

building first used for the meeting of the conference the name of "Palacio Monroe." Our grateful acknowledgments are due to the governments and the people of all the countries visited by the secretary of state for the courtesy, the friendship and the honor shown to our country in their generous hospitality to him.

In my message to you on the 5th of December, 1905, I called your attention to the embarrassment that might be caused to this government by the assertion by foreign nations of the right to collect by force of arms contract debts due by American republics to citizens of the collecting nation and to the danger that the process of compulsory collection might result in the occupation of territory tending to become permanent. I then said:

"Our own government has always refused to enforce such contractual obligations on behalf of its citizens by an appeal to arms. It is much to be wished that all foreign governments would take the same view."

South American Debts.

This subject was one of the topics of consideration at the conference at Rio, and a resolution was adopted by that conference recommending to the respective governments represented "to consider the advisability of asking the second peace conference at The Hague to examine the question of the compulsory collection of public debts and in general means tending to diminish among nations conflicts of purely pecuniary origin."

This resolution was supported by the representatives of the United States in accordance with the following instructions:

"It has long been the established policy of the United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other governments. We have not considered the use of force for such a purpose consistent with that respect for the independent sovereignty of other members of the family of nations which is the most important principle of international law and the chief protection of weak nations against the oppression of the strong. It seems to us that the practice is injurious in its general effect upon the relations of nations and upon the welfare of weak and disordered states, whose development ought to be encouraged in the interests of civilization; that it offers frequent temptation to bullying and oppression and to unnecessary and unjustifiable warfare. We regret that other powers, whose opinions and sense of justice we esteem highly, have at times taken a different view and have permitted themselves, though we believe with reluctance, to collect such debts by force. It is doubtless true that the nonpayment of public debts may be accompanied by such circumstances of fraud and wrongdoing or violation of treaties as to justify the use of force. This government would be glad to see an international consideration of the subject which shall discriminate between such cases and the simple nonperformance of a contract with a private person and a resolution in favor of reliance upon peaceful means in cases of the latter class.

"It is not felt, however, that the conference at Rio should undertake to make such a discrimination or to resolve upon such a rule. Most of the American countries are still debtor nations, while the countries of Europe are the creditors. If the Rio conference, therefore, were to take such action it would have the appearance of a meeting of debtors resolving how their creditors should act, and this would not inspire respect. The true course is indicated by the terms of the programme, which proposes to request the second Hague conference, where both creditors and debtors will be assembled, to consider the subject.

Central America.

Last June trouble which had existed for some time between the republics of Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras culminated in war—a war which threatened to be ruinous to the countries involved and very destructive to the commercial interests of Americans, Mexicans and other foreigners who are taking an important part in the development of these countries. The thoroughly good understanding which exists between the United States and Mexico enabled this government and that of Mexico to unite in effective mediation between the warring republics, which mediation resulted without long continued and patient effort, in bringing about a meeting of the representatives of the hostile powers on board a United States warship as neutral territory, and peace was there concluded—a peace which resulted in the saving of thousands of lives and in the prevention of an incalculable amount of misery and the destruction of property and of the means of livelihood. The Rio conference passed the following resolution in reference to this action:

"That the third international American conference shall address to the presidents of the United States of America and of the United States of Mexico a note in which the conference which is being held at Rio expresses its satisfaction at the happy results of their mediation for the celebration of peace between the republics of Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador."

This affords an excellent example of one way in which the influence of the United States can properly be exercised for the benefit of the peoples of the western hemisphere—that is, by action taken in concert with other American republics and therefore free from those suspicions and prejudices which might attach if the action were taken by one alone. In this way it is possible to exercise a powerful influence toward the substitution of considerate action in the spirit of justice for the insurrectionary or international violence which has hitherto been so

great a hindrance to the development of many of our neighbors. Repeated examples of united action by several or many American republics in favor of peace by urging cool and reasonable instead of excited and belligerent treatment of international controversies cannot fail to promote the growth of a general public opinion among the American nations which will elevate the standards of international action, strengthen the sense of international duty among governments and tell in favor of the peace of mankind.

Panama Trip.

I have just returned from a trip to Panama and shall report to you at length later on the whole subject of the Panama canal.

The Algeiras Convention.

The Algeiras convention, which was signed by the United States as well as by most of the powers of Europe, supersedes the previous convention of 1880, which was also signed both by the United States and a majority of the European powers. This treaty confers upon us equal commercial rights with all European countries and does not entail a single obligation of any kind upon us, and I earnestly hope it may be speedily ratified. To refuse to ratify it would merely mean that we forfeited our commercial rights in Morocco and would not achieve another object of any kind. In the event of such refusal we would be left for the first time in 129 years without any commercial treaty with Morocco, and this at a time when we are everywhere seeking new markets and outlets for trade.

PROTECTION OF SEALS.

History of This Problem and Present Status.

The destruction of the Pribilof island fur seals by pelagic sealing still continues. The herd which, according to the surveys made in 1874 by direction of the congress, numbered 4,700,000 and which, according to the survey of both American and Canadian commissioners in 1891, amounted to 1,000,000 has now been reduced to about 180,000. This result has been brought about by Canadian and some other sealing vessels killing the female seals while in the water during their annual pilgrimage to and from the south or in search of food. As a rule, the female seal when killed is pregnant and also has an unweaned pup on land, so that for each skin taken by pelagic sealing, as a rule, three lives are destroyed—the mother, the unborn offspring and the nursing pup, which is left to starve to death. No damage whatever is done to the herd by the carefully regulated killing on land. The custom of pelagic sealing is solely responsible for all of the present evil and is alike indefensible from the economic standpoint and from the standpoint of humanity.

In 1896 over 16,000 young seals were found dead from starvation on the Pribilof Islands. In 1897 it was estimated that since pelagic sealing began upward of 400,000 adult female seals had been killed at sea and over 300,000 young seals had died of starvation as the result. The revolting barbarity of such a practice, as well as the wasteful destruction which it involves, needs no demonstration and is its own condemnation. The Bering sea tribunal, which sat in Paris in 1893 and which decided against the claims of the United States to exclusive jurisdiction in the waters of Bering sea and to a property right in the fur seals when outside of the three mile limit, determined also upon certain regulations which the tribunal considered sufficient for the proper protection and preservation of the fur seal or in habitually resorting to the Bering sea. The tribunal by its regulations established a close season, from the 1st of May to the 31st of July, and excluded all killing in the waters within sixty miles around the Pribilof Islands. They also provided that the regulations which they had determined upon, with a view to the protection and preservation of the seals, should be submitted every five years to new examination, so as to enable both interested nations to consider whether in the light of past experience there was occasion for any modification thereof.

The regulations have proved plainly inadequate to accomplish the object of protection and preservation of the fur seals, and for a long time this government has been trying in vain to secure from Great Britain such revision and modification of the regulations as were contemplated and provided for by the award of the tribunal of Paris.

The process of destruction has been accelerated during recent years by the appearance of a number of Japanese vessels engaged in pelagic sealing. As these vessels have not been bound even by the inadequate limitations prescribed by the tribunal of Paris, they have paid no attention either to the close season or to the sixty mile limit imposed upon Canadian and have prosecuted their work up to the very islands themselves. On July 16 and 17 the crews from several Japanese vessels made raids upon the island of St. Paul, and before they were beaten off by the very meager and insufficiently armed guard they succeeded in killing several hundred seals and carrying off the skins of most of them. Nearly all the seals killed were females, and the work was done with frightful barbarity. Many of the seals appear to have been half skinned and still alive. The raids were repelled only by the use of firearms, and five of the raiders were killed, two were wounded and twelve captured, including the two wounded. Those captured have since been tried and sentenced to imprisonment. An attack of this kind had been wholly unlooked for, but such provision of

vessels, arms and ammunition will now be made that its repetition will not be found profitable.

Promise by Japan.

Suitable representations regarding the incident have been made to the government of Japan, and we are assured that all practicable measures will be taken by that country to prevent any recurrence of the outrage. On our part, the guard on the island will be increased and better equipped and organized, and a better revenue cutter patrol service about the islands will be established. Next season a United States war vessel will also be sent there.

We have not relaxed our efforts to secure an agreement with Great Britain for adequate protection of the seal herd, and negotiations with Japan for the same purpose are in progress. The laws for the protection of the seals within the jurisdiction of the United States need revision and amendment. Only the islands of St. Paul and St. George are now in terms included in the government reservation, and the other islands are also to be included. The landing of aliens as well as citizens upon the islands without a permit from the department of commerce and labor for any purpose except in case of stress of weather or for water should be prohibited under adequate penalties. The approach of vessels for the excepted purposes should be regulated. The authority of the government agents on the islands should be enlarged, and the chief agent should have powers of a committing magistrate. The entrance of a vessel into the territorial waters surrounding the islands with intent to take seals should be made a criminal offense and cause of forfeiture. Authority for seizures in such cases should be given, and the presence on any such vessel of seals or seal skins or the paraphernalia for taking them should be made prima facie evidence of such intent. I recommend that legislation be needed to accomplish these ends, and I commend to your attention the report of Mr. Sims of the department of commerce and labor on this subject.

In case we are compelled to abandon the hope of making arrangements with other governments to put an end to the hideous cruelty now incident to pelagic sealing it will be a question for your serious consideration how far we should continue to protect and maintain the seal herd on land with the result of continuing such a practice and whether it is not better to end the practice by exterminating the herd ourselves in the most humane way possible.

EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

Our Duty as a Nation to Further This Cause.

In my last message I advised you that the emperor of Russia had taken the initiative in bringing about a second peace conference at The Hague. Under the guidance of Russia the arrangement of the preliminaries for such a conference has been progressing during the past year. Progress has necessarily been slow owing to the great number of countries to be consulted upon every question that has arisen. It is a matter of satisfaction that all of the American republics have now, for the first time, been invited to join in the proposed conference.

The close connection between the subjects to be taken up by the Red Cross conference held at Geneva last summer and the subjects which naturally would come before The Hague conference made it apparent that it was desirable to have the work of the Red Cross conference completed and considered by the different powers before the meeting at The Hague. The Red Cross conference ended its labors on the 6th of July, and the revised and amended convention, which was signed by the American delegates, will be promptly laid before the senate.

By the special and highly appreciated courtesy of the governments of Russia and the Netherlands a proposal to call The Hague conference together at a time which would conflict with the conference of the American republics at Rio de Janeiro in August was laid aside. No other date has yet been suggested. A tentative programme for the conference has been proposed by the government of Russia, and the subjects which it enumerates are undergoing careful examination and consideration in preparation for the conference.

Peace and Righteousness.

It must ever be kept in mind that war is not merely justifiable but imperative upon honorable men, upon an honorable nation, where peace can only be obtained by the sacrifice of conscientious conviction or of national welfare. Peace is normally a great good, and normally it coincides with righteousness, but it is righteousness, and not peace, which should bind the conscience of a nation as it should bind the conscience of an individual, and neither a nation nor an individual can surrender conscience to another's keeping. Neither can a nation which is an entity and which does not die as individuals die refrain from taking thought for the interest of the generations that are to come no less than for the interest of the generation of today, and no public men have a right, whether from shortsightedness, from selfish indifference or from sentimentality, to sacrifice national interests which are vital in character. A just war is in the long run far better for a nation's soul than the most prosperous peace obtained by acquiescence in wrong or injustice. Moreover, though it is criminal for a nation not to prepare for war so that it may escape the dreadful consequences of being defeated in war, yet it must always be remembered that even to be defeated in war may be far

better than not to have fought at all. As has been well and finely said, a beaten nation is not necessarily a disgraced nation, but the nation or man is disgraced if the obligation to defend right is shirked.

We should as a nation do everything in our power for the cause of honorable peace. It is morally as indefensible for a nation to commit a wrong upon another nation, strong or weak, as for an individual thus to wrong his fellows. We should do all in our power to hasten the day when there shall be peace among the nations—a peace based upon justice and not upon cowardly submission to wrong. We can accomplish a good deal in this direction, but we cannot accomplish everything, and the penalty of attempting to do too much would almost inevitably be to do worse than nothing. For it must be remembered that fantastic extremists are not in reality leaders of the causes which they espouse, but are ordinarily those who do most to hamper the real leaders of the cause and to damage the cause itself. As yet there is no likelihood of establishing any kind of international power, of whatever sort, which can effectively check wrongdoing, and in these circumstances it would be both a foolish and an evil thing for a great and free nation to deprive itself of the power to protect its own rights and even in exceptional cases to stand up for the rights of others. Nothing would more promote inequality, nothing would further defer the reign upon earth of peace and righteousness, than for the free and enlightened peoples, who, though with much stumbling and many shortcomings, nevertheless strive toward justice, deliberately to render themselves powerless while leaving every despotism and barbarism armed and able to work their wicked will. The chance for the settlement of disputes peacefully by arbitration now depends mainly upon the possession by the nations that mean to do right of sufficient armed strength to make their purpose effective.

THE NAVY AND ARMY.

Our Surest Guarantor of Peace a Strong Navy.

The United States navy is the surest guarantor of peace which this country possesses. It is earnestly to be wished that we would profit by the teachings of history in this matter. A strong and wise people will study its own failures no less than its triumphs, for there is wisdom to be learned from the study of both, of the mistake as well as of the success. For this purpose nothing could be more instructive than a rational study of the war of 1812 as it is told, for instance, by Captain Mahan. There was only one way in which that war could have been avoided. If during the preceding twelve years a navy relatively as strong as that which this country now has had been built up and an army provided relatively as good as that which the country now has, there never would have been the slightest necessity of fighting the war, and if the necessity had arisen the war would under such circumstances have ended with our speedy and overwhelming triumph. But our people during those twelve years refused to make any preparations whatever regarding either the army or the navy. They saved a million or two of dollars by so doing and in mere money paid a hundredfold for each million they thus saved during the three years of war which followed—a war which brought untold suffering upon our people, which at one time threatened the gravest national disaster and which, in spite of the necessity of waging it, resulted merely in what was in effect a drawn battle, while the balance of defeat and triumph was almost even.

I do not ask that we continue to increase our navy. I ask merely that it be maintained at its present strength, and this can be done only if we replace the obsolete and outworn ships by new and good ones, the equals of any afloat in any navy. To stop building ships for one year means that for that year the navy goes back instead of forward. The old battleship Texas, for instance, was now but a little over a decade old, and therefore a very young ship. The old double turret monitors have outworn their usefulness, while it was a waste of money to build the modern single turret monitors. All these ships should be replaced by others, and this can be done by a well settled programme of providing for the building each year of at least one first class battleship equal in size and speed to any that any nation is at the same time building, the armament presumably to consist of as large a number as possible of very heavy guns of one caliber, together with smaller guns to repel torpedo attack, while there should be heavy armor, turbine engines and, in short, every modern device. Of course from time to time cruisers, colliers, torpedo boat destroyers or torpedo boats will have to be built also. All this, be it remembered, would not increase our navy, but would merely keep it at its present strength. Equally, of course, the ships will be absolutely useless if the men aboard them are not so trained that they can get the best possible service out of the formidable but delicate and complicated mechanisms entrusted to their care. The marksmanship of our men has so improved during the last five years that I deem it within bounds to say that the navy is more than twice as efficient, ship for ship, as half a decade ago. The navy can only attain proper efficiency if enough officers and men are provided and if these officers and men are given the chance (and required to take advantage of it) to stay continually at sea and to exercise the fleets singly and above all in

squadron, the exercise to be of every kind and to include unceasing practice at the guns conducted under conditions that will test marksmanship in time of war.

Maintain High Standard.

In both the army and the navy there is urgent need that everything possible should be done to maintain the highest standard for the personnel alike as regards the officers and the enlisted men. I do not believe that in any service there is a surer body of enlisted men and of junior officers than we have in both the army and the navy, including the marine corps. All possible encouragement to the enlisted men should be given in pay and otherwise and everything practicable done to render the service attractive to men of the right type. They should be held to the strictest discipline of their duty, and then a spirit should be encouraged which demands not the mere performance of duty, but the performance of far more than duty if it conduces to the honor and the interest of the American nation, and in return the amplest consideration should be theirs.

West Point and Annapolis already turn out excellent officers. We do not need to have these schools made more scholastic. On the contrary, we should never lose sight of the fact that the aim of each school is to turn out a man who shall be above everything else a fighting man. In the army in particular it is not necessary that either the cavalry or infantry officer should have special mathematical ability. Probably in both schools the best part of the education is the high standard of character and of professional morale which it confers.

But in both services there is urgent need for the establishment of a principle of selection which will eliminate men after a certain age if they cannot be promoted from the subordinate ranks and which will bring into the higher ranks fewer men and these at an earlier age. This principle of selection will be objected to by good men of mediocre capacity who are fitted to do well while young in the lower positions, but who are not fitted to do well when at an advanced age they come into positions of command and of great responsibility. But the desire of these men to be promoted to positions which they are not competent to fill should not weigh against the interests of the navy and the country. At present our men, especially in the navy, are kept far too long in the junior grades and then, at much too advanced an age, are put quickly through the senior grades, often not attaining those senior grades until they are too old to be of real use to them and, if they are of real use, being put through them so quickly that little benefit to the navy comes from their having been in them at all.

The navy has one great advantage over the army in the fact that the officers of high rank are actually trained in the continual performance of their duties—that is, in the management of the battleships and armored cruisers gathered into fleets. This is not true of the army officers, who rarely have corresponding chances to exercise command over troops under service conditions. The conduct of the Spanish war showed the lamentable loss of life, the useless extravagance and the inefficiency certain to result if during peace the high officials of the war and navy departments are praised and rewarded only if they save money, at no matter what cost to the efficiency of the service, and if the higher officers are given no chance whatever to exercise and practice command. For years prior to the Spanish war the secretaries of war were praised chiefly if they practiced economy, which economy, especially in connection with the quartermaster, commissary and medical departments, was directly responsible for most of the mismanagement that occurred in the war itself. And parenthetically be it observed that the very people who clamored for the misdirected economy in the first place were foremost to denounce the mismanagement, loss and suffering which were primarily due to this same misdirected economy and to the lack of preparation it involved.

Coast Defense Needs.

There should soon be an increase in the number of men for our coast defenses. These men should be of the right type and properly trained, and they should therefore be an increase of pay for certain skilled grades, especially in the coast artillery. Money should be appropriated to permit troops to be massed in body and exercised in maneuvers, particularly in marching. Such exercise during the summer just past has been of incalculable benefit to the army and should under no circumstances be discontinued. If on these practice marches and in these maneuvers elderly officers prove unable to bear the strain they should be retired at once, for the fact is conclusive as to their unfitness for war—that is, for the only purpose because of which they should be allowed to stay in the service. It is a real misfortune to have scores of small companies or regimental posts scattered throughout the country. The army should be gathered in a few brigade or division posts, and the generals should be practised in handling the men in masses. Neglect to provide for all of this means to incur the risk of future disaster and disgrace.

The readiness and efficiency of both the army and navy in dealing with the recent sudden crisis in Cuba illustrate afresh their value to the nation. This readiness and efficiency would have been very much less had it not been for the existence of the general staff in the army and the general board in the navy. Both are essential to the proper development and use of our military forces afloat and ashore. The troops that were sent to Cuba were handled flawlessly. It was the swiftest mobilization and dispatch of troops

over sea ever accomplished by our government. The expedition landed completely equipped and ready for immediate service, several of its organizations hardly remaining in Havana overnight before splitting up into detachments and going to their several posts. It was a fine demonstration of the value and efficiency of the general staff. Similarly it was owing in large part to the general board that the navy was able at the outset to meet the Cuban crisis with such instant efficiency, ship after ship appearing on the shortest notice at any threatened point, while the marine corps in particular performed indispensable service. The army and navy war colleges are of incalculable value to the two services, and they co-operate with constantly increasing efficiency and importance.

Shooting Galleries Needed.

The congress has most wisely provided for a national board for the promotion of rifle practice. Excellent results have already come from this law, but it does not go far enough. Our regular army is so small that in any great war we should have to trust mainly to volunteers, and in such event these volunteers should already know how to shoot, for if a soldier has the fighting edge and ability to take care of himself in the open his efficiency on the line of battle is almost directly proportionate to excellence in marksmanship. We should establish shooting galleries in all the large public and military schools, should maintain national target ranges in different parts of the country and should in every way encourage the formation of rifle clubs throughout all parts of the land. The little republic of Switzerland offers us an excellent example in all matters connected with building up an efficient citizen soldiery.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The White House, Dec. 3, 1906.

APPENDIX.

Address by the Secretary of State of the United States of America as Honorary President of the Third Conference of American Republics at Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1906.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Third Conference of American Republics—I beg you to believe that I highly appreciate and thank you for the honor you do me.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sisters in the civilization of America.

Unlike as we are in many respects, we are alike in this—that we are all engaged under new conditions and free from the traditional forms and limitations of the old world in working out the same problem of popular self government.

It is a difficult and laborious task for each of us. Not in one generation or in one century can the effective control of a superior sovereign, so long deemed necessary to government, be rejected and effective self control by the governed be perfected in its place. The first fruits of democracy are, many of them, crude and unlovely. Its mistakes are many, its partial failures many, its sins not few. Capacity for self government does not come to man by nature. It is an art to be learned, and it is also an expression of character to be developed among all the thousands of men who exercise popular sovereignty.

To reach the goal toward which we are pressing forward the governing multitude must first acquire knowledge that comes from universal education, wisdom that follows practical experience, personal independence and self respect befitting men who acknowledge no superior, self control to replace that external control which a democracy rejects, respect for law, obedience to the lawful expressions of the public will, consideration for the opinions and interests of others equally entitled to a voice in the state, loyalty to that abstract conception—one's country—as inspiring as that loyalty to personal sovereigns which has so illumined the pages of history, subordination of personal interests to the public good, love of justice and mercy, of liberty and order of all these we must seek by slow and patient effort, and of how many shortcomings in his own land and among his own people each one of us is conscious.

Yet no student of our times can fail to see that not America alone, but the whole civilized world, is swinging away from its old governmental moorings and intrusting the fate of its civilization to the capacity of the popular mass to govern. By this pathway mankind is to travel whithersoever it leads. Upon the success of this our great undertaking the hope of humanity depends.

Nor can we fail to see that the world makes substantial progress toward more perfect popular self government. I believe it to be true that, viewed against the background of conditions a century, a generation, a decade ago, government in any country now has advanced in the intelligent participation of the great mass of the people, in the fidelity and honesty with which they are represented, in respect for law, in obedience to the dictates of a sound morality and in effectiveness and purity of administration.

Nowhere in the world has this progress been more marked than in Latin America. Out of the wreck of Indian fighting and race conflicts and civil wars strong and stable governments have arisen. Peaceful succession in accord with the people's will has replaced the forcible seizure of power permitted by the people's indifference. Loyalty to country, its peace, its dig-

nity, its honor, has risen above partisanship for individual leaders. The rule of law supersedes the rule of man. Property is protected, and the fruits of enterprise are secure. Individual liberty is respected. Continuous public policies are followed. National faith is held sacred. Progress has not been equal everywhere, but there has been progress everywhere. The movement in the right direction is general. The right tendency is not exceptional; it is continental. The present affords just cause for satisfaction; the future is bright with hope.

It is not by national isolation that these results have been accomplished or that this progress can be continued. No nation can live unto itself alone and continue to live. Each nation's growth is a part of the development of the race. There may be leaders, and there may be laggards, but no nation can long continue very far in advance of the general progress of mankind, and no nation that is not doomed to extinction can remain very far behind. It is with nations as it is with individual men. Intercourse, association, correction of egotism by the influence of others' judgment, broadening of views by the experience and thought of equals, acceptance of the moral standards of a community the desire for whose good opinion lends a sanction to the rules of right conduct—these are the conditions of growth in civilization. A people whose minds are not open to the lessons of the world's progress, whose spirits are not stirred by the aspirations and the achievements of humanity struggling the world over for liberty and justice, must be left behind by civilization in its steady and beneficent advance.

To promote this mutual interchange and assistance between the American republics, engaged in the same great task, inspired by the same purpose and professing the same principles, I understand to be the function of the American conference now in session. There is not one of all our countries that cannot benefit the others. There is not one that cannot receive benefit from the others. There is not one that will not gain by the prosperity, the peace, the happiness of all.

According to your programme, no great and impressive single thing is to be done by you, no political questions are to be discussed, no controversies are to be settled, no judgment is to be passed upon the conduct of any state, but many subjects are to be considered which afford the possibility of removing barriers to intercourse, of ascertaining for the common benefit what advances have been made by each nation in knowledge and experience, in enterprise, in the solution of difficult questions of government and in ethical standards, of perfecting our knowledge of each other and of doing away with the misconceptions, the misunderstandings and the resultant prejudices that are such fruitful sources of controversy.

And there are some subjects in the programme which invite discussion that may lead the American republics toward an agreement upon principles, the general practical application of which can come only in the future. Some advance at least may be made here toward the complete rule of justice and peace among nations in lieu of force and war.

The association of so many eminent men from all the republics, leaders of opinion in their own homes; the friendships that will arise among you; the habit of temperate and kindly discussion of matters of common interest, the ascertainment of common sympathies and aims, the dissipation of misunderstandings, the exhibition to all the American peoples of this peaceful and considerate method of transferring upon international questions the same, quite irrespective of the resolutions you may adopt and the conventions you may sign, will mark a substantial advance in the direction of international good understanding.

These benefits result the government and the people of the United States of America greatly desire. We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own, for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Within a few months, for the first time, the recognized political boundaries can be soiled upon the American continents can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great world congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the strongest and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us give in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wars and narrow the causes of war and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe and never nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts and happiness for all.

Not in a single conference or by a single effort can very much be done. You labor more for the future than for the present, but if the right impulse be given, if the right tendency be established, the work you do here will go on among the millions of people in the American continents long after you are dead, and will bring long after your lives, with incalculable benefit to all our beloved countries, which may it please God to continue free and independent and happy for ever to come.