

it in the United States. As long as there is a conflict between these two theories of government it must always be an issue. And this conflict can only be settled in one of two ways. We must either make the Filipino independent, or must make ourselves imperialistic in our theory of government. And I believe that that great New York convention ought to have risen to the dignity of the occasion; and it ought to have said to this country: "You may vote us up or you may vote us down; but if we rise we will rise with liberty, and if we fall we will fall with death." (Great applause.)

Upon what theory do we hold the Philippine Islands to-day? I have heard two theories advanced. Some say we got them by purchasing the islands from Spain; others say we got them by conquest. Did we purchase the islands from Spain?

How did we get the people? Did we buy the people at so much a head? Or were they thrown in when we bought the islands? Which will you take? Will you buy people at so much a piece? Or will you say that when you buy dirt you buy the people who stand upon it? I deny the right of our government to buy people from any king on earth. (Applause.) I deny the right. More than that—not only can we not buy people from Spain, but if the Filipinos had unanimously declared that they wanted to sell themselves to us, I deny the right of any man to sell himself into slavery or into bondage.

I say: Meet these questions and fight them out. The Republicans are afraid to meet the question of imperialism. Do you ask me for evidence? Read their platform in 1900. Did they declare for imperialism? No. Did they mention endorsing colonialism? What did they say? They said we could not do anything until the Filipinos should lay down their arms. And when the Filipinos had laid down their arms, what did they say? They said there was "nothing to do—it is all over now." (Applause.) They first said: "We have not reached the question;" and then they said: "We have got past it." (Renewed applause.)

And to-day the Republican party dares not defend its colonial policy. Why did these cowardly New York Democrats run from a question, when the Republicans are afraid of it? Do you tell me that although we might not get title by purchase, we got title by force? that we had whipped the Filipinos, and they are ours? If you believe in that doctrine, let some big Republican try to whip a Democrat and then claim to own

him, and see whether the doctrine is good. (Laughter.) And if a big Republican cannot whip a little Democrat and then own him, how can a big nation like ours whip 8,000,000 people and then own them? (Applause.)

The question of imperialism is an issue—it must be an issue. And the Democratic party ought to be ashamed of itself in any State in this union to run from a principle that involves a question of American liberty. (Great applause and cheering.)

#### OUR COUNTRY.

Speech of General Nelson A. Miles before the Iroquois Club, of Chicago, April 13, 1904, on the occasion of the Club's banquet in commemoration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson.

It is a pleasure to meet the fellow-members of the Iroquois club, and to be again in this great metropolis, located in the center of America's business energies and material wealth. The results of your enterprise and industry are felt in every section of our country, and are seen vibrating through the marts of commerce in every quarter of the globe. It is well that as years roll on there should gather here practical business and representative men. There could be no place more suitable than this for discussions that affect our commercial and industrial welfare, and for the consideration of those important questions that rest at the very foundation of our national existence, which are vital to the perpetuity of our institutions and the preservation of the democratic governments of the Americas.

The great State of Illinois has furnished most eminent patriots and statesmen, who have written their names high on the immortal roll of fame. I believe at such a time as this Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas and Lyman Trumbull, were they now living, would be in sympathy with the objects of this meeting, together with one of your charter members, the eminent jurist who presides with such dignity and ability over one of the great coordinate branches of our government. Neither could a more suitable time be selected than the birthday of that most eminent statesman, patriot and philosopher—the author of the Declaration of Independence, and among the first and most eminent of our chief magistrates.

I may well quote on this occasion, and in this presence, the patriotic and now most appropriate eulogy of Thomas Jefferson by Abraham Lincoln, when he said: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

All honor to Jefferson—to the man who in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people had the coolness, forecast and sagacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

There has been no time in the last century when the citizens of this great republic have more needed to be mindful of the theory of government established by the fathers, or should study more earnestly the character of the institutions then inaugurated and the design of the authors. It may be well to consider the character of the men that made up that assembly which proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, and also that convention which formulated and adopted the Constitution of the United States. Intelligent, conscientious men; such a body of men in point of moral worth, integrity of purpose and noble patriotism never assembled before or since. Through their wisdom and their devotion to the welfare of mankind they wrought out a form of government more just and perfect than any other ever conceived by man.

It was the avowed purpose of the authors to give to the people of this country "a constitution provided with more checks and barriers against the introduction of tyranny than any government hitherto instituted;" they were aware "that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty;" and that "nothing but harmony, honesty, industry and frugality were necessary to make a great and happy people." For more than 100 years the inspiration of those men has been the guiding star of our progress and prosperity. They wrought not for themselves, for selfish purposes, for the gratification of ambition, or for the benefit only of the people living at that time, but they founded deep and strong the citadel of liberty, equality and justice. Through all the vicissitudes of the past century our fathers have preserved those institutions, and we must ever be mindful of our sacred duty and obligation to defend them.

Selfishness and apathy are the germs of political disease which cannot but result in the decay and ruin of the priceless institutions that we now enjoy. On this undeveloped continent the fathers and those that followed them found a safe refuge from the oppression of monarchies. Here they founded a state in which they took upon themselves

the responsibility of self-government, by which every man was a sovereign clothed with the sacred duty of maintaining a government that should be the expression of the will of the people, and for the benefit of all, from the humblest to the most exalted. Such has been our theory and practice through many decades, and up to within a few years. The political student must be blind indeed to evidences before him if he does not see indications of a serious disregard of the principles upon which our government was founded, if he does not perceive the adoption of measures which can but result in the crystallization of a central power, and the endangerment of the whole fabric which was so splendidly wrought by the founders.

We hear so much said about what the government should do, forgetting that there can be but one government within the borders of the great republic—that is, a government by the thought, expression and the sovereign will of the citizens of these United States. We hear also the boasting of what we are going to do as a "world power." There never was a world power that compared in physical grandeur to the great moral world power which we exercised for a hundred years as a nation of free, independent, just and humane people, a nation of millions of earnest, patriotic citizens, who not only conducted their own affairs with justice and equality, but wielded a splendid influence in behalf of the oppressed of other lands struggling for independence. That was indeed a world power which commanded the love and devotion of our own people as well as the liberty-loving people of every quarter of the world. Should we ever lose that national character, our boast of being a world power by mere brute force would be justly held in contempt and our existence as a republic would be of short duration. The world is too familiar with the spectacle of a strong power expanding by subjugation. Rome, the strongest of empires based on force, thus wrote her history and wrought her ruin. The cannon's mouth can speak words of force, but is ill-fitted to voice benevolence and higher civilization.

I have traveled far in foreign lands and observed the people of many countries. I have had occasion to study the unfortunate condition of many people and the results of other forms of governments, and to contrast them with our own. I have had opportunities of knowing the condition of our own people in every State and in every Territory. Many of the best years of my life have been spent with the home-builders of

the great West. There are no people on the face of the globe more fortunate than the sovereign citizens of our own country. They are as intelligent and strong as any, as enterprising and patriotic as the best, and nearest their hearts is the desire to transmit our institutions in all their beneficence and purity to their descendants. What is priceless to ourselves should be guarded with sacred care for our children. Besides the devastation of country, our great civil war cost the people of the United States \$8,000,000,000 of treasure, but the greatest loss was in the hundreds of thousands of lives, the flower of our young manhood, that went down to untimely graves from both sections of our country. That was a national loss that can never be regained. We have had enough of war. Let us cultivate the spirit of peace.

To say nothing of the thousands of lives that have been lost or ruined in the conquest of the Philippines, we have expended enough treasure, drawn from the people of this country, to have put water on every quarter section of our arid land, thereby benefiting millions of our home-builders, or to have built a splendid system of good roads over our entire country. Yet we find 8,000,000 of Malays crowded into these islands in an area not as large as the territory of New Mexico, a population greater than that which now occupies the western half of the United States. Our flag was raised in glory over the halls of the Moctezumas, and lowered with honor. Again it was raised in glory over the capital of the Celestial empire, and lowered with honor. It was raised in glory over the island of Cuba, and now with honor has given place to the last of the 17 republics that have been established in the western hemisphere, copied after our own and embracing 50,000,000 of people.

I rejoice that the most thoughtful and humane of our fellow countrymen are now advocating granting the people of the Philippine islands the blessings that we have given to those of Cuba, thereby establishing the first republic in the orient. When this just and generous act is accomplished the 8,000,000 inhabitants of those islands will hail it with unspeakable joy and the great majority of the people of this country will indorse the benevolent act. Two hundred days would be sufficient time in which to accomplish that glorious result.

We need not cultivate an appetite for the horizon when we have the best country on earth, with undeveloped resources that will occupy our people for hundreds of years. In the Northeast

section of our country we find marvelous ingenuity, enterprise and concentrated wealth, yet there are more undeveloped resources and unutilized wealth in the Southern and Western States than are within the reach of the people of any other country on earth. In those States natural products can be developed that will make millions of people happy and prosperous. I have had from my boyhood days every reason to feel a deep interest and earnest solicitude for those who toil and who constitute the grand yeomanry of this country. Whatever controversies exist or may arise between capital and labor should be adjusted by honorable men, without violence, and without disturbing the industries or peace of our country, in order that the strongest bonds of friendship, of mutual respect, of high regard and good fellowship shall predominate between the different elements of our society. It will require most judicious and wise statesmanship to protect American labor from dangers both within and without. Economic questions in which there is an honest difference of opinion will be properly adjusted in a constitutional way by the sovereign people for the best interests of the entire country.

What Americans most require is intelligent, honest administration of their municipal, State and national affairs. As the latter affects more seriously the destiny of our entire people, it is of the highest importance that our government should be administered with integrity and for the best interests of the republic. The energies and the talents of public servants should be earnestly and zealously occupied with that which will most largely promote the good of the public service, and not for the gratification of ambition or the perpetuation of power either in the individual or the party. "He serves his party best who serves his country best." The sacred duty now before every American citizen will affect the welfare not only of himself, his family, his property, but also of his children's children. It is one that should receive the earnest, careful consideration of those who live in the cottage or in the mansion, the sterling men of business and men in every field of useful occupation.

During the unsettled period preceding the adoption of the Constitution, our fathers were alarmed by the cry: "Despotism is better than chaos," and the threatening conditions prompted Washington, Hancock, the Adamses, Jefferson and their compatriots to calm, deliberate and judicious action.

The present is a time for serious consideration of our national affairs in every city, in every ward, in every miner's camp, in every quiet home. It is not only an occasion for serious thought and deliberation, but for strong, unselfish action; action that will bring together every patriot who believes in Jeffersonian democracy; and there is needed, not only united action by that mighty host, but the cooperation and hearty support of every man, whether he wore the blue or the gray; of every patriot in whatever section of the country he dwells, of whatever party or creed, who holds the welfare of his country and the maintenance of democratic government as a blessed inheritance and sacred obligation. The condition and necessities of our country should awaken the highest and most earnest patriotism, in order that existing evils and threatening perils may be eradicated and averted, and that for the years of the unknown future the honor and glory of the great republic may be preserved.

In addressing these few earnest words to this representative body of business men and men of affairs, I speak to those to whom the people have a right to look for light and leading, for well-considered plans and for the inspiration to action.

God give us men! A time like this demands  
 Strong minds, stout hearts, true faith and ready hands;  
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;  
 Men who possess opinions and a will;  
 Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
 Men who can stand before a demagog  
 And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;  
 Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
 In public labors and in private thinking.  
 For while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,  
 Their large professions and their little deeds,  
 Mingie in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps!  
 Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps!

Secretary Taft traveled from Washington to Chicago recently to tell why the Filipinos should not be granted self-government. Every reason he advanced was advanced in the case of the Cubans, and yet the Cubans seem to be doing fully as well as our forbears did when they first tackled the job. It is interesting to note, too, that Secretary Taft's reasons for not granting independence to the Filipinos are curiously like those advanced by George III. and Lord North when the matter of colonial independence was under consideration. With

very slight paraphrasing, King George's reasons for not granting independence to the American colonies could be used as the administration's reasons for governing the Filipinos without their consent.—The Commoner.

### RIP VAN WINKLE'S RETURN.

For The Public.

Rip Van Winkle woke and looked around  
 In deep amazement; on sky, and trees, and ground  
 He fixed his puzzled eyes, then on himself—

But yesterday a gay and careless elf,  
 Now an old man, with tangled, snowy beard  
 And garments rotted, damp and mildew-smear'd.

At length, arising painfully, he went  
 With tottering steps, and form infirm and bent,

Adown the mountain path, till he descried  
 The village nestling by the riverside,  
 Which once he knew and loved, but now so changed

That, though his blurred and feeble vision ranged  
 Through all its length and breadth with eager care,

No resting place for memory was there;  
 The country side, with hills, and groves and dales,  
 Came back to him as old familiar tales;

But not a roof or spire within his view  
 Recalled the Falling Water that he knew.

Now weary, weak and spent, he casts him down  
 Within the square of the great bustling town,

Upon a friendly bench, beneath a tree,  
 Where bright-faced, romping children, full of glee,  
 Grew silent and drew near with wond'ring eyes

To gaze upon him, making meek replies  
 To his faint questions; then a little child,  
 Who looks like his own Meenie, with a mild

And sweet expression on her chubby face,  
 Brings him a drink of water, with a grace  
 Of royal hospitality; and adds  
 Some biscuits offered by the little lads.

Refreshed, poor Rip regards with kindly air  
 The youthful circle gathered close to hear.

"You ain't de children vat I used to play  
 And haf some fun mit yust de odder day?  
 No? You don't know me, ain't it? How is dot?"

Somedings is strange, aber I know it not  
 Vat it can be! I vent to schleep las' night,  
 And vake to-day; my viskers all goes vite  
 And grow so long, seems I mus' been away  
 More long a time like dot to get so gray!  
 Dis is de village dey call Falling Vater?  
 You must know Meenie, she's my leedle daughter.

No? Dot is strange—she's jüst about like you,  
 Same so years old, and wears a dress of blue

Same jüst like yours—  
 Ah! dere's a man I know!

Dat's Abr'am Lincoln, yah, I tole you so;  
 I recomber vell dot noble man,  
 He is der great and true American;  
 Der friendt of peace and freedom!—vat is dot?

You tell I am wrong—his name is Platt?  
 Dot's queer;—but dis time I am not mistook,

De men vot's passing now, I know dere look;

Dot's Sumner, and behind him also comes  
 Lowell, and Emerson, Beecher and Holmes;  
 And dere is Webster, Marshall, Seward,  
 Grant—

I know dem well, de pride of all de landt;  
 Dey make me proudt; dose men, my dears,  
 Is high,

And jüst like stars dot's shining in de sky,  
 Or like de stars dot's on our country's flag—  
 I know dose men!—vot's dot? I got a jag?  
 Vot is dot 'jag'?—it means I'm drunk, my dear?

Nein, poor old Rip don't touch to-day some beer.

Dose great men vich I name is dead, you say,

And dose I see jüst now is Cox and Quay,  
 And Hill and Root, Babcock, Hobson,  
 Grigg,

Funston and Lodge—dose men is not so big;

De names is strange—it mus' be I am ole  
 And blind; aber, on dot high pole  
 Way up, I see de flag I love quite plain,  
 And on it not von single blot or stain.  
 My sight is goot, my darlings! Vat is dot?  
 Vot's dot you say, my boy? Mein Gott!  
 Mein Gott!"

And Rip Van Winkle shuddered as the lad  
 Told truthfully the story, grim and sad,  
 Of violence, injustice, greed and shame  
 That has of late bedimmed Old Glory's fame;

Of ruthless conquest in the Philippines,  
 With flame and loot and savage torture scenes;

Of tariff robbery and postal theft,  
 And courts of public confidence bereft;  
 Of rulers grovelling at the feet of Trusts,  
 And honest toil despoiled and fed on crusts,  
 Until, once more, in Nature's mercy, Rip,  
 Ashamed, abased and sickened—fell asleep.  
 J. W. B.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes is said by Rev. J. M. Driver to have bitterly opposed the death penalty on the following grounds: "It is unjust as applied to moral idiots; immoral considered as revenge; useless as a means of intimidation, and dangerous to society by cheapening the value of life."

If the place is on the Chinese coast, remember the number of your laundry ticket, multiply by six, subtract what is left and find the puzzle. If a Russian name, add three portions, sneeze, cross your fingers, and forget it.—N. O. Times-Democrat.

Said an English clergyman: "Patriotism is the backbone of the British empire; and what we have to do is to train that backbone, and bring it to the front."  
 —The Unionist.

Once upon a time a dog came upon a man eating what he liked, regardless.  
 "His intelligence is almost canine!"  
 exclaimed the dog, glowing.—Puck.