

NO PIGTAIL FOR UNCLE SAM

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE editors and publishers of The Independent have asked me for a word of greeting on the occasion of its acquisition of Harper's Weekly and for an expression of my views on the present critical situation in our national life.

I am heartily glad to congratulate them upon what they have just accomplished. I have been intimately associated with the president of the Independent Corporation, the publisher and the associate editor of The Independent in journalistic work in recent years, and they and their associates have my very best wishes for their continued success.

Harper's Weekly is a historic American publication. At one time it was as strong a force in American weekly journalism as our country contained. Under George William Curtis and Thomas Nast it played a commanding part as a "Journal of Civilization," in the decade succeeding the Civil War.

MY views upon the vital questions of this crucial time in the history of the United States have been repeatedly set forth during the last twenty-one months. I am glad to give again to the readers of The Independent and of Harper's Weekly, now a single group, my conception of the primary duty of America at this crisis, in the words I recently used at Chicago:

"A year and three-quarters have passed since the opening of the great war. War has been waged on a more colossal scale than ever before in the world's history; and cynical indifference to international morality and willingness to trample on inoffensive, peace-loving peoples who are also helpless or timid have been shown on a greater scale than since the close of the Napoleonic wars over a century ago. Alone of the great powers, we have not been drawn into this struggle. A twofold duty was imposed upon us by the fact of our prosperity and by the fact of our momentary immunity from danger.

"This duty was, first, to make our voice felt for the weak who had been wronged by the strong and for international humanity and honor and for peace on terms of justice for all concerned; and, second, immediately and in thorough fashion, to pre-

pare ourselves so that there might not befall us on an even greater scale such a disaster as befell Belgium.

"We have failed in both duties. Incredible to relate, we are not in any substantial respect stronger at this moment in soldiers or rifles, in seamen or ships, because of any governmental action taken in consequence of this war; and, moreover, we have seen every device and provision designed by humanitarians to protect international right against international wrongdoing torn into shreds and have not so much as ventured to speak effectively one word of protest. The result is that every nation in the world now realizes our weakness and that no nation in the world believes in either our disinterestedness or our manliness.

"There are persons in this country who openly advocate our taking the position that China holds, the position from which the best and wisest Chinamen are now painfully trying to raise their land. Nothing that I can say will influence the men and women who take this view. The holding of such a view is entirely incompatible with the right to exercise the privileges of self-government in a democracy, for self-government can-

not exist amongst people incapable of self-defense.

"But I believe that the great majority of my fellow countrymen, when they finally take the trouble to think on the problem at all, will refuse to consent to or acquiesce in the Chinafication of this country. I believe that they will refuse to follow those who would make right helpless before might, who would put a pigtail on Uncle Sam and turn the Goddess of Liberty into a pacifist female huckster, clutching a bag of dollars which she has not the courage to guard against aggression.

I SPEAK of the United States as a whole. Surely it ought to be unnecessary to say that it spells absolute ruin to permit divisions among our people along the lines of creed or of national origin as it does to permit division by geographical section. We must not stand merely for America first. We must stand for America first and last; and for no other nation second—except as we stand for fair play for all nations. There can be no divided loyalty in America. There is no room in this country for German-Americans or English-Americans, Irish-Americans,

or French-Americans; just as there is no room in this country for a political party based on fealty or opposition to any particular creed, whether Protestant, Catholic or Jew. There is just one way to be a good citizen of the United States, and that is to be an American and nothing else. This is not a question of birthplace or national origin or creed. Any big group of loyal and patriotic Americans will include men of many creeds and many different race strains and birthplaces. But they will not be loyal and patriotic Americans at all unless they are Americans and nothing else. The first step in preparedness is dependent upon our common and exclusive American nationality.

"Preparedness must be both of the soul and of the body. It must be not only military, but industrial and social. There can be no efficient preparedness against war unless there is in time of peace economic and spiritual preparedness in the things of peace. Well-meaning men continually forget this interdependence. Well-meaning men continually



Bioline, Plattburg

COLONEL ROOSEVELT AND GENERAL WOOD
Two preachers of Preparedness at the Plattburgh Camp, encouraging the practice of Preparedness. "I speak for military preparedness. I speak for the performance of international duty"

speak as if efficient military preparedness could be achieved out of industrial and social chaos, whereas such military preparedness would represent merely a muscular arm on a withered body. Other well-meaning people speak as if industrial preparedness, social preparedness, would by itself solve the problem. This is worse folly than the first. Let these men look at Belgium and compare her fate with that of Switzerland. Belgium was one of the countries in Europe in which the greatest advance had been made in industrial efficiency, and as regards social justice she was at least well ahead of us. But there had been no corresponding military preparedness. The result is that both materialist and the humanitarian have been ground into the dust together, simply because the men so successful in peace had not in peace trained themselves so as to be able

to defend themselves in war, and to make other nations realize in advance that they were able to do so.

"I SPEAK for military preparedness. I speak for industrial preparedness. I speak for the performance of international duty, which can only come when we fit ourselves to do our duty to ourselves, and when we have made up our minds never to make a promise to any other nation which cannot be kept, which ought not to be kept and which will not be kept. I speak of all this in the interests of national unity and manhood, of international peace, and of the service of our country and of the world at large.

"I appeal to Americans everywhere to stand against the crass materialism which can show itself just as much in peace as in war. I appeal to our people to prepare in advance so

that there shall be no hideous emergency which renders it necessary to submit to inordinate profit-making by the few simply because, when the emergency comes, we must improvise at whatever cost the things that for our sins we have failed to provide beforehand. We cannot afford to leave this democracy of ours inefficient.

"Our national character is in the balance. Americanism is on trial. If we produce merely the self-seeking, ease-loving, duty-shirking man, whether he be a mere materialist or a mere silly sentimentalist; if we produce only the Americanism of the grafter and the mollycoddle and the safety-first, get-rich-quick, peace-at-any-price man, we will have produced an America faithful only to the spirit of the Tories of 1776 and the Copperheads of 1861, and fit only to vanish from the earth."

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