

## JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER

**J**ONATHAN PRENTISS DOLLIVER, American Republican congressman and lawyer, was born near Kingwood Preston Co., Va., Feb. 6, 1858. In 1875, he graduated from the West Virginia University and was admitted to the Bar in 1878. He was elected to the fifty-first Congress as a Republican representative from the tenth congressional district of Iowa, and was also a member of the House in the 52d, 53d, 54th, and 56th Congresses. In July, 1900, he was appointed to succeed the late Hon. J. H. Gear, in the United States Senate, and took his seat in that body Dec. 3, 1900. His home is at Fort Dodge, Ia.

### ON PORTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 27, 1900

**T**HIS bill, which is a temporary measure—and I will advise the House will be so declared in an amendment to be offered by the committee—aims simply to provide a revenue for the island of Puerto Rico. Yet it has been magnified by this debate in a strange way to include the whole problem of our government of the possessions that have come to us under the treaty of Paris as a result of the war with Spain.

The President of the United States in his annual message recommended that Congress should abolish all customs tariffs between Puerto Rico and the United States, and should admit their products to our markets without duty. The argument upon which the President's recommendation was based, was drawn mainly, I may say entirely, from a consideration of the position in which the people of Puerto Rico have been placed by our disturbance of their connection

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with Spain and by the unfortunate experience of flood and storm through which nearly the whole of the island has recently passed. It was evidently the purpose of the President, and the only purpose which he had, to do something to give that people a chance to rebuild its fallen fortunes and to begin anew its commercial and industrial life. Now, notwithstanding the abuse that has been heaped upon this bill on this floor and in the public press, I undertake to say that it does in substance exactly what the President had in mind to do.

At the same time it keeps account of the fact that whatever form of government is finally established in the island of Puerto Rico will, from the beginning, stand in exigent need of money to pay its expenses and to provide for the education and material development of the community. . . .

We have been accused of a conspiracy to rob and to levy tribute upon a helpless and unfortunate people. We have been charged with "treating Puerto Rico as an orange to be squeezed," and the intimation has been thrown out to the public that this Government proposes to appropriate the juice, when in point of fact we are simply fixing a nominal rate of duties for the sole purpose of guaranteeing a working revenue for the necessary uses of the Puerto Rican government for the time being, until it has prepared and put in operation a fiscal system of its own.

It will be seen, therefore, that the committee has done in substance exactly what the President recommended should be done. We have given to these people the least burdensome method of taxation that can be devised.

The open door of Asia, through which the enlightened community of American business, North and South, looks forward to broaden with the centuries—that is the larger

question that is on trial here. We are in the Philippine Islands under circumstances known and read of all men. Our going there was not an act of statesmanship; it was not an act of partisan policy. It was an act of war, a step in the strategy of a military campaign, a fruit of victory presented to the American people by our great Admiral in Asia when his day's work in the harbor at Manila was done. . . . .

Nobody blames us for putting an end to the sovereignty of Spain, and even Mr. Bryan has been careful not to demand the withdrawal of our army, leaving the islands to their fate; yet he appears to reject the only two propositions in connection with the subject that, according to my friend from Missouri (Mr. De Armond), have any sense in them, namely: That we shall stay there as in duty bound by the treaty, and administer their affairs; or that we shall leave them, notwithstanding the treaty, and let them work out their own salvation.

The proposition which Mr. Bryan makes concedes that without us the islands would become a prey to those nations which are accustomed to protect the interests of their people in the out-of-the-way places of the world. He therefore asks us to first recognize the government of an insurgent tribe, representing only a small minority of the population of the islands, to commit the sovereignty which we acquired from Spain and which we hold in trust for several millions of people, embracing over sixty tribes, to the dictatorship of the military chieftains of a single one, and then stand off at our own expense with our Army and Navy, responsible for all that follows, but without a vestige of authority to direct the course of affairs. I undertake to say that in the whole history of the world no such blatant stupidity has ever masqueraded for wisdom, even in the leadership of a forlorn political hope.

It may be set down for sure that, whatever else happens, this clumsy and unmanageable thing will not happen. If we go, we will take our baggage with us, leaving the police duties of civilization, after our ignominious default of our treaty obligations, to be performed by the nations interested. If we stay, we will stay in our own right, exercising the functions of our own Government, deriving our authority from the treaty which defines our responsibility.

My own conviction, strengthened by months of solicitous inquiry and confirmed in the unanimous report of the official board whose report has just been laid before Congress is that we can not leave the Philippine Islands without surrendering the national character, without disowning the sacrifices we have made, without turning our backs on the mission of the Republic among the nations of the world. Our Navy is there, still glorious in the renown of its great sailors; our Army is there, patient and uncomplaining amid the hardships of a strange land; our flag is there, with no stain upon it except the blood of the brave men who have died in its defense.

No American army ever volunteered for a service more arduous; none ever had a better right to look to their countrymen at home for encouragement and sympathy; none ever earned a higher title to the love of a generous people. In camp and garrison, on the march and in the field, in the tangle of swamps and over the passes of untraveled mountains they have borne the flag of the American Republic—that flag which never yet stood and never can stand for anything except the liberty of men.

That little army of volunteers stayed in the service nearly a year after the term of their enlistment had expired. When the returning regiments came back they were welcomed with

all the signs of public honor in every city and village from San Francisco to their homes, and the President of the United States did not think it below the dignity of his office to leave this capital and go out to meet the men who had served the nation, take each one of them by the hand, and speak to him in words of appreciation and gratitude.

With gracious sympathy he consoled the sorrow of those whose loved ones had fallen in battle or died in the hospitals of disease, and in the presence of the living he comforted broken hearts with this sentiment, native to the feelings of kindly and patriotic men everywhere, "They died on the altar of their country." A few days later the Omaha World-Herald, Mr. Bryan's personal organ in Nebraska, printing the Associated Press cable containing General Otis's official list of the dead and wounded (I have a copy of the paper before me), set over it, in jest and mimicry of the President's gentle words, this infamous headline: "Still dying on 'the altar,'" and then follows the pathetic roll of our poor boys fallen in a land of strangers in the discharge of a soldier's duty.

I have been accused of calling men traitors, though I never did. I give every man the same right to his views that I claim for myself. I have been accused of calling men copperheads, though I never did. I recognize every man's right to his own opinions. But if I had done so in a case like this, I would apologize to the old rebels of the South and the old copperheads of the North, for I declare here that political degradation never before fell so low as to turn into jest and ridicule the death reports of the army either North or South.

A few days ago in this city, in a stately ceremonial, his comrades carried to Arlington the bravest of the brave. It was he who, at the time when the printing presses of Amer-

ica were busy with deeds of valor furnished in manuscript by gentlemen who performed them, standing before the multitude at Macon, could only say, "I am not an orator; I am a soldier. I am not a hero; I am a Regular."

What right have people living under the shelter of our laws to embitter the service of a man like that as he rides under unfriendly skies, careless even of his life, at the head of an American command? Is it not a shame that this old soldier, who for forty years had obeyed the orders of this Government, receiving hardly enough to support his family and educate his children, with no ambition except to do his duty, should in his last great campaign hear messages from home so filled with banter and criticism and reproach that his heart sank within him, and in his agony of spirit, seeing the shadow upon him, he wrote the words I am about to read?

I wish to God that this whole Philippine situation could be known by every one in America as I know it. If the real history, inspiration, and conditions of this insurrection, and the influences, local and external, that now encourage the enemy, as well as the actual possibilities of these islands and peoples and their relations to this great East could be understood at home, we would hear no more talk of unjust "shooting of government" into the Filipinos or of hauling down our flag in the Philippines.

If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground, and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here. If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observation confirmed by captured prisoners that the continuance of the fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.

Standing by the grave of Henry W. Lawton, I appeal to the patriotic millions of my countrymen without regard to politics to put an end to the pestilent fire in the rear which for nearly two years has followed our Army in the Philippines, filling the hearts of our own soldiers with despair and the hearts of their enemy with comfort and good cheer.

It will require no extraordinary wisdom on our part to give to the Philippine Islands a freer government than Thomas Jefferson gave to Louisiana, or James Monroe, by means of the dictatorship of bluff old Andrew Jackson, gave to the Floridas. And if we manage to keep as close to the Constitution of the United States as the men kept who saw it made and helped to put it in operation, we may expect to live through the storm of pedantic criticism which now fills the air of both Houses of Congress.

My friend from Texas (Mr. Bailey), with the Dred Scott decision before him, finds no power in Congress to acquire territory, except for the purpose of making new States out of it. But again and again Chief Justice Marshall declared that the power to make war and the power to make treaties, each of them, includes the power to acquire and govern territory.

These powers are of the essence of political sovereignty. Can absurdity go any further than to claim that in entering into a war the Government is required to stop in the field, and inquire into the fitness of territory to be used as raw material for States? It is at liberty to exercise the rights that belong to a war-making power. Besides all this, it is evident to anyone who carefully peruses the debates incident to the Louisiana treaty that there was more doubt about the right of the Government to make States out of that territory than there was about the right of Mr. Jefferson to

acquire it, even after he himself had sought in vain for constitutional authority to do so.

Fortunately for mankind, he was not a constitutional lawyer; but he had an intuitive foresight which enabled him to feel and know the inner springs of the national development. . . .

Every year since I have been a member of this House I have gone at least once to the library of the State Department to look upon the original draft of the Declaration in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson, with its erasures and interlineations. By its side, also in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting, is the rude drawing of the monument which he desired to be erected to his memory, together with the inscription which he wished to have carved upon it. He asked to be remembered, first of all, as the author of the Declaration of Independence, a title surely to an immortality which belongs to only a few of the great names of history.

I yield to no man in my reverence for that handwriting, and the only favor I have to ask of those gentlemen who are now using that document to waylay the progress of civil liberty in the earth is to concede to the author of the Declaration of Independence at least the same right to interpret it and apply its meaning in practical affairs which they arrogate to themselves; for no sooner had Mr. Jefferson established the Territorial government of Louisiana than this exact question arose.

The consent of the inhabitants was neither sought nor obtained; and even before the President had entered upon the task of administering their local government, memorials began to pour in upon both Houses of Congress protesting against the despotism which had been established. There were Frenchmen and Spaniards, frontiersmen, and Indian

tribes, and in the shadow of every settlement and garrison there crouched a figure which in years to come was to play a bloody part in the tragedy of the national affliction—the abject and pitiable figure of the negro slave.

The petitioners quoted the Declaration of Independence in the face of the man who wrote it, and, strange to say, one of their grievances was that the act of Congress had cut them off from the blessings of the slave trade. Their complaints, while without effect on the policy of the Government, did not fail to excite the sympathy of men who concealed their malice against the Administration in their noisy declamations on the subject of human liberty. . . .

The experience of the last two years has given the American people a national ideal from which it is not possible to fall away—an ideal shaped in the ministry of the Son of Man, in obedience to which every human life becomes a sacrament of help and mercy, and every true national life stands willing to pour itself out in the service of mankind.

The great nations of the world are the nations that bear the heavy burdens of the world—these are the great nations upon whose shoulders are laid the heavy responsibilities and the appointed duties of these passing centuries. Every man knows with what motive the American people broke the peace of the world, and the time is coming when every man shall know with what motive we have taken up these burdens which are not our own. I do not believe that the American Republic will be allowed to fail in the midst of its duties, honestly and manfully trying to perform them.

In the masterpieces of prose fiction you remember that on the day of Waterloo the Supreme Equity which is in the heavens, enters a decree that in the nineteenth century there is no longer room for Napoleon the Great; that the time has come to make an end of his affairs. That is the

gleam of a lofty imagination, but there is in the heart of the American people the steady light of a faith more sublime even than that, a faith in the greatness of our country, a faith in the future of humanity, a faith in the divine guidance which has watched over the national life from its infancy unto this hour.

It is not hard to see the dangers that beset us; it is not hard to point out the cares that are upon us; it is not hard to fill the future with the creations of doubt and uncertainty and fear; but none of these things can move us if in the midst of all dangers and all burdens and all doubts and fears we recognize the hand of God, stretched forth from the stars, touching the American Republic upon the shoulder and giving it a high commission to stand in the arena of the world's great affairs, living no longer to itself alone, but in willing submission to the divine appointment, ready at last to become the faithful servant even of the lowliest and most helpless of His children.

We have heard it said that the days of the Republic are numbered. Such a speech belongs to the blackness of the darkness of a past generation. The old Union army made it possible for us and our children to live in an atmosphere no longer overshadowed by that awful dread. Whatever may be in store for us, whatever political party may rise or fall, this Government shall live to scatter the riches of human liberty to races yet uncivilized and to nations yet unborn.

I believe in the United States of America; I back the old Republic of our fathers against the world; nor since Abraham Lincoln fell in the midst of duties far more arduous than ours has there been upon the helm of our affairs a steadier, wiser, kindlier, braver hand than the hand of William McKinley, president of the United States.