

The March of the Flag

Speech opening the Indiana Republican Campaign at Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, September 16, 1898. This speech was made the Republican campaign document for Indiana, Iowa and other states.

It is a noble¹ land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would inclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel² between the two imperial³ oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny.

It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil⁴; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually⁵ revitalized by the virile⁶, man-producing working-folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of⁷ their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes -- the propagandists and not the misers⁸ of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed⁹ upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith¹⁰ in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung¹¹ the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage¹² wilderness; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing¹³ deserts and through the ranks¹⁴ of hostile¹⁵ mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited¹⁶ from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely¹⁷ logical, in the process of whose tremendous¹⁸ reasoning we find ourselves to-day.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue their march toward the commercial supremacy¹⁹ of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax²⁰ in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind?

Have we no mission to perform, no duty to discharge²¹ to our fellow-man? Has God endowed²² us with gifts beyond our deserts and marked us as the people of His peculiar²³ favor, merely²⁴ to rot in our own selfishness, as men and nations must, who take cowardice for their companion and self for their deity²⁵ -- as China has, as India has, as Egypt has?

Shall we be as the man who had one talent and hid it, or as he who had ten talents and used them until they grew to riches²⁶? And shall we reap the reward²⁷ that waits on our discharge²⁸ of our high duty; shall we occupy new markets for what our farmers raise, our factories make, our merchants sell -- aye²⁹, and, please God, new markets for what our ships shall carry?

Hawaii is ours; Porto Rico³⁰ is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor³¹ unfurled³² in Texas and Fremont carried to the coast.

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government. We govern the Indians without their consent, we govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent. How do they know that our government would be without their consent? Would not the people of the Philippines prefer the just, humane, civilizing government of this Republic to the savage, bloody rule of pillage³³ and extortion from which we have rescued them?

And, regardless of this formula of words made only for enlightened³⁴, self-governing people, do we owe³⁵ no duty to the world? Shall we turn these peoples back to the reeking³⁶ hands from which we have taken them? Shall we abandon³⁷ them, with Germany, England, Japan, hungering for³⁸ them? Shall we save them from those nations, to give them a self-rule of tragedy?

They ask us how we shall govern these new possessions. I answer: Out of local conditions and the necessities of the case methods of government will grow. If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America. If they can supervise³⁹ protectorates⁴⁰, so can America. Why is it more difficult to administer Hawaii than New Mexico or California? Both had a savage⁴¹ and an alien⁴² population; both were more remote from the seat of government when they came under our dominion⁴³ than the Philippines are to-day.

Will you say by your vote that American ability to govern has decayed⁴⁴; that a century's experience in self-rule has failed of a result? Will you affirm⁴⁵ by your vote that you are an infidel⁴⁶ to American power and practical sense? Or will you say that ours is the blood of government; ours the heart of dominion; ours the brain and genius of administration? Will you remember that we do but what our fathers did -- we but pitch⁴⁷ the tents of liberty farther westward, farther southward -- we only continue the march of the flag?

The march of the flag! In 1789 the flag of the Republic waved over 4,000,000 souls in thirteen states, and their savage
50 territory which stretched to the Mississippi, to Canada, to the Floridas. The timid⁴⁸ minds of that day said that no new
territory was needed, and, for the hour, they were right. But Jefferson⁴⁹, through whose intellect the centuries
marched; Jefferson, who dreamed of Cuba as an American state; Jefferson, the first Imperialist of the Republic --
Jefferson acquired that imperial territory which swept from the Mississippi to the mountains, from Texas to the British
possessions, and the march of the flag began!

55 The infidels to the gospel of liberty raved⁵⁰, but the flag swept on! The title to that noble land out of which Oregon,
Washington, Idaho and Montana have been carved⁵¹ was uncertain; Jefferson, strict constructionist of constitutional
power though he was, obeyed the Anglo-Saxon impulse within him, whose watchword⁵² then and whose watchword
throughout the world to-day is, "Forward!": another empire was added to the Republic, and the march of the flag went
on!

60 Those who deny the power of free institutions to expand urged⁵³ every argument, and more, that we hear, to-day; but
the people's judgment approved the command of their blood, and the march of the flag went on!

A screen⁵⁴ of land from New Orleans to Florida shut⁵⁵ us from the Gulf, and over this and the Everglade Peninsula
waved the saffron⁵⁶ flag of Spain; Andrew Jackson⁵⁷ seized⁵⁸ both, the American people stood at his back, and, under
Monroe⁵⁹, the Floridas came under the dominion of the Republic, and the march of the flag went on! The Cassandra⁶⁰
65 prophesied every prophecy of despair we hear, to-day, but the march of the flag went on!

Then Texas responded to the bugle⁶¹ calls of liberty, and the march of the flag went on! And, at last, we waged⁶² war
with Mexico, and the flag swept over the southwest, over peerless⁶³ California, past the Gate of Gold to Oregon on the
north, and from ocean to ocean its folds⁶⁴ of glory blazed⁶⁵.

And, now, obeying the same voice that Jefferson heard and obeyed, that Jackson heard and obeyed, that Monroe heard
70 and obeyed, that Seward heard and obeyed, that Grant heard and obeyed, that Harrison heard and obeyed, our
President to-day plants the flag over the islands of the seas, outposts of commerce⁶⁶, citadels⁶⁷ of national security, and
the march of the flag goes on!

Distance and oceans are no arguments. The fact that all the territory our fathers bought and seized is contiguous⁶⁸, is
no argument. In 1819 Florida was farther from New York than Porto Rico is from Chicago to-day; Texas, farther from
75 Washington in 1845 than Hawaii is from Boston in 1898; California, more inaccessible in 1847 than the Philippines
are now. Gibraltar is farther from London than Havana is from Washington; Melbourne is farther from Liverpool than
Manila is from San Francisco.

The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire -- the oceans join us, rivers never to be dredged⁶⁹,
canals never to be repaired. Steam joins us; electricity joins us -- the Very elements are in league⁷⁰ with our destiny.
80 Cuba not contiguous! Porto Rico not contiguous! Hawaii and the Philippines not contiguous! The oceans make them
contiguous. And our navy will make them contiguous.

But the Opposition is right -- there is a difference. We did not need the western Mississippi Valley when we acquired
it, nor Florida, nor Texas, nor California, nor the royal provinces of the far northwest. We had no emigrants to people
this imperial wilderness, no money to develop it, even no highways to cover it. No trade awaited us in its savage
85 fastnesses. Our productions were not greater than our trade. There was not one reason for the land-lust⁷¹ of our
statesmen from Jefferson to Grant⁷², other than the prophet and the Saxon within them. But, to-day, we are raising
more than we can consume, making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce⁷³.

And so, while we did not need the territory taken during the past century at the time it was acquired, we do need what
we have taken in 1898, and we need it now. The resources and the commerce of these immensely rich dominions will
90 be increased as much as American energy is greater than Spanish sloth⁷⁴. In Cuba, alone, there are 15,000,000 acres of
forest unacquainted⁷⁵ with the ax, exhaustless⁷⁶ mines of iron, priceless deposits of manganese⁷⁷, millions of dollars'
worth of which we must buy, to-day, from the Black Sea districts. There are millions of acres yet unexplored.

The resources of Porto Rico have only been trifled⁷⁸ with. The riches of the Philippines have hardly been touched by
the fingertips of modern methods. And they produce what we consume, and consume what we produce -- the very⁷⁹
95 predestination⁸⁰ of reciprocity⁸¹ -- a reciprocity "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." They sell hemp⁸²,
sugar, cocoanuts, fruits of the tropics, timber⁸³ of price like mahogany; they buy flour⁸⁴, clothing, tools, implements⁸⁵,
machinery and all that we can raise and make. Their trade will be ours in time. Do you indorse⁸⁶ that policy with your
vote?

Cuba is as large as Pennsylvania, and is the richest spot on the globe. Hawaii is as large as New Jersey; Porto Rico
100 half as large as Hawaii; the Philippines larger than all New England, New York, New Jersey and Delaware combined.
Together they are larger than the British Isles, larger than France, larger than Germany, larger than Japan.

If any man tells you that trade depends on cheapness and not on government influence, ask him why England does not

abandon South Africa, Egypt, India. Why does France seize South China, Germany the vast⁸⁷ region whose port is Kaouchou?

105 Our trade with Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines must be as free as between the states of the Union, because they are American territory, while every other nation on earth must pay our tariff⁸⁸ before they can compete with us. Until Cuba shall ask for annexation⁸⁹, our trade with her will, at the very least, be like the preferential trade of Canada with England. That, and the excellence of our goods and products; that, and the convenience⁹⁰ of traffic; that, and the kinship⁹¹ of interests and destiny, will give the monopoly of these markets to the American people.

110 The commercial supremacy⁹² of the Republic means that this Nation is to be the sovereign factor in the peace of the world. For the conflicts of the future are to be conflicts of trade -- struggles⁹³ for markets -- commercial wars for existence. And the golden rule of peace is impregnability⁹⁴ of position and invincibility of preparedness. So, we see England, the greatest strategist of history, plant her flag and her cannon on Gibraltar, at Quebec, in the Bermudas, at Vancouver, everywhere.

115 So Hawaii furnishes⁹⁵ us a naval base in the heart of the Pacific; the Ladrões another, a voyage further on; Manila another, at the gates of Asia -- Asia, to the trade of whose hundreds of millions American merchants, manufacturers, farmers, have as good right as those of Germany or France or Russia or England; Asia, whose commerce with the United Kingdom alone amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars every year; Asia, to whom Germany looks to take her surplus⁹⁶ products; Asia, whose doors must not be shut against American trade. Within five decades the bulk⁹⁷ of
120 Oriental commerce will be ours.

No wonder that, in the shadows of coming events so great, free-silver is already a memory. The current of history has swept past that episode. Men understand, to-day, that the greatest commerce of the world must be conducted⁹⁸ with the steadiest standard of value and most convenient medium of exchange human ingenuity⁹⁹ can devise¹⁰⁰. Time, that unerring¹⁰¹ reasoner¹⁰², has settled the silver question. The American people are tired of talking about money -- they
125 want to make it. Why should the farmer get a half-measure dollar of money any more than he should give a half-measure bushel¹⁰³ of grain¹⁰⁴?

Why should not the proposition¹⁰⁵ for the free coinage of silver be as dead as the proposition of irredeemable¹⁰⁶ paper money? It is the same proposition in a different form. If the Government stamp¹⁰⁷ can make a piece of silver, which you can buy for 45 cents, pass for 100 cents, the Government stamp can make a piece of pewter¹⁰⁸, worth one cent,
130 pass for 100 cents, and a piece of paper, worth a fraction of a cent, pass for 100 cents. Free-silver is the principle of fiat¹⁰⁹ money applied to metal. If you favor fiat silver, you necessarily favor fiat paper.

If the Government can make money with a stamp, why does the Government borrow money? If the Government can create value out of nothing, why not abolish all taxation?

And if it is not the stamp of the Government that raises the value, but the demand which free coinage creates, why has
135 the value of silver gone down at a time when more silver was bought and coined¹¹⁰ by the Government than ever before? Again, if the people want more silver, why do they refuse what we already have? And if free silver makes money more plentiful, how will you get any of it? Will the silver-mine owner give it to you? Will he loan¹¹¹ it to you? Will the Government give or loan it to you?, Where do you or I come in on this free-silver proposition?

The American people want this money question settled for ever. They want a uniform¹¹² currency¹¹³, a convenient
140 currency, a currency that grows as business grows, a currency based on science and not on chance.

And now, on the threshold¹¹⁴ of our new and great career, is the time permanently to adjust¹¹⁵ our system of finance. The American people have the mightiest commerce of the world to conduct. They can not halt¹¹⁶ to unsettle¹¹⁷ their money system every time some ardent¹¹⁸ imagination sees a vision and dreams a dream. Think of Great Britain becoming the commercial monarch of the world with her financial system periodically assailed¹¹⁹! Think of Holland
145 or Germany or France bearing their burdens, and, yet, sending their flag to every sea, with their money at the mercy of politicians-out-of-an-issue. Let us settle the whole financial system on principles so sound that no agitation¹²⁰ can shake it. And then, like men and not like children, let us on to our tasks, our mission and our destiny.

There are so many real things to be done -- canals to be dug, railways to be laid, forests to be felled¹²¹, cities to be builded¹²², fields to be tilled¹²³, markets to be won, ships to be launched¹²⁴, peoples to be saved, civilization to be
150 proclaimed¹²⁵ and the flag of liberty flung¹²⁶ to the eager¹²⁷ air of every sea. Is this an hour to waste upon triflers¹²⁸ with nature's laws? Is this a season to give our destiny over to word-mongers¹²⁹ and prosperity-wreckers¹³⁰? No! It is an hour to remember our duty to our homes. It is a moment to realize the opportunities fate has opened to us. And so it is an hour for us to stand by the Government.

Wonderfully has God guided us. Yonder¹³¹ at Bunker Hill¹³² and Yorktown¹³³ His providence¹³⁴ was above us. At
155 New Orleans and on ensanguined¹³⁵ seas His hand sustained¹³⁶ us. Abraham Lincoln¹³⁷ was His minister and His was the altar of freedom the Nation's soldiers set up on a hundred battle-fields. His power directed Dewey¹³⁸ in the East

and delivered the Spanish fleet into our hands, as He delivered the elder Armada into the hands of our English sires¹³⁹ two centuries ago¹⁴⁰. The American people can not use a dishonest medium of exchange; it is ours to set the world its example of right and honor. We can not fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We can not retreat¹⁴¹ from any soil¹⁴² where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

(2919 Wörter)

Quelle: <http://www.archive.org/stream/meaningoftimesot00beve#page/46/mode/2up>

¹noble here: grand, impressive, splendid – ²sentinel guard – ³imperial majestic, mighty – ⁴soil ground – ⁵perpetually continuously – ⁶virile having typically masculine strength or energy – ⁷by virtue of as a result of, because of – ⁸miser greedy person who does not want to share (wealth etc.) – ⁹to bestow to grant, to give – ¹⁰faith great trust, confidence – ¹¹to fling, flung, flung to throw – ¹²savage primitive, cruel, uncivilized – ¹³blazing very bright and hot – ¹⁴rank level – ¹⁵unfriendly – ¹⁶to inherit to receive – ¹⁷divine connected with God – ¹⁸tremendous extremely good – ¹⁹supremacy the highest authority or greatest power – ²⁰to wax to increase – ²¹to discharge here: to fulfil(l) – ²²to endow to equip – ²³peculiar special – ²⁴merely only – ²⁵deity god – ²⁶riches wealth – ²⁷to reap the reward to get the reward – ²⁸discharge performance, fulfil(l)ment – ²⁹aye yes – ³⁰Porto Rico Puerto Rico (official spelling since 1932) – ³¹Creed Taylor (1820-1906) soldier and Texas Ranger – ³²to unfurl to unroll, unfold or spread out – ³³pillage stealing and damaging of property; plundering, looting – ³⁴enlightened open to new ideas and facts based on reason and science rather than following old, false beliefs – ³⁵to owe here: to have – ³⁶to reek to smell unpleasantly – ³⁷to abandon to leave sb. behind or run away from sb. – ³⁸to hunger for to want sth. very much – ³⁹to supervise to observe, control – ⁴⁰protectorate a state or territory under the protection or control of a major power – ⁴¹savage wild, uncivilized – ⁴²alien foreign – ⁴³dominion power or authority to rule – ⁴⁴to decay to become damaged or worse – ⁴⁵to affirm to state sth. as the truth – ⁴⁶infidel unbeliever – ⁴⁷to pitch to set up – ⁴⁸timid easily frightened – ⁴⁹Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) 3rd US president – ⁵⁰to rave to speak or shout in a way that is out of control, usually because of anger – ⁵¹to carve to cut into a special shape – ⁵²watchword motto, slogan – ⁵³to urge here: to put forward – ⁵⁴screen something that blocks you from seeing what is behind it – ⁵⁵to shut here: to separate – ⁵⁶saffron orange-yellow – ⁵⁷Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) 7th US president, Democrat – ⁵⁸to seize to take something quickly (sometimes by force) and hold it – ⁵⁹James Monroe (1758-1831) 5th US president – ⁶⁰Cassandra prophet in Greek mythology – ⁶¹bugle small brass musical instrument, used esp. in the military, played by blowing into it – ⁶²to wage here: to start – ⁶³peerless unparalleled, incomparable – ⁶⁴fold here: religious community, parish – ⁶⁵to blaze to shine brightly – ⁶⁶commerce trade – ⁶⁷citadel strong heavily-armed fortress usually near or above a city – ⁶⁸having a shared border; neighbo(u)ring – ⁶⁹to dredge to remove unwanted things from the bottom of a river, lake, etc. using a sucking or other device – ⁷⁰to be in league to have an alliance – ⁷¹land-lust desire for land – ⁷²Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885) 18th US president, Republican – ⁷³produce food that is grown or raised through farming, especially fruits and vegetables – ⁷⁴sloth unwillingness to work or make any effort – ⁷⁵unacquainted unfamiliar – ⁷⁶exhaustless existing in very great amounts that will never be finished – ⁷⁷manganese grey-white metallic element, used in the process of making stainless steel – ⁷⁸to trifle to deal with sth. as if it were of little significance or value – ⁷⁹very here: mere – ⁸⁰predestinasion the belief that events in life are decided in advance by God or by fate and cannot be changed; predetermination – ⁸¹reciprocity the exchange of advantages between two groups – ⁸²hemp cannabis; plant used to make rope and strong, rough cloth – ⁸³timber wood from trees that is used for building – ⁸⁴flour powder made from grain, especially wheat, used for making bread, cakes or pasta – ⁸⁵implement tool or other piece of equipment for doing work – ⁸⁶to indorse/endorse to support – ⁸⁷vast extremely large – ⁸⁸tariff import or export tax – ⁸⁹annexation act of taking possession of an area of land or a country, usually by force – ⁹⁰convenience the fact that something is suitable for your purposes and causes no difficulty for your plans – ⁹¹kinship relation, connection – ⁹²supremacy the highest authority or greatest power – ⁹³struggle fight – ⁹⁴impregnability impossible to be defeated or hurt; invincibility; invulnerability – ⁹⁵to furnish to equip; to provide – ⁹⁶surplus more than needed; overproduced – ⁹⁷bulk here: large or major part – ⁹⁸to conduct to organize; to perform – ⁹⁹ingenuity cleverness; creativity – ¹⁰⁰to devise to invent sth. – ¹⁰¹unerring always right; never wrong – ¹⁰²reasoner sb. who thinks logically – ¹⁰³bushel unit of measurement of volume of dry products equal to approximately 35.2 liters – ¹⁰⁴grain corn (AE), cereal, crop from food plants grown on fields – ¹⁰⁵proposition proposal; request – ¹⁰⁶irredeemable impossible to correct; irreversible – ¹⁰⁷stamp here: tool for printing or cutting a mark into an object – ¹⁰⁸pewter blue-gray metal that is a mixture of tin and lead – ¹⁰⁹fiat here: unfunded; unsecured – ¹¹⁰to coin here: to produce – ¹¹¹to loan to lend – ¹¹²uniform constant – ¹¹³currency money in use in a particular country – ¹¹⁴threshold doorstep – ¹¹⁵to adjust to put (sth.) into the correct order or position; to arrange – ¹¹⁶to halt to stop – ¹¹⁷to unsettle to confuse – ¹¹⁸ardent eager; enthusiastic – ¹¹⁹to assail to criticize strongly – ¹²⁰agitation public argument or protest – ¹²¹to fell to cut down – ¹²²buildd (old form) built – ¹²³to till to prepare and use land for growing crops – ¹²⁴to launch to send (a newly built ship) into water – ¹²⁵to proclaim to announce – ¹²⁶to fling, flung, flung – ¹²⁷eager sharp; bitter; severe – ¹²⁸trifler sb. who deals with sth. as if it were of little significance or value – ¹²⁹word-monger sb. who talks too much – ¹³⁰prosperity-wrecker sb. who destroys wealth – ¹³¹yonder over there – ¹³²Bunker Hill location of first major battle in the war for independence in 1775 – ¹³³Yorktown The Americans' 20-day-siege of the British army at Yorktown in 1781 was the last major conflict before the war ended in 1783. – ¹³⁴providence destiny connected with God – ¹³⁵ensanguined blood-soaked – ¹³⁶to sustain to reinforce; to strengthen – ¹³⁷Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865) 18 US president, Republican – ¹³⁸George Dewey (1837-1917) was an admiral of the United States Navy and best known for his victory at the Battle of Manila Bay during the Spanish-American War – ¹³⁹sire lord – ¹⁴⁰actually about 3 centuries ago, in 1588 – ¹⁴¹to retreat to move back; to withdraw – ¹⁴²soil ground

Aufgaben

2. Summarize Beveridge's arguments supporting the United States' Supremacy of the world. What role does religion play in this context?
3. Look up the definition "imperialism"; are there any similarities to "manifest destiny"?
4. This speech is more than one hundred years old; can you imagine a politician using similar arguments in the 21st century? Why (not)? Think of a situation in which such a speech could be given today.
5. Imagine Beveridge were still alive and you were his ghostwriter. What would you say about the USA today? Write a short speech (or part of a speech).