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 intelli-

The new century promises interesting and important international devel-The international activities of the last fifty years, it is likely, have been preparations for fasting readjustments 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 becomes between the forces of democracy and those of absolutism; the one represented by England and the other by Russia. It seems to be settling too into an issue between the Germania races and the Slavoric, the two remaining forces that are at ones great and growing greater; and the two which, in their aggregates, represent free representative government on the one hand and absolute bureaucratle government on the other. The contention will be for the tendership of the world; and for mastery of the great currents which will make and model the civilization of the next conturies. And if international developments, involving the future of free government, free commerce and free men, are approaching, one can see the great impression sure to be made upon the world by any marked 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 aand, the United States is a streat power. It has become potentially the strongest of nations-the most power ut 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 PROB-LIGHTS

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

My primary object in this address is not to express my judgment of what it is wise for our country to do, but to interpret the nation's drift; not to tell you how much the country ought to expand in its territory and its foreign policy, but what expansion I believe or I may think about it-how much is inevitable. Most of us had 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 mssessions great or small all over the world, is the stran any national situation has ever under-But it is important to underworld, is the attangest metamorphosis is only apparent. The general assumption is by no means correct that territorial expansion and participation in foreign affairs are both wholly new embitions, wholly new impulses and mize the untried elements in the forms of territorial and political expansion which we now confront. But it is also very misleading to overlook what is not

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 tittle else. The small country we had at the time of the revolution we had picked up 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

There is sense in trifling with disease. Death is a foe ready enough to overpower poor human-ity at the least opportunity without our adding any-thing to the deadly chances by uncer-Death is not the ort of an enemy to dilly-dally with, nor give the slightest quarter. He should be bayoneted to

the earth with a sure and vigorous thrust. 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. V., creates that keen digestive and nutritive conceity, which makes health. N. Y. creates that geen oncestive 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 bear tulness. restores complete energy and cheerfulness.

restores complete energy and cheerfulness.

"I had been troubled for several years with spells of liver complaint," writes H. N. Dransfield, Risq., of Centeunial, Monroe Co., W. Va., "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 left side and imbs, papitation 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 mend from the start. I soon feit like a new person. I am now enjoying splendid health and have a aplendid appetite, good digestion, and also a peaceful, quiet mind."

Dr. Pierce's thousand-nage book. "The

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

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

You may say there is a difference between taking land on your own coninent 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 transcontinental 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, be cause they are occupied by an alien people; but even that is not a new experience to our nation. Louisiana and Florida had their allen 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. These territories were not thickly peopled, it is true, but they were peopled. The experence which confronts us la more profound in degree, but it is not different n kind. And again, from the landing at Jamestown until this day we have been absorbing a continent peopled by an abortginal 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 aborigin-

And if one thinks it a new departure to be dealing as now with a European Spain-and not with nation-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 rising before us, it seems clear that it would not be remorselessly 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 Euro-

pean 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 us, but all around and about us were the currents and strivings and conflicts and wars of the European nations. And after our victory was achieved and independence was established we were never for a moment outside the conflicts and complications of international politics until in the war of 1812 we fought our way to a is certain to take place, whatever you It is therefore a great injustice to any opinions we may form of the new situation to base them on the assumption that we are unaccustomed to international life. From the very beginning until after 1815 our statesmen were all trained to deal with the broad-

er politics of the nations. They could

scarcely contemplate a political question without reference to Europe. The strenuous period of our foreig. politics pased in 1815, and after nearly 200 years of unremitting with the affairs of Europe we had period of welcome and deserved rest. in which to devote ourselves to our own domestic affairs. But ut no time gince have we been an isolated people. We wanted to rest; but no growing notion with a sense of its own value to the world could live entirely alone. wholly new responsibilities and experi- insecure republies of Central and South Very soon-almost immediately-the 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 unsuported nation than the assertion and the interference made by our Monroe doctrine, and adhered to without reserve from that date to this. It is the very highest essence of international

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 nation. But it is well to remember our complications during our civil war 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 France withdrew 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 occupied foreign territory, and in a dozen of these instances has eventunity 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 iomestic development of our nation during this 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 easily forget our international his-So immense has been our 'ome life that our foreign affairs are not remembered. But in view of the necessity of forming judgments

Nor should we allow ourselves to underrate our national capacity for coionial administration. It is common to hear it said that we are not cut out for dominion beyond the barders 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

and opinions upon the situation now

confronting us we need a rational esti-

mate of the history of our foreign af-

was because these ideals were firmly

rather than have them continue. But if we never had gained the lastng experience of our own colonial life and never had thought out and fought the real problems of colonial administration, it seems to me it would have been impossible to doubt that our nation would be finely fitted to any great political demand.

A people that could adapt untramneled undeviating and uncompromising democracy to the widest national life and make it the most conservative form of government known to mankind, can be trusted to govern a few colonies justly, helpfully and wisely A people that could administer and estublish and develop self-government. so as to bring no suggestion of disourngement to the democratic idea, in a country which had a vast system of unqualified slavery, can be trusted to promote self-government in whatever part of the world and with whatever subject populations.

ANTI-EXPANSION BUGBEAR. annot govern a colony without mak ing it an immediate state of the union and giving all the inhabitants the immediate suffrage regardless of the inhabitants' state of political development is a mere bugbear. There has never yet been included in the idea self-government the requirement that political rights and privileges should at all times be universally equal Legal rights are equal, but political rights, even in the freest republic, are still governed in part by expediency The right to vote has various interpre tations in the different states of this union itself, and the negrest approach o uniformity in any one particular is found in the almost universal exclusion f women, who are one-half the population, unless it is the exclusion everywhere of all men under the arbitrary

And once more, let us not be over impressed in this crisis by constlutional country with a written constitution will always hampered in a new departure. When our civil war came on-and when it you going on-and afterwards when the war was over-we found ourselves with grave constitutional doubts and obstacles. In the first instance we igfored them, being forced to if we meant a take the great steps of limiting and cholishing slavery and of centralizing ufficient power in the federal government to govern a great country, and in the last instance we changed the constitution to cover the new departure,

And now it must not be an answer to the demand for a colonial policy that the constitution does not contemplate a colonial policy. Of course, the constitution, at the time it was made ontemplated ne colonial policy. were glad at that time to stop being colonies ourselves. We dreamed only of the dignity of governing ourselves. of colonial administration, and the les- But I think we all can see, notwith-

we taught have revolutionized co- standing our wholesome reverence for But there are very few who think we lonial life and government. We have the fathers of the republic, that a lost none of the ideals or knowledge of constitution and national policy adoptthose days, and it would be difficult for ed by thirteen half-consolidated. air notion to ignore them in practice in weak, rescued colonies, glad to be able view of the examples of present Eng- to call their life their own, could not sh colonial governments, which are be expected to bamper the greatest the results of our teachings. Indeed, it matten in the world. And our constitution has always contemplated its exed in our national character that we lown amendment and enlargement. ould not endure the cylls of Spain's Our constitution is a marvel, and it is clonial system, and went to war 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 colonia! 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 had enough, however, before England became truly democratic. became perfect only as England's democracy grew. Athens, long ago vas the home of democracy at time when she was the great mother of widespread colonies. It is a profound error therefore to think democratic governments and democratic peoples are unfit for colonial empirefor the greatest colonial successes are the successes of democracies. And it is a profound error to think a colonial government must be a tyranny. That was Spain's theory-and fatal error. It is not England's theory. It certainly would not be ours. Inquestionably the effect of an American colonial system would be to put a stop to the old-time, tyrannous, seifish, exacting theories and practices of

colonial government. And now let me point out what seems to me to be a measure of the inevitable expansion of our nation. The expansion we are all thinking about-if we consider the whole subject-is not simply territorial expansion of course, but international expansion too. We are confronted not alone by increase of territory but by an increased participa tion in international politics. We are offered an increased share in the determination of what shall be the dominant forces of the world; and of what shall be the world's civilization.

WE CANNOT GO BACK

Whatever the final decision of the nation, through the people's deliberate voice and sober second thought, may be as to Hawaii, Porto Rico and the them can as yet be called inevitablethis. I think, is inevitable: That we can never go back to our fancied isolation. We once for all have stepped out into the world. Isolation means, for instance, that we are not our brother's to the limitations of a few short keeper: that our affair is to make the most of ourselves. It means that so long as we look after our own civilization we have no responsibility for the general civilization of the world, and that it is our progress only, and not the progress of mankind that must stir

the spirit of an American. Now we have done the very thing isolation. We have taken up Cuba's quarrel. We have become our broth er's keeper. Many will always think the war with Spain was unnecessary have been obtained through diplomacy.

are bound to sit by forever and let Spain wisgovern her colony. What we traditions and satisfactions which did, however, was the baldest form of interference with the international at fairs of a Furopean power-it was do ing the very thing, and all the thing that the unarmed, isolated, minding our-own-business policy directed should not do, and the nation has fully accepted our extraordinary interference in a European nation's business as an unavoidable act of imperative and exalted duty. It is on all accounts. therefore, inevitable that we can neve again treat ourselves as an isolated No nation exists with equal facilities people. A people with a Monroe doctrine never intended to be isolated unyway; but the war with Spain would have crossed the Rubicon if there had been a Rubicon left to cross. Henceforth it is inevitable that we shall be a real part of the great world, regularly taken into account by our fellow nations, and regularly taking our fellow nations into account.

WAR EXPANDS OUR POLICY. The Monroe doctrine shows this is not new-especially the Monroe doc trine illustrated by France in Mexico and by Venezuela-but it is equally evident that the Spanish war is an expansion of our national policy. We may ultimately give over to their own pepulations all our conquered territories, but we cannot take back the This does not mean, as some wise and good Americans fear, the deterioration of the national character If I spoke my whole mind I should eay it means a new exaltation of the national character. It does not mean that we are more in favor of war and less devoted to peace than w It does not mean that we shall not be always the greatest advocate of peace It does not mean that we do not be lieve as firmly as ever in arbitration It does not mean that we shall be come imperialistic-or have an insatlable hunger for more territory. It does not mean that we shall be an aggressive, bullying, quarrelsome nation. It does not mean that we shall become reckless instead of conservative It does not mean that we shall lose our gift of governing or sink public corruption; for extending the thought of the nation to take in the world will not make us less aware of our shortcomings or less competent to correct them. Certainly none of these dreaded things are inevitable But it is inevitable that henceforth foreign territory will not be alien and Philippines-and nothing respecting impossible to our national policy. That far the inevitable has progressed. And it is also inevitable that our national horizon is permanently enlarged. Our outlook upon the world is a new outlook, and it can never be contracted

> months age There are three forces driving us to expanded relations with the world, end we have arrived at that partieu lar period when these forces are beoming especially active and dominint. The century about to open will ce their greatest energy.

NECESSURES OF OUR TRADE. The limit of them is our trade. It is evitable that more and more from is day forth our nation will set out

to become the greatest foreign trad-

for the first time largely invading the markets of the world, if we did not find it easy to foretell the immediate expansion of our merchant marine, if these palpable evidences of a coming Immense expansion of our foreign trade were not present, no student could fail to prophesy the inevitable. or equal necessities for an unprece dented cominerce. We not only have cheap abundance heretofore urknown in a like combination, not only bas nature lavishly equipped us, but we have a people unprecedented in manufacturing and commercial gifts. We have capital that is ample and growing, and workmen of practically a new race. We have a population of vast and constantly growing proportions with scarcely a drone in the great bive Such are the elements of our facilities for foreign trade. Our necessity is the most tyrannous conceivable. We must have foreign trade because our energies have outgrown the consuming capacity of our own ration. Long ago our soil grew more than we could consume, and we have become the great est of Europe's sources of supply. We have now come to the time when we manufacture more than we can consume, and already we have begun to supply the world from our abundant and growing production. We simply must sell our manufactures, and we therefore must be entering a new era of foreign commerce. There will be no seas without American ships, and no ports without American goods car ried there under our own stag. For in the growing cheapness and excelleace of our manufactures nothing vill be more cheaply and excellently built than ships. And with an expanding commerce and a broadening merchant marine what are more inevitable than universal relations be tween our nation and the whole of THE IMPULSE OF DEMOCRACY.

fore our eyes the manufacturing and

ommercial energies of our country

bursting one by one the bonds and

kent them only national, if we did not

see our foreign commerce daily grow

ing and exports of our manufactures

are carrying us on to extended relations with the world is the force of our institutions and political ideas. As I said at the beginning, there is a grow ing issue between our institutions and ideas and those opnosing institutions and ideas which they are steadily supplanting throughout the world. Amer ca especially stands for these institutions and ideas. We could not see them defeated. We must defend them. They have served well our prosperity, our happiness and our manheod. Henceforth we shall serve well their domination of the world. Pree government, free commerce and free men-those first essentials of democracy-are the greatest good, the greatest blessings the political world can know; and there is in democratic people that inherent and abiding fidelity to democratic insituations which has kept us faithful within our own borders, and is foreing us, as in this war with Spain, to be faithful on the larger stage of the the Philippines. But are we not obligworld. Our cry for free institutions in | cd to take them all? Can we take less because they believe the end could ing people ever known in the world. Cuba was the cry of democracy speak-Even if we did not see plainly be- ing through the voice of our nation.

Another of the three forces which

Democracy does not demand war, but it does demand justice. And it does demand freedom. It demands that the modern man who wants freedom shall have freedom. The Monroe doctrine was democracy's first great challenge It was our service. And it is wonderful that any nation should have had a spirit equal to that great self-dedication. Any further step is but another stage of democratic evolution. Who can doubt at this day that democracis a great militant force, or that it will tend to drive an influential and powerfutnation like ours-a useful nation like ours-into complete relations with the world? Democracy knows, better than any other of humanity's great forces, in soil and minerals an easy and that war is not the best agent of ideas, and the activities of democracy, or of democratic governments, do not mean war. Democracy can be militant without entanglements or conflicts, but it cannot be militant and isolated at the same time

CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT.

The third of the forces driving our nation on to closer relations with the world is the sense of responsibility inherent in a great free nation and the consequent impracticability of associating pure isolation with national greatness and grandeur. No truly great nation ever did or ever will for very long time remain isolated or feed its soul on indifference to what must become a part of the great world and take its part of the world's burdens; take its share of responsibility for the world's civilization. Thoughts of human progress are the necessary food of Dreams of universal ameliorations are the nourisbment of all great spirits. The isolation of greatness is inconelvable. Greatness is responsible; greatures is interested in all related great things; greatness has relationships, responsibilities, duties, which are an the scale of its own proportions. And a really great nation must feel responsibilities to the great movement of mankind, as represented in the activities of all the world together. You might as well expect a great man to limit his interests to the life of his immediate family as to expect a great nation to live entirely within itself. It is against nature, against character, against all human impulse, Therefore this growing sense of necessary touch on the part of our great nation with the civilization and interests of mankind.

NOT MERE LAND EXPANSION Let it always be remembered that the new expansion is not mere land extension or even trade extension. Foreign trude will be more and more a part of our life, but foreign possessions for the most part are only a necessury incident of an expansion which essentially means a new chare in the responsibilities of civilization, share in restraining and guiding the forces of nations, a new share in molding the fate of men. I am the furthest possible from engerness for mere territory. But I would not shirk a national duty to escape territory. I would not shirk national duty to escape alten populations. I hoped we might not be obliged to take very much of

[Continued on Page 11.]

