forth to others. The most backward pupil has a contribution of his own to make. The ultimate ideal of humanity is to be an ideal which all men have helped to frame. "Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?"

So the nation that has the most of teaching laid upon it is a fortunate and honored nation. Do we undertake to lead our own Indians, negroes, and Eskimo to a higher life, and with them Hawaiians, Malays, and other families of unlettered humanity? The effort to teach will be good for our souls, and our pupils will pay us school fees, every one of them, in the shape of precious views of nature, art, and life, which race experience, different from our own, has taught them well. Let us not be too quick to dismiss any of our dark-skinned dependents, even those in the Philippines. There are rewards for a patient teacher which are never held out to him at the beginning of his task.

Mr. Smiley has brought us here together with his inimitable hospitality, that we might consider these large thoughts. In the spring another group comes at his call to speak together of international arbitration. The two themes are one, and together they embrace well nigh the largest, hardest and most rewarding inquiries that can be put forth regarding human life upon this earth. The nations are to understand one another through learning to share in common ideals, common purposes. But the common aims

of modern civilization are best learned by teaching them to backward peoples, and they are changed and enriched in the course of such teaching. When all of the nations and races of men have helped one another to make and to learn the ideals of our common life on earth, the nations will understand one another, and the occasion of war will cease.

Nevertheless, the way is still long and difficult. Our heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Smiley for bringing us up into the mountain to speak of these things, is joined with admiration for the wisdom which prompts him to give a hearing to all sides, that no part of the lesson may be lost. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** I am informed that, on behalf of us all, Mr. William H. McElroy, of New York, has a certain resolution to present.

**Mr. WILLIAM H. McELROY:** I present the following minute, and I move its adoption:

"The members of the Twenty-seventh Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples desire to place on record an appreciation of the loving kindness with which they have been begirt during this week. We gratefully bear witness that Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Smiley have been unremitting in their attentions and have left nothing undone which would have contributed to our comfort or enjoyment. Their genius for hospitality of the broad-gauge sort harmonizes with their genius for practical philanthropy, which is but another way of saying that as hosts and hostesses they have met the best expectations of the most exacting. Out of full hearts, we thank each and every one of them."

"We congratulate Mr. Albert K. Smiley that his long labors on behalf of the Indians have been crowned with such a large measure of success: we trust that many, many years are before him in which he can contemplate the beneficent results of his good fight for the Red-man and in which, too, he will render equally efficient and faithful services in behalf of other dependent peoples. Lake Mohonk long ago came to be known as one of the great moral citadels of our country: may it in all the future be an ever increasing power for the promotion of peace and the uplifting of humanity." (Applause.)

**Rev. Dr. WALLACE MACMULLEN**, of New York, in an eloquent speech, seconded the motion of Mr. McElroy, after which Mr. McElroy spoke again to the subject, favoring the audience with some happy remarks befitting the occasion.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** It is moved and seconded that the minute proposed by Mr. McElroy be adopted. All in favor will please rise. It is unanimously adopted,—and without your help, Mr. Smiley.

### CLOSING REMARKS OF MR. ALBERT K. SMILEY

I have been laughed at many times in past years because at the close of each year's Conference, I have usually called it the best Conference we have ever had. This year I must be laughed at again; for I *sincerely* think *this* is the best Conference we have ever had. (Laughter and Applause.) I do not remember a Conference so uniformly good. We have had many admirable papers, on a high plane, in splendid language, from men who knew exactly what they were saying. I doubt if we ever had so fine a collection of addresses at any other of our meetings. I have been immensely pleased with the way in which this whole Conference has been conducted and I feel greatly obliged to you for coming here.

Now, we always expect to hold these Conferences. The time will come, when the Indian question will not require much attention; but probably the Philippine question and the Porto Rican question will require attention for a long time; and there will doubtless be new problems needing discussion. Of course, I realize the limitations of life, and I am looking forward to the time when these Conferences will fall into other hands. I feel sure in my own mind that they will be carried on just as well when I am gone as now, because my brother and his wife are deeply interested in them, they have children who will help them,—and they also have a grandchild. This property will be turned over to them with the confident hope and expectation that this mountain top and this house will continue to be a centre of influence in the elevation of the world. (Applause.) All this makes me feel very happy.

When we close a Conference, I always feel sad. The three days we have been together in Conference have been some of the happiest days of my life. I thank you heartily for your kind resolution, and especially for your presence. (Applause.)

**THE CHAIRMAN:** After singing "God be with You Till We Meet Again," the Conference will stand adjourned, without day.

### MEMBERS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE

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- ABBOTT, REV. ERNEST H. and MRS., *The Outlook*, New York.  
 ABBOTT, REV. DR. LYMAN and MISS ABBOTT, *The Outlook*, New York.  
 AGOSA, ROBERT D., Traverse City, Mich.  
 ALLEN, J. WESTON and MRS., 336 Tremont Bldg., Boston.  
 ANDERSON, REV. DR. JOSEPH and MRS., Woodmont, Conn.  
 ANDREWS, HON. CHARLES and MRS., Syracuse, N. Y.  
 ARMSTRONG, HON. ROBERT B. and MRS., Majestic Bldg., Chicago.  
 ATTERTBURY, REV. DR. W. W., 17 East 38th St., New York.  
 AUMAN, BRIGADIER-GENERAL WILLIAM and MRS., 414 Delaware Ave., Buffalo.  
 AUSTIN, MRS. L. C., 891 Prospect St., Cleveland.  
 AYRES, LEONARD P., 9202 Metropolitan Bldg., New York.  
  
 BALDWIN, MRS. M. L., Indian Office, Washington, D. C.  
 BANNIN, HON. MICHAEL E. and MRS., 83 Worth St., New York.  
 BARROWS, MRS. ISABEL C., 101 Central Avenue, Tompkinsville, N. Y.  
 BEARDSLEY, J. W. and MRS., Cortland, N. Y.  
 BERGEN, MRS. J. T., 105 Alpine St., Dubuque, Iowa.  
 BIRNIE, REV. DOUGLAS P. and MRS., Rye, N. Y.  
 BLAKESLEE, GEORGE H., Clark University, Worcester, Mass.  
 BLANCHARD, REV. DR. JOSEPH N. and MRS., Madison, N. J.  
 BROOKE, RT. REV. F. K., Oklahoma City, Okla.  
 BROSIUS S. M., 908 G. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.  
 BROWN, HON. ELMER ELLSWORTH and MRS., Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.  
 BROWN, WILLIAM L. and MRS., Copyright Office, Washington, D. C.  
 BRUCE, REV. JAMES M. and MRS., 201 West 55th St., New York.  
 BURKS, DR. J. D. and MRS., Bureau of Municipal Research, 634 Real Estate Trust Bldg., Philadelphia.  
  
 CAPEN, DR. EDWARD WARREN and MRS., Jamaica Plain, Mass.  
 CHENEY, MRS. B. P., Elm Bank, Wellesley, Mass.  
 CLARK, JOHN W. and MRS., National Indian Assn., 156 Fifth Ave., New York.  
 CLARKSON, BANYER and MRS., 20 West 55th St., New York.  
 COAN, DR. TITUS M., 70 Fifth Ave., New York.  
 COCKS, HON. W. W., Old Westbury, L. I.  
 COLLINS, MISS MARY C., 612 N. 13th St., Keokuk, Iowa.  
 COLL Y CUCHI, CAYETANO, San Juan, P. R.  
 CONANT, DR. THOMAS O., *The Examiner*, New York.  
 COOK, MISS EMILY S., Indian Office, Washington, D. C.  
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