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Survey of the World.

For the Monroe Doctrine

The formal dedication and opening of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo took place on the 20th inst. All the American republics were represented, and congratulatory messages were received from the Presidents of South American countries. More than 100,000 people entered at the gates. The guest of honor was Vice-President Roosevelt, who welcomed the exhibiting republics in behalf of the United States and delivered a long address, pointing out at the beginning "the falsity of the belief that any one of us is to be permanently benefited by the hurt of another," and asserting that "it is for the interest of every Commonwealth in the Western Hemisphere to see every other Commonwealth grow in riches, happiness, and manliness." Those parts of his oration, and of the following address of Senator Lodge, that have especially excited interest and comment, were the passages relating to the Monroe Doctrine. The Vice-President said:

"The United States has, and ought to have, and must ever have, only the desire to see her sister republics in the Western Hemisphere continue to flourish, and the determination that no Old World power shall acquire new territory here on this Western Continent. We of the two Americas must be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise we will make it understood as a cardinal feature of our joint foreign policy that on the one hand we will not submit to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old World power; and that, on the other hand, among ourselves each nation must scrupulously regard the rights and interests of the others, so that instead of any one of us committing the criminal folly of trying to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we shall all

strive upward in honest and manly brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder."

"We seek no extension to the southward," said Senator Lodge, who also remarked that we intended to control the isthmian canal and were "abundantly able alone to guarantee its neutrality." Turning to the Monroe Doctrine, which he urged the South American and Central American countries to support, he continued as follows:

"That doctrine is that no possession now held by Europe is to be disturbed, but that Europe is to acquire no new possessions and to extend no old ones. Under no pretense can we of the American hemisphere suffer Europe to enter in and establish colonies or seek to partition Central or Southern America. We cannot, we will not permit any great military power to enter this hemisphere, settle down by our firesides, force us to create great standing armies and from some point of vantage offer an eternal menace to our peace. We ask you to be true to the doctrine which we announced seventy-five years ago. If you will put your faith in it and be true to it we will defend it.

"No American soil shall be given up to any power of Europe. We wish nothing but friendship with Europe; we do not seek to meddle in any way with European affairs, and we do not wish to have Europe meddle with us. No power which now has no foothold in this hemisphere can be permitted to come in here and by purchase, lease or other arrangement get control of even the smallest island for the purpose of establishing a naval station or a place of arms. When Spain sued for peace we could have demanded from her an island which would have given us a naval station in European waters, but we made no such request. In return we say no European power shall come in here to establish a naval station in the Caribbean Sea.

"A place of arms at that point, owned or controlled by one of the powers of Europe not now owning any territory in America, would be a menace to the canal and to every South

The Meeting of the Veterans.

By the late Maurice Thompson.

FLING out the grimy, tattered flags
In Freedom's blazing sun;
Lead forth the limping veterans
And cheer them one by one.

Here's to the Blue, here's to the Gray!
In old Kentucky's breast
There's room for both, and who shall say
Which one she loves the best?

They laughed, those scarred and grizzled boys,
And clinked their glasses high;
But somehow through their voices broke
A roar of musketry.

They heard, as in a glorious dream,
The crash and boom of war;
They saw the cannon-clouds boil up;
The earth did heave and jar!

On some far-off and bloody field
A blast of carnage fell;
Above the thunder of the guns
Wild rose the battle-yell.

And was it Chickamauga's roar,
Or Shiloh's din and stress?
Or Lee and Grant's tremendous tug
Down in the Wilderness?

Was Sherman grinding Kennesaw
Between the jaws of Fate,
Or young McPherson pounding down
Atlanta's stubborn gate?

Perhaps some peerless Southern knight
Led on at Seven Pines,
Or stormed the heights at Gettysburg
And died above the lines!

A Farragut, lashed to the mast,
A Forrest, riding free,
A Cleburne, charging, set the pace
Of flawless bravery.

And after all, what matters it,
To soldiers good and true,
Whether the hero died in gray
Or laughed at death in blue?

The man that Stonewall Jackson led,
Or Grant or Sherman taught,
Learned at the blazing cannon's mouth
The worth of those he fought.

Fling out the tattered, grimy flags
In Freedom's blazing sun;
Call forth the limping veterans
And cheer them one by one!

The Old and the New Patriotism.

By Ethelbert D. Warfield, LL D.,

PRESIDENT OF LAFAYETTE COLLEGE.

SOME ideals seem to be universal. Nevertheless, they appear in different ages and among different peoples under very various aspects. Among these we may reckon love of country. Scarcely any conscious civic life has been without some form of patriotism. It has sometimes been no better than a blind prejudice in favor of native customs as against foreign intrusion and innovation; it has sometimes been a highly self-conscious clinging to a fatherland sinking under domestic disorder or hostile invasion; but no matter how foolish or how profitless, it has had in every case a gracious acknowledgment as something better than a selfish pursuit of personal well-being. In its fairer aspects it is one of the noblest passions of which the

human heart is capable, and has been wisely fostered in every State.

In our own country it has often been appealed to in the hour of action, sometimes wisely and sometimes unwisely. But what is far more significant, it has been recognized as existing where conduct has seemed to proclaim its absence rather than its presence. Nothing has more honorably marked the history of the United States than its rejection from its fundamental law of the fertile sources of tyrannical interference with "private opinion publicly expressed" involved in the crimes and misdemeanors classified in English law under constructive and petit treason. It has been freely admitted that it is better that earnest, but foolish, citizens should be permitted

to weaken the hands of the Government, and even give aid and comfort to the enemy, than that free speech should be refused to any portion of the people. It is a hard doctrine, but it has proved a wise policy. The weakness of the disloyal element has been thereby proved. But, what is far more important, those charged with executive duties have been able to discern the limitations which the people have been disposed to place on their action, and have been at once upheld and restrained.

In every great appeal to our patriotic feelings a large part of our people have refused to respond. In the Revolution there were not only Tories, but disapproving elements of the people who were believers in non-resistance, or patient forbearance. In the second period of conflict with Great Britain not only were the New England States opposed to the war, but through the country an anti-war party was largely represented. In the epoch of the Mexican War the shamefulness of the pretenses set up by the war party was proclaimed throughout the North. In the midst of the struggle to put down the Rebellion disloyalty was rife in many sections of the Union besides the revolting slave States. It is no wonder, then, that a policy such as that just sustained by the people at the polls has met with opposition, and that at the hands of men devoted to the country and acting under motives of disinterested patriotism.

The trouble with the anti-imperialist party is a very common trouble. It is to be found in every field of thought and of action, and is best stated as "overdefinition."

Vital principles, living forces, refuse to be strictly defined. They have a thousand forms and manifestations. Patriotism is one of these. In the present case it is doubly, nay, trebly, difficult to define patriotism. For we are not loving the same country our fathers loved, we are not the same people our fathers were, and we are not confronted with the same problems affecting our country as affected the country of our fathers. Without trying to define too strictly what patriotism is, let us note at least this: True patriotism requires us to love our country that now is, and to support it loyally in the performance of its duty in the

actual sphere in which it is called upon to act. We may idealize the duty, and we should be content with nothing less than the loftiest estimate of the obligations and motives growing out of every claim. But we may not idealize the sphere of action, nor refuse to recognize the actual status of the nation.

Now it requires education to put us fairly face to face with the problems that confront us. I know a person of really brilliant mind whose attention has been directed into other channels and who cannot appreciate the growth of the United States, and when convicted of this, is wont to reply: "Oh! I can't be expected to know that; when I studied geography Michigan was a territory." I know another person whose attitude to England is dictated by the influence generated by his father's share in repelling English invasion in the War of 1812; and scores who are friendly or unfriendly to England and France according as they felt to those countries in 1861-1865.

The fact is that the keynote of American patriotism in the early years of the nineteenth century was independence. More keenly and more unitedly than in 1776 did the American people then join in the feeling that the dignity and position of their country were destroyed by the attitude of England, and that its independence achieved in 1783 had to be vindicated. The War of 1812 exhibited, but did not satisfy, this demand. Before this feeling had subsided, despite the iteration and reiteration of the Monroe Doctrine, the great proclamation of the true position of the United States as a world power, the direction of patriotism was determined by a domestic issue and the maintenance of the integrity of the Union became its great central sun. How intense this was most of us can remember. Our flag was not to us the flag of one of the sovereign States of the world. It was emphatically the flag of our Union. Men became indifferent to its influence in the Mediterranean or the South Seas as they watched its fluttering folds and wondered if a part of its stripes were to be torn away and a dozen stars blotted out of its field of blue. The not unnatural sequence of events turned the thoughts of our people after the war to the development of our national resources, and the spanning of the continent by a railroad or the cre-

ation of a new State on the Pacific Coast became of more absorbing interest than any international event. In all of which the practical good sense of our people was proved. No chimerical or fantastic ideal such as has lured many a nation to its ruin, no lust of empire, no craving for "glory," became at any time associated with our love of country. The independence of our Government, the solidarity of our Union, the conquest by industry and civilization of a vast continent, these have been the inspiring influences which have given American patriotism its permanence and its power.

But independence achieved, the Union made sure, the continent occupied, what of the future? The wheat of the North and the cotton of the South have long found markets abroad. As the skill and ingenuity of the inventors and masters of industry have found free scope and adequate capital, manufactured articles have taken their place in the lists of exports. At length in the closing days of the nineteenth century the industrial development of the country has won the recognition of all the world. We grow more grain and cotton and other raw material than we can consume; our mineral wealth supplies many markets with metals, coal and oil; our manufactories are pouring out far more than we can consume. Markets are our need. A field for our commercial growth is urgently demanded. Some honest patriots cannot see the necessity. They would make the stream of commerce run up hill, or deflect it into a variety of domestic channels artificially created. But tendencies are not to be checked by theories, and the resistless energies of a restless and successful people are not easy to harness. Congress sits back and says, let the question of ships solve itself. The anti-expansionist says, let commerce be hanged; our fathers protested against the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, Oregon and Alaska; we shall protest to the end of the chapter. The easy-going patriot, like Mr. Barrie's "Corp" in his confidence in "Sentimental Tommy," contents himself with feeling that the spirit of progress will "find a way."

But why should patriotism sit by and

with folded hands let the young giant that has found his place among his fellows hold it at the cost of contention abroad and criticism at home? Is there any reason why America should not play a nation's part in the councils of the nations?

Let us emphasize the great need of markets for our commerce, of ships for our goods, of careers for our youth. These demands are both honorable and urgent. Let the people and the Government respond to these demands.

But these material things are not all. We have not been content to plow fields and build factories. We have built schools and colleges, court houses and libraries, and Christian churches throughout a continent. We have bred men as well as workers, we have produced heads as well as hands, we have cultivated the graces of heart and propagated the faith in God received from the fathers. The spirit of our civilization is as well represented—nay, better—by the missionary, teacher, preacher or physician as by the representative of the commercial house. He who studies modern history with a penetrating eye reads here and there the influence of American liberty and self-government; here and there the influence of American diplomacy in its zeal for neutral rights and arbitration; and an ever growing recognition of the intellectual and moral vitality of the new and highly composite race wrought into a world force by a magnificent struggle against ignorance, poverty and the hard conditions of a pioneer people in a vast land.

Who reads an American book? Who uses an American invention? Who profits by American industry? Who imitates American customs? There is but one answer: all the world?

Our country is not the country of our fathers, it is a larger and a greater land. Our problems are not the problems of our fathers, they are more complex and in a different sphere. But our faith is the faith of our fathers; it is a faith in God and in his purpose for this people. Our patriotism is the product of this faith. May it love our country that now is,—not a memory; and may it make that country a mighty factor in the history of the twentieth Christian century!

EASTON, PA.