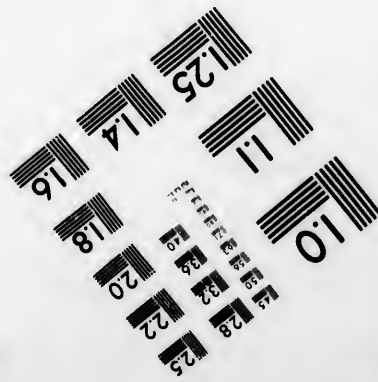
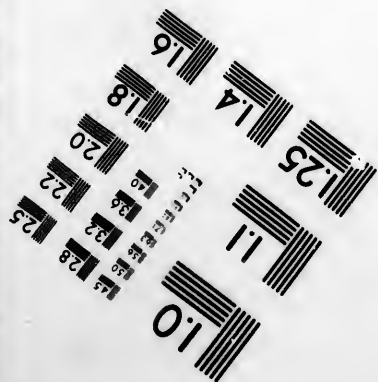
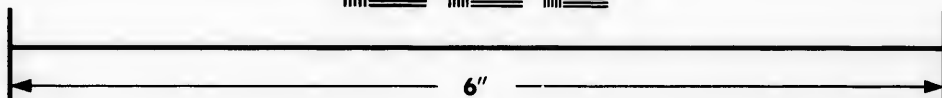
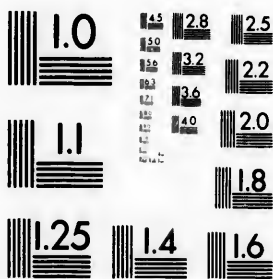


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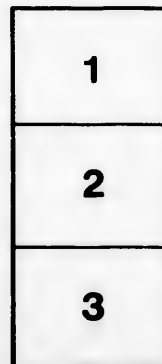
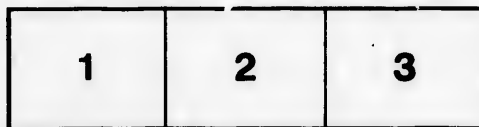
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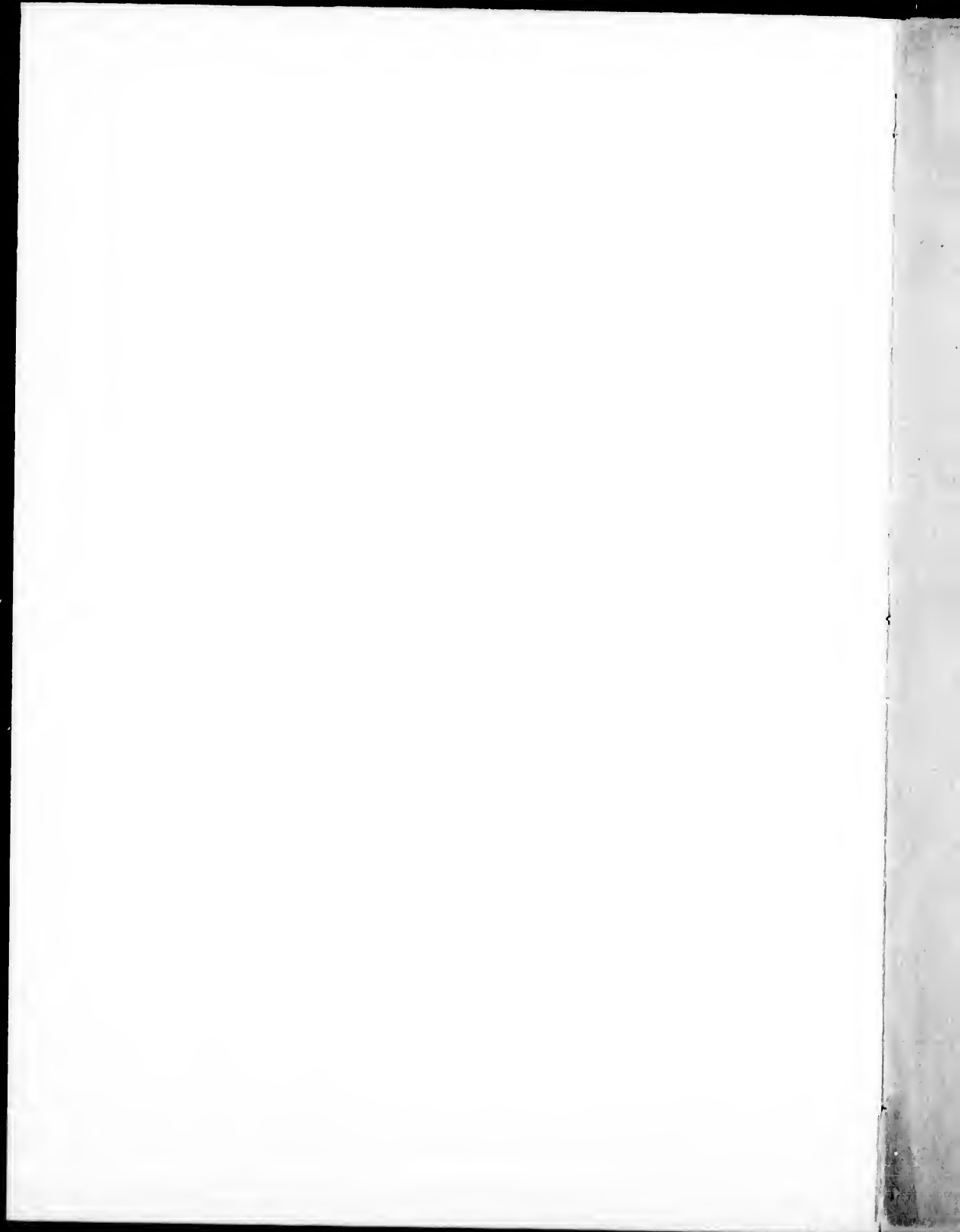
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# THE DOMINION OF THE UNITED STATES.

AN ADDRESS

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OCTOBER 8TH, 1895.

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MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

The question : " Shall the policy of the United States be to extend its dominion ? " which forms the theme of our discussion, does not admit of a categorical answer. In passing judgment upon any proposed extension of our dominion, much depends upon the nature and geographical location of the country to be annexed, the character of its population, the means to be employed in securing it and the possible political consequences of such annexation, both with respect to our domestic and with regard to our foreign relations. To extend our dominion from the same motives, merely, which were the propelling force of conquerors like the great Napoleon, is of course out of the question. To extend it by means which would involve us in the horrors of war with great European powers, appears equally impolitic. To obtain dominion over countries very remote from our shores, or little productive, or of a thickly settled population either entirely uncivilized or of a civilization much lower than ours, will also be admitted to be very undesirable. What, then, must be the conditions and circumstances which will make an extension of our dominion appear in the light of wise and judicious statecraft ? A correct answer will be found rather easily if we investigate the accessions to the territory of the United States from the formation of our government to the present time.

At the termination of the revolutionary war our dominion consisted of a narrow belt of land along the Atlantic coast, hemmed in on three sides by European possessions. After occupying our rightful possessions westward to the banks of the Mississippi, we lost no opportunity to extend our dominion as fast as possible over the North American continent. The first act was the purchase from



France of the enormous territory then called Louisiana, the very heart of the continent, now comprising fifteen states and one territory, having an area of eleven hundred and eighty thousand square miles and being five times greater than the area of France. Then followed the acquisition of the Floridas with the complete southern maritime frontiers upon the Gulf of Mexico. Next in order was the acquisition of Texas, a territory greater than that of the German Empire. This was followed by the acquisition of California and of New Mexico and of Arizona. Lastly, by the purchase of Alaska, we extended our dominion over a territory entirely disconnected from the main body of our country, but still on the North American continent. With a territory of only 827,844 square miles in 1783 the dominion of the United States was steadily extended so that in less than one hundred years it comprised 3,603,884 square miles, or more than four times its original territory.

With the exception of Canada on the north and Mexico on the south, our dominion has been thus constantly extended over the entire North American continent. In the light of history, therefore, the policy of the United States seems to have been unvarying and persistent in favor of an extension of its dominion, at least as far as the North American continent is concerned. Had it not been for this policy and its constant application, sometimes in a manner of more than doubtful constitutionality, our country would but own a fragment of its present possessions. Its position among the great nations of the earth would be one of but secondary importance, nor would we have been enabled to enjoy the blessings of peace with our neighbors, nor those of the highest agricultural and commercial prosperity. It is idle to conjecture what our lot would have been had not the patriots and statesmen from the earliest days to this been imbued with the necessity, not only from a selfish standpoint, with extending the

dominion of our flag, but also with the sacred, higher mission of spreading the gospel of democratic self-government, religious liberty and equal rights over the entire confines of the continent. That the curse of slavery could not have been eradicated from North American soil, that the great iron highways would not now extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the far north to the Mexican Gulf, that the furnaces and mills of the east would not have been busy in supplying the needs and wants of a vast empire, and our Chicago would not have been able to rise to the grandeur and power of the present day, had it not been for this extension of territory, is a probability amounting almost to a certainty.

The successful extension of our dominion, the complete amalgamation of the vast territory thus acquired with the United States, the comparative ease and speed with which large populations belonging to the Latin race have intermingled with, and been welded to, the great bulk of our Saxon population, now forming one mighty, and for all practical purposes homogenous nation, the grand results thus accomplished, both from the standpoint of material prosperity, as well as of moral, intellectual and political progress, furnish the very best proof of the absolute correctness of the established policy of the United States with reference to this continent. And this policy has been carried out, despite the doubts and, oftentimes, the opposition of some of our greatest political thinkers; carried out because in it lies the realization of the historical destiny of the republic.

Daniel Webster, in a speech at Faneuil Hall as late as the 7th day of November, 1848, exclaimed:

“And let me ask if there be any sensible man in the whole United States who will say for a moment that when fifty or a hundred thousand persons find themselves on the shores of the

Pacific Ocean, they will long consent to be under the rules of the American Congress. They will raise the standard for themselves, and they ought to do it."

And before him that great, if not greatest of all American statesmen, Thomas Jefferson, when referring in a letter to John Jacob Astor on March 24, 1812, to a new settlement on Columbia river, speaks of—

"Their descendants spreading through the whole length of that coast, covering it with free and independent Americans, *unconnected with us but by the ties of blood and of interest*, enjoying like us the rights of self-government."

These predictions to the contrary notwithstanding, California is today a loyal part of our Union, and with it Texas and the Floridas and all the states and territories gained by the extension of our dominion.

The policy to extend our dominion having been established as firmly impressed upon the history of our past national life, shall it, and will it be continued, and what territory should it embrace?

Will anybody at this day dispute that the accession of Canada would not be of the highest benefit to the United States? Its population is to an overwhelming degree composed of people of our blood, of our religion, of our customs, trained in the arts of husbandry and of manufacturing, skilled in commerce and trade and navigation, accustomed to self-government, peaceable, law-abiding and enjoying even to a higher degree than our own, the blessings of civil service reform and of an impartial and swift execution of the laws of the land. As there can be no annexation of Canada except with the consent of its people, the problem is rendered difficult because of the political wisdom of the British government. While the Spaniards and Portuguese, after founding their colonies, have held them





under despotic subjection, and have denied them the right of self-government, and thus have forced the struggle for emancipation on their part, the cunning of British statecraft has profited by the lesson of our struggle for national independence, and "has relaxed the old system of colonial dependence." But difficult and in the far distance as the solution of the problem of Canadian annexation may appear, the day *will* come when the stars and stripes shall float from every housetop of the Canadian Dominion.

Still more improbable and far removed, and to many, undesirable, will the accession of Mexico appear at the present time. And yet, as illustrious a statesman as Lucas Alamán in his great work on the History of the Mexican Republic speaks of his country as

"A land of prosperity, but it will not be so for the races who now inhabit it,"

and prophetically points to "*another race*" destined to supplant it. Will not and should not Mexico share the fate of the Floridas, of Louisiana, of Texas and of California, and will not he, who now shakes his head in dissent, in years to come prove to have been as much mistaken as Daniel Webster and Thomas Jefferson were with reference to the land kissed by the blue waves of the Pacific ocean?

A problem of annexation much more pressing upon the attention of patriotic Americans relates to the pearl of the Antilles—the island of Cuba. The problem is not a new one. It is almost as old as the history of our Republic itself.

In 1823, when Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams wrote:

"Numerous and formidable objections to the extension of our territorial dominions present themselves to the first contemplation of the subject; obstacles to the system of policy by which alone that result can be compassed and maintained are to

be foreseen and surmounted, both from at home and abroad; but there are laws of political as well as of physical gravitation, and if an apple severed by the tempest from its native tree cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, if forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only to the North American Union, which by the laws of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom."

Thus early was the Cuban question of annexation clearly and precisely stated by an American patriot and statesman of the highest authority. And before and since those days, at every attempt of the unfortunate people of that island to cast off the yoke of Spanish oppression, the question of extending the dominion of the United States over Cuba has been agitated, and political scholars and statesmen have predicted the annexation of Cuba as the inevitable and logical result of existing conditions.

I do not underrate the difficulties, diplomatic and otherwise, which still have to be overcome before the stars and stripes will float on the public buildings of Havana, nor do I underrate the difficulties, perhaps still greater, of dealing with the new member of our political family, after its admission. But a people which conceived and carried out the problem of American independence, which devised our Constitution, which suppressed rebellion and managed the problem of reconstruction, which enlarged its original territory by almost three millions of square miles in less than a hundred years and successfully amalgamated with it large populations of Spanish and French and Indian origin, which built the Pacific railroad and invented the cotton gin, and the electric telegraph and the telephone, and, last but not least, conceived and carried out the miracle of the World's Fair at Chicago, will not fail in

the solution of the problem how to deal with and make contented a million and a half of Cubans.

Again, the political stomach of the United States has not lost its wonderful digestive powers. If it had, the diet of millions of immigrants, some of whom as little, and some, like the Chinese, much less prepared for the responsibilities of American citizenship than the people of Cuba, would long ago have terminated disastrously for the life of the nation.

Not only because they are our nearest neighbors, not only because of Spanish despotism, but also because of the community of commercial interests, do I regard the annexation of Cuba as an inevitable result of political necessity. From twelve millions of dollars in 1879 our exports to the island increased to twenty-four millions in 1893, in which year our imports reached the sum of fifty-four millions of dollars. What would those exports have amounted to if the barrier of the Spanish customs house had been removed? And how well could we, in such case, afford to remove the barriers of our customs houses from the products of its sunny clime?

Another, and equally powerful, tie is that of sympathy of one free people for another struggling for freedom. Hamilton Fish, when secretary of state, well expressed the current feeling in the United States regarding Cuba, when, in his letter of November 5, 1875, to Mr. Cushing, United States Minister at Madrid, he said:

“While remembering and observing the duties which this government, as one of the family of nations, owes to another member, by public laws, treaties, or the particular statutes of the United States, it would be idle to attempt to conceal the interest and sympathy with which Americans in the United States regard any attempt of a numerous people on this conti-



ment to be relieved of the ties which hold them in the position of colonial subjection to a distant power, and to assume the independence and right of self control which natural rights and the spirit of the age accord them."

One more consideration and I am done. The experience of the last few years demonstrates the fact that we can no longer rely upon our supremacy as an agricultural country. With such powerful competitors as the Argentine Republic, India and Russia, the price of our cereals was bound to decline. On the other hand, with the increase of education, refinement and luxury, our imports from Europe increase. We are forced to borrow money to maintain the standard of our currency, and, as we spend more than we receive, we are going from bad to worse. We have always been told that we are the richest country on earth. Superlatives have always been in great demand with us. But when we need money for the government, or to build railroads or for other large enterprises, we have to go to the poor countries of Europe to borrow it. The fact is, while we are rich in resources, rich in skill, rich in energy, we are poor in the matter of accumulated wealth, poor in the science of political economy and finance, poor as regards statesmen fitted by education and training for the difficult tasks of the day. At the same time, many of our rich men spend their millions in Europe, and some of them sell their daughters to European rakes for a title of more or less unsavory origin. It is time for us to change, and one of the most desirable changes would be an increase in our commercial relations with other countries, and an extension of the dominion of the United States in the right direction.

Let us have, not more patriotism, because I believe that the patriotism of the broad masses of the American people cannot be

increased, but more *intelligent* patriotism. Let us have a little less conceit and a little more determination to improve the administration of our public affairs. Let us realize our true condition, and stop thinking that we are, and that everything pertaining to us is, the best and the greatest on earth. Let us, above all, realize that the material prosperity of a nation cannot, in the long run, be maintained except by the exercise of wise and trained statesmanship. Let us quit thinking that one fellow is just as good as another and a great deal better, and that every one of us is fitted for every office in the gift of the American people. Then the dream of Charles Sumner of

“Our country covering the continent from the frozen sea to the tepid waters of the Mexican Gulf,”

will be realized as well as the prophecy of the great Spanish statesman, Emileo Castelar, when, in his celebrated speech in the Spanish Cortes on June 22, 1871, he said :

“America, and especially Saxon America, with its immense virgin territories, with its republic, with its equilibrium between stability and progress, with its harmony between liberty and democracy, is the continent of the future — the immense continent stretched by God between the Atlantic and Pacific, where mankind may plant, essay and resolve all social problems.”

And then only will the words of Alexis de Tocqueville become true :

“There will then arrive a time when there will be seen in North America one hundred and fifty millions of men, equal together, who will have the same point of departure, the same civilization, the same language, the same religion, the same habits, the same manners, and over which thought will circulate in the same form and paint itself in the same colors. All else is

doubtful, but this certain. Here is a fact entirely new in the world, of which civilization can hardly seize the extent. The Americans of the United States will become one of the greatest people of the earth; they will cover with their offshoots almost all North America. The continent which they inhabit is their domain; it cannot escape them."



