

ROOSEVELT'S MEMORIAL ADDRESS

Nation's Ruler Eulogized the Men Who Wore the Blue and Carried the Stars and Stripes to Victory.

AT WASHINGTON THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED AN ELOQUENT ADDRESS THIS AFTERNOON

Before an Immense Congregation—Surrounded by the Graves of More Than Thirty Thousand American Heroes, the President of the United States Gave One of the Greatest Oratorical Efforts of His Life, Eulogizing Not Only the Heroes of the Civil War, But Those of the War With Spain as Well.

Washington, May 30.—Following is the full text of the speech delivered by President Theodore Roosevelt at Arlington cemetery this afternoon:

President Roosevelt's Address.

It is a good custom of our country to have certain solemn holidays in commemoration of our greatest men and of the greatest crises in our history. There should be but few such holidays. To increase their number is to cheapen them. Washington and Lincoln—the man who did most to found the union and the man who did most to preserve it—stand head and shoulders above all our other public men and have, by common consent, won the right to this pre-eminence. Among the holidays that commemorate the turning points in American history, Thanksgiving has a significance peculiarly its own. On July 4 we celebrate the birth of the nation; on this day, the 30th of May, we call to mind the deaths of those who died that the nation might live, who waged all that life holds dear for the great prize of death in battle, who poured out their blood like water in order that the mighty national structure raised by the far-sighted patriotism of Washington, Franklin, Marshall, Hamilton, and the other great leaders of the Revolution, great framers of the Constitution, should not crumble into meaningless ruins.

Comrades who Wore the Blue.

You whom I address today and your comrades who wore the blue beside you in the perious years during which strong, sad, patient Lincoln bore the crushing load of national leadership, performed the one feat the failure to perform which would have meant destruction to every thing which makes the name America a symbol of hope among the nations of mankind. You did the greatest and most necessary task which has ever fallen to the lot of any men on this western hemisphere. Nearly three centuries have passed since the waters of our coasts were first furrowed by the keels of the men whose children's children were to inherit this fair land. Over a century and a half of colonial growth followed the settlement; and now for over a century and a quarter we have been a nation.

Saving the Union.

During our four generations of national life we have had many tasks, and some of them of far-reaching importance; but the only really vital task was the one you did, the task of saving the Union. There were other crises in which to have gone wrong would have meant disaster; but this was the one crisis in which to have gone wrong would have meant not merely disaster but annihilation. For failure at any other point atonement could have been made; but had you failed in the iron days the loss would have been irreparable, the defeat irretrievable. Upon your success depended all the future of the people on this continent and much of the future of mankind as a whole.

You left us a reunited country. You left us the right of brotherhood with the men in gray, who with such courage and such devotion for what they deemed the right, fought against you. But you left us even more than your achievement, for you left us the memory of how it was achieved. You, who made good by your valor and patriotism the statesmanship of Lincoln and the soldiery of Grant have set as the standards for our efforts in the future both the way you did your work in the war and the way in which when the war was over you turned again to the work of peace. In war and peace alike your example will stand as the wis-

est of lessons to us and our children and our children's children.

Just at this moment the army of the United States, led by men who served among you in the great war, is carrying to completion a small but peculiarly trying and difficult war in which is involved not only the honor of the flag but the triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos of savagery and barbarism. The task has not been as difficult or as important as yours, but oh, my comrades, the men in the uniform of the United States, who have for the last three years patiently and uncomplainingly championed the American cause in the Philippine islands, are your younger brothers, your sons. They have shown themselves not unworthy of you, and they are entitled to the support of all men who are proud of what you did.

Comrades of Yours.

These younger comrades of yours have fought under terrible difficulties and have received terrible provocation from a very cruel and very treacherous enemy. Under the strain of these provocations I deeply deplore to say that some among them have so far forgotten themselves as to counsel and commit, in retaliation, acts of cruelty. The fact that for every guilty act committed by one of our troops a hundred acts of far greater atrocity have been committed by the hostile natives upon our troops, or upon the peaceable and law-abiding natives who are friendly to us can not be held to excuse any wrongdoer on our side. Determined and unswerving effort must be made, and is being made, to find out every instance of barbarity on the part of our troops, to punish those guilty of it, and to take, if possible even stronger measures than have already been taken to minimize or prevent the occurrence of all such instances in the future.

From time to time there occur in our country, to the deep and lasting shame of our people, lynchings carried on under circumstances of inhuman cruelty and barbarity—a cruelty infinitely worse than any that has ever been committed by our troops in the Philippines; worse to the victims, and far more brutalizing to those guilty of it. The men who fell to condemn these lynchings, and yet clamor about what has been done in the Philippines, are indeed guilty of neglecting the beam in their own eye while taunting their brother about the mote in his. Understand me. These lynchings afford us no excuse for failure to stop cruelty in the Philippines. Every effort is being made, and will be made, to minimize the chances of cruelty occurring.

Cruelties in the Philippines.

But keep in mind that these cruelties in the Philippines have been wholly exceptional, and have been shamelessly exaggerated. We deeply and bitterly regret that any such cruelties should have been committed, no matter how rarely, no matter under what provocation, by American troops. But they afford far less justification for a general condemnation of our army than these lynchings afford for the condemnation of communities in which they have taken place. In each case it is well to condemn the deed, and it is well, also to refrain from including both guilty and innocent in the same sweeping condemnation.

In every community there are people who commit acts of well-nigh inconceivable horror and baseness. If we fix our eyes upon these individuals and upon their acts, and if we forget the far more numerous citizens of upright and honest life and blind ourselves to their countless deeds of wisdom and justice and philanthropy, it is easy enough to

condemn the community. There is not a city in this land we could not condemn if we fixed our eyes purely upon its police record and refused to look at what it had accomplished for decency and justice and charity. Yet this is exactly the attitude which has been taken by too many men with reference to our army in the Philippines; and it is an attitude both absurd and cruelly unjust.

The Rules of Warfare.

The rules of warfare which have been promulgated by the war department and accepted as a basis of conduct by our troops in the field are the rules laid down by Abraham Lincoln when you, my hearers, were fighting for the Union. These rules provide, of course, for the just severity necessary in war. The most destructive of all forms of cruelty would be to show weakness where sternness is demanded by iron need. But all cruelty is forbidden, and all harshness beyond what is called for by need. Our enemies in the Philippines have not merely violated every rule of war, but have made these violations their only method of carrying on the war. We would have been justified by Abraham Lincoln's rules of war in infinitely greater severity than has been shown. The fact really is that our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity. For every act of cruelty by our mer there have been innumerable acts of forbearance, magnanimity, and generous kindness. These are the qualities which have characterized the war as a whole. The cruelties have been wholly exceptional on our part.

The guilty are to be punished; but in punishing them, let those who sit at ease at home, who walk delicately and live in the soft places of the earth remember also to do them common justice. Let not the effortless and untempted rail overmuch at strong men who with blood and sweat face years of toil and days and nights of agony, and at need lay down their lives in remote tropic jungles to bring the light of civilization in the world's dark places. The warfare that has extended the boundaries of civilization at the expense of barbarism and savagery has been for centuries one of the most potent factors in the progress of humanity. Yet from its very nature it has always and everywhere been liable to dark abuses.

Keep Vigilant Watch.

It behooves us to keep a vigilant watch to prevent these abuses and to punish those who commit them; but if because of them we flinch from finishing the task on which we have entered, we show ourselves cravens and weaklings, unworthy of the sires from whose loins we sprang. There were abuses and to spare in the civil war. Your false friends then called Grant a "butcher" and spoke of you who are listening to me, as mercenaries, as "Lincoln's hirelings." Your open foes—as in the resolution passed by the Confederate congress in October, 1862—accused you, at great length, and with much particularity, of "contemptuous disregard of the usages of civilized war;" of subjecting women and children to "banishment, imprisonment and death;" of "murder," of "rapine," of "outrages on women," of "lawless cruelty," of "perpetrating atrocities which would be disgraceful to savages;" and Abraham Lincoln was singled out for special attack because of his "spirit of barbarous ferocity." Verily, these men who thus foully slandered you have their heirs today in those who traduce our armies in the Philippines, who fix their eyes on individual deeds of wrong so keenly that at last they become blind to the great work of peace and freedom that has already been accomplished.

Peace and Freedom.

Peace and freedom—are there two better objects for which a soldier can fight? Well, these are precisely the objects for which our soldiers are fighting in the Philippines. When there is talk of the cruelties committed in the Philippines, remember always that by far the greater portion of these cruelties have been committed by the insurgents against their own people—as well as against our soldiers—and that not only the surest but the only effectual way of stopping them is by the progress of the American arms. The victories of the American army have been the really effective means of putting a stop to cruelties in the Philippines. Wherever these victories have been complete—and such is now the case throughout the greater part of the islands—all cruelties have ceased, and the native is secure in his life, his liberty, and his pursuit of happiness. Where the insurrection still

smoulders there is always a chance for cruelty to show itself.

What is Our Object?

Our soldiers conquer; and what is the object for which they conquer? To establish a military government? No. The laws we are now endeavoring to enact for the government of the Philippines are to increase the power and domain of the civil at the expense of the military authorities, and to render even more difficult than in the past the chance of oppression. The military power is used to secure peace, in order that it may itself be supplanted by the civil government. The progress of the American arms means the abolition of cruelty, the bringing of peace, and the rule of law and order. They bring freedom. Remember always that the independence of a tribe or a community may and often does, have nothing whatever to do with the freedom of the individual in that tribe or community. There are now in Asia and Africa scores of despotic monarchies, each of which is independent, and in no one of which is there the slightest vestige of freedom for the individual man. Scant indeed is the gain to mankind from the "independence" of a blood-stained tyrant who rules over abject and brutalized slaves. But great is the gain to humanity which follows the steady though slow introduction of the orderly liberty, the law-abiding freedom of the individual which is the only sure foundation upon which national independence can be built. Wherever, in the Philippines the insurrection has been definitely and finally put down, there the individual Filipino already enjoys such freedom, such personal liberty under our rule, as he could never even dream of under the rule of an "independent" Aguinaldo oligarchy.

Art of Self-Government.

The slowly-learned and difficult art of self-government, an art which our people have taught themselves by the labor of a thousand years, can not be grasped in a day by a people only just emerging from conditions of life which our ancestors left behind them in the dim years before history dawned. We believe that we can rapidly teach the people of the Philippine islands not only how to enjoy, but how to make good use of their freedom; and with their growing knowledge their growth in self-government shall keep steady pace. When they have thus shown their capacity for real freedom by their power of self-government, then, and not till then, will it be possible to decide whether they are to exist independently of us or be knit to us by ties of common friendship and interest. When that day will come it is not in human wisdom now to foretell. That we can say with certainty is that it would be put back an immeasurable distance if we should yield to the counsels of humanly weakness and turn loose the islands, to see our victorious foes butcher with revolting cruelty our betrayed friends, and shed the blood of the most humane, the most enlightened, the most peaceful, the wisest and the best of their own number—for these are the classes who have already learned to welcome our rule.

Nor, while fully acknowledging our duties to others, need we forget our duty to our own country. The Pacific seaboard is as much to us as the Asiatic; as we grow in power and prosperity so our interests will grow in that farthest west which is the immemorial east. The shadow of our destiny has already reached to the shores of Asia. The might of our people already looms large against the world-horizon; and it will loom ever larger as the years go by. No statesman has a right to neglect the interests of our people in the Pacific; interests which are important to all our people, but which are of most importance to those of our people who have built populous and thriving states on the western slope of our continent.

Not a Party Question.

This should no more be a party question than the war of the Union should have been a party question. At this moment the man in highest office in the Philippine Islands is the vice-governor, General Luke Wright, of Tennessee, who gallantly wore the gray in the civil war and who is now working hand in hand with the head of our army in the Philippines, Adna Chaffee, who in the civil war gallantly wore the blue. Those two, and the men under them, from the North and from the South, in civil life and in military life, as teachers, as administrators, as soldiers, are laboring mightily for us who live at home. Here and there black sheep are to be found among them; but taken as a whole, they represent as

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NATION HONORED NOBLE DEAD

All Over the Country Tributes of Respect Were Rendered Those Who Died to Save the Union.

CITIES VIED WITH ONE ANOTHER TO PAY HOMAGE TO THE DEPARTED VETERANS

Sleeping Heroes of the Civil and Spanish Wars Fondly Remembered by a Loving People, Whose Liberty, Freedom and National Honor Had Been Purchased With Their Life Blood—Monuments Unveiled at New York and Philadelphia—Ceremonies at the Tombs of the Martyred Lincoln and McKinley.

Washington, May 30.—The sleeping heroes of the civil and Spanish wars were given reverent homage at the National capitol today. The president, cabinet, officers of the army and navy, organizations of veterans and the public by thousands, with flowers and flags made a pilgrimage to the cemeteries. At Arlington, where 30,000 soldiers are buried, the principal exercises were held. President Roosevelt did not leave the White House for Arlington until about noon, under escort of George R. Harris, of the District of Columbia National Guard Brigade, and staff. The president rode in his carriage, various grand army posts and Spanish war veterans assigned to Arlington, preceding the executive by train. After reaching the cemetery the advance guard, led by the Marine band, paused at the tomb of the unknown, where a dirge was rendered. The procession then reformed and wound its way to the amphitheater, there the president, cabinet, the command-

er-in-chief, Torrence, of the Grand Army, and many distinguished personages in official and private life, were gathered. The bugle sounded the "assembly" and the band rendered an introductory dirge. "Nearer My God, to Thee" was sung by the memorial choir and the throng in unison; then Department Commander Bingham called the audience to order, and the choir rendered a cantata with deep feeling. Assistant Adjutant General Chase read "orders," and Edwin B. Hay delivered Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. At the conclusion there was more music and then the president arose and delivered his oration to the immense crowd: At the conclusion, General Torrence delivered an address, followed by general singing of "America," and the pronouncing of the benediction. The Day at New York. New York, May 30.—The feature (Concluded.)

DR. PRIGES'S CREAM Baking Powder In Use the most Economical Greater in leavening strength, a spoonful raises more dough, or goes further. Working uniformly and perfectly, it makes the bread and cake always light and beautiful, and there is never a waste of good flour, sugar, butter and eggs. With finer food and a saving of money comes the saving of the health of the family, and that is the greatest economy of all. PRICE BAKING POWDER CO., CHICAGO. NOTE.—Many mixtures, made in imitation of baking powders, are upon the market. They are sold cheap, but are dear at any price, because they contain alum, a corrosive poison.