

The Inaugural Address
of
Governor Yager.
San Juan, P.R. November 20, 1913.

In undertaking to comply on this occasion with the usual and fitting custom of presenting an inaugural address, I am confronted with more than the usual difficulties, great as those difficulties usually are. In the first place I have had very short notice as to the date of these ceremonies, and that too at a time when it was physically impossible for me to concentrate my attention upon the preparation of this address. -- In the second place, I am coming to you as a stranger to many things which it would be fitting to discuss more or less thoroughly, at this time; and for whose discussion there is needed a more intimate acquaintance with local conditions, than it is possible for me to possess at this moment.

I shall therefore defer all details, and all definite suggestions as to specific policies to a future time, when by careful study, I hope to make my suggestions more worth while. I shall confine myself this morning to a very brief statement of general principles, and to a declaration of the spirit and general purpose in accordance with

which I shall endeavor to discharge the responsible duties which I am now undertaking. I hope therefore that you will pardon the use of the personal pronoun, which these circumstances compel me to resort to more frequently than good taste would ordinarily warrant. First of all I desire to deliver to the Insular Government and to all the people of Porto Rico, a personal message from his Excellency the President of the United States, who asked me to say to you that he would watch with sympathy and interest, all those movements and developments in your beautiful island, which make for the welfare of the people and for good citizenship and patriotic responsibility.

The National Democratic Party of which the President is the head is the party which has always from its foundation believed in the great principles of home rule and local self-government, and this party is now, for the first time since the annexation of Porto Rico to the United States in control of the American government. I believe that the American Congress under the leadership of this Democratic Party will be willing to grant to Porto Ricans a larger share in their own government than they have had heretofore. To this end in making appointments to office, I am sure that wherever it is possible to do so, Porto Ricans should be preferred to all others. The extent to which we can go in carrying out this policy will be limited

only by the conditions that are found here in Porto Rico.

For myself, I come to you first of all to study carefully and at first hand, all of your affairs, economic, political and social; -- to enter into and become a part, as far as possible, of every thing that will aid in the uplift of Porto Rico.

Though a stranger to the physical aspect of this beautiful Island I am no stranger to your history and your civilization, especially no stranger to the splendid progress that you have made in the last fifteen years. In all the essentials of modern civilization, perhaps no country has ever made greater progress in the same length of time than has Porto Rico. In this connection it is but just to mention the fine legislation enacted by your law-making body during the past year. The enactment of these laws required courage and legislative ability, and will always be a credit to those who took part in it. To continue this work of peaceful development, and to secure the cooperation of all patriotic Porto Ricans for the accomplishment of this result, is the work to which every one of us should dedicate himself this day. We must guard and maintain the public credit which is the basis of all public order. To this end, every legitimate business enterprise must be carefully protected from all injustice so as to

encourage the investment of capital, and the development of the Island's resources. We must persistently continue to devote a liberal share of our attention and resources to the work of public education, both academic and vocational, to the end that all the people may at least have an opportunity to become useful citizens and self-supporting members of society. We must continue to build and maintain roads, and other public utilities; to improve the harbors; to preserve the public health both by stamping out diseases and preventing through thorough sanitation their recurrence; -- in fine, and in short, we must strive to bring about in Porto Rico, good, honest and efficient government, with all those words imply. Much has been done. We must go right on. To the accomplishment of these ends I pledge all of my personal energies and all the powers of the office in which I have just been installed. For these ends I ask the cooperation and support of every patriotic Porto Rican; and of every American resident. Every sensible suggestion looking to the good of Porto Rico, from whatsoever source it may come, shall receive fair consideration. To serve the people of Porto Rico; to plan and work for their interest alone, is the ideal I have set before me, and which I mean to follow as long as I remain your Governor; -- Public office is a public trust, and I

hope that every officer of Porto Rico, does now, and always will so regard it. To carry on the Government in this spirit, I shall need the cooperation of all the people of Porto Rico. For my part I am determined to be the Governor of all the people, not simply the Governor of a class or party, or group, or interest, but of every class and every interest and all parties and all creeds throughout the whole of the island.

In the selection of officials, not party affiliations, but qualifications and willingness to serve with efficiency, and devotion to duty, will be the sole considerations. The rules of the Civil Service will be strictly followed, wherever those rules apply under the law, and their spirit will be adhered to throughout all appointments. With the established political parties, I shall in no way interfere, but I hope that all of us shall always remember that

"He serves his party best, who serves his Country best."

The Congress of the great country to which we belong has recently, in the discharge of what it considered wise for the whole nation, adopted a tariff policy as to sugar which seems to promise great injury to Porto Rico in one of the island's greatest industries. Of course it is the duty of all good subjects and citizens to submit sheerfully to the laws of their country, - and of course our Porto Rican sugar growers will submit. Let us hope that they will

find compensations that are not now expected. The sugar business in Porto Rico needs readjustment, and that readjustment will now be imperative. It would have had to come anyway, regardless of the tariff changes, but it will come more quickly and more thoroughly because of those changes. Personally I do not believe the situation to be as bad as it looks; that some good will come out of it, and in the completed result there will be less of injury to the industry, and to the island, than now seems probable. Meanwhile I am sure that the producers of sugar will study afresh every detail affecting the cost and the profits of their business, striving to place it upon an absolutely sound basis, and having done this, to await calmly the course of events. Any thing that can properly be done by the Insular Government to aid them, would no doubt be cheerfully done.

Perhaps there might be a feeling of disappointment on the part of some in this audience if I did not say a few words upon another point, namely, -- what, in my opinion ought to be the ultimate relation of Porto Rico to the United States of America. Shall it be Statehood? or Independence? or some sort of Autonomy, or Home rule? What should we aim at as our ultimate status? Let me say that this is not a practical question, because it is not a question to be decided now. Neither the people of the United States nor those

of Porto Rico are yet ready to give any definitive answer to that question. It must therefore be left to the future. Moreover, whatever answer may finally be given to that question, our duty and our work now remain just the same in any event. To bring good government to the island of Porto Rico, and to prepare the people at large to appreciate and maintain good government leads directly to either goal.

We should never forget in all of our discussions of liberty and freedom, the distinction between real liberty, and apparent liberty. What we all want is real liberty protected by law absolutely enforced with exact justice to all the people alike. Real freedom means freedom from the exploitation of the poor by the rich and powerful; freedom from the shackles of ignorance and prejudice; freedom from public disorder, from oppression of any sort, either of public officials, or privileged classes; -- in short equality of opportunity guaranteed by law to all alike. Independence does not always bring with it this sort of freedom. We have only to look at poor distracted Mexico, and perhaps at some of our neighbors closer by, to realize that independence however romantic and sentimentally attractive to certain temperaments, is sometimes very disappointing when actually realized. In this connection, however, two things seem reasonably sure, as far as any future event may ever be sure. First, the American Flag will never be lowered

here in Porto Rico. Here it has been raised, and its benign folds have shed blessing and benefits over this island for fifteen years, and here it will continue to wave indefinitely. Secondly, the American Flag will never wave over any but free men. It can never become a symbol of oppression, and real freedom is the sure possession of all those who loyally abide under it.

Finally, the first care of every just and humane government should be those great masses of the people who are unable to press their claims upon the attention of the rulers. The friendless poor, the laborers in the fields, and factories, the illiterate, inarticulate workers need more than any other class, the protection and help of their government. The more fortunate classes are usually able to make themselves heard, and in a way to take care of themselves. As McCaulay has said: "No man is fit to govern great Societies who hesitates about disobliging the few who have access to him, for the sake of the many whom he will never see."

And so in conclusion I beg you to believe that the Governor of this fair island will be, as far as it is possible for him to be, a Porto Rican. He will sympathize with every legitimate aspiration that throbs in the hearts of Porto Rican patriots. And in saying this he truly represents the real sentiment of the people, and the rulers of the great nation under whose flag we live.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE
PORTO RICO

MEMORANDUM

Van Dusen for
Personal file

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The Filson Historical Society

Remarks of Mr. Yager
at Ponce - Dec. 20th 1913.

Mr. Postmaster and Gentlemen:

I was greatly gratified at the prospect
offered me by the receipt of your
very kind invitation ^{to attend this beautiful banquet} and ~~accepted~~
it with genuine joy.

In the first place, I am always
glad of an opportunity to come
to Ponce. I have already heard so
much of the conservatism and
solidity of the business men of
this goodly city, of its schools
and other civic institutions and
of the culture and refinement
of its people, that I am always
ready to seize upon any good
excuse to come into closer touch

with this important center of our Island's Commerce and industry.

In the second place I am glad of this chance to meet face to face so large a number of the business men of Porto Rico and to hear them discuss, and, perhaps, take a small part in discussing with them the problems and the opportunities which concern the economic and industrial development of this beautiful little Island.

For I want to say here at the outset that, in my judgement, the most important questions

That now confront Porto Ricans are economic and industrial questions, and the answers to all these questions are to be worked out by the business men of the Island, by its farmers and manufacturers, its bankers and merchants, by its railroads and transportation lines - in short by all those who produce, transport, and handle ~~the~~ those products which make up the Islands wealth.

Upon these men and not upon the government must Porto Rico chiefly depend for its prosperity and continued

4

Development. The chief task of the government is, after all, to administer justice, to hold the balances even, and to keep open the door of opportunity so that all business men everywhere may have an equal chance to develop their business and so enlarge the prosperity of the whole people.

And so tonight, I ~~do not~~ desire to talk business to business men — not politics at all.

If I could be permitted to say so without giving offense, I would say that in my opinion we have too much politics in Porto Rico.

I mean by that, that there is, perhaps, too much discussion, too much agitation of those questions which relate to matters political and too little attention paid to matters of business. — too many of the young men of the Island are preparing themselves for the so-called professions and for entering the service of the government, and too few looking forward to business. Politics, as we all know, tends to division and strife, to the formation of parties and factions, to the creation of mutual distrust and bitterness, while

Business brings us together; the breath of life to business is cooperation and confidence. To do business effectively men must work together with other men, cities and towns must work together with other cities and towns, and peoples and nations must work together with other peoples and nations throughout the world. In fact my first word to the business men of Porto Rico is "get together." An assembly like this here in Ponce is full of encouragement because it means cooperation of all

the business men throughout the Island - Don't "Knock".

Push your own business and then help push all the business enterprises of your city and of the whole Island. In Union there is strength. In my own state of Kentucky we have the motto ^{on} our Coat of Arms "United we stand, divided we fall". We Kentuckians have not always lived up to it unfortunately, but it is a splendid motto, and I wish I could say something tonight which would further the aims of this great organization, which aim I know to be to bring together the business men of all P.R.

8

The ~~next~~ most important word in business next to cooperation is courage. Confidence is the foundation of modern business. Confidence in yourselves, in your fellowmen and in your country - confidence in the soundness of your enterprises and in the future of your city and your Island.

Fear means paralysis and business men, while they should be conservative, dare not be too timid. Here is where organization helps again. By joining yourselves together, touching elbows in generous comradeship, courage is gained for great tasks that might at first seem hopeless.

In the third place the business men of Porto Rico should strive earnestly everywhere to increase the efficiency of the laborers - to develop the human factor in industry right here in the Island. Porto Rican business must depend almost wholly upon Porto Rican labor. In this respect the condition of this Island is perhaps unique in all America. Most American communities are looking hopefully to immigration for a large increase in their supply of labor. They

have more lands than people and they are encouraging immigration by all the means in their power. Porto Rico is already one of the most densely peopled countries in the world - certainly the most densely populated area in America outside of the large cities and the hope of its business development must depend therefore upon the labor of its own people. On this account, the education of the people, the training of the nurses is especially necessary to the productive enterprises of the Island.

10 1/2

And the training must
be of such a sort as will
accomplish its object.

As will feed, as it were,
out of the schools into
the factories & shops and
on to the farmer a large
supply of efficient labor.

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Lastly let me say a word to you business men upon the inestimable importance to all the business enterprises of Porto Rico of the connection of this Island with the great nation to which we all owe allegiance at this moment. I am not talking politics now - I am talking business. I fear that many of the business men of this Island have not yet measured the enormous advantage which you all enjoy of being within three or four days sail of the

mightiest market on the
face of the earth. The great
City of New York contains now
5-2,000,000 people and if we
add the million on the
Jersey side of the river there
are already more than
6,000,000 people living
around the bay of New York,
~~and distinct to become~~
the greatest aggregation of
wealth, population and
commercial power ever
concentrated in one spot
since the world began.

This great city and tre-
mendous market has

Already stimulated, perhaps
over stimulated our sugar
industry, but it stands
ready, if properly cultivated,
to stimulate to their utmost
capacity every other industry
of this Island, to buy and
pay for every pound of every
product that can be produced
here, and to furnish all the
capital that can be profit-
ably used in any industry.

Let us all cultivate in
every legitimate way this
great market

To this end, I beseech you to have your children learn the English language - I do not mean by this to advise that you renounce your own beautiful and historic language with all of its literature and traditions, but simply for the sake of convenience in the transaction of business, and for the sake of making closer the connection between the two peoples that you encourage the children to learn English as well as Spanish

And now in conclusion I would like to say one word of ~~my~~ ~~own~~ suggestion to my own countrymen who have come to Porto Rico.

Let us Americans all of us remember that whether we have come to this Island to engage in business or to assist the government, we have come to serve, to help, to uplift the country and to promote its progress and prosperity. And I would that all of us everywhere would so conduct ourselves

~~everywhere~~ us to show our
 interest in the people ^{of this Island,} and in
 their welfare ~~of this Island.~~

We as a people have enjoyed
 for two or three hundred
 years many opportunities and
 advantages which have been
 denied to the Porto Ricans,
 and the way to show our
 superiority if we have any
 is not by holding ourselves
 aloof, or trying at all times
 to assert in an offensive
 way a superiority which is
 nat^{ly} ^{due} to our personal qualities
 but simply to our better
 opportunities.

— 17 —

For myself I think the people of Porto Rico have shown remarkable progress when we consider the short time that opportunities for progress have been open to them and I think the attitude of all the American residents of the Island should be to encourage them in every way to still further efforts

18

And may the time soon
come when in Porto Rico
there will be no Americans
nor Spaniards, nor French
men nor Englishmen but
all be Porto Ricans—

The Filson Historical Society

Address of Hon. Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico,
at the Lake Mohonk Conference, October 22, 1915.

FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL AND POLITICAL
PROBLEMS OF PORTO RICO.

I desire to present to this audience a very brief discussion or at least statement of what I consider the two most important and fundamental problems of the beautiful tropical island which it has fallen to our lot to govern. These two problems, while in a way they are distinct and separate, are nevertheless connected, and in the solution of both of them the local government of Porto Rico is absolutely dependent upon the aid of the great nation to which it belongs.

The first, the most important and the most difficult of these problems is the social problem. I mean by that the task of raising the standard of life, increasing the opportunities, the comfort and the happiness of the great masses of the people who live in the island.

That there is much wretchedness and poverty among the masses of the people of Porto Rico is beyond dispute. Their dwellings are, for the most part mere hovels, almost devoid of furniture and crowded beyond belief. Their food consists of rice, codfish and beans, supplemented by the native fruits which grow wild and practically all over the island. And their wages are, as a rule barely sufficient to maintain their existence under these miserable conditions. These conditions have prevailed in Porto Rico for a great many years, and while much has been done in many ways to improve and build up the island since the American occupation, for reasons that will appear later, it has not been possible to make any very marked improvement in these basic conditions.

There are doubtless several causes for this state of things, but undoubtedly the fundamental cause is the enormous population. This population is at present conservatively estimated at 1,200,000 people. It was 1,118,000 in 1910, according to the official census, and it has been steadily increasing since that date.

1198

The gross area of the island, land and water, including the small adjacent and dependent islands, is 3435 square miles, and the present population therefore is about 350 to the square mile. This is a greater density than that of China or of India and just about equal to that of Japan. It is ten times greater than that of the United States proper and three times as great as that of New England. In fact there are only two or three small states in the American Union that have more people per square mile, namely Massachusetts, Rhode Island and perhaps New Jersey, and in these states about three-quarters of the people live in cities and depend upon manufactures, while in Porto Rico only about 10% of the people live in cities of more than 10,000 population and there are almost no manufactures. In short, if we consider both the area and the industrial development of this little island there is perhaps no region in the whole world more densely populated.

The area of the island is about four-fifths mountainous, much of it so steep that it can hardly be cultivated at all, and yet this great population is so evenly distributed over its whole surface that the center of population is only about 5 miles distant in a straight line from the geographical center of the island. Moreover, this population has been produced by the natural increase of the people right in the island. There is practically no immigration, and according to the census of 1910, there were only about one per cent of the people of foreign birth.

Finally the population of Porto Rico great as it is, is steadily increasing. The first census taken by the Americans in 1899 enumerated in round numbers 955,000 people in Porto Rico. By 1915, we find they have increased by 250,000. By comparison with the census taken by the Spanish government in 1887 which enumerated 732,000, we find that in the twenty-two years immediately preceding the coming of the Americans there was an increase of 221,000 people, or about 30%, while in the SIXTEEN years since the American annexation there has been an increase of 250,000, or about 27%. To put it another way, during the latter part of the Spanish period, the average annual increase was about 1.3%, while during the whole of the American period, it has been 1.6%. The increase last year according to the official reports of births and deaths was 24,000 or 2% of the whole population. This rapid increase in population has been made possible by the commercial expansion and industrial development that has followed the American

occupation. This expansion will be made evident by the following figures.

The production and export of coffee remains at about the same figure as in Spanish times. The output of the sugar industry has been multiplied by six, going up from some 50 to 60 thousand tons in Spanish times to about 350,000 tons at present. The export of tobacco, cigars, etc., has been increased more than nine times, going up from about \$1,000,000 worth in Spanish times to about \$9,250,000 at present. The fruit industry has been created and developed entirely by Americans, the exports of which during the past year reached a total of about 4-1/2 millions of dollars.

But this great increase in the exports of the whole island may be illustrated by comparing the figures for 1901, which show total exports of slightly more than 8-1/2 millions of dollars, with those of the present which are about 49-1/3 millions of dollars.

This large expansion of commerce has certainly enlarged greatly the opportunities for employment among the laboring population. Instead, however, of raising the standard of living and increasing the wages of agricultural workers in any marked degree, it has resulted chiefly in a large increase of their numbers. The conclusion therefore seems to be that Porto Rico has reached that painful stage in its economic development where the natural increase in its population has outrun the means of employment and where the standard of living has consequently been pressed down to the lowest limit.

The people of Porto Rico are a kindly, charitable, lovable people; their patriotic love of their island home is worthy of all praise. The devotion of the parents to their children, especially of the mothers to their offspring is equal to that shown among the people of any land. But, owing to their inherited improvidence, their racial characteristics, and perhaps to the tropical climate, those checks upon population which in colder climates seem adequate to keep the increase of the people well within the limits of subsistence seem to be lacking among them. The birth rate seems to bear no relation whatever to the conditions of industry and the opportunities for employment.

I have called attention to this great sociological problem at this time, because it seems to me that those of us who are responsible for the future of the island should face it now. In my judgment it is not only im-

portant but it is urgent. With the population already pressing hard upon the means of employment, if any unexpected calamity should befall any of the island's industries there would result more serious suffering among the laboring people of Porto Rico than the Insular Government could possibly relieve, with the means at its command. If, for example, a cyclone should devastate the coffee plantations, as actually happened in 1899, the situation might become very critical. Or, if as now seems certain, under the recent tariff law, the protective duty on sugar should be abolished, and the decline of that great industry which everybody predicts should actually take place, the problem of feeding the unemployed in the island would soon become most serious.

What, therefore, should be done to meet and forestall the coming of even worse conditions than now exist? I do not hesitate to express my belief that the only really effective remedy is the transfer of large numbers of Porto Ricans to some other region. I do not believe that there is in history any instance of a country that has reached the overcrowded condition in which Porto Rico now stands, that ever escaped from it without the aid of emigration. Whatever can be done in other ways to improve conditions should still be done, but those things alone will not solve the problem.

It is a great biological law that we are confronted with and we can neither alter nor repeal it. Education, labor legislation, land legislation, bank legislation may help, but these measures must be supplemented by finding some means of relief from the oncoming crowd of surplus population if we are to reach a real remedy.

This matter of the need of emigration from Porto Rico is no new idea. It has been suggested and tried before, - not by government, but by private agencies. Soon after the American occupation effort was made by certain corporations to transfer a large number of Porto Ricans to the Hawaiian Islands where laborers were too scarce to supply the demand. More than 5000 were taken over there in 1901. But no effort to sift these emigrants as to character was made and many of them became homesick and unhappy in that distant and strange land, and so many complaints and charges of mistreatment and suffering found their way to Porto Rico that both the American and Porto Rican Governments had to make several investigations, all of which however led to no definite result, - except that later in spite of efforts made and inducements offered to continue this

movement, no more Porto Ricans could be persuaded to go there. Somewhat later there was inaugurated by private agencies a considerable emigration to Mexico, but this ended still more discouragingly partly due no doubt to the character of the emigrants and partly to real mistreatment by the corporations who initiated the movement.

At present it seems certain that there is one country only which lies hopefully open to a movement of Porto Ricans out of their own island, and that is Santo Domingo. Many have gone there in spite of the dangers due to the unstable political conditions which have prevailed there for almost a century. The island is only about eighty miles from the shores of Porto Rico. It is almost identical in climate, physical characteristics, products, people and language. On this account there would be little shock in change of residence. It has now only about thirty people to the square mile. Vast stretches of fertile virgin soil await the hand of labor, and the two islands could be made to fit together like hand and glove. I believe it to be the duty of the United States to make, if possible, such arrangements as may accomplish the purpose that these two neighboring islands, over which the American government has assumed the complete or partial control, should supplement each other's needs in respect to population and social development. This might be done without embarrassment to our international relations with other Latin-American countries and without any alteration of the policies hitherto pursued. Treaty arrangements might be entered into between the governments of the United States and Santo Domingo which would include a practical scheme of emigration under governmental encouragement and aid of the surplus population of the smaller island to the unoccupied lands of the larger. In this way the greatest problem of both islands would be solved through the redistribution of population. That there would arise some complications and practical difficulties in carrying out this scheme is doubtless true, but that it is feasible and practicable if undertaken earnestly, I have no doubt. That it is within the power and rights of the American Government in view of its responsibilities in both of these islands as well as in the Caribbean Sea generally seems to be clear, and that it would meet general approval among the people of both islands seems highly probable.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM.

The political task set for themselves by the Americans in Porto Rico is frankly educational. It involved three things, namely,-

(1) The organization and continuous administration of a stable, economical and efficient government, embodying in it democratic institutions and ideals in conformity with American standards to as large a degree as the previous history, customs and ~~political history, customs and~~ political experience of the people made possible.

(2) The political training and development of the people of the island to take part in, and assist in the carrying on of this government just as rapidly as was consistent with safety and the preservation of the true democratic spirit and the American ideals.

(3) To make the Porto Ricans themselves reasonably satisfied with this government, so as to secure their cooperation in the educational effort, which cooperation is necessary to its success.

The Foraker Act granting a constitution to Porto Rico was framed and passed by Congress in 1900, and became effective the same year.

Without attempting to explain or characterize this Act in detail, I shall content myself with stating that, when we consider that neither Congress nor the people of the United States had had any previous experience in governing peoples like those of this newly acquired possession, it is surprising that they did as well as they did, and produced at one stroke an organic act that has on the whole served its purpose so well. The Foraker Act, however, was avowedly temporary, and in my judgment the time has fully come when a new constitution should be given to Porto Rico, embodying the results of our fifteen years of experience, and recognizing as far as can be done with prudence the success of our educational experiment.

I think I can in a few minutes sketch in bold outline what this new organic act should contain:

(1) It should grant to the people of Porto Rico collectively citizenship in the United States. I know

of no simple gift that would go so far toward removing dissatisfaction and difficulty in Porto Rico as this simple grant of citizenship, and none that would be attended with so little cost and risk.

People speak of citizenship as a "privilege." To my mind it is not a privilege at all, but a right. It is the necessary complement of sovereignty and should go with the flag. Wherever the American flag is permanently planted over any territory the people of that territory should be made citizens of the country whose flag they serve. The people of Porto Rico must obey all the laws of the United States, pay taxes, are liable to military service, and yet they are not citizens.

Citizenship does not at all imply suffrage or the power to vote for any officer of government or anything else. On the other hand suffrage is a privilege conferred by all democratic governments upon certain classes of their citizens according to the prevailing views of public policy. In the United States there are now many more citizens who have not the privilege of suffrage than those who have.

The people of the District of Columbia never have had the privilege to vote for anybody or anything and yet they are citizens. Most of the negroes of the South, all of the minors of both sexes, and as yet an immense majority of the women of the country are not permitted to exercise the power of voting, and yet no one would think of excluding any of these classes from the right of citizenship.

I desire to add that I have not been able to discover in Congress or in the Administration during the past two winters any opposition to this grant of citizenship. Moreover the failure of Congress to include citizenship at the beginning was not due to any unwillingness to do so, but to the fear, at that time, that conferring citizenship might endanger the constitutionality of the peculiar fiscal system that it was necessary to establish in the island. The Foraker Act was originally drawn contained the grant of citizenship, and Mr. Foraker himself explained on the floor of the Senate that at the last moment, the Senate Committee struck out the words "Citizens of the United States" and substituted "Citizens of Porto Rico" because of the fear above mentioned. This danger has long since been removed by the various decisions of the Supreme Court defining the relations to the United States of the recently acquired island possessions, and the powers of

Congress in regard to them. So that now there is no difficulty to be apprehended in granting citizenship to the people of Porto Rico and no good reason why it should not be done.

(2) The new organic act should contain some enlargement of the rights of participation in their own government on the part of the Porto Ricans themselves. Just how much enlargement and in what particulars are matters of detail and should be worked out with a view to the most liberal regard for the legitimate aspirations of the people of the island that is consistent with safety and the continued efficiency of the government. This enlargement is also necessary to the vindication of our educational purpose and the recognition of the undoubted progress that has been made in the past fifteen years.

In my judgement an elective Senate should be included in the new constitution, thus separating executive from legislative functions in accordance with the universal American practice and increasing local responsibility. Moreover, opportunities should be offered more freely to Porto Ricans themselves for appointment under proper safeguards to the highest executive offices in their own government.

(3) Finally, some mistakes that were made in the first constitution and in the development of the government under it should be frankly corrected in accordance with the teaching of our fifteen years of experience.

That some mistakes would be made was inevitable, and experience has clearly pointed them out.

The most important and fundamental mistake, and still the most natural under the circumstances, was extending the suffrage to all male Porto Ricans over 21 years of age. This has produced a body of electors in Porto Rico, about 70% of whom are not only illiterate, but have had no sort of political experience or training that would fit them for the exercise of this important privilege. Most peoples have acquired their rights of self-government through revolutionary effort, sometimes repeated revolutionary efforts on their part. These revolutions have always given to large numbers of the people some experience and training through the organization and struggle necessary to secure their freedom, which have fitted them in some degree for the duties of voting and other acts of self-government.

There have never been any revolutionary struggles in Porto Rico and this sort of training is lacking. It should be stated here that Congress did not grant directly to the island this extended form of suffrage. It was done by the local legislature, which was given the power to do so, in their natural but mistaken zeal to secure too quickly the form of democratic institutions even though they missed the reality. The results of this widely extended suffrage among an untrained people may readily be imagined; but I desire to state that the people of the island, especially the political leaders, have sought to minimize the evils as best they could. No healthy political life is possible under these conditions, and Congress is the only authority that can correct it and should do so, by establishing some fair and reasonable restriction upon the suffrage.

Another mistake that should be corrected is the manner of dividing the island into districts for electoral purposes in which a departure was made from the usual American plan of forming single-member districts for electing members of the popular branch of the legislature, and this has worked badly. In Porto Rico the house of delegates is elected from seven large districts into which the island is subdivided and each of which elects five members on a general ticket. This system destroys the feeling of direct responsibility on the part of the members to their constituents and should be replaced with the usual American system of electing one member from each district.

Another mistake is the holding of elections more frequently than is necessary for any good political reason. The island is small and party rivalry very keen and the cost and general disturbance of business caused by elections are quite considerable and there seems to be no good reason why they should be repeated oftener than once every four years. There are various other minor improvements that might be made in the actual working constitution of the island as demonstrated by experience and all this should be given careful consideration in the formation of the new constitution.

Finally there remains the important and much discussed problem of the future ultimate status of Porto Rico, i. e., the ultimate relation of the island to the United States. - The final goal for which the people of the island should be gradually prepared. This is a question about which there is great diversity of opinion amongst the people of Porto Rico and perhaps still greater diversity of opinion amongst the people of the United

States. Should we seek to make Porto Rico at some future date a state in the American union or should we have in view that of a small autonomous country under some kind of American control and protection? It has always seemed to me that the settlement of this question is not of immediate and urgent importance and that the public opinion of the United States and of Porto Rico is not yet ready to determine it. In whatever way it may finally be determined, the work for the present would remain the same, namely that of education and of political preparation for either destiny. For whatever may be the ultimate status of the island, the people of Porto Rico must learn to govern themselves. Therefore as nothing of great importance could be gained by settling this question now and as the attempt to determine it would perhaps raise an interminable discussion in both the United States and Porto Rico, it seems to me the part of wisdom to leave the matter of the ultimate destiny of the island for another generation which would have much additional light for its guidance in determining so important a matter.

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ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

THE GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO

ON

INDEPENDENCE DAY,

JULY 4, 1918

DISCURSO

PRONUNCIADO POR EL

GOBERNADOR DE PUERTO RICO

EL

DIA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA,

4 DE JULIO, 1918

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY THE GOVERNOR ON INDEPENDENCE DAY,

JULY 4, 1918

As will be noticed in the printed program, the nature of the exercises arranged for this evening is instructional and educational.

The appeal therefore will be made to the intelligence and thoughtful consideration of the audience rather than to their feelings, and to this end I ask in behalf of the speakers your patient attention and cooperation.

The purpose of this meeting is primarily to celebrate INDEPENDENCE DAY, the greatest of all American festivals. There is abundant reason why we should celebrate this day with special emphasis at this time. This day stands for all that is best and most distinctive in the political life of our great country. And all these things after 140 years of successful experience, have again been put in peril by the great war in which we are engaged. And the peril is not for ourselves alone but for all the world.

On the 4th of July, 1776, a new nation was born on the North American continent, a nation which has become in the providence of God, not only the greatest and the richest, but also the most liberal and progressive of all the nations of the earth. But not only was a new nation born on that day but also a new spirit and new principles of thought and action. This new spirit and these new principles have spread to the east and the south until they have compassed almost the whole earth. This is the spirit of freedom and equality, of justice and liberty. It spread over to England and gradually transformed the English Government into a real Democracy under the forms of a constitutional monarchy. It spread to France and under the leadership of La Fayette and Danton burst forth into the great French Revolution and later developed into the Great French Republic. It spread to Italy and under the fiery leadership of Garibaldi and Manin finally worked out a United Italy under a liberal constitution.

It also filtered with varying vicissitudes through eastern Europe and has reached in its onward march unto the confines of eastern Asia and mightily affected the ancient Empires of China and Japan.

This new spirit also spread to the southward and inspired the noble soul of Simón Bolívar and under the powerful influence of his leadership and example has transformed South America into a vast system of republics from the Isthmus of Panamá to Cape Horn. Everywhere all round the earth, before this spirit of liberty and justice born on this glorious Fourth of July 1776, monarchies and empires have gone down and republics and democracies taken their places. And now as we shall show all of these ideals and aspirations, all of this great progress is put in peril and staked upon the issue of this great war. For the whole world practically is engaged in this war. No conflict of such magnitude ever occurred before in all human history.

In the first place not only all the most powerful nations but also nearly all of the populations of the globe are directly involved in one side or the other.

More than eighty-seven and one half per cent of the population of the whole earth are actually in the war as belligerents.

- 90 per cent of the population of Europe,
- 88 per cent of the population of North America,
- 61 per cent of the population of South America,
- 98 per cent of the population of Asia

are actually engaged.

In fact, leaving aside the interior of Africa and those parts of the earth where the light of civilization has never entered, fully ninety-five per cent of the civilized population of the earth are directly involved in the war. And of this total number of people nine-tenths of them are on the side of the Allies. And with all due deference and respect to those who still remain neutral, I believe that the remaining five per cent ought to be in it and I hope they will be in it before it is finally settled. This is no time for neutrals, either among men or nations. In a time like this, when the whole world is fighting for its dearest rights, I believe it is the duty of every man and every nation to stand up and take their places on the side of justice and liberty.

These enormous populations explain the tremendous size of the armies of which we read. Millions of men—even scores of millions of men are actually engaged on the battle fields. And yet in spite of these armies in uniform this war has been from the first rather a

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war of industries, of ships, of factories, of coal mines and food production—a war of peoples and industries rather than soldiers. But this war is unprecedented not only because of the magnitude of its forces but also because of the importance of the principles and issues at stake and the consequences that will depend upon the result. When it first started four years ago there was some doubt and confusion as to its causes and the issues at stake. There was much talk about commercial jealousies, about opportunity for expansion—the so-called “place in the sun.” There were also charges and counter charges as to who started this awful carnage, nobody daring to assume the dreadful responsibility. Now, after four years of struggle all this has become clear. The war was started by those who were ready for it. Three despotic empires, Germany, Austria and Turkey, formed a foul conspiracy at Potsdam, Germany, and suddenly leaped upon a peaceful and sleeping world and tried to murder the liberty of mankind before they could prepare for defense.

And the principles at stake have become just as clear. Putting aside minor matters these principles can be summed up into two great fundamental principles of human life and thought. First is the moral principle. By that we mean the principle of right and justice against the principle of might and power. After long centuries of struggle mankind has learned that righteousness and justice and honor are to be considered in all their dealings with each other both as individuals and as nations. But our enemies in this struggle have cast all this aside. At least as far as nations are concerned in their dealings with each other, nothing counts but might—mere brute force. Treaties are but scraps of paper. The plighted word of kings and emperors are broken at their own will. International law is torn into shreds. Humanity and mercy are treated as obsolete terms. With them, there is no law that controls except the

“Ancient rule, the simple plan
Let him take who has the power
And let him keep who can.”

All of their methods of conducting the war show that their ideal is force. Their secret treaties all of which are predatory treaties intended to rob somebody; their unscrupulous diplomacy, their spies and corrupt propaganda, their ruthlessness and frightfulness in actual warfare tell the same story. It is useless to multiply instances. Every one in this audience can recall a hundred illustrations of this method and purpose during this war from the rape of Belgium at the very beginning down to the sinking of the *Carolina* one month ago.

Now let us contrast with this the great principle set forth in the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

No clearer statement could be made, and for the perpetuation of this immortal principle we are ready to fight to the limit of our resources and to our last man.

I do not believe for one moment that the world is going back into the dark ages and submit again to the ancient rule of plunder and force. The God of Heaven who made this world is a God of righteousness and will continue to rule and guide us all and He will aid our armies to overwhelm and destroy those who fight for wrong and injustice. This is sure.

Secondly, we have the great political issue which has at the last become the greatest and most fundamental issue of all. It is this that makes the connection so close and vital between this greatest of all wars and the day we celebrate.

As this great struggle has gone on it has become increasingly clear that it is a struggle for political liberty, for constitutional government, for popular rights and democratic institutions. Not one single nation amongst our enemies has anything approaching a democratic constitution.

The Declaration of Independence declared not only for self-government but for popular government—for government of the people, for and by the people. This is what is meant by *self-determination*, a phrase so much used in all the peace proposals of the last two years. By that is meant the right of every nation or people, great or small, to be consulted as to its political destiny, not to be handed about by the big nations like pieces on a chessboard without the slightest reference to the desires or feelings of the people concerned. *Self-determination* therefore in the modern phrase means the *self-government* which was the corner stone of the great Declaration of Independence drawn up and signed by our forefathers on the Fourth of July, 1776. And furthermore, the people who are to be consulted according to this great principle are not simply the aristocrats, the privileged classes, the military leaders or the oligarchic few who find themselves in control of the Government at any moment, but as far as possible *all the people*. In other words, as the great Declaration stated the principle, "The just powers of all governments are derived from the consent of the people who are governed." This is the great

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political principle for which the Fourth of July stands. This is also the political issue of this great war and this is the greatest of all issues that could possibly be involved.

This issue is going to be settled forever in favor of the people before this war is over. And let it be understood that in the celebration of this day and of this principle, we are in no way embarrassed by the fact that one of our greatest Allies in this present war was our adversary in 1776. For it is well known to all students of history that after our revolutionary war was over, England accepted and adopted the principle of self-government for all her colonies and has applied it ever since. And under this policy, Great Britain has developed the greatest colonial federation upon which the sun ever shone. And these colonies have one and all stood the supremest test of their loyalty by taking the side of their motherland throughout this great war.

As the war has gone on, one by one the nations of the world have abandoned neutrality and taken their places by the side of the Allies who now number eighteen separate nations fighting together in defense of humanity and justice.

In addition ten other nations have severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers, and in this way shown their sympathy with the cause of freedom.

From the beginning of the war four years ago until the present time, no nation has joined our enemies except the little reactionary monarchy of Bulgaria and her king was induced to do so by promises that can never be fulfilled. All together, counting Russia and Roumania, thirty separate nations have taken sides with the Allies in one way or another. This shows conclusively what the final judgment of mankind is upon the moral questions involved in this great struggle.

Eighteen nations form the grand alliance of the Defenders of the Liberty of mankind. Four of them are the greatest leaders of civilization of modern times and must bear the chief burden of the war. These are:

(1) The United States of America, the greatest Republic in the world as well as the most pacifist and unprepared for war; and yet when forced to enter in defence of freedom, has already shown her capacity to render the most tremendous services both by land and sea. Upon entering into the war our great President thus stated our motives: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no *dominion*. We ask no indemnities, no compensation

for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind."

(2) France, the beautiful home of culture and art, the brilliant leader in literature and learning and all the glorious arts of civilization who had to bear alone almost the whole of the first shock of the war on the western front.

(3) Great Britain, the mother of constitutional liberty and the great teacher of self-government. With her mighty fleet she has protected the commerce of the world and with her armies borne the brunt of the fighting on the western front during the third and fourth years of the war.

(4) Italy, the land of classical culture and the seat of ancient glory, the teacher of the world in art and beauty. She could not be held by the triple alliance to the forces of reaction and despotism, but entered on the side of liberty and progress.

These four are the great pillars which support the temple of democracy.

In addition to these are—

(5) Belgium, innocent of any wrong who could not be terrorized into a surrender of her sovereignty but has suffered untold agonies in defense of her honor;

(6) Serbia, the little Balkan kingdom which has gone down bravely fighting against overwhelming forces in defense of her rights and the homes of her people;

(7) Montenegro, the plucky principality of mountaineers, overwhelmed but still unconquerable in spirit;

(8) Japan, the brilliant mystical empire of the far east whose people have learned more of modern science, politics and war in the last fifty years than was ever accomplished by any people before;

(9) China, the oldest and most populous empire in the world whose sturdy people have done their best to organize a republic and who will yet succeed in doing so;

(10) Siam, an almost unknown kingdom of Asia whose rulers saw the light of coming victory and joined the grand alliance especially in defense of the small nations, to which class she herself belongs;

(11) Greece, hesitating long because of her German queen but coming over at last to the right side;

(12) Portugal, an ally of England who promptly joined her great friend and ally with her colonies;

(13) San Marino, a tiny monarchy entirely surrounded by Italy;

(14) Liberia, the lone little republic in Africa.

Coming across the Atlantic we find—

(15) Brazil, the largest and most populous country of South America, whose great resources and energetic government give promise of large usefulness to the cause;

(16) Cuba, the Pearl of the Antilles, the most important and the richest island republic in all America who promptly and loyally followed into the war her liberator and benefactor, the United States;

(17) Panama, where the Porto Rico regiment stands guard over the greatest canal in the world; and, lastly,

(18) Costa Rica, of Central America, the last to join her resources to the great alliance.

These are our allies in this mighty conflict and with their aid we shall win the final victory. And when the war is over the alliance will not dissolve. There is no tie that binds so closely as a common devotion to a great and noble cause. There is no cement that holds so firmly as the blood of brave men who have fought together on the fields of glory. The comradeship of arms will not cease when the war is won, but this great alliance will continue together and draw other nations unto themselves into a great league of peace and prosperity of industry and commerce with civilization and humanity as its watchwords.

Then the Fourth of July will become an international festival, celebrating the final triumph of Democracy and freedom all over the world.

Arthur Hagen

*With the compliments
of the author.*

DISCURSO

Pronunciado por el Gobernador el Día de la Independencia,

JULIO 4 DE 1918

Como se verá en el programa impreso, la naturaleza de la velada preparada para esta noche es instructiva y educativa.

Se apelará, pues, a la inteligencia y reflexión del auditorio antes que a sus sentimientos, por lo que solicito en nombre de los oradores vuestra bondadosa atención y cooperación.

El propósito primordial de esta reunión es el de celebrar el Día DE LA INDEPENDENCIA—la más grande de todas las fiestas americanas. Y en la actualidad abundan razones para celebrar el día con entusiasmo especial. El día de hoy representa todo lo mejor y más distintivo que encierra la vida política de nuestra gran patria. Después de 140 años de éxitos, todas estas cosas peligran con motivo de la gran guerra en que estamos empeñados. Y el peligro no nos amenaza a nosotros solos, sino también a todo el resto del mundo.

El día 4 de julio de 1776 nació en el continente americano una nueva nación que mediante providencia del Todopoderoso ha llegado a ser no sólo la más grande y más rica, sino la más liberal y progresista de todas las naciones del mundo. Y en el referido día no fué una nación solamente lo que nació. Nació también un nuevo espíritu, así como nuevos principios de pensamiento y acción. Este nuevo espíritu y estos nuevos principios se han extendido hacia el Este y el Sur hasta que ya comprenden casi toda la tierra. Es el espíritu de libertad e igualdad, de justicia e independencia. Llegó a Inglaterra y gradualmente transformó al gobierno inglés en verdadera democracia bajo forma de monarquía constitucional. Invadió a Francia, y dirigido por Lafayette y Danton, estalló en forma de gran Revolución Francesa, de la cual surgió luego la magnífica república del mismo nombre. Se extendió a Italia y bajo la fogosa dirección de Garibaldi y Manín estableció la Unidad Italiana con su constitución liberal.

También después de algunas vicisitudes se infiltró en la Europa

SAN JUAN, P. R.
BUREAU OF SUPPLIES, PRINTING, AND TRANSPORTATION
1918

The Filson Historical Society

and Political Science. Dr. Yager continued his work at this college until 1913, holding various positions, -Professor, Secretary of Faculty, Chairman of Faculty and President. He received throughout these years every mark of honor and esteem which the college had the power to bestow, and his resignation was accepted by the Board of Trustees with every possible expression of regret. In 1905 he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Howard College, Alabama.

But not only in his own college, but throughout the entire educational system of Kentucky, Dr. Yager's work and rank as an educator was felt and recognized in every way possible. He was the founder and several times President of the Association of Kentucky Colleges and Universities. This Association did more to purify inter-collegiate athletics and to standardize the Universities, Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the State than all other agencies combined.

Dr. Yager was also Chairman of the Rhodes Scholarship Committee for Kentucky practically from its foundation until he resigned and left the State for Porto Rico in 1913. He was elected a member of the Filso Club, the leading historical organization of the State, and is a life member of the American Historical Association.

FAGER, Arthur, born at Campbellsburg, Henry County, Kentucky, in 1858. Reared on a farm and educated in the public schools of the little town until he was sent by his parents to Georgetown College at Georgetown, Ky., one of the oldest and most reputable colleges in the State. After a course of four years at this college he was graduated in 1879 with the A.B. degree. He desired at that time to continue his education at a University, but owing to lack of means, it was necessary for him to secure some remunerative employment in order to gain the necessary funds. He was offered and accepted the principalship of the Preparatory Department of his Alma Mater and for three years continued to hold this important teaching position. He resigned however in 1882 and entered the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore in the Department of History and Political Science. For two years he pursued his studies in this famous University devoting his time especially to history, economics and political science under the instruction of Dr. Herbert B. Adams, now deceased, and Dr. Richard T. Ely, now at the University of Wisconsin. In 1884, after having won a competitive university scholarship, he secured the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and retired from the University going back to his old college in Kentucky to accept the position of Professor of History

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Speech of Governor Yager, at Banquet given by Legislature
of Porto Rico to Admiral Grout and French Naval Officers.

Mr. Admiral, Officers of the French Navy,
Members of the Legislature, and Gentlemen:

Dec 18-
1918

I am sure that you will all agree that at this moment any further words of welcome and of appreciation of your visit which I might express to you ~~now~~ would be quite superfluous. You have just heard the fervent speeches of some of the most gifted and eloquent sons of Porto Rico, and I know that you are entirely convinced of the cordiality of our welcome and the sincerity of our hospitality. As we have looked into your faces and observed the insignia of your uniforms we have been reminded of those ancient days of glory when the great republic of North America was struggling in its cradle. Another fleet of French warships crossed the Atlantic bringing with it an army of French soldiers who aided us in laying the foundations of liberty in America. We are also reminded of the long years of unbroken peace and friendship and affection that have existed between the two great republics. And we are reminded moreover of these last years of mortal strife and struggle during which French sailors in close co-operation with American sailors and English sailors have guarded the seven seas, and French soldiers shoulder to shoulder with American soldiers and English soldiers have marched in triumph from Château Thierry to the river Rhine and have hammered into pieces the greatest military machine ever created by men.

But

~~And~~ now ~~that~~ the war is over; soon our soldiers and sailors will come home with their brows covered with the laurel wreathes of victory. But peace has not yet been securely attained. History records that many wars have been won on the seas and on the battle fields and then been lost at the peace conference. At this moment there is gathering in the beautiful and historic capital of France the greatest conference of statesmen and diplomats that ever assembled on earth in order to arrange the affairs of mankind and make peace for the world. In my judgment our great President made a wise decision when he determined that in spite of all the other duties and obligations that rest upon him ~~that~~ it was his paramount duty to his country and to the world to put aside everything else and attend this great conference. The future of all mankind lies in the hands of this historic body and it is supremely important that President Wilson lend to its deliberations his potent voice and the influence of his mighty personality.

And may we not right now think for a moment of the kind of peace we want? The kind of peace we all want, Americans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, Belgians - all of us who have fought through these long years for human liberty. In the first place be it remembered that we do not want or ask for a peace of vengeance. We have not forgotten that it is written in the greatest of all books that "vengeance is mine and I will repay, saith the Lord," and we would not dare to take out of His almighty hands the solemn task of avenging the blood of women and children that cries unto heaven. But on the other hand we do not want a

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peace of weakness and folly, a peace of sickly sentimentality and of soft yielding of mercy to those that have known no mercy. What we want is a peace of justice. And we all realize that Justice is a stern daughter of God, that she stands with blind-folded eyes holding in even hands the balances according to which she measures out to all the rewards and punishments corresponding to their deeds. A peace of justice therefore must not overlook the diabolical crimes that have been committed by these ambitious and reckless men and nations in originating and prosecuting this cruel and terrible war. We want also a peace of guarantees. It must be placed beyond their power to repeat the crime of 1914 at any time in the future and plunge the world again into war. This may be difficult but it ought not to be impossible. Surely the allied nations who understand the sacredness of international obligations might make and keep a solemn compact amongst themselves that would render ~~impossible~~ forever impossible another bloody debacle such as that through which we have just passed. And so we ask for a peace of justice and a peace of safety, and I believe that we shall get it.

In conclusion let me say to our guests the officers of the French cruisers that we wish for them every possible joy and happiness throughout their future lives. May every one of them be promoted to the rank of Admiral in the French navy which we hope they all deserve, and if there are any lonely bachelors amongst them, may each one of these find somewhere in his travels one of the most beautiful young women in the world and be able to persuade her to make her post-office address the same as his own. And we also cherish the hope that however crowded and eventful their lives may be, they will always find in their memories a pleasant recollection of the few days that they spent among the palm groves and

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sugar fields of this beautiful Island of Porto Rico.

The Filson Historical Society