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BOOKS AND POLITICS:

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY OCTOBER 22, ANNO MIRABILI 1898, ON THE COMPLETION OF THE NEW LIBRARY BUILDING.

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When Æneas, in his wanderings from Troy toward the Lavinian shores, touched the domains of Dido and saw the rising walls of Carthage, he likened the place to a hive of bees. "The work is all fire," he exclaims. "A scent of thyme breathes from the fragrant honey." As he looked upward to roof and tower, his soul was filled with envious admiration, and these were his words: "O happy they whose city is rising already." With a like exclamation I salute this fortunate university. Its ample campus, its engaging prospects, its historic associations, its spacious halls lead me to repeat the Trojan's exclamation:

> O fortunati quorum jam moenia surgunt,
> Æneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbia.

Among these rising walls it is the Library which claims attention to-day;—the Library, latest and best of the structures surrounding "Nassau Hall." Latest, I say, not last, for imagination already pictures other halls upon this campus; best, not in the least to disparage this theatre, that chapel, those fraternities, that museum, these dormitories,—the best because the Library of a university is its very heart. If the heart is weak, every organ suffers; if strong, all are invigorated. Its impulses send nourishment to every nerve, sinew, and muscle. True it is that stone and wood, however ornamental, do not make a Library,—nor does a heap of books, hoarded by an antiquary in some dark loft, ill-arranged, inaccessible and laden with dust. Choice materials well administered in a fitting hall, are the two essentials.

Those who have watched, amazed, the remarkable transformation of American seminaries during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, may ask what is to be, in this land, the university of the future. Who can cast its horoscope? Certainly I cannot. Yet without question the Libraries and Laboratories are to be joint sovereigns,—libraries which treasure the archives of the human race, laboratories which open the arcana of nature; and it is safe to say that the university of the future, even more than the university of the present, will be controlled by three factors,—teachers, instruments and books.

The old idea that a library is a place to go and get something to read, has given way to the new idea that it is a place for study. Panizzi's law might be written on its walls: "I would have this place so convenient and so complete that no private person however rich can own its equivalent." To this might be added as the law of Nassau Hall,—"Every librarian

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must be a professor; every professor must be a librarian." That is to say, every person in charge of the university collections must be a student, capable of teaching. His specialty must be bibliography, or, if the staff is large, some branch of bibliography, literary, historical, philosophical or scientific, and he must know not only what his collection includes, but what it needs. Likewise, every professor must know the printed apparatus of his own department, so that he can be an assistant to the Librarian, as well as a guide to the adolescent scholar. By this joint action of the expert bibliographer and the alert investigator, good libraries are built up.

Four functions of a public or collegiate Library,—sometimes kept distinct, usually more or less combined, should always be borne in mind.

The first is circulation, the loaning of books for private use,—a popular, an indispensable service, to which alone the early American libraries were usually restricted.

The second is storage,—the accumulation of everything printed,—good, bad and indifferent,—because some day it may be wanted. Like the contents of a farmer's garret, you may say; yet you should also say that to this conservative function, the great libraries of the world are consecrated. Without such store-houses, the great histories and biographies of modern literature could not have been written.

The third function is reference. This term was the favorite expression of the last generation, when Astor, Lenox, Peabody, and other founders endeavored to lift the library above the plane of circulation and entertainment, and even of storage. They sought to bring the public library within the range of scholarship, and we are grateful heirs of their endeavors.

Finally, libraries are now recognized as places of research, a higher function than that of reference. This marks a great advance quite in accord with the dominant spirit of enquiry and investigation. Here comes in Justin Winsor's law,—"A book is never so useful as when it is in use," and the necessary corollary that every possible effort must be made to facilitate the use of books. Hence the university of the future is bound to develop and augment its facilities for literary research. Literary seminaries must run parallel with scientific laboratories; or, to use a better phrase,—in the university of the future, these two kinds of working rooms must be equally maintained, equipped, adapted to special needs, and made light, quiet and convenient for study.

II.

A little reflection will show that the world has never been so well prepared as now for the use of the past experience of mankind; never were the lessons of remote antiquity, or the origin of our fundamental conceptions of religion and politics so clear; never were diplomatic negotiations so quickly removed from the seal of mystery and privacy; never were the intimate records of cabinets and sovereigns so freely made public; never were the long series of historical monuments, and other *mémoires inédites* so accessible; never were biographies of great leaders so amplified,—Napoleon, Goethe, Gladstone, Bismarck; never were the auxiliary index-makers so accurate and painstaking; never was periodical literature so inquisitive, suggestive and comprehensive; never were students of history so numerous or so well disciplined; never were great collections from the Tiber to the Potomac so open as now.

Let me draw from current affairs some illustrations of the highest service that

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libraries can render to the community in which they are placed. Proceed to the Brooklyn Navy Yard and ask leave to visit a battle-ship or armed cruiser. Place yourself, if permitted, under the guidance of a naval officer. Listen to his story of how the ship was designed, constructed, protected, armed, equipped, navigated, carried into action and brought out of the terrific fire unscathed and victorious. In the aggregate and the detail you will see the results of applied science more impressive than any of the seven wonders of the world. As illustrations of human power, the Pyramid of Cheops, the dome of St. Peter's, the great bridges, the continental railways, the Eiffel Tower take a secondary rank when compared with a battleship. Every branch of physical science has contributed to naval architecture. Mathematics, mechanics, electricity, chemistry, metallurgy produced the tremendous enginery of the Oregon, able to ride upon stormy waves and encounter the cyclone unharmed, double Cape Horn without replenishing its coal, discharge its explosives with consummate accuracy, destroy the enemy and protect the lives and limbs of officers and crew. Whence is this applied science derived? From thousands of years of research and record. Mathematics begins with theorems as old as Euclid; steel with the earliest extraction of the ore; the luminous elektron of primeval men was the dawn of electricity; so, in every department, the work of many generations has accumulated. And where is this knowledge stored up? It is perpetuated and augmented in libraries; it is taught in colleges, schools of science, and naval academies; by its acquisition "the man behind the guns" is disciplined in accuracy, coolness, memory, ingenuity, judgment and intellectual strength.

III.

Pass from the domain of science to that of history. You are more or less familiar with the Venezuelan incident of three years ago. Certainly a distinguished graduate of Nassau Hall, now resident in Princeton, knows more about that stirring episode of United States History than anybody living — except, perhaps, that learned and masterful publicist who held the portfolio of foreign affairs during the later years of the last administration.

But let me tell you of some details that have never been made the subject of public comment. By the authority of Congress, the President appointed a commission to investigate a disputed boundary which had been for many years the basis of an irritating controversy between Great Britain and Venezuela. Incessant correspondence, in which the United States had taken a principal part, brought no conclusion. Of the merits of that prolonged negotiation I shall not speak,— nor of its history, nor is it possible to forecast the decision which may be given by the court of arbitration and adjustment that is soon to meet in Paris. My simple purpose is to show the method of enquiry which the commission pursued, as an illustration of the value of libraries and of trained researchers in the prosecution of a governmental enquiry.

To this commission, when they first assembled, it was clear that their task involved an historico-geographical enquiry, antecedent and leading up to an application of public law which could only be made when the facts were ascertained. These legal aspects of the controversy were safely entrusted, and without hesitation, to three eminent jurists who were members of the commission, but the development of the facts was prerequisite to the formation of an opinion. An accomplished secretary was ready to do his part, and two university presidents, not unfamiliar with the methods of historical

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and geographical research, aided their colleagues by their experience. But where was the material to be found from which a summary of the truth could be derived? The governments of Great Britain and Venezuela presented elaborate memoirs; but they were not exhaustive. What discrepancies could be found, hidden or obvious? What was the origin of certain conflicting statements? Which of the existing maps were original, based upon actual survey or territorial visitation, and which were more or less imperfect reproductions and adaptations by editors who were irresponsible or careless? Libraries contained the answers — and diligent search was instituted at once. To present the information thus to be acquired in a shape that could be readily understood, a map of the region involved must be first compiled. An expert cartographer of the U. S. Geological Survey examined the collections which were readily found in the Libraries of Congress, the State Department, the Geological Survey, and the hydrographic bureau of the United States Navy, and at length he produced what, with many imperfections, is probably the best physical map of Venezuela that has ever been drawn. It will some day be superseded by topographic surveys, but not for many years to come. This, however, was not enough. Everybody knew that in Harvard there was an extraordinary collection of maps, bought many years ago, and that they were in charge of a learned interpreter, now, alas, no more. He was at once enlisted. In the Lenox Library of New York, and the American Geographical Society, other charts and books were discovered. Then, to every one's surprise, word came that in Madison, Wisconsin, there was a rare collection of Dutch authorities, which must be examined. For the handling of this varied and comprehensive material, an historian of Brown University and a linguist of Johns Hopkins were called in. Meanwhile, the remarkable abilities of an historical bibliographer at Cornell University were remembered, and he was sent abroad to investigate in the archives of Holland, and subsequently in those of England, dubious points, particularly involved in the succession of England to the rights of Holland in Guiana. Then another interesting enquiry arose respecting the progress of Roman Catholic missionaries in the heart of South America, and through an influential personage access was gained to the lore of missionary brotherhoods reporting to the Vatican. From these sources, a standard atlas showing the historical development of a vast area was compiled and published. With it were four volumes of text. All this will be presented, as impartial evidence, to the international court which is called upon to adjudicate this complex, important and wearisome controversy. The Venezuelan government has reproduced as part of their evidence for that court very many of the maps thus set forth.

You must admit that this story shows how useful the libraries and professorships of this country have been in a crisis that came very near involving three countries in war.

IV.

By these examples I have been leading up to the principal theme of this discourse, — the relation of books to politics, or in other words, to the attitude appropriate to scholars in the perplexities which now involve our countrymen.

Let us consider the services which may be rendered to this country by university libraries, and those who know how to reveal their lessons, in the present crisis, when responsibilities fall heavily upon educated men.

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Many have been tempted to say that this is an *Annus mirabilis.* More than two hundred years ago, in a celebrated poem, familiar to those who read the literature of the Restoration, John Dryden sang of the Annus Mirabilis through which England was then passing. I have read the three hundred quatrains which were inspired by the muse of 1666. They describe the great fire of London, and the victories of England over Holland; but how faint their memory to one who is reading of the recent fire in Hangkow and the American victories of 1898.

Here is one verse:

To see this fleet upon the ocean move,
Angels draw wide the curtains of the skies;
And heaven, as if there wanted lights above,
For tapers made two glaring Comets rise.

The following verse, which alludes to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, might have been written of Sampson and Schley:

Both great in courage and in fame,
Yet neither envious of the other's praise;
Their duty, faith, and interest too the same,
Like mighty partners, equally they raise.

Since that anxious period in the history of the United States, when the articles of confederation led up to the Constitution, there has been no time when it was so important to study, proclaim and enforce the lessons of history. Not only our welfare but that of unnumbered, impoverished, and half-enlightened islanders will be affected by the policy which will soon be formulated by our government. It may help us to appreciate these imminent responsibilities if we make a rapid survey of the globe in this anxious hour.

Count the summer only, from the time when the sun crossed the equator in his northward course until he returned thereto, and is it not the most remarkable summer of American history since the summer of 1776, not excepting that of 1863? Take a broader view, and will you not admit that in events and consequences it is one of the most remarkable years of history since the days of Napoleon? Consider the chief events. The world has been shocked by the death of an Empress at the hand of an assassin. Two world-renowned statesmen, who through their long careers in England and Germany, have wielded powers that were almost supreme, have joined the immortals. Another, almost equally eminent in the Chinese empire, has been deposed from his high office, then reinstated. The Empress mother appears to have assumed the prerogatives of the Emperor, who is said to be incarcerated. Meanwhile, through the Celestial Empire, the supremacy of European civilization is rapidly advancing. An Imperial University under the leadership of a gifted American has been inaugurated. Railroad concessions have been granted to foreign capitalists. Russia, England and France are on the alert, and, if actual war upon the Chinese coasts or within the borders has been averted thus far, the low rumblings of Poseidon, the earth-shaker, have been heard,—rumblings of jealousy and rivalry not likely to be suppressed by the doctrine of "spheres of influence" in the partition of China. The confinement of a solitary prisoner on a dreary islet fitly named "The Devil's," has led to revelations which are shaking the stability of the Republic of France and have endangered its relations to other governments. Germany and England have come to a peaceful adjustment of their respective claims upon the Eastern Coast of Africa. British arms, with unparalleled skill,—a triumph of military science,—have beaten the Dervishes; planted the cross of St. George on Omdurman-Khartoum, where the Khalifa's black flag had been waving since the death of brave General Gordon; freed the upper valley of the

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Nile, and opened thus a passage to the lakes of central Africa, there to meet, ere long, an opposite current coming northward from the Cape,—all this prognostic of English supremacy, in the interior of the dark continent, from the delta at Alexandria to the settlements of Cape Town. The unexpected appearance of the forces of France at Fashoda has caused a temporary, perhaps a serious, embarrassment. The Emperor of Russia, Nicholas the pacificator, successor of Alexander the liberator, has called for a conference of the European powers looking toward disarmament, and the responses if not conclusive are hopeful. England and America, without a formal alliance, have engaged in the peaceful settlement of such open questions as pertain to the continent of North America. More than this, mother and daughter have been drawn more closely together than they ever have been since the colonial tie was severed, drawn too by sentiments stronger than speeches or than language, stronger than arms, stronger than treaties,—strong in the consciousness of kin and the equal inheritance of institutions and ideas, religion and law.

All this in the old world: turn now to the new. For the first time, in half a century, the United States has engaged in a foreign war,—the war of one hundred days. Never have her young men shown more patriotism, more courage, more endurance, more strength. A quarter of a million brave defenders have rallied round the flag. Southerners and Northerners have stood side by side once more together, brothers in arms, as they were at Cowpens and Yorktown, a blessed sign of complete reunion. Sectional animosity has disappeared. In this vast army, *mirabile dictu*, less than three hundred men were reported killed by sword and ball. Our victorious fleet, the white squadron of peace, has demonstrated not only the supremacy of naval power, to which Captain Mahan had been calling the attention of the world, but it has also shown the abilities of our countrymen in devising, constructing and handling these giants of the sea, while with consummate accuracy the range has been determined, the guns sighted, and huge projectiles hurled on their destructive mission. In one memorable morning, the hands of Spain were released from their grasp upon the pearl of the Antilles, and soon, when the ashes of Columbus return from Havana to Seville, *requiescant in pace*, her supremacy will have vanished from the lands that Columbus discovered, from a domain that once extended from the heart of North America to the heart of South America and over the intervening seas.

The bravery of our seamen, never questioned since the days of Paul Jones, has been demonstrated again in the handling of new engines of battle, the floating forts. At the same time, the unfailing and spontaneous generosity and courtesy of officers and seamen, toward a conquered foe, in the moment of exulting victory, has brought out the world's applause. "Do not cheer," said the commander of a vessel on which a fallen crew was received. "They were our enemies; we have beaten them, and they are now our friends." The consideration of the Spaniards for brave Hobson and his men was not forgotten when gallant Cervera and his colleagues arrived upon our shores.

Nor is this all. In the distant Philippines, first the navy alone of the United States, then the navy and army together, achieved great victories and placed in our possession the control of that great island group. The Ladrones yielded without a contest. It was one of the humors of the war, caught up by a gifted story-teller, that the Commandant of Guam apologised

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for not returning the American salute because of the want of proper ammunition, and was astounded to find himself on the way to Manila as a prisoner of war.

Meanwhile, Hawaii, conquered long ago by the peaceful agencies of civilization, has been annexed to the United States, "for better for worse, for richer for poorer, till death us do part." It was a pathetic scene when the Stars and Stripes arose above the government house in Honolulu.

We have had our financial as well as our military and naval victories. The cry of the silver dollar, not silenced, is muffled. A popular loan called out from the people, without the mediation of bankers, an offering seven times as great as the treasury wanted.

It is needless to recapitulate the sequence of stirring deeds performed in our united service, for they have been made familiar to every one, in marvellous reports, written in the din and peril of the battle-field, and on the decks of ships in action, by brave and gifted writers, whose keen observation, accurate memories, translucent style, and immediate transmission of the news by boat and wire have glorified the profession of newspaper correspondent, and enabled the people to follow day by day, almost hour by hour, the stirring actions of our admirals and generals. Nor will I name the brave and gallant leaders whom you would be so ready to applaud, nor recount the thrilling stories of those private, not named but not forgotten, heroes who endured hunger and thirst, faced the bullet and the shell, or were prostrate in loneliness and pain by the more destructive arrows of pestilence and fever.

The part that women took by the agency of the Red Cross, and by other agencies, in promoting the health and relieving the distress of those who were serving their country, can never be forgotten, nor be mentioned without awakening a sense of the deepest gratitude to these followers of Florence Nightingale.

V.

We are now involved in the less exciting, but not less important, problems of peace. Able commissioners are engaged in Paris in the definition of the Spanish-American protocol. At home, investigations respecting the conduct of the war are in progress, and especially respecting the sanitary care of the army; the settlement of conflicting claims and the bestowal of well-earned laurels likewise exact attention; but above these problems, important as they are, there rises one transcendent question, a question without a precedent, involved in detail, world-wide in its significance. You anticipate my meaning. The great problem that is now before the country is not the relation of Admiral to Admiral, of General to General, or Secretary to subordinates; nor is it the merit or demerit of congressional action in the declaration of war; nor is it the possibility that Cuba might have been released from Spanish control by a continuance of the President's diplomacy, which at one time was so hopeful. Such enquiries may be relegated to history. But the question of to-day, the question of the decade, it may be the question of the twentieth century, is the attitude of the United States toward the islands of the sea, *de insulis nuper rupertis*. This is a question for universities and university men to illuminate by the experience of mankind. Unquestionably the President and Congress, upon whom the ultimate responsibility will rest, will give to the problem the full consideration which it demands, but it is quite possible that their conclusions may be influenced by studies pursued in the libraries of Princeton and other learned institutions, and by

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publications set forth by their printing presses. Public opinion is forming. Speeches, pamphlets, resolutions, political platforms, magazine articles and books are following each other in quick succession. A bishop on the one side is answered by a bishop on the other; a scholar, by a senator; party utterances are confounded; the discreet are careful what they say and the indiscreet pronounce off-hand what the country ought to do.

In considering the task of the United States, let us be reminded that in the evolution of this period of modern history, the underlying fact is this,—the nations claiming to be civilized are engaged in the subjugation of those that are not. It is almost equally important to remember that the revolutions now in progress, peaceful and war-ful, are due to many co-operating forces, four of which are noteworthy:—the rapidity of communication by electricity and steam, annihilators of space and time; the growth of manufactures and commerce demanding new markets; the improvement of munitions and armaments, especially those of naval warfare; and finally the increase of education and enterprise, arising from the growth of science, and an eagerness to subdue the earth.

It would be instructive to review the progress of continental empire during the nineteenth century in North America, Africa, and Asia, but it is Oceana with which we are chiefly concerned. Think of the achievements of less than a century. England has created great states in Australia; New Zealand in less than sixty years has abandoned barbarism for civilization; the Fijis, in the same period, have become christianized, and the seat of England's power in the Pacific; Tahiti is French; Samoa is under the joint protectorate of Germany, England and the United States, where Pago-Pago will soon be our harbor of refuge; the Hawaiias are now an American territory; the Ladrones are held, at least for the present, by right of conquest, and the Philippines are in chancery.

In this period of changes it is clear that the United States, because of its geographical position, must of necessity be a mediator between Europe and Asia, if it be only as a carrier of methods, merchandise, and men.

Not long ago, upon this campus, there lived and walked one of the broadest and most thoughtful of scientific philosophers. He printed but little, or he would be better known, but that little made a deep impression upon his generation. Surely in this place, his persuasive voice, calm spirit, great learning, accurate knowledge of Earth and Man are held in such honor that his words, which sound like the voice of a Hebrew prophet, may be fitly recalled. He taught us, I remember, as Humboldt and Ritter had taught him, that every portion of the globe is fitted for the service of the human race, as the body is the temple of the soul. He reviewed the progress of civilization in America, Asia and Europe. He looked forward to the approaching conquest of the Ocean, and to the opening of Eastern Asia. "Yes, gentemen," he said before the Lowell Institute, in 1849, in a lecture on the People of the Future, "a new work is preparing, and a grave question is propounded. To what people shall it belong to carry out this work into reality? The law of history replies, To a new people. And to what continent? The geographical march of civilization tells us, to a new continent, west of the Old World,—to America." And again: "The oceanic position of the American continent secures its commercial prosperity and creates at the same time the means of influence upon the world. America is so placed as to take

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an active part in the great work of the civilization of the world. In what measure and through what perils it shall be given to mankind and to America in particular to attain the goal is known to God alone." These were the words of Arnold Guyot.

VI.

I do not propose, on this academic occasion, to discuss a question upon which wise men are widely divided, eager as I am for the opportunity to do so. Such prudent reserve is justified by the fact that a board of ten commissioners is now in Paris engaged in determining the conditions of peace; the additional fact, that Congress has had no opportunity for debate upon the conduct and results of the war; and the third fact that the President, in whose wisdom and patriotism the country places the utmost confidence, has given no public sign, with all possible information at his command, of the attitude which the administration will take in respect to our new relations. This extraordinary uncertainty brings to mind a celebrated chapter in Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws. In that famous treatise, (to which the present generation might well turn for guidance, as their fathers did at the beginning of our constitutional history,) a work where one hardly expects a laugh, every word of the fifteenth chapter of book eighth is as follows: (Caption) *Sure methods of preserving the three principles.* (Text) *I shall not be able to make myself rightly understood, till the reader has perused the four following chapters.* So Americans must await the following chapters of their history before they can understand the one through which they are passing.

I am not an "imperialist," an "expansionist" nor a "jingo." I belong to a class of citizens, represented, no doubt, by many in this assembly, who dread revolution, trust experience, and are established by inheritance, training and reflection in the belief that the freedom of this country from foreign entanglements has secured its peace and plenty, and is the basis of its hope and faith. I say now, as I said in June, that it is safer to walk in the footsteps of the fathers than to enter upon the unblazed paths of the forest, which lead we know not where.

Nevertheless, is it not apparent that the events of 1898, following in quick succession, like the bombs from the turret of a battle-ship, have changed the outlook? If public opinion, manifest by the newspapers, expressed by speeches, pamphlets and resolutions, and presently to be formulated by Congress, demands that our acquisitions remain our possessions, the Americans have reached the most serious difficulty in government that has arisen since the Constitution of the United States was adopted, — reconstruction, perhaps, excepted, though of this I am not sure. Such a state of affairs was not foretold by optimistic or by pessimistic prophecy. The political results, as distinguished from the military and naval, have been adverse to the wishes, arguments and anticipations of conservative men. But here we are, in circumstances unforeseen when the Constitution was adopted, when the farewell address was written, or when the Monroe doctrine was announced, or even at the declaration of war with Spain.

Whatever we may think of the annexation of Hawaii, or of the value of Porto Rico, or of the wisdom of the recent war, or of its necessity, or of the terms of the protocol, or of the perplexities in which this country is involved, here we are, face to face with new problems, new responsibilities, new opportunities. They are not ghosts and spectres which will vanish as we approach them, they are giants tough and grim, armed with clubs, and full of deceit,—with which we shall have many a rude encounter before we prevail.

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Here we are.

Emerson, in his Essay on "Race," says of the English that they derive their pedigree from such a range of nationalities, that there needs sea-room and land-room to unfold the varieties of talent and character; but he quickly proceeds to tell this story: "Charlemagne, halting one day in a town of Narbonnese Gaul, looked out of a window and saw a fleet of Northmen cruising in the Mediterranean. They even entered the port of the town where he was, causing no small alarm by the sudden manning and arming of his galleys. As they put out to sea again, the Emperor gazed long after them, his eyes bathed in tears. 'I am tormented with sorrow,' he said, 'when I foresee the evils they will bring on my posterity.'" "There was reason," adds Emerson, "for these Xerxes tears." So it is with every thoughtful American with whom I have conversed. We foresee the evils that posterity will suffer from the events of 1898.

For this state of affairs we are wholly unprepared. If it is true, as a member of the Cabinet has said, that war came like a flash of lightning out of a clear sky, and as the President afterwards affirmed, that "the storm broke so suddenly that it was here almost before we realized it," it is equally true that the nation is not ready for the new problems of civil government upon which it is entering. Reduce these problems to their lowest terms. Near by, Cuba, freed from the sovereignty of Spain, is ours for the moment by conquest, and yet it is not ready for self-government, nor will it be for a long time to come. Porto Rico and other Spanish islands are ours by the terms of the protocol, and are equally unprepared for republican suffrage. In the Pacific, Hawaii is ours by annexation; an island in the Ladrones is guaranteed to us by the protocol; we are in possession of the harbor, bay and city of Manila; and with Germany and England we are joint protectors of Samoa, where Pago-Pago is already a naval rendezvous. Nor should we forget that if none of these acquisitions had been made, our influence in the Pacific would still be very great. Our merchants, missionaries, travellers, men of letters, artists, scientists, are bound to traverse Oceana. American influence is sure to be felt in Australasia and Eastern Asia. We once made a call upon Japan and behold the results.

From this influence there is no escape. The question is how best to use the advantages of our position for the good of mankind. The Chinese policy is to remain shut up within a wall, repell all assault, and refrain from interference with the affairs of other people. Shall the Americans, abandoning the opportunities that have been placed in their hands, maintain a similar seclusion and be contented with coaling stations; or shall they establish themselves as a civilizing force in the Pacific.

I purposely refrain from dwelling upon our commercial relations, but they must not be passed by with a contemptuous remark about pecuniary greed. It is right to condemn cupidity and avarice; yet the free and enlarged exchange of the products of one clime, or one state, for those of another, is among the highest achievements of civilization. Commerce has been the making of England as truly as it was the making of Phœnicia. International trade is the business of the United States by which our own welfare and the welfare of all people with whom we have to deal are promoted. Let commerce be stopped, and all the mechanism of modern society is brought to silence.

VII.

From this broad survey I return to this peaceful campus, and enquire: What is

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the duty of American students in this new state of affairs? That is the question for us to consider. We are not members of the Cabinet, nor of Congress; we are not Peace Commissioners; we are only a company of students and teachers. What is our duty? My answer is a very simple one. Let David get ready to meet the Philistine. Let him gather the pebbles for his sling. Go to your books, young men, and study geography and history. Resort to the Library by whose reorganization you are now enriched. Begin the study of Oceana, its vast extent, its marvellous attractions, its extraordinary people, its primitive customs, its amazing institutions, its adaptation to civilization. With your geography, do not fail to read political history. Trace the steps which great nations have taken in dealing with primitive people. Weigh the consequences of conquest, bigotry, falsehood, greed and lust. Weigh also the benefits of consideration, honesty, education, justice, religion and law. Follow the slow and devious ways by which the principles of civil and religious liberty, which we hold dear, have been evolved, and derive if you can the laws by which a like evolution may be secured among other people. Remember that the most enlightened nations are not yet perfect in governing themselves, and are very inexpert in governing others.

Four centuries of experience in the transmission of modern civilization are now of record. Spain has given the world an object-lesson which has reached its last chapter, and Spain has shown what miserable result may follow from bad laws, bad customs, and bad institutions. The states of Central and South America are the examples of her best influence; Cuba and the Philippines of her worst. Portugal, once enterprising, has her lessons in decadence. The Dutch have tried their hand in the maintenance of distant colonies; and Java tells the tale. France has her manifold possessions in the Orient, and if Tahiti is not a fair illustration of her influence, look at Algiers, Tonquin and Madagascar. England is pre-eminent in colonial supremacy. Her ability in governing a distant empire, especially as shown in South Africa, in Egypt, and in India during recent years, is wonderful. Russia, France and England, to say nothing of Germany and Japan, now have their hands upon China, and no one can predict when an Eastern war will be declared, or what will be the issue.

In respect to island life, the records of the nineteenth century are especially full of important and appropriate lessons. For example, see how the convict station of Botany Bay on the confines of a small continent, inhabited by cannibals, has expanded into a group of prosperous states. Read the story of the American Exploring Expedition, under Wilkes, who happened to be in New Zealand when Great Britain took hold of those islands in 1840, and went away recording in his narrative, "There is nothing here to interest us"; and then turn to the newspapers and books of 700,000 Europeans established in the double island, with churches, schools, banks, agriculture and commerce. Follow the Hawaiians, from the murder of Captain Cook to the acceptance of American sovereignty,—a history of missions, education, science, agriculture and trade. The geographical literature of Polynesia or Oceana is rich, and the pages of Phillips, Mariner, the two Danas, Froude, and Stevenson, and a hundred other writers, are like the chapters of a romance or the scenes of a great drama; while the series of voyages from Cook to the Challenger are rich in the facts of ethnography and geography. Study the West Indies, and contrast the beneficent life of Jamaica and the Bermudas with the dire stories of Hayti and San Domingo, Porto Rico and Cuba.

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It does not follow that if distant islands come under the dominion of the United States, the inhabitants of these islands are at once to be admitted to the privileges of self government. The process of training must be gradual and will probably be long. Doubtless, in each case, the procedure will differ from that of every other case, and difficulties, various and complex, will be presented; but certainly modern civilization is adequate to the task of perpetuating and extending its influence among the islands of Oceana, by introducing the fundamental principles of political well-being. The principle that government depends upon the will of the governed is not of universal application. There are constant conditions in which authority must be exercised over those who are incapable of governing themselves. It is as true of nations as it is of individuals that they must learn the art of self-government. Democratic institutions may be partial and gradual as well as complete.

To discuss elaborately these questions is an appropriate task for the universities of this land. They have the historical and geographical archives; they have trained investigators; they know the principles of human progress; they have the knowledge of constitutional law and historic jurisprudence. They are non-partisan. They have scores and hundreds of skillful coadjutors whose services can be enlisted. What a service they might render by combining their forces and distributing their tasks, to teach the world, in the light of history, how it is that great nations have failed in the business of advancing civilization and how other great nations have succeeded; what constitutes a legitimate and humane exercise of superior force, and what is base or disastrous. A word from the President or a request from the Secretary of State would set the universities at work. It would be better still, if Congress would authorize the appointment of a commission to be made up of the most learned, the most wise, the most experienced statesmen of the land, not now holding public office, and charge them to investigate for years to come, these problems. History, said Freeman, is past politics, and politics present history. What nobler work could a civilized nation undertake than to study its present in the light of the past, calmly, leisurely, and under conditions which ensure wise conclusions, full of instruction for mankind. A commission, made up of jurists, students of international law, economists and historians, could bring together, arrange, digest, and make known the conditions of success and the conditions of failure, and thus prepare the way for such legislation or for such Constitutional amendments as will enable the government of the United States to administer for the good of humanity its new responsibilities in the islands of the sea.

I am well aware that there are many of our best counsellors who dread to have our countrymen entertain these questions. We are "too corrupt," they say. "If we cannot govern Manhattan why undertake Manila?" If we are embarrassed by eight millions of Africans, speaking our language, voting for our rulers, and fighting with our armies, what can we do with eight millions of Malays, to say nothing of half-breeds? But I have confidence that if in the progress of events these responsibilities are imposed upon us, we shall rise to the opportunities. I appeal to English history. How short a time it is since seats in Parliament were bought; since commissions in the army were openly purchased; since the only civil service was favoritism and "pull." See what a century of increasing responsibility has brought upon Englishmen. We are of

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their stock. I appeal to human nature. How readily trustworthiness is fostered by responsibility.

In the latest history of John Fiske's you may read that at the end of the last century it was claimed that, "in the mournful chorus of disparagement" evoked by the discovery of America, "the one cheery note" was the introduction of quinine. You may also read in the terse and vigorous phrase of a century later that the great historic fact, most conspicuous among the consequences of the discovery of America is this, that the colonial empires of England and Holland, fraught with civil and religious liberty, grew directly from the repressive war with Spain. "In the conflict of Titans," he says, "that absorbed the energies of the 16th century, the question whether it would be the world of Shakespeare or of Calderon that was to gain indefinite power of future expansion was a question of incalculable importance to mankind."

VIII.

Human progress is usually heralded by fire and sword, hunger and thirst; our civil war took several hundred thousand lives; the war of independence was a seven years' war, and the cup of separation was full of bitter herbs; the colonization of the new world by England required a century of privation and poverty; and so I might go on, but there is no need to do so. History warns us that in our new career we may anticipate perplexities, embarrassments, blunders, a neglect of the principles of efficient civil service, the rivalries of churches, the wasteful and perhaps the fraudulent expenditure of vast sums of money, and attempts to engraft the system of spoils on the unsophisticated and unwary. I dread the conflict. Nevertheless, I believe that the American people, through their errors, perplexities and sins, will rise to the situation before them, and will succeed in carrying to distant lands the benefits of liberty, order and law; and I believe that the young men of our universities, to whom the great storehouses of human experience are open, while they point out in the history of Alexander, and Cæsar, and Charlemagne, and Napoleon, the dangers of imperial magnitude, will also show us how in the twentieth century these dangers may be to a great extent averted, and human happiness be advanced by spreading through the world the principles of Anglo-American liberties.

Fathers and brethren, let us not forget the words of Emerson, "The scholar is the man of the Ages." Let us not shrink from the responsibilities, whatever they may be, that Providence puts upon us; but with the courage that inspired our young men last spring as they left the farm, the shop and the counting-room, the college and the university, the bar and the pulpit, when the government called for support, let us volunteer for the longer, harder, more intricate contests that are coming, contests not of muscle, but of brains. Let the libraries be our armories where we may be equipped. Let us be taught by the experience of England, of China, and of Spain. Let the reproach never rest again upon the educated young men of America that they do not participate in political action. Let them be leaders in the battles of the future, whether they command the squadron or carry to the guns the powder and ball. Let them not forget that the measure of history is not a day or a month or a year or a decade, but a century. The measuring rod of a hundred years is the smallest gauge by which men mark the progress of great events. To the supreme intelligence, a thousand years are but as yesterday.

Be it forever remembered that we are the heirs of great possessions that we may

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not keep to ourselves. This is an inventory of our rich inheritance:

1. The good tidings of Christianity, destined to pervade the earth with its pure and simple morality.

2. Civil and ecclesiastical liberty, secured by many contests, from Magna Charta down.

3. International law, propounded by great jurists and accepted by great States.

4. Freedom of commercial intercourse by which the products of nature and of industry are exchanged for the mutual benefit of the producers, with the least restriction possible.

5. The purity and happiness of domestic life, an idea almost unknown to savage and half-civilized men.

6. The value of general education, with the appreciation of history and literature.

7. An increasing and beneficent harvest of scientific investigations, by which happiness is promoted, life prolonged, pain destroyed, and time and space are overcome.

It is highly probable that the young men of this university will soon be personally involved in the perplexities that have arisen from this war of one hundred days. They are likely to be engaged, in one capacity or another, in relations with distant and unenlightened islanders. At least, as citizens of this republic they will be concerned in the adjustment of American institutions to circumstances and people for whom they were never designed. For these new responsibilities they should be prepared by an acquaintance not only with geographical, ethnographical and historical facts, but with the principles of economics, of administration, and especially of public and constitutional law. I urge them to make ready for the duties of the Christian citizen in the twentieth century,—to prepare for foreign affairs by the promotion at home of sound finance, pure religion and political education.

The methods of modern England, not Spain's, should be an example if it be true, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd in an impressive paragraph has declared, that England's success in India is due to the influence of her universities. "In other words," he says, "it is the best and most distinctive product which England can give, the higher ideals and standards of her universities, which is made to feed the inner life from which the British administration of India proceeds." "Progress upwards," he continues, "must be a long, slow process, must proceed on native lines, and must be the effect of the example and prestige of higher standards rather than the result of ruder methods. It is on a like principle that the development of the tropical region occupied must be held to be the fulfillment of a trust undertaken in the name of civilization."

You are the heirs, Princetonians, of illustrious names, none so illustrious as that of James Madison, whose constitutional services are acknowledged of transcendent importance. Be his pupils as you are his followers. Let him inspire you as Odysseus cheered Telemachus. The warriors,

——when their limbs are robed in flaming brass
Fling the doors open, in one band convene,
And with Odysseus at their head, forth pass.
Near them, Athene, child of Zeus, was seen,
Like unto Mentor both in voice and mien.
Glad was Odysseus and addressed his son:
"Soon wilt thou prove, Telemachus, I ween,
How amid warriors a great name is won,
Nor shame thy sires, whose glory through the
world hath gone."

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