

RESPONSIBILITIES NOT TO BE SHIRKED

THE ISSUE OF EXPANSION IS AN INEVITABLE ONE.

Substance of a Notable Paper by Franklin MacVeagh of Chicago Which Argues That the United States Cannot Draw Back from Fighting the Battle of Universal Democracy.

The following paper was read recently by Franklin MacVeagh before the Chicago Literary club. It is worthy of careful perusal by every intelligent American.

The new century promises interesting and important international development. The international activities of the last fifty years, it is likely, have been preparations for a new era of expansion among the nations. Napoleon gave Europe too short a time to become either republican or Cossack; but the underlying international issue today is as Napoleon thought it would become, between the forces of democracy and those of autocracy, the one represented by England and the other by Russia. It seems to be settling too into an issue between the Germanic races and the Slavonic, the two remaining forces that are at once great and growing fastest; and the two races which, in their struggles, represent free representative government on the one hand and absolute bureaucratic government on the other. The contention will be for the leadership of the world; and for mastery of the great currents which will make and mold the civilization of the new centuries. And if international developments, involving the future of free government, free commerce and free men, are approaching, one can see the great importance to be made upon the world by any change in the international importance of the United States. The United States has for a long time assumed to be of no importance to international adjustments. On the other hand, the United States is a great power. It has become potentially the strongest of nations—the most powerful that ever has existed. Contemplate then what a tremendous difference it will make if such a nation, not having been taken into account, has suddenly to be taken into account.

OUR PROBLEMS WORLD PROBLEMS.

We see then that the questions now agitating our people, touching our foreign policy, concern not only our nation and its future, but almost more the whole world of nations and their future.

My primary object in this address is not to express my judgment of what is wise for our country to do, but to interpret the nation's drift; to tell you how much the country ought to expand in its territory and its foreign policy, but what expansion I believe is certain to take place, whatever you or I may think about it—how much is inevitable. Most of us have become so accustomed to a horizon bounded by our own continent; were so unexpectant of any interests but those of our own isolated development; were so unburdened with the thought of being our brother's keeper; that to suddenly find ourselves facing the whole world, with every chance of taking a hand in all that goes on in it, and of having possessions great or small all over the world, is the strangest metamorphosis any national situation has ever undergone. But it is important to understand, is the strangest metamorphosis is only apparent. The general assumption is by no means correct that territorial expansion and participation in foreign affairs are but wholly new ambitions, wholly new impulses and wholly new responsibilities and experiences. It would be wrong to minimize the untold elements in the forms of territorial and political expansion which we now confront. But it is also very misleading to overlook what is not new in them.

NOT NOVICES AT EXPANSION.

First as to territorial expansion: We surely are not novices at that. We have indeed done so much in this line that we might seem to an outsider to have done little else. The small country we had at the time of the revolution we had picked out of nothing. It was all the result of expansion and colonization. But since then we have taken on the vast Louisiana region from France and the large Florida region from Spain, having previously secured all we could from England as the result of war. We then took in the Republic of Texas, and went to war with Mexico for still more territory, and took another vast region reaching, with the resultant Gadsden purchase and Texas, from ocean to ocean. And

"No Quarter!"

There is no sense in trifling with disease. Death is a foe ready to overtake you at the least opportunity without warning. It is a foe that is always ready to strike you down at any moment. It is a foe that is always ready to strike you down at any moment. It is a foe that is always ready to strike you down at any moment.

There is just one medicine which can be counted on with absolute certainty to overcome the deadly assault of wasting disease and restore the rugged, masterly power of perfect health. The "Golden Medical Discovery" of Dr. R. V. Pierce of Buffalo, N. Y., creates that nervous energy and nutritive capacity, which makes healthy, nourishing red blood, and keeps it pure and alive with bounding vitality. It nourishes, vitalizes and builds up every organ and tissue in the body; tones the liver; heals the lungs; strengthens the heart, and restores complete energy and health. "I had been troubled for several years with spells of liver complaint," writes H. N. Dransfield, of Cincinnati, "and after trying every remedy, and about two years ago my health gave way. I tried Sarsaparilla. I was getting worse all the time. I had a weakness in my back, my limbs, palpitation of the heart at times, cramping pains in the stomach after eating; nerves weak and no energy for anything. I took Dr. Pierce's Golden Medical Discovery, and began to feel a new life. I am now enjoying splendid health and also a peaceful quiet mind."

Dr. Pierce's thousand-page book, "The Common Sense Medical Adviser" contains over two hundred reliable prescriptions, with directions for self-treatment of all such diseases as are curable without a physician. Anatomy, physiology and the laws of reproduction are explained, with over seven hundred illustrations. One copy, paper-covered, sent absolutely free for 21 one-cent stamps, to pay cost of mailing only. Address: World's Dispensary Medical Association, Buffalo, N. Y. For a handsome cloth binding send 31 stamps.

as though we could not get enough we took far-away and unexplored Alaska a little later on.

You may say there is a difference between taking land on your own continent and taking it away from your own continent. In these days of steam and electricity, that distinction has less accent than it used to have, but it is a valid distinction yet. But at the same time it is difficult to imagine anything on the globe at present more remote or inaccessible or more difficult of defense than California and Alaska were when trans-continental railroads were unknown and the only waterway was around Cape Horn.

It must, however, be admitted that taking lands like Porto Rico is taking lands burdened with difficulties, because they are occupied by a different people; but even that is not a new experience to our nation. Louisiana and Florida had their alien populations; and Mexico and Spain had for a long time peopled all the territories that came to us through the Mexican war and the Gadsden purchase. Those territories were not thickly peopled, it is true, but they were peopled. The experience which confronts us is more profound in degree, but it is not different in kind. And again from the landing at Jamestown until this day we have been absorbing a continent peopled by an aboriginal race. You may say we have not been entirely successful in dealing with these Indians, but we certainly are not an inexperienced nation in dealing with alien and aboriginal populations.

And if one thinks it a new departure to be dealing now with a European nation—with Spain—and not with Mexico, a neighbor, it is well to remember that all we have of territory, except what we took from Mexico and the Indians, we got from England, France, Spain and Russia.

However much or little this vast, restless national expansion may differ in character from the expansion now being before us, it seems clear that it would not be ramonomously overturning and upsetting our traditions and policies and habits to take on some islands in addition to all the rest.

THIS NATION EVER ISOLATED.

Turning now to the second element of the proposed expansion—participation in the international politics of the world—let me remind you that we are not inexperienced in that either. Even here we have not been an isolated nation entirely. Even here we should not be taking a wholly untried role.

Our people were a product of European politics. From the first landings until the end of colonial life one-half of our interests and activities were engaged with international and European affairs and politics. There was no such thing as isolation. We were anxious enough for isolation; but no such thing was possible. We were an outpost of Europe, and not only within its orbit, but all around and about us were the currents and eddies and conflicts and wars of the European nations. And after our victory was achieved and independence was established we were never for a moment out of the conflicts and complications of international politics until in the year of 1812 we fought our way to a second and more secure independence. It is therefore a great injustice to any opinions we may form of the new situation to base them on the assumption that we were unaccustomed to international life. From the very beginning we all trained to deal with the broad politics of the nations. They could scarcely contemplate a political question that was not of European scope.

The strenuous period of our foreign politics passed in 1815, and after nearly 200 years of unending complications with the affairs of Europe we had a period of welcome and deserved rest, in which to devote ourselves to our own domestic affairs. But at no time since have we been an isolated people. We wanted to rest; but no growing nation with a sense of its own value to the world could live entirely alone.

Ever since—almost immediately—the American claimed our territory and South America claimed our sympathy and protection. Certainly no greater assertion of international privilege, and no greater interference in international politics ever was made by an unprovoked and unprovoked nation than the Monroe doctrine, and adhered to without a word from that date to this. It is the very highest essence of international politics.

CASE OF FRANCE IN MEXICO.

I need not again remind you of the Mexican war; nor need I call attention to the continuous diplomatic life of our country during our wars with England and France, and our friendly relations with Russia; and to recall our quick hostility toward France in Mexico, when the civil war was over, we moved at once to the verge of war with the French. After the withdrawal from Mexico we again had international rest for a while; but it is easy to recover the full sense of our grave relations with England and Venezuela only a short time ago. And almost before we could take breath again we came to actual war with Spain. More than sixty times has the United States either actually used force or formally authorized its use beyond its own jurisdiction; it has about thirty times secured foreign territory, and a dozen of these instances have eventually annexed the territory it has invaded. Such a nation can hardly be called isolated from the politics of the world, or said to be inexperienced in international affairs.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

So great has been the internal, the domestic development of our nation during the century—so vast has been its continental expansion—so marvelous have been the home energies of our people—so prodigious and spectacular our sudden wealth and population and national power—such phenomenal stability and conservatism have been developed in our experimental democratic government—so astounding a civil war has come and gone, that our imagination is filled to the brim with the sense of our internal national life, and we cannot forget our international history and activities. So immense has been our "home life" that our foreign affairs are not remembered. But in view of the necessity of forming judgments and opinions upon the situation now confronting us we need a rational estimate of the history of our foreign affairs.

Nor should we allow ourselves to underestimate our national capacity for colonial administration. It is common to hear it said that we are not cut out for dominion beyond the borders of our continent; that we have had no training to fit us for it. There is much disparaging talk of that sort. It seems to me not at all complimentary, nor at all fair or just. We surely taught England and the world how colonies ought not to be governed. For the first time in the modern world we formulated and emphasized the rights and the wrongs of colonial administration, and the les-

sons we taught have revolutionized colonial life and government. We have not only a reverence for the fathers of the republic, that a constitution and national policy adopted by thirteen half-completed, weak, rescued colonies, should be able to call their life their own, could not be expected to hamper the greatest nation in the world. And our constitution has always contemplated its own amendment and enlargement. Our constitution is a marvel, and it is a marvel in nothing so much as in the facility of its rigid lines to yield continuously to growth and expansion.

ENGLAND AS AN EMPIRE.

We have no colonial policy, and therefore have no colonial system; but there is no reason why we should not have both. England has nearly every democratic privilege and nearly every democratic ideal and instinct that we have; and yet she has the greatest and best colonial system ever known. It was bad enough, however, before England became truly democratic. It became perfect only as England's democracy grew. Athens, long ago, was the home of democracy at the time when she was the greatest holder of widespread colonies. It is a profound error to think a democratic government must be a tyranny. That was Spain's theory—and her fatal error. It is not England's theory. It certainly would not be ours. Unquestionably the effect of an American policy of democracy at the time when she was the greatest holder of widespread colonies, it is a profound error to think a democratic government must be a tyranny. That was Spain's theory—and her fatal error. It is not England's theory. 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