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"MANIFEST DESTINY."

Are we to sacrifice the principles of the Declaration of Independence to sell a few bales of cotton or a few bushels of wheat? Trade is valuable; but, purchased by the sacrifice of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Farewell Address of Washington and of the Monroe doctrine, it is not worth the price.

There is a good deal of talk about "manifest destiny" in connection with the Philippines. I am one of those who believe that the hand of God is in the affairs of the world. "By His kings reign and princes decree justice." But I do not believe the hand of God is in this business. If it is, I fear it is to discipline and teach us the dangers to our Government from an imperial or colonial policy. Mr. Chairman, some of the same people who are loudest and most persistent in the assertion that the possession of the Philippines is a "manifest destiny" are also asserting the following as good imperialist doctrine. An Administration paper asserts:

While it may seem a cold-blooded assertion, there is little more to regret in the death of 10,000 Filipinos than in the cutting down of as many pine trees in the United States. The American Indian is going the way pointed out by evolution; the Filipino must follow.

Let us be honest with ourselves and the world in this matter and admit that we are not altogether animated by humane motives, that in many respects this question with the present Administration is not one of humanity but one of profit. In the language of two of the leading papers of the country, which I quote, it is evident that it is not all a question of benevolence. A leading newspaper says: "There is a good deal of nonsensical talk about humanity requiring us to keep possession of the Philippines. It is noteworthy, however, that it comes precisely at the time we are trying to sell a few billions of dollars in the Philippines to the Philippine Government."

The Washington Post, published at the national capital, adds:

Why not tell the truth and say what is the fact, that we want Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and Luzon, together with any other islands in either ocean that may hereafter commend themselves to our appetite, because we believe they will add to our national strength, and because we hope they will some day become purchasers at our bargain counters? We might as well throw off the mask and indulge ourselves in a little honest candor. We will not cost us nothing, and it may profit much. At any rate we shall have the comfort and satisfaction of being honest with ourselves and the privilege of looking into the mirror without blushing.

If we want to Christianize these people, let us accord them independence with protection and secure harbors, coalage stations, trade and commercial advantages, which they will gladly give us. Let them reimburse us the twenty millions paid Spain, and let us send the message of the cross through Christian missionaries. You can never Christianize any people under the sun by cruelty, by oppression, or by a shotgun policy. The "manifest destiny" of this great Republic, this nation blessed of God, the greatest in wealth, in contiguity, and in population (except Great Britain, Russia, and the Chinese Empire) is to show to the whole world the marvelous nature which has become possible of self-government, that a great nation can exist without great fleets, navies, and standing armies, and that we are the friends of liberty, of humanity, of the oppressed of every race in every clime under the sun.

FOREIGN ALLIANCES—ADVICE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

This present policy of the Republican Administration must necessarily lead to foreign entanglements and foreign alliances—the very things against which the founders of the Republic warned us. Thomas Jefferson, one of the founders, gave utterance to these sentiments more than a hundred years ago:

"SEPARATED FROM FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS." Separate by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe and from the political interests which entangle them, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them and theirs to us, it can not be the interest of any to assail us nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise indeed were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which we have placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with of pursuing a distance from whence our land is seen, and of the advantage of the climate in which we live, and the happiness, of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the unrivalage of reason rather than of force. How delectable, then, must it be in a government like ours to see its citizens adopt, individually, the views, the interests, and the conduct which their country should pursue, directing themselves by the passions and particular useful friendships and to embarrass and embroil us in the calamitous scenes of Europe.

The following sentiments of the Father of his Country are also applicable, it seems to me, to the present situation:

"MAXIMS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON—they were uttered a hundred years ago, but as are as applicable now as they are as applicable then."

Separated as we are by a world of water from other nations, we shall, if we are wise, surely avoid being drawn into the labyrinth of their politics and involved in their destructive wars. America may think herself happy in having the Atlantic as a barrier.

THE TRUE POLICY OF AMERICA.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is to have with them as little politics and as much commerce and friendship as possible. A SAFEGUARD OF NATURE.

Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one-quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of others; possessing a chosen country with room enough for all; our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation; entertaining a due sense of our equal rights to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to our honor and confidence from our fellow-citizens, reposing not from birth, but from our actions and our sense of them; * * * with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens; a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to ripen the fruits of industry and improvements, and shall take not from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the true liberty of perfect good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

The following utterances apply especially at this time to the tendency toward too strong a British-American alliance:

"We want an American character.

I can most religiously aver that I have no wish that is incompatible with the dignity, happiness, and true interest of the people of this country. My ardent desire is, and my aim has been, to comply strictly with all our engagements, but, as the present condition of the United States rests from political connections with every other country, to see them independent of all and free from the influence of the political parties of the various nations; a political condition commonly supposed to be the true condition of the powers of Europe may be convinced we act for ourselves and not for others. This, in my judgment, is the only way to be respected abroad and esteemed in the world. It will be an error to let France (or any other country), create dissensions, disturb the public tranquility, and destroy, perhaps forever, the cement which binds the Union.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign Influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most to be dreaded to this country. It has occasionally been seen that foreign powers would attempt to influence the governments of the United States by corrupting them externally in one or another of its branches.

EXCEPTIONAL PARTIALITY FOR ONE FOREIGN NATION."

This new policy of imperialism in spirit is furthermore an abandonment of the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe in his message to Congress respecting his Administration, well known as the "Monroe Doctrine." The following language of this doctrine, as enunciated in the message, is as follows:

The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European powers. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt upon their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have no maneuver to enter into; and we shall consider any attempt to extend their sway from the civilization and system of government existing in those colonies as dangerous to us.

If we involve ourselves in foreign complications and the affairs of nations upon the European and Asiatic continents, necessarily we will be driven step by step from an adherence to this doctrine, enunciated by President Monroe, which has enabled us to maintain the peace of this hemisphere and added to our strength among the nations of the earth.

THE COST OF IMPERIALISM.

Mr. Chairman, the cost of this present policy of the Administration, the cost of imperialism, is growing gradually greater year by year. I desire to submit, in connection with my remarks upon this subject the very carefully prepared and full, while brief, statement of the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Richardson], made a few days ago in the House, showing the cost of imperialism—showing that we have had an annual increase.