THE COPPERHEADS OF 1900 *

A GRIMLY comic feature of the present international conspiracy against America and civilization is the way in which the adherents of Aguinaldo in the Philippines, and his apologists here, pat one another upon the back; and another striking feature is the wild invective, the savage and incoherent violence of the language employed by these apostles of peace.

Yet, after all, it is but natural. They are repeating precisely the tactics of the copperheads of the Civil War. Those of you who are old enough will remember that the copperheads who denounced the Union arms, always denounced them in the name of the new gospel of peace. Their cry was "Peace"; even "Peace at any price," and it was these apostles of peace, who by their furious denunciation of Abraham Lincoln and of the Northern people and their frantic invectives against every measure of the government finally stirred to madness the dark and gloomy souls that are always to be found on the outskirts of such a movement. In 1863 the preachers of the doctrine of cowardly peace were responsible for the terrible and bloody outbreaks in New York City, which we know by the name of the Draft Riots. In 1865 these same craven preachers of peace were responsible for the murder of Abraham Lincoln. Nowadays, their successors, who use their exact lan-

* Speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, October 21, 1899. From original typed manuscript in Library of Congress.

guage in denouncing our conduct in the Philippines, have stained their own souls with the blood of our soldiers and of their Philippine foes.

The other day Ohio sent to New York, as a preacher of the new dispensation, Congressman Lentz, a fit and worthy successor of Vallandigham. In his speech in New York, Mr. Lentz divided his time between eulogizing Altgeld, the man who pardoned the Anarchist bomb-throwers, and eulogizing Aguinaldo, whose success would mean and could only mean the slaughter of American soldiers and the dishonor of the American flag. He likened Aguinaldo to Patrick Henry and called him one of the heroes of the world, and he denounced the war which we are carrying on for the suppression of savagery as more brutal and cowardly than that carried on by George III against us. He took the position that Aguinaldo was a hero for killing our soldiers, but that if they slew him it would be murder.

While Mr. Lentz was thus preaching treason, Aguinaldo was sending over a message, which has only the other day been published. He had evidently not heard of Mr. Lentz, but he had heard of some of the minor heroes of the antiexpansion (that is, anti-American and anti-patriotic) movement, and he praised them in terms, which, if the men were capable of one thrill of American feeling, would make them shudder with horror at having won and deserved such commendation from an enemy of their country. Finally, with a simple sincerity which Aguinaldo's party allies here would do well to imitate, the proclamation of the Philippine chief continues in so many words to state that his hope of successful resistance to the authority of the United States is based on the triumph of the Democratic party. Continuing, he says: "Therefore we must show our

gratitude and maintain our position more resolutely than ever. We should pray to God that the great Democratic party may win the next presidential election, and imperialism (that is, the American people) fail in its mad attempt to subjugate us by force of arms." In other words, Aguinaldo is fighting for the Democratic party and the Democratic party for him; the arms of his men who shoot down our soldiers are nerved by the aid and encouragement given them by the antiexpansionists of the United States, and he continues the bloody war in the Philippines because he hopes ultimately to win through their assistance. No more burning indictment of the Democratic party under its present leadership, and of the preachers of treason who have taken the lead in denouncing the course of the United States, could be framed by any American. Bear in mind that this arraignment of the Democracy is unconsciously given by their friend Aguinaldo, the man who at the moment stands as the typical representative of savagery, the typical foe of civilization and of the American people, and as the peculiar protégé of the men who in the United States in 1899 are repeating the arguments of those who in 1861 to 1865 sought to bring us to ruin.

Every argument advanced by our opponents can be paralleled in the speeches of their predecessors during the Civil War. They use catchwords now as they used catchwords then. They attack us as imperialists. We are no more imperialists than were the men who voted for Lincoln and who bore arms under Grant and Sherman in 1864. Admiral Dewey when he went into Manila Bay did not serve the designs of imperialists. He was merely carrying out the historic policy of this nation; the policy which was pursued by George Rogers

Clark when by conquest he added Indiana and Illinois to the Union during the Revolutionary War; by Sam Houston when he and his followers brought about the admission of Texas to the United States; by Fremont, and every other settler, explorer, or soldier who helped push our country's bounds westward to the Pacific. The men who one hundred and ten years ago founded Marietta and laid the foundations of this great State of Ohio, in what was then an Indian-haunted wilderness, were but pioneers in the great work of expansion which has gone on until the present day.

Remember that expansion is not only the handmaid of greatness, but, above all, it is the handmaid of peace. Great civilized powers are, I firmly believe, growing more and more able to live in permanent peace with one another; but no civilized power is or ever has been able permanently to keep peace with savage, barbarous, or semibarbarous peoples, because these latter are not able to so conduct themselves as to render peace possible. The day when universal peace is possible can only come when the nations of the world have grown civilized. In some places this state of things can come about by mere growth of civilization in the State itself; elsewhere it has to come about by the expansion of the great, orderly, peace-loving powers. We of the United States are not in the slightest danger of any trouble with the Canadians on the North, nor with the Mexicans on the South; it is not conceivable that a difficulty should arise with either that could not be settled by peaceable methods. So in the Pacific, I most firmly believe that we shall be able to work hand in hand with England, with Germany, with Japan, with every civilized power that has interests in that greatest of all oceans. With every orderly, peace-loving civilized country, great or small, we can

work with perfect harmony. But with savagery there can be no peace until we have first made evident our strength.

The whole history of our century shows a diminishing tendency to war between civilized powers, and shows also that the existence of a savage or barbarous state inevitably means war sooner or later. Every expansion of a civilized power is a conquest for peace. Remember that even this great country of ours, as well as all European countries, paid tribute to the Moorish pirates as late as 1803; and piracy in its most abhorrent form was not abolished in the Mediterranean until the French expanded into Algiers and the Turk was driven from Greece. Then peace came to the Mediterranean. What the French have done in Algiers, the English have done in Egypt and the Soudan. While Egypt was under Arabi Pasha and the Soudan under the Mahdi, the two countries were sinking steadily back into mere savagery; until they were held by a strong and civilized race no advance was possible. Now peace and prosperity have come to both countries. Turkestan was a mere chaos of murder and lawlessness until the wave of Russian expansion swept over the country, to the great good of mankind, and brought peace in its train. Now Germany has the Carolines, and under her administration they will doubtless flourish in peace. What she has undertaken to do in the Carolines, are we to shrink from doing in the Philippines? Are we alone among the great nations of the world to announce ourselves too weak to do our share of the task, too timid to bear our part of the burden in extending the reign of law, of order, of peace, over the whole world? That is what expansion means. It means not only the extension of American influence and power, it means the extension of liberty

and order, and the bringing nearer by gigantic strides of the day when peace shall come to the whole earth.

Every argument that can be made for the Filipinos could be made for the Apaches; every word that can be said for Aguinaldo could be said for Sitting Bull. As peace and order and prosperity followed our expansion over the lands of the Indians, so they will follow us in the Philippines. If we had refused to expand over the West, do you think that the West would have been peaceful now? If, instead of your forefathers settling here in Ohio, you had left Ohio to the Indians, do you think the country would have had peace? Indeed it would not. Just so long as there was an independent Indian power on your borders you were exposed to the certainty of constantly recurrent war. If now the United States were to walk out of Alaska, or out of any of our Indian reservations, as our opponents wish us to walk out of the Philippines, war would promptly ensue; war among the natives themselves or between the natives and white intruders; and if we did not again step in and settle the matter, why, some other great nation would have to undertake the work which we had proved ourselves too feeble or too foolish to perform.

Last summer the United States had the honor to take what was on the whole the leading part in the Peace Conference at The Hague. We were able to play that part solely because during the preceding year we had fought to a victorious conclusion the most righteous foreign war in which any nation has been engaged for half a century. Our power to further the cause of peace as among the civilized nations of the world has been immeasurably increased because we have shown ourselves able and willing to do our part in policing the world, in keeping order in the world's waste spaces.

If we shrink from going on with the work which we have begun we shall merely lose our influence for good. When a coward or a weakling preaches peace but little good results; but, as was shown at The Hague last year, when a mighty people, not afraid to do its duty in the world, stands up for peace, the good result is immediately manifest. When throughout the world barbarism has given place to civilization, then, and not till then, the reign of peace will be at hand; and expansion is at the moment the way in which this nation can best do its duty, can best help to bring about that hoped-for day.

Remember that the war in the Philippines is absolutely and without qualification a national war. With characteristic perversion of the facts, our opponents have spoken as though this war was unnecessary, as if it were now waged by President McKinley on his own authority, and without the warrant of Congress. In the first place, what we have done was inevitable, so far as the administration and the American people at large were concerned. There was just one chance of avoiding war. If the antiexpansionists, the peace-at-any-price people, had not delayed the treaty in the Senate, if by their loose invective they had not misled the Tagals, we should probably never have had any war in the Philippines. Aguinaldo's proclamation proves beyond shadow of doubt that the insurgents have held out on the strength of the hoped-for aid from the Democratic party and from the antiexpansionists here in our own home. Had these men not given the impression that the American people was divided, had they not worked for delay, there would probably have been no revolt and no bloodshed. By their clamor and by their obstructive tactics in the Senate they not only delayed

the adoption of the treaty but gave to Aguinaldo and his people the idea that they would receive strong moral support in a war against our flag; and, moreover, they have actually given this support. They are primarily responsible for the war. We are the true party of peace: for a lasting peace can only come through the course of conduct we advocate.

In view of this attitude of certain of our people, the struggle was inevitable. When Dewey smashed the Spanish fleet, it meant that the islands would fall into chaos unless either the United States or some other strong power took possession; unless we were willing to see the fleet of another power sail into the harbor as Dewey's fleet sailed away.

The treaty with Spain was finally ratified by the Senate but it was not ratified by the Spanish Government until a fortnight after Congress had adjourned, leaving the President to act as the nation's representative. The Lower House had, meanwhile, taken its share in the ratification (the opposition was so small as to be insignificant) by passing the appropriation of twenty million dollars, as required by the treaty. The island thus, by the ratification of the treaty and by the action of the Senate and the House of Representatives in passing the twenty-million-dollar appropriation bill, became part of the United States; and it was just as much the President's duty to keep order in them by the use of the army, as it would be his duty to keep order in Arizona by the use of the army in case of an Apache outbreak. Nor is this all. In passing the army bill, Congress explicitly recognized the fact that there was a Philippine insurrection and that it had to be put down by the use of our armed forces. It provided for an army of over sixty thousand regulars and over thirty thou-

sand volunteers especially with a view to meeting the present exigencies; it set forth that the army should only be kept up to these figures for two years. In other words, Congress explicitly provided an army of nearly one hundred thousand men for the purpose of carrying out the Philippine war. Under such circumstances, the talk of this war being unauthorized by Congress can be due only to ignorance or else to a wilful intention to suppress the facts.

The taking of the Philippines was inevitable. The outbreak was rendered inevitable by the conduct of those who opposed the taking of the Philippines, and who gave moral aid and comfort to Aguinaldo and his men. The President has acted in the only way in which he could act, and remain loyal to his oath of office and to the great trust delivered by the people into his hands. We are doing but our simple duty in introducing the reign of law, order, and peace into the Philippines and we cannot shrink from it without shame and dishonor. The path of expansion is the path of national honor, the path toward universal peace. You, my countrymen, cannot refuse to tread it, unless you are willing to renounce your claims to be the heirs of the ages, and to abandon all pretense of following in the footsteps of Washington, of Lincoln, and of all the great Americans who have made our past history mighty and glorious.