

## GIVE THEM A HEARING.

Full text of the Memorial of Charles Francis Adams, Andrew Carnegie, Carl Schurz, Edwin Burritt Smith and Herbert Welsh, to the Congress of the United States, presented in the Senate on the 17th of June, 1902, by Senator Lodge and referred to the committee on the Philippines:

The honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States: The undersigned would respectfully represent that they are a committee appointed at a recently held meeting of persons, irrespective of party, interested in the policy pursued by the United States toward the Philippine islands and the inhabitants thereof. As such they were instructed to investigate the condition of affairs connected therewith, and take such subsequent action as might seem expedient. Having, to a certain extent, performed this duty, they now submit the following memorial:

It is not our present purpose to discuss any controverted questions connected with events which have recently taken place in the Philippine islands, or to call in question the policy which either has been pursued by the United States or which it is proposed to pursue in regard to these islands or the inhabitants thereof. In the performance of the duties imposed upon us these matters have to a greater or less extent engaged our attention, and the results at which we arrive may not improbably be brought to your notice at some future time. Certain facts, however, which seem to us of much import are not open to dispute. To these, and the conclusions to be drawn from them as to the exigency seems great and immediate, we now respectfully invite your attention.

It is apparent that, as an outcome of the policy and course of action hitherto pursued, which may or may not have met the approval of those we represent, certain things have resulted:

The United States, as a nation, has assumed charge of communities of Asiatic descent, occupying many islands of an archipelago at a great distance from our nearest continental possessions. Those communities, numbering millions, are of a race wholly distinct from ourselves, with other traditions and habits, speaking foreign, and, in many cases, unknown tongues. The acquisition of the Philippine islands and their inhabitants, while imposing on us treaty obligations, has been followed by prolonged warlike operations marked by acts of fierce resistance, not quickly overcome, on the part of the Filipinos, and by military severities on our part of a character unprecedented in our an-

nals. Those islands are now held by us partly under military law and partly under civil authority, but in absolute subjection. In the course of this mixed administration of affairs no inconsiderable degree of friction has existed, and apparently still does exist, between our military and civil representatives. Such could, indeed, hardly be avoided. In the prosecution of military movements the establishment of camps of concentration for the inhabitants of large districts has been thought expedient; and the people of those districts of both sexes and all ages thus gathered from their homes and usual vocations have therein been compelled to live, with sanitary results concerning which only very indefinite information has been received. In the course of military operations also large regions have been devastated, towns have been burned, and the food supply of the country destroyed. It has hence resulted that when the inhabitants have been returned from the camps of concentration to their former places of abode they have found their shelters gone and the means of subsistence greatly impaired or wholly lacking. It is known that the epidemics usually, and, indeed, inevitably, incident to such a state of affairs are now raging in the islands, though only very partial statistics as respects mortality are made public, if, indeed, they are in any wise obtainable. Extensive districts inhabited by our dependents have thus been scourged and are now stricken with war, famine and pestilence.

For the people thus afflicted, whether excusably or otherwise, America stands responsible. That responsibility cannot be evaded. Those people have, moreover, no means of communicating directly with us. Removed by the width of an ocean, they are unable to make their situation known, whether to ask for aid and relief or to obtain redress of grievances, if such exist. They have not been invited, perhaps, not even permitted, to speak unless they seemed to approve of our doings. But they are still our subjugated dependents. To us, and to us only, can they look, and from our decision they have no appeal.

Such being, as we understand, the undisputed facts, we desire, respectfully, to represent that the Congress of the United States, as the supreme lawmaking authority, is of necessity the grand inquest of the American people. It alone possesses the power necessary adequately to deal with a situation such as now exists. The inquiry at present being carried on by

one of your honorable bodies has unquestionably been productive of valuable results—results the far-reaching importance of which, both to the people of this country and to the Filipinos, it would, in our judgment, not be easy to exaggerate. But that inquiry has also demonstrated to us—and we think must have satisfied all careful observers of its course—that no inquiry instituted in this country, and carried on under similar limitations, can possibly meet full present requirements.

It is plain that, at best, only odds and ends of evidence, stray scraps of information not always of unquestioned authenticity, are forthcoming or obtainable; the dependent communities are not represented; one side, in a conflict of races, debarred from testifying, remains, and must remain, substantially unheard, where not in a measure dumb. To reach any satisfactory results inquisition must be made on the spot and among the people concerned—the dependents of the United States, our so-called subject races. Under these circumstances did we ourselves, the undersigned, representing an unrecognized constituency and clad with no official authority, undertake to go out to the Philippine archipelago or to send there a committee of our number, we would have no power to gather evidence, to elicit facts, or to prescribe remedies. We could at best appear merely as volunteers, and, as such, would probably be ordered at once to return whence we came. It would be altogether otherwise with those coming from the Congress of the United States, and members of it. Its delegates would represent the full dignity, authority and power of the American people. To them every source of information would be accessible, while their mere presence would vastly improve the situation.

The facts being thus, we respectfully ask, on behalf of ourselves and those we represent, that the Congress of the United States will forthwith provide for the appointment of a committee of investigation of its own number, to proceed at the earliest practicable moment to the Philippine archipelago, and there enter upon such an investigation as will cause the people of the United States to feel assured that full information is being elicited, that all grievances will be considered, that any measures necessary to the protection and a reestablished prosperity of our dependents will in due time be instituted, and that, in the light of the fullest possible knowledge of facts and conditions, the American people may form their judg-

ment of the policy so far pursued, as well as that to be adopted for the future.

We further desire to point out a full precedent for the appointment of such a joint congressional committee of inquiry. In the year 1865, at the close of our civil war, when a state of affairs not altogether dissimilar to that in the Philippine archipelago existed in the so-called Confederate States, cognizance was taken of the fact, and Congress, by a concurrent resolution of December 13, acting as the grand national inquest, appointed such a committee as is now suggested. Composed of six members on the part of the Senate, and nine members on the part of the House of Representatives, William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine, was chairman on behalf of the former, and Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the latter, while among those composing the committee were James W. Grimes, Jacob M. Howard, Reverdy Johnson, E. B. Washburne, Justin F. Morrill, Roscoe Conkling and George S. Boutwell. The committee thus composed then made, as respects the region which had constituted the so-called Confederacy, an investigation similar in character to that we now ask for as respects the Philippine archipelago.

We would accordingly petition your honorable bodies that such a joint special committee be now provided, and that it be of sufficient size to command public confidence by containing representatives of both parties and advocates of all different lines of policy, to the end that full information may be elicited and the greatest possible volume of variant light shed upon the duties and obligations which this people have had forced upon them or voluntarily assumed.

We would further respectfully request that this committee be so constituted as to enable it to cover the entire field of investigation within the limited time at its disposal. To make this possible it should be accompanied by a body of experts, military and civil, representing the medical, sanitary, industrial and other scientific phases involved in the great and complex problem to be considered, and upon which the committee will be called intelligently to pass.

On the spot, and in this way only, we submit, can the American people be properly and fully advised as to the duties and obligations now imposed upon them. As a portion of the people, realizing those obligations and impressed with a not undue sense of the responsibility which has been in-

curred, we submit this memorial and ask for it your early and favorable consideration.

### BOOK NOTICES.

#### NOVELS AND NOVELS.

It was my duty one evening recently to listen to one of the numerous tribe of professional lecturers. There was a large audience, most of whom seemed well pleased. The lecture—so called—was a mixture of cheap humor and clap-trap pathos; but it saved all trouble of thinking, and dealt in agreeable platitudes painted o'er with the garish caste of rhetoric. The fact that such a lecture could give pleasure and entertain goes far to show the still rudimentary condition of public education. We have taught most of our people the mechanical art of reading, but we haven't taught them judgment and taste.

It is with the same thought that one notes the immense popularity of many of the novels of the day. They have no style. They show little knowledge of character. When semi-historical, they show a superficial knowledge of events, but no real insight into the spirit of the times. They are fit only for wasting time. Their readers had about as well not be able to read, if their reading is to reach no higher plane.

Such is the new novel by Charles Major, "Dorothy Vernon, of Haddon Hall," (Macmillan). This, however, is neither better nor worse than many others. They are made to sell and make money, and they are eminently successful.

Perhaps we should not complain. It is, let us think, inevitable that quick-raising processes of culture must result in this transitional lack of taste and judgment.

One pity of this result is that it tends to bring discredit upon the whole branch of literature which we include under the word novels. But there are novels and novels, and the novel is that branch of literature which most distinguishes the last half-century. The novel is for us as natural a way of presenting thoughts about things as dialogues were to Plato or plays to Shakespeare.

Mr. Howell's new novel, "The Kentons" (Harper), is as different from the novel mentioned above as it is possible for two objects to be that are classified under the same general name. We have in this book the sure knowledge of a master, and see the clever distinction of character which can come only from one who has studied men and women at first hand, and not in books. As an artist, Mr. Howells may be too scientific, too patient with petty details, too steadily devoted to the commonplace, but he is true. This is the high quality which gives value to all his work.

J. H. DILLARD.

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