

his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the right of the people of South America to self-government, said:

"IT IS THE DOCTRINE OF THRONES THAT MAN IS TOO IGNORANT TO GOVERN HIMSELF. THEIR PARTISANS ASSERT HIS INCAPACITY IN REFERENCE TO ALL NATIONS; IF THEY CANNOT COMMAND UNIVERSAL ASSENT TO THE PROPOSITION, IT IS THEN REMANDED TO PARTICULAR NATIONS; AND OUR PRIDE AND OUR PRESUMPTION TOO OFTEN MAKE CONVERTS OF US. I CONTENTEND THAT IT IS TO ARRAIGN THE DISPOSITION OF PROVIDENCE HIMSELF TO SUPPOSE THAT HE HAS CREATED BEINGS INCAPABLE OF GOVERNING THEMSELVES, AND TO BE TRAMPLED ON BY KINGS. SELF-GOVERNMENT IS THE NATURAL GOVERNMENT OF MAN."

CLAY WAS RIGHT. THERE ARE DEGREES OF PROFICIENCY IN THE ART OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, BUT IT IS A REFLECTION UPON THE CREATOR TO SAY THAT HE DENIED TO ANY PEOPLE THE CAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT. ONCE ADMIT THAT SOME PEOPLE ARE CAPABLE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THAT OTHERS ARE NOT, AND THAT THE CAPABLE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO SEIZE UPON AND GOVERN THE INCAPABLE, AND YOU MAKE FORCE—BRUTE FORCE—THE ONLY FOUNDATION OF GOVERNMENT AND INVITE THE REIGN OF THE DESPOT.

I AM NOT WILLING TO BELIEVE THAT AN ALL-WISE AND AN ALL-LOVING GOD CREATED THE FILIPINOS AND THEN LEFT THEM THOUSANDS OF YEARS HELPLESS UNTIL THE ISLANDS ATTRACTED THE ATTENTION OF EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Republicans ask: "Shall we haul down the flag that floats over our dead in the Philippines?" The same question might have been asked when the American flag floated over Chapultepec and waved over the dead who fell there; but the tourist who visits the City of Mexico finds there a national cemetery owned by the United States and cared for by an American citizen.

Our flag still floats over our dead, but when the treaty with Mexico was signed American authority withdrew to the Rio Grande, and I venture the opinion that during the last 50 years the people of Mexico have made more progress under the stimulus of independence and self-government than they would have made under a carpet-bag government held in place by bayonets.

The United States and Mexico, friendly republics, are each stronger and happier than they would have been had the former been cursed and the latter crushed by an imperialistic policy, disguised as "benevolent assimilation."

"Can we not govern colonies?" we are asked. The question is not what we can do, but what we ought to do. This nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it must accept responsibility for what it does. If the Constitution stands in the way, the people can amend the Constitution. I repeat, the nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it cannot avoid the natural and legitimate results of its own conduct.

The young man, upon reaching his majority, can do what he pleases. He can disregard the teachings of his parents; he can trample upon all that he has been taught to consider sacred; he can disobey the laws of the state, the laws of society and the laws of God. He can stamp failure upon his life and make his very existence a curse to his fellowmen, and he can bring his father and mother in sorrow to the grave. But he cannot annul the sentence: "The wages of sin is death."

And so with the nation. It is of age, and it can do what it pleases. It can spurn the traditions of the past; it can repudiate the principles upon which the nation rests; it can employ force instead of reason; it can substitute might for right; it can conquer weaker people; it can exploit their lands, appropriate their property and kill their people. But it cannot repeal the moral law or escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights.