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number of counties in Oklahoma are so crowded with cases involving the property of Indian minors that even a just and capable judge cannot guard these wards of the public against the carelessness or dishonesty of their guardians; and a dishonest judge has opportunities for profiting at the expense of these Indians which ought not to be put into his way. Moreover, the question of the education of these Indians is a serious one, because the people of the State are naturally reluctant to provide schools for a mass of non-taxpayers; while the question of transforming these Indians into taxpayers is obstructed by circumstances attending the problem of properly distributing their property among them. One of the complications of the problem of these tribes involves the question of the conservation of great natural resources.

The other subject relating to Indian affairs was that of the Navajo and other Indians on the public domain. While the problem of the Five Civilized Tribes seems to have been

caused by the retardation of the process of properly dividing among the members of those tribes their common property, the problem of the Navajos is just the opposite. There is danger that these progressing Indians, who are prospering under a system involving the communal use of land under conditions where some form of communal use of land seems to be absolutely necessary, may suffer real injury if care is not taken to prevent an unwise method of abandoning their reservation system. It was urged at the Conference that a temporary commission be formed by the Government to study into this question and prepare and administer a wise and wholesome plan.

Limits of space prevent any further account of the discussion of these two Indian problems here, as well as of the discussion of the problems of Porto Rico. So far as they can be considered by *The Outlook*, they must be reserved for editorial treatment at some other time. ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

AMERICAN INTERNATIONALISM

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

*This address, delivered at Rio de Janeiro on October 24, is the first of the four most important addresses to be made by Mr. Roosevelt in South America. The approximate dates and the places of the others have been already given in *The Outlook*. We need not point out the importance at this time of such a discussion as is contained in the following article or its wide scope in dealing with the fundamental principles which should govern the relations of what Mr. Roosevelt terms "the two Americas."*

Mr. Roosevelt arrived at Rio de Janeiro on October 21. The newspaper despatches state that his reception was almost unprecedented; he was met as he came ashore by all the Brazilian Cabinet Ministers, the Presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, a Parliamentary committee and other high Government officials, members of the Diplomatic Corps, and many other officials and notables. A breakfast and reception in his honor were given by the President of Brazil, Senhor Marshal Hermes da Fonseca. The address that follows was delivered on Friday, three days after Mr. Roosevelt's arrival.—THE EDITORS.

THE Western Hemisphere is slowly working out for itself its own theory of that part of international policy which concerns both the attitude of all the American commonwealths in the face of the rest of the world, and also their dealings with one another. You, my hosts and hearers, and your guest, and our fellow-countrymen, alike belong to the young nations of the New World. Because of the fact that it is a new world, and that we are young nations, we suffer certain disadvantages and

have certain peculiar difficulties of our own to face. Nevertheless, also because of these very facts, we enjoy compensating advantages which more than outweigh the disadvantages. Prominent among these advantages is the fact that we have an almost free hand for fair dealing in American international relations, being fettered by comparatively few of the wide inequalities of culture and civilization, and the bitter memories of history, which of necessity prevent any community of feeling among races which stand at the

opposite poles of human existence; whereas in the Old World, in the huge continental mass composed of Europe, Asia, and Africa, there exist many vast and populous regions sundered from one another by the well-nigh impassable gulfs which lie between civilization and barbarism and between barbarism and pure savagery. Here in America the civilized nations do not have to fear huge military barbarisms. Neither do we have to dread the presence of vast tracts of country peopled by savages which the civilized nations must bring under control, and which, if not possessed by one efficient and civilized nation, merely become the property of some other efficient and civilized nation. Under such conditions it is practically impossible to reach a general working agreement of any kind about international conduct; for the communities—European, Asiatic, and African—stand on planes of culture and conduct which are hopelessly far apart.

In the two Americas, on the contrary, there are no such wide divisions. With negligible exceptions, all the important nations possess a common heritage of Occidental civilization, and, as compared with the other divergencies in the Old World, they possess substantially similar governmental forms and religious and cultural ideals. Again with negligible exceptions, there are no great waste spaces, tenanted only by savages, which are open to settlement by, and are the potential causes of quarrel among, the civilized Powers; the remaining tracts of land open to settlement and development—and nowhere are they larger or more inviting than here in Brazil—are substantially all within the well-settled boundaries of fully established nations. From Canada and Alaska to Patagonia; from Quebec, Montreal, and Winnipeg to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Valparaiso, the leading countries and cities are held, and have been built up, by peoples differing in important respects each from the others, it is true, but sundered by no such gulfs as those which lie between the countries and capitals of Asia and Africa and those of Europe—indeed, not even by such gulfs as separate certain of the European countries.

In consequence, there is a far better chance here than elsewhere to work out some scheme of common international conduct which shall guarantee to every nation freedom from molestation by others so long as its own skirts are free from wrong-doing,

and so long as it does not itself sink into a condition of mere impotent anarchy. There are two sides to consider: first, our common attitude towards Old World powers; and, second, our relations among ourselves.

Less than a century and a half have passed since the entire Western Hemisphere was held in real or titular possession by European nations; at that time the fate and ownership of the American colonies depended on the outcome of wars between nations across the seas. As late as a century ago this condition still obtained as regards all American countries except my own, and that was less than half its present size and of not a tenth its present strength. Ninety years ago the countries of Latin America had likewise achieved independence; but it was still a precarious independence, and there was still likelihood that some one of the great military European nations would re-establish itself as an American power at the expense of one or more of the struggling infant nationalities. At that time the United States was still the only American nation able to secure any hearing whatever in Europe, and even the United States could secure only a scant and impatient hearing. Now there are several American nations, prominent among which is your own, which can secure respectful hearing anywhere in the world. These American nations, such as Brazil and the United States, stand on an absolute footing of equality. One cardinal doctrine on which we all agree is that America shall not be treated as offering ground for fresh colonization or territorial aggrandizement by any Old World power. This is a doctrine of vital concern to all the nations of America; for it would be a calamity to all if any great military nation of the Old World obtained a foothold here; such an event would, in the end, force us all, under penalty of loss of our own independence, ourselves to become military powers, and to plunge this continent back into Old World conditions of armed rivalry. All of the American nations which are sufficiently advanced, such as Brazil and the United States, should participate on an absolute equality in the responsibility and development of this doctrine, as far as the interests of the Western Hemisphere as a whole are concerned. It must be made a continental and not a unilateral doctrine. It should be treated as already such, as far as concerns all American nations sufficiently advanced in stability, solidity, and potential armed strength—that is, all of our nations suffi-

ciently stable and orderly not to invite, and strong enough to repel, Old World aggression. Both Brazil and the United States have reached this point; and so have various other American nations.

So much for the common interest of all our commonwealths in the face of non-American powers. No less vital is the matter of our own behavior towards one another, no less than towards these non-American powers.

The relations of the northern and the southern continents of the Western Hemisphere are certain to become much closer in the future. The opening of the Panama Canal will itself markedly help to make them closer, and, great though the benefits of the Canal will be to our own country, I believe that they will be, if anything, even greater to the countries of South America. I wish to see the trade between the United States and all South American countries increase; and in such intercourse the first essential is the ability to inspire confidence. Therefore, from every standpoint, I believe that the United States should scrupulously so act as to inspire confidence in her fellow-republics. It is for this reason that I feel a peculiar National pride in our having twice withdrawn from Cuba, and having intervened in San Domingo purely for San Domingo's advantage. There is no brighter chapter in our history than that which tells of these actions. The United States does not wish the territory of its neighbors. It does wish their confidence. If ever, as regards any country, intervention does unfortunately become necessary, I hope that, wherever possible, it will be a joint intervention by such Powers as Brazil and the United States, without thought of the selfish aggrandizement of any of them, and for the common good of the Western world.

With every right there must always go hand in hand a duty; and no man, and no nation, can permanently enjoy the right if he or it shirks the duty. With every privilege there must go the responsibility of exercising the privilege aright. Every American commonwealth is bound as a matter of honorable obligation to behave fairly towards its sister commonwealth; and this is an impossibility if it does not keep order and enforce justice within its own borders. Among civilized nations it is a general although not a universal rule that ability to command respect abroad is largely dependent upon the preservation of stability and order and the proper administration of justice at home.

The history of my own country teaches this lesson. Like your country, like Brazil, we had to deal with the problem of the abolition of slavery. We showed less ability than you did to deal with it in wise and cool-handed fashion. You abolished it peacefully and without bloodshed, whereas in our case it cost us a terrible civil war and brought the Nation to the verge of destruction. During that period we lost all power to help other nationalities in our hemisphere or to enforce respect from others for our own rights whether in America or elsewhere. Had we remained disunited, had we become subject to chronic revolutionary disturbance, we should have reduced ourselves to utter and shameful impotence in the face of the nations of mankind; and one result would unquestionably have been that America would once again have become subject to schemes of colonization and armed territorial occupation by Old World powers.

It is for this reason I feel, not only that you are to be congratulated, but that all of us who belong to the brotherhood of American commonwealths are to be congratulated, because of the steady growth in power, prosperity, and stability which your great Republic of Brazil has of recent years so conspicuously shown—a marvelous growth in which certain other South American republics have had their share. I believe that, just as in the nineteenth century the most striking growth feature of the civilized world was what took place in North America, so in the twentieth century the most permanently important feature will be the growth and development of South America. I believe that the present century is the century of South America.

Furthermore, I believe that the world has now grown sufficiently advanced to realize that normally the growth of one nation in prosperity and well-being is of benefit, and not harm, to other nations. Among private individuals it is normally a benefit, and not a disadvantage, to a man to live in a well-to-do neighborhood, to have neighbors who are successful in life, and to deal with men who are prosperous. For precisely similar reasons it is an advantage to a nation to have as neighbors nations which are thriving and successful. Such a nation is benefited if the other nations with which it has commercial and diplomatic relations are prosperous in their business, and therefore stable in their governmental activities. Under a republican, or

democratic, form of government, this means that there must be an honest chance to settle differences of public opinion at the polls by votes fairly cast and fairly counted, and a willingness, when the decision has thus been fairly reached, to abide by it. This must, therefore, also mean the general recognition of the fact that cheating and swindling, whether by force or fraud, at the polls or at the nominating conventions, are well-nigh as obnoxious, and if long continued would be absolutely as obnoxious, to public morality as armed revolutionary violence itself.

From this it follows that every American nation has reason to congratulate itself on the stability and prosperity of its sister nations. I am sure that I utter the sentiments of the people of the United States when I say that their only desire, as regards neighboring countries, is to see them stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves in such fashion can count upon the hearty and practical friendship of the United States. If they act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if they keep order and discharge their just obligations, they will surely achieve national success; and it is this national success, for all of her sister republics, which the United States sincerely and earnestly desires. Chronic wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately force intervention by some strong and stable civilized nation, in the exercise of an international police power. Such a duty is thankless, irksome, and unpleasant, whether it be performed by England, France, or the United States, whether in Algiers or Egypt or on the Isthmus of Panama; and therefore we all hail with delight the advent to real power of such nations as Brazil, the Argentine Republic, and Chile, whose maintenance of peace and security within their own bounds, and whose efforts to substitute other and fairer methods for those of war in the settlement of international disputes in South America, are fraught with good omen for the entire Western Hemisphere.

We of the northern continent, we of the United States, hail with genuine pleasure, and with admiration and respect, your advent to positions of assured internal stability and recognized international power and control. We most earnestly desire that all our sister commonwealths of the New World may

speedily achieve a like prosperity and a like stability of power in internal and external relations. Every such rise of any nation on this continent will ultimately be good for all the nations of the continent. Our common ideal, for nations as for individuals, must be to work each for his own hand in a spirit of cordial good will and brotherhood towards his neighbors. Each of us has something to learn from, and something to teach to, his neighbors. I believe that in the era which is now opening the republics of Latin America will be able to teach much to the people of my own country. The Latin-American peoples possess many qualities which it would be well for us of the north to develop. Their unquestioned superiority in intellectual brilliancy and logic will enable them, when once they have secured internal peace and governmental stability, to achieve a better solution of some of the most vital problems of popular government than any that has yet been reached in any part of the world.

The ideals of all of us are substantially the same. We believe in fair dealing among nations as among individuals. We believe in self-government by the people, which necessarily means government by a majority, easily changing as the majority changes. We further believe in using the government in the manner which will most surely aid in bettering the condition of the average men and women who make up the bulk of the nation. We have none of us more than measurably realized these ideals—neither in any nation of the two Americas, nor elsewhere. But as the years go by we are ever coming nearer to a better realization of them, and each nation among us can do its share towards helping all of us towards this better realization. It is not too much to expect that here in the New World, where the burden of inherited national animosities and of fundamental racial incompatibilities is less heavy than in the Old World, we shall be able sooner than elsewhere to reach that level of civilization where the nations shall dwell together in good will and mutual respect and helpfulness.

When once this level has been reached, each nation will strive, with sincerity, earnestness, and common sense, to solve the problems of fair dealing as among the men and women within its own borders; and it will thereby lay the foundations for the only peace permanently worth having, the peace of justice and of righteousness.