

elections, to choose members of a Constitutional Convention, and the convention, by the same order, is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantee to the people of Cuba.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States, and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson.

ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT.

A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation. The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island.

While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, Congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on May 1, eighty-five per cent. of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining fifteen per cent. on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier if the Legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government. During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of fifteen per cent. of the rates under the Dingley act, and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate.

The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the Government of Porto Rico and no part thereof is taken by the National Government. All of the duties from November 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the

sum of \$2,250,523.21, paid at the Custom House in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above mentioned act of Congress, have gone into the Treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this we have made expenditures for relief, education and improvement.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question, and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, President McKinley presents at some length in excerpts from his messages and other state papers, the events of importance leading up to the present situation, and then says of the Filipinos:

"Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, nor for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization, and for the protection of the vast majority of the population who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army, was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

WHAT WAS TO BE DONE?

"Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, despatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port of the Orient was open to it? Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practical moment?

"And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war?

Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate of the United States?

"There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified, no power but Congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The Congress has not seen fit to do one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either if he had been so inclined, which he was not. So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty, and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

THE REAL ISSUE.

"With all the exaggerated phrase-making of this electoral contest we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention. We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

"It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

"Are our opponents against the treaty? If so they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty and

the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

"Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should promptly be disclaimed for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos, that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago; the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized and the powers of government over all the other people of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

RUSHING US ON TO WAR.

"There were those who, two years ago, were rushing us on to war with Spain, who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequence, as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treaties must keep them.

"Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is a rock upon which the Republican party was built, and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war, and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars were expended to make it a lawful legacy of all, without the consent of master or slave.

"If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln, there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions at home or their rightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats. Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the Republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the Republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessing of liberty, education

and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy and imperialism?

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

"The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to as already defined.

"Not only have we reason for thanksgiving for our material blessings, but we should rejoice in the complete unification of the people of all sections of our country that has so happily developed in the last few years and made for us a more perfect Union.

"The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag and the common sacrifices for its honor, so conspicuously shown by the men of the North and the South in the Spanish war, have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever divide us. The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions and with high resolve that they 'shall not perish from the earth.'

"Very respectfully yours,

"WILLIAM MCKINLEY."

It was universally conceded that in this letter Mr. McKinley had furnished a masterly statement of the political condition of our country. It was the thoughtful estimate of a statesman and a patriot—one who loved his country and rejoiced in her prosperity. His statements were gratifying to all parts of the land. He paid a high and merited compliment to the soldiers of every section who sprang to arms at the outbreak of our war with Spain.

His knowledge of the interior condition and prospects of our commercial trade enabled him to speak with authority upon these points and his language was reassuring. It was a message of good cheer to the nation,

PRINCIPAL EVENTS DURING PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

1897.

Inaugurated March 4.

Fifty-fifth Congress convened March 15.

A new Extradition Treaty between the United States and Brazil signed at Rio, May 16.

Dingley Tariff law passed, July 24.

Attorney-General Joseph McKenna, of California, appointed to the Supreme Bench, December 16.

1898.

City of Greater New York inaugurated, January 1.

J. W. Griggs, of New Jersey, Attorney-General, January 25.

Meeting of the National Monetary Convention at Indianapolis to devise currency reform, January 25.

The battleship Maine destroyed in Havana harbor, February 15.

Congress appropriates \$50,000,000 for national defence, March 8.

Congress recognizes Cuban independence, April 16.

War declared against Spain, April 21.

Resignation of John Sherman, Secretary of State, April 25.

Dewey destroys the Spanish fleet at Manila, May 1.

Lieutenant Hobson sinks the "Merrimac," June 3.

Cervera's squadron destroyed off Santiago, July 3.

Hawaii annexed to the United States, July 6.

Treaty of peace signed with Spain, December 10.

1899.

Flag raised over Guam, February 1.

Treaty of peace with Spain ratified by Senate, February 6.

First encounter between Americans and Filipinos, February 4.

Peace Conference at the Hague, May 18.

Resignation of Russell A. Alger, Secretary of War, July 19.

Elihu Root appointed Secretary of War, July 22.

Thomas B. Reed resigns his place in Congress, August 22.

The Venezuela award made, October 3.

A modus vivendi anent the Alaskan boundary dispute adopted, October 12.

Samoan treaty signed, December 2.

Lawton killed in the Philippines, December 19.

1900.

The United States Senate ratified the Samoan treaty, January 16.

President McKinley signed the gold standard bill, March 14.

Foraker Porto Rican Act passed by Congress, April 12.

Chinese begin their attacks on the Legations in Pekin, June 19.

McKinley renominated at Philadelphia, June 21.

The allies capture Pekin, August 14.

John Sherman died, October 22.

A convention to frame a constitution for Cuba began its sessions at Havana, November 5.

McKinley re-elected, November 6.

Ministers of the powers in Pekin sign a joint note, December 22.

1901.

Hopkins reapportionment bill defeated, January 8.

Incorporation of the billion dollar Steel Trust, February 23.

Death of William M. Evarts, February 28.

The adoption of the Platt Amendment, February 28.

President McKinley's second Inauguration, March 4.

Death of former President Harrison, March 13.

Capture of Aguinaldo, March 23.

President McKinley started on his Western tour April 20.

Western tour abandoned because of Mrs. McKinley's ill health, May 12.

Pan-American Exposition opened at Buffalo, May 1.

Supreme Court's decision on the Insular Cases, May 27.

President McKinley positively refused to be a candidate for a third term, June 11.

President McKinley arrived at Buffalo and made his famous address at the Pan-American Exposition, September 5.

Assassinated, September 6.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S LIFE IN BRIEF.

1843—Born at Niles, Trumbull county, O., January 29.

1861—Enlisted in Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry at the age of eighteen.

1865—Mustered out of service with rank of Captain and Brevet Major.

1869 to 1871—Prosecuting Attorney of Stark county.

1879—Elected to Fifty-fifth Congress.

1888—Refused to allow his name to be presented for the Presidency, and held Ohio delegation for Senator John Sherman.

1889—Became Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and drafted McKinley tariff bill.

1890—Defeated for re-election to Congress.

1891—Retired from Congress March 4.

1891—Elected Governor of Ohio.

1893—Re-elected Governor of Ohio.

1896—Nominated for President and elected by a plurality of 814,831.

1897—Inaugurated President March 4.

1900—Re-nominated and re-elected President by a plurality of 832,280.

1901—Inaugurated President for second term March 4.

1901—Shot down by an assassin at Buffalo, September 6.

1901—Died at Buffalo, September 14.

1901—Obsequies at Buffalo, at Washington and Canton, September 15, 17 and 19.

The pathetic circumstances of the death of President McKinley, the simple manliness with which he faced "the doom we dread," the infinite cruelty and appalling injustice of his assassination and the profound sympathy felt for his invalid wife make it difficult if not impossible to speak of the career of the dead ruler with the moderation of the careful historian. The critical spirit is dumb in the presence of the dead who die for the nation, as McKinley died. In the hours of dire foreboding and of physical pain, as when he became conscious of the inevitable end, he was the patient, uncomplaining and brave man who meets

the worst without bravado but also without fear, and who accepts the decree of death as the will of Heaven. At no time in his varied and successful career had his character seemed so admirable as in the last trying hours.

THE THREE MARTYRED PRESIDENTS.

The careers of no public men better represent the possibilities of American life than those of the three Presidents who have fallen at the hands of assassins. All were poor boys with no other aids to ambition than their own qualities of character. In his amiable frailties as a public man not less than in his strongest attributes the President whose death we mourn was a representative American. Born in Ohio where the streams of trans-Allegheny migration from North and South met and commingled and political agitation was ceaseless, at a time when the overshadowing sectional question pressed for final settlement, and having been educated chiefly in the public schools, where all the influence was democratic, it was natural and almost inevitable that the first ambition of the young man William McKinley should be political.

He demonstrated the depth and sincerity of his youthful patriotism by enlisting as a private soldier in the volunteer army for the preservation of the Union. In that service he revealed an amiability of temperament which easily won the votes of his fellows in favor of his promotion and assured the popularity of his later years. He was a friendly man, and he loved his fellow men.

At the time when as a young lawyer William McKinley entered actively into politics party lines were strongly drawn. Not to be a Republican was almost to be a traitor in the eyes of the leaders of "Ben" Wade's type. It would have been peculiar if young McKinley had been less devoted to his party or less submissive to its decrees. The spirit of that time continued to influence his political actions throughout his lifetime, and it will account for the degree to which the President was willing to recede from his own opinion whenever it was opposed by the aggressive leaders of his party.

CHAPTER IX.

Story of the Assassination of President McKinley—Graphic Picture of the Tragic Act—The Assassin Caught and Roughly Handled—Public Indignation and Horror.

FIVE minutes before the appalling tragedy that ended the life of the President, the dense crowd was in the most cheerful humor, in the Temple of Music, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo. The police had experienced no trouble of any kind, and when the President's carriage, containing besides the Chief Executive, President Milburn of the Pan-American Exposition, and Private Secretary Cortelyou drove up to the side entrance of the Temple, it was met by a mighty salute of cheers and applause.

The three gentlemen alighted, and were escorted to the door of the building. Immediately the carriage containing Secret Service Operatives, George Foster and S. R. Ireland, drove up and these detectives, with several other Secret Service men, entered the building together. Inside they were met by Director General Buchanan, who had arrived but a moment before, and he directed them as to where to stand.

In passing to the place, the President took off his hat and smiled pleasantly to a little group of newspaper men and to the guards which had been stationed in the place. To one of the reporters he spoke, smilingly, saying: "It is much cooler in here isn't it?" The interior of the building had been arranged for the purpose. From the main entrance, which opens to the southeast from the Temple on the wide esplanade, where the thousands had gathered, an aisle had been made through the rows of seats in the building to near the centre.

This aisle was about eight feet wide, and turned near the centre to the southwest door of the temple, so that there was a passage dividing the south part of the structure into a right