

LOOKING BEYOND THE WAR

Broader Results of the Conflict Pointed Out by Senator Chandler.

PRONOUNCES IT "A FORTUNATE WAR"

Prevention of Larger Wars One of the Fruits-Strengthening the Nation Before the World-The British-American Alliance.

Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire is one of the few men at the front of public life at the capital today who were active as younger men in the larger war days of what Horace Greeley aptly called "the great conflict." He was conspicuous in the national senate in the debates as an advocate of the recognition of Cuban independence, concurrently with the declaration of war, and was largely instrumental in securing the adoption of the joint resolution asserting that the people of Cuba "are and of right ought to be independent," which Spain treated as a direct challenge to war which the historian will not doubt regard as the immediate cause of the conflict.

Nevertheless he is not a fire-eater and is hopeful that the war will be short and its larger highly beneficial to mankind in the long run.



SENATOR WILLIAM E. CHANDLER (PORTRAIT)

He calls it a "fortunate war" and his reasons for so calling it are decidedly interesting.

"I have no particular sympathy," said Senator Chandler, "with the idea that every generation must and ought to have a war in order that the courage of the nation may be preserved and the sterner virtues of manhood be maintained. That is a theory which has been held by men of considerable eminence, who have believed that without the hard discipline of war occurring at more or less regular intervals the virility of a nation is in danger of being lost, so that its people will degenerate into softness and weakness."

"But while I do not share this view of war I note it as a curious fact that in the past century and a quarter of our existence as a nation events have conspired together in such a way as to give us exactly one war to every generation. This in the first quarter century we had the war of the revolution, in the next quarter century the war with Mexico, in the third quarter century the war of the rebellion, and now when its last quarter was running to its close without any war, lo and behold! we have this war with Spain.

Benefits of War.

"Whatever may be said about the blessings of peace—and assuredly they are very great—it is undeniable that war, particularly when it is a war waged, as this one is, for what the nation believes to be a just and righteous cause, must have an enormous and wholesome tonic influence, bracing up not merely the lower and physical, but the higher and moral, life of the nation engaging in it. Suppose, if you please, that this Spanish war were to come to an end now, and that no more fighting were to be done. It would have been a short conflict, with no great loss of life, and yet we would have already made not only a great navy, but a great military demonstration; we would have given ourselves assurance, and, at the same time, shown to the whole world that we have a mighty reserve power, both on land and on sea. We have made a demonstration something akin to the memorable grand review that took place at the close of our civil war, and which gave us a spectacle on Pennsylvania avenue which, as I look back to it, I feel was a splendid object lesson as to the vital strength and resources of

the republic, and was of incalculable value in its moral influence upon foreign observers. A similar thing is now going to happen again. We shall put our 125,000 militia in line, and, whether we have to send them all to the front or not, we shall, by and by, bring them together in one great assembly here at Washington, and the moral effect of that as a demonstration of our latent power as a nation will be great and valuable. The war may be too short to require us to use this latent power on which we have made a first call—and the shorter the war is the better we shall all be pleased—but even if it ends tomorrow, this demonstration of our capacity for war on a great scale has been made, and its moral effect will remain.

Moreover, attention having been called in a pointed way to our deficiencies in military organization, in coast defenses and in naval equipment at various points, the country will now insist that they shall be remedied at whatever cost, so that we shall never at any future time find ourselves taken by surprise or at a disadvantage in facing any foreign complication.

"The next broad view which comes to me is that this war is a fortunate war in many ways. It comes at a good time and under fortunate circumstances for us. It is, in my opinion, going to save this country a bigger war, and perhaps several other bigger wars. If we had shown pusillanimity now we should have taken our place as a second-class power instead of a first-class power, with this extremely probable result—that other nations, perceiving us to be a second-class power, not willing to fight even Spain the part of European powers in this hemisphere, would have taken advantage of the discovery to embark in various ambitious enterprises of their own on this side of the

Atlantic.

Fortunate in Many Ways.

"It is furthermore exceedingly fortunate that the United States goes into this war not for itself nor to gain anything for its own aggrandizement, but simply to fight for friends and neighbors. Yet another piece of good fortune for us is that things are situated in Europe at this time that Spain cannot get any help from the 'concert of Europe,' which three or four years hence she might be able to get. All the conditions of the time and it seems to me all the circumstances of the time are in our favor. My feeling is that it is the best thing that has ever clearly indicated by these fortunate circumstances to which I have alluded. I think it will appear in history, both as to its immediate outcome and as to the far-reaching consequences of which I have spoken, as altogether one of the most fortunate wars in which any nation ever engaged. Any world which will infer that if we will take such a stand and make such sacrifices for a neighboring people we would certainly fight for ourselves and our own interests still more readily and resolutely."

"What important changes, if any, do you anticipate, Mr. Senator, in our international relations as the result of this war?"

Alliance with Britain.

"The new feature in our international relations is," replied Mr. Chandler, "already evident in the great change which has taken place in the feeling between England and this country. This change of feeling is palpable in both countries. The way in which the British government has acted during the last few weeks, ever since our dispatch to Spain reached its culmination, has made a deep and lasting impression upon the American people. The logical outcome of this change will be an understanding, amounting to an alliance, between England and the United States hereafter. No actual written treaty with England is to be expected or desired, because we do not seek any entangling alliances with foreign nations in our day any more than our fathers did. But we can have a mutually good understanding between the two countries without entering into any formal treaty. There has never been any very bad feeling between England and the United States, except what has grown out of what I may call the assumption of England toward us of the tone and manner of the big brother to the little brother. England, in times past, has been disposed to play the big brother. When we have had a difference with her she has seemed to assume to treat it, and to decide it, not as if we were a nation of equal power and dignity with herself, but as if she, having that big many of hers, was entitled to act on the big brother principle and say, 'We are going to have it so and so, and you help it if you can.'"

"In order to get at a working basis of alliance with England, which this war has brought into sight as a distinct possibility, some method will have to be found, of course, of deciding questions between the two countries on some other principle than that. It is evident enough that an alliance between the two nations, or, let us say, an understanding between them as against the rest of the world, would not last long if, whenever a dispute arose between themselves, England were to assume, as she has done on previous occasions, to settle it by her ipse dixit. The big brother attitude will have to be given up forever. And, unless some other way of adjusting differences between England and ourselves can be found, the danger will be that eventually we shall ally ourselves with the other great nations of the world.

"If England is seeking to make her navy bigger than the combined navies of all the other great powers of the world, then all the other nations will naturally find themselves in a sort of conspiracy to act together to offset, and, if possible, at some time to overmatch England's naval supremacy. That undoubtedly has been the recent tendency of things in Europe, and it has been, to look upon that as the natural order of things. But now I am quite strongly led in the other direction to consider whether there should not be an English alliance, or an understanding that would be equivalent to an alliance, between the United States and England, for certain large and broad purposes."

A Possibility.

"Then, Mr. Senator, you seriously think that an Anglo-American alliance is among the practical possibilities of the near future?"

"Yes. Assuming that we can first arrange a basis for a fair adjustment of disputes between England and the United States in such a way as would distinctly guarantee to this country absolute equality with England as a great power, and a distinct recognition of certain fundamental American principles—notably the Monroe doctrine—I believe there are good reasons for such an alliance. There is not merely our common language and the tie of race, but, as regards international questions, there is a broad community of interests. The general policy of England is in accordance with ours; that is to say, she wants open ports everywhere all over the world, and so do we. She gives her colonies greater freedom than any other nation, and that, too, is in line with our American idea. So far as we have sympathies with the colonies of European nations, we certainly have more sympathy with English colonies than with any other. So that, if the continent of Asia, like the continent of Africa, is to be divided up among the European powers, it is more in accordance with our natural sympathies, as well as in line with our material interests, for us to prefer that England should get the largest share of it."

"It may be said, and truly, that we are opposed on principle to this method of partitioning Africa and Asia by armed force. It is doubtless the feeling of the American people that there is an element of robbery and wrong in this seizure by the European powers of the territory of Asiatic and African people. Nevertheless, as a practical matter, it is a fact that this business of partitioning is going on and the United States will not undertake to oppose it by force—which is the only way in which we could do anything to stop it. It being settled, therefore, that the partitioning of Asia and Africa will take place (and as a matter of fact has already taken place) to a large extent, and is going on to the end, our sympathies and our interests unite to make us prefer that England should acquire control rather than the other European powers."

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while it bears incidentally upon the Monroe doctrine, cannot possibly lead us into a war with any other European power.

Why We Wage War.

"We are in armed conflict with Spain because of her war methods, which are barbarous, because of her long and cruel oppression of the Cuban people; because of her bad faith, as shown in the De Lome letter, which revealed her as practicing deception upon us in the matter of autonomy and at the same time insulting our president; and last, but not least because of her allowing the Maine to be blown up by some of the extreme Spaniards in Havana. We are fortunate, again, in having such strong specific causes for the war we are making."

"This war is fortunate, too, in that, that while Spain is not so powerful a nation as heretofore, yet she is not so weak a nation as to make her an unworthy antagonist or one whose defeat will be an ignominious thing in itself. Her strength and resources and the extent of her naval and military establishments are not so small that we can be charged with making a cowardly fight. Her expulsion by force from this hemisphere is indeed no holiday affair."

"It is furthermore exceedingly fortunate that the United States goes into this war not for itself nor to gain anything for its own aggrandizement, but simply to fight for friends and neighbors. Yet another piece of good fortune for us is that things are situated in Europe at this time that Spain cannot get any help from the 'concert of Europe,' which three or four years hence she might be able to get. All the conditions of the time and it seems to me all the circumstances of the time are in our favor. My feeling is that it is the best thing that has ever clearly indicated by these fortunate circumstances to which I have alluded. I think it will appear in history, both as to its immediate outcome and as to the far-reaching consequences of which I have spoken, as altogether one of the most fortunate wars in which any nation ever engaged. Any world which will infer that if we will take such a stand and make such sacrifices for a neighboring people we would certainly fight for ourselves and our own interests still more readily and resolutely."

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To Alaska Cold Fields

By new EMPIRE LINE 1,500 ton steamers—Omaha, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana—Commanded by specially fitted and steam heat, electric lights and all modern improvements.

SEATTLE TO ST. MICHAEL, appointed to sail about June 15, 22, 29, July 6, 13, 20, 27, 34, 41, 48, 55, 62, 69, 76, 83, 90, 97, 104, 111, 118, 125, 132, 139, 146, 153, 160, 167, 174, 181, 188, 195, 202, 209, 216, 223, 230, 237, 244, 251, 258, 265, 272, 279, 286, 293, 300, 307, 314, 321, 328, 335, 342, 349, 356, 363, 370, 377, 384, 391, 398, 405, 412, 419, 426, 433, 440, 447, 454, 461, 468, 475, 482, 489, 496, 503, 510, 517, 524, 531, 538, 545, 552, 559, 566, 573, 580, 587, 594, 601, 608, 615, 622, 629, 636, 643, 650, 657, 664, 671, 678, 685, 692, 699, 706, 713, 720, 727, 734, 741, 748, 755, 762, 769, 776, 783, 790, 797, 804, 811, 818, 825, 832, 839, 846, 853, 860, 867, 874, 881, 888, 895, 902, 909, 916, 923, 930, 937, 944, 951, 958, 965, 972, 979, 986, 993, 1000, 1007, 1014, 1021, 1028, 1035, 1042, 1049, 1056, 1063, 1070, 1077, 1084, 1091, 1098, 1105, 1112, 1119, 1126, 1133, 1140, 1147, 1154, 1161, 1168, 1175, 1182, 1189, 1196, 1203, 1210, 1217, 1224, 1231, 1238, 1245, 1252, 1259, 1266, 1273, 1280, 1287, 1294, 1301, 1308, 1315, 1322, 1329, 1336, 1343, 1350, 1357, 1364, 1371, 1378, 1385, 1392, 1399, 1406, 1413, 1420, 1427, 1434, 1441, 1448, 1455, 1462, 1469, 1476, 1483, 1490, 1497, 1504, 1511, 1518, 1525, 1532, 1539, 1546, 1553, 1560, 1567, 1574, 1581, 1588, 1595, 1602, 1609, 1616, 1623, 1630, 1637, 1644, 1651, 1658, 1665, 1672, 1679, 1686, 1693, 1700, 1707, 1714, 1721, 1728, 1735, 1742, 1749, 1756, 1763, 1770, 1777, 1784, 1791, 1798, 1805, 1812, 1819, 1826, 1833, 1840, 1847, 1854, 1861, 1868, 1875, 1882, 1889, 1896, 1903, 1910, 1917, 1924, 1931, 1938, 1945, 1952, 1959, 1966, 1973, 1980, 1987, 1994, 2001, 2008, 2015, 2022, 2029, 2036, 2043, 2050, 2057, 2064, 2071, 2078, 2085, 2092, 2099, 2106, 2113, 2120, 2127, 2134, 2141, 2148, 2155, 2162, 2169, 2176, 2183, 2190, 2197, 2204, 2211, 2218, 2225, 2232, 2239, 2246, 2253, 2260, 2267, 2274, 2281, 2288, 2295, 2302, 2309, 2316, 2323, 2330, 2337, 2344, 2351, 2358, 2365, 2372, 2379, 2386, 2393, 2400, 2407, 2414, 2421, 2428, 2435, 2442, 2449, 2456, 2463, 2470, 2477, 2484, 2491, 2498, 2505, 2512, 2519, 2526, 2533, 2540, 2547, 2554, 2561, 2568, 2575, 2582, 2589, 2596, 2603, 2610, 2617, 2624, 2631, 2638, 2645, 2652, 2659, 2666, 2673, 2680, 2687, 2694, 2701, 2708, 2715, 2722, 2729, 2736, 2743, 2750, 2757, 2764, 2771, 2778, 2785, 2792, 2799, 2806, 2813, 2820, 2827, 2834, 2841, 2848, 2855, 2862, 2869, 2876, 2883, 2890, 2897, 2904, 2911, 2918, 2925, 2932, 2939, 2946, 2953, 2960, 2967, 2974, 2981, 2988, 2995, 3002, 3009, 3016, 3023, 3030, 3037, 3044, 3051, 3058, 3065, 3072, 3079, 3086, 3093, 3100, 3107, 3114, 3121, 3128, 3135, 3142, 3149, 3156, 3163, 3170, 3177, 3184, 3191, 3198, 3205, 3212, 3219, 3226, 3233, 3240, 3247, 3254, 3261, 3268, 3275, 3282, 32