

ordinarily let alone and goes through life without a fight.

Not that I believe in tamely submitting to every injury or insult, or that a nation, like an individual, does not sometimes have to assert itself, even to the extent of war. No more sacred duty rests upon the United States than to see that every citizen is protected, wherever he may be, and to secure such protection every dollar and every man within the limits of this country should stand pledged. I care not where an American may go, whether among the savage tribes in Africa, among the semi-civilized nations of Asia or in the higher civilized nations of Europe, it should be understood that the banner we love is a guarantee of safety which no nation or individual can trifle with. It is said that the lives and property of American citizens in Turkey have been wantonly destroyed. If that be true, reparation should be demanded. And if that be refused, I would introduce Dewey to the Sultan before breakfast. And if beneath the fire of his guns the grand dome of the mosque of St. Sophia tumbles into ruins, with all the picturesque splendor that attended the falling walls of the temple of Jerusalem, I should only say, let all the world take warning and respect the stars and stripes. It is to the glory of this country that in its infancy it refused to pay tribute to the pirates of Algiers, and sent Decatur and others, who vanquished the pirates and compelled respect to our flag. And I care not how often, if necessary, that lesson of the sanctity of the stars and stripes is given.

Disposal of the Islands.

Many plans are suggested for the disposal of the Philippines. One is to withdraw our army and navy and leave the inhabitants to do the best they can for themselves. Another is to continue an armed force in possession for the purpose of preserving order until such time as the inhabitants have organized and put into active operation something like a stable government. Third, while leaving the control of internal affairs to the inhabitants to establish something in the nature of a protectorate—one that will guarantee peace within and protect against invasion from without. Fourth, to treat the islands as so much property and sell them for what we can get—selling to any responsible purchaser and one likely to establish good government in the islands. Fifth, to make them colonies, to be governed by the United States, thus introducing into the life of this nation the colonial system which obtains among European powers. And sixth, to incorporate these islanders as fellow citizens, establishing therein at first territories with the view of subsequent admission into the Union as states. All these plans have their advocates. The air is full of argument advocating and challenging the wisdom,

legality and constitutionality of each. I do not propose to enter into any discussion of the legality or constitutionality of any of these plans. I assume that whatever the American people determine to do in reference to these islands they will. If new laws have to be enacted or constitutions amended, all is within the power of the people, for laws and constitutions, legislators, presidents and judges are but the means and agents by which the American people put into execution their deliberate purpose, and whatever that people determine to do they will do, and there is no power on earth that will or can stop them. Neither do I propose to say aught for or against the advisability of either of the first four plans suggested.

Colonies.

The only matters I desire to consider are those involved in the last two propositions, namely, the introduction of the colonial system into this country and the holding of these islands as colonies of the United States, or, on the other hand, the incorporation of the people of those islands into our nationality as citizens thereof, either by their direct admission as states or through the intermediate process of territorial organization. Each of these propositions I believe freighted with peril and I am glad that the determination has been made to hold these questions open for deliberate consideration and not by hasty action to do that which once done might prove to be of lasting and irretrievable injury.

And, first, of the colonial system. Confessedly it will be a departure in the history of this country—an as yet untried experiment. It is said that the Anglo-Saxon race has manifested a capacity to govern well; that we are of that race and that, therefore, we could well govern those islands as colonies. India and Egypt are pointed to with pride as the achievements of our race in the way of government. I do not question the capacity of the race on either side of the waters to well and wisely govern others. I object to it because it antagonizes the principles upon which this government was founded, which have controlled its life up to the present time, and the perfection of which has been the hope and aspiration of every true American. Those principles were expressed in the declaration of independence in these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Upon these immortal principles this government was established, and we have again and again proclaimed to the

world that they are the foundations upon which this government rests, and have appealed to our prosperity and success as evidence of the justice of those principles. Somehow or other I still believe in the declaration of independence, and do not take kindly to a statement like the following in the September number of the Boston Congregationalist.

"The Rev. W. T. Perrin, one of the ablest of the Methodist clergymen of Boston, defended the annexation of Porto Rico, Hawaii and any other Spanish possessions, holding that the people of the country are realizing the absurdity of the clause in the declaration of independence which says that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. * * * The logic of events has made it our duty to do so, and duty is greater than theory. Government derives its powers from God, and God alone, and the nations are responsible to him."

Despotism.

This assumption of divine authority has been the cry of every despot from Louis XIV., who said, "I am the state," to that madcap on the German throne, who is credited with saying, "Me und Gott." But with a diviner insight and a truer reverence we have believed that government derives its powers from the governed. I glory in the fact that my father was an old-line abolitionist, and one thing which he instilled into my youthful soul was the conviction that liberty, personal and political, is the God-given right of every individual, and I expect to live and die in that faith.

I know that a Massachusetts lawyer years ago sneered at the declaration of independence as a collection of glittering generalities, but it takes the audacity of a Boston preacher to say in effect that the declaration is a lie. It is true that during the century and a quarter of our existence our conduct has not been always on the plane of our avowed principles. Very few nations, as very few individuals, live up to their high ideals, but surely this has been the ideal of our life, and we have striven to make it more and more real. The great war between the states was but an effort to make those principles more far-reaching in their application, and every step forward along our history has been towards a more perfect realization of this ideal. Now, government by force is the very antipodes of this, and to introduce government by force over any portion of the nation is to start the second quarter of the second century of our life upon principles which are the exact opposite of those upon which we have hitherto lived. It is one thing to fail of reaching your ideal; it is an entirely different thing to deliberately turn your back upon it. It is doubtless true that government by force often secures order and peace, but order and peace are not the only purpose of government. Order