

THE MESSAGE.

The following is the president's message, sent to the senate and house of congress on Tuesday, Dec. 3:

"TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: There are few transactions in the administration of the government that are even temporarily held in the confidence of those charged with the conduct of the public business. Every step taken is under the observation of an intelligent and watchful people. The state of the union is known from day to day, and suggestions as to needed legislation to find an earlier voice than that which speaks in these annual communications of the president to congress.

He then referred to the good will existing between the United States and other nations, and considered it highly significant that the first year of the second century finds within our borders an intelligent and watchful people. The state of the union is known from day to day, and suggestions as to needed legislation to find an earlier voice than that which speaks in these annual communications of the president to congress.

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will sell their bonds to the treasury so long as the present highly beneficial arrangement continued. They now practically get interest both upon the bonds and their proceeds. No further use should be made of this method of getting the surplus into circulation, and the deposits now outstanding should be gradually withdrawn and applied to the purchase of bonds. It is fortunate that such a use can be made of the existing surplus, and for some time to come any surplus that may exist after congress has taken the necessary steps for a reduction of the revenue. Such legislation should be promptly, but very considerably, enacted.

It is recommended that a revision of our tariff law, both in its administrative features and in the schedules. The need of the former is generally conceded, and an agreement upon the evils and inconveniences to be remedied, and the best methods for their correction will probably not be difficult. Uniformity of valuation at all our ports is essential, and effective measures should be taken to secure it. It is equally desirable that questions affecting rates and classifications should be promptly decided.

The preparation of a new schedule of customs duties is a matter of great delicacy, because of its effect upon the business of the country, of great difficulty by reason of the wide divergence of opinion as to the objects that may be promoted by such legislation. Some disturbance of business may perhaps result from consideration of the subject by congress, but this temporary effect will be reduced to a minimum by prompt action and assurance that the country enjoys that any necessary changes will be so made as not to impair the just and reasonable protection of our home industries.

The inequalities of the law should be adjusted but the protective principle should be maintained and fairly applied to the products of our farms as well as our shops. These duties necessarily have relation to other things besides the public revenues. We cannot limit their effects by fixing our eyes on the public treasury alone. They have a direct relation to home production, to work, to wages, and to the commercial independence of our country, and the patriotic legislator should enlarge the field of his vision to include all of these. The necessary reduction in our public revenue can, I am sure, be made without making the smaller burden more onerous than the larger by reason of the disabilities and limitations which the process of reduction puts upon both capital and labor.

The free list can very safely be extended by placing thereon articles that do not offer injurious competition to such domestic products as our home labor can supply. The removal of the internal tax upon tobacco would relieve an important agricultural product from a burden, which was imposed only because our revenue from duties and taxes was insufficient for the public needs.

If safe provision against fraud can be devised, the removal of the tax upon spirits used in the arts and in manufactures, would also offer an unobjectionable method of reducing the surplus.

A table presented by the secretary of the treasury, showing the amount of money of all kinds in circulation each year, from 1878 to the present time, is of interest. It appears that the amount of National bank notes in circulation has decreased during that period \$114,109,729, of which \$37,799,322 is chargeable to the last year.

The withdrawal of bank circulation will necessarily continue under existing conditions. It is probable the adoption of the suggestions made by the comptroller of the currency, viz.: That the minimum deposit of bonds for the establishment of banks be reduced, and that an issue of notes equal in par value of the bonds be allowed, would help to maintain the bank circulation.

From March 1, 1878 to Oct. 1, 1889, the net increase in the total amount of money in circulation was \$399,224,763. The circulation per capita has increased about \$5 during the time referred to.

The president discussing the coinage of silver explains that the large surplus in the treasury vaults is "owing to the fact that its paper representative is more convenient. The general acceptance and use of the certificate show that silver has not been otherwise discredited. Some favorable conditions have contributed to maintain this practical equality in their commercial use between the gold and silver dollars. But some of these are trade conditions that statutory enactments do not control, and of the continuance of which we cannot be certain.

"I think it is clear that if we should make coinage of silver at present rates free we must expect the difference in bullion values of the gold and silver dollars will be taken account of in commercial transactions and I fear the same result would follow any considerable increase of present rates, or such a result would be creditable to all business interests. We should not tread the dangerous edge of such a peril, and indeed, nothing more harmful could happen to the silver interests. Any safe legislation upon this subject must secure the equality of the two coins in their commercial uses.

"I have always been an advocate of the use of silver in our currency. We are large producers of that metal, and it is our duty to make the best use of it. The plan which will be presented by the secretary of the treasury for the issuance of notes or certificates upon the deposit of silver bullion at its market value, I have been able to give only a hasty examination, owing to the fact that it has been so recently formulated. The details of such a law require careful consideration, but the general plan suggested by him seems to satisfy the connection with our currency, and at the same time to obviate the danger of which I have spoken. At a later day I may communicate further with congress upon this subject."

The Chinese exclusive act is briefly referred to and the difficulty of keeping the Mongolian border line to be guarded in the northwest and the security of officers. The statement is made that additional officers will be placed on duty in that section.

Concerning our coast defenses the president said: "Judged by modern standards we are practically without coast defenses. Many of the structures we have would enhance rather than diminish the perils of our garrisons, if subjected to the fire of improved guns, and very few are so located as to give full effect to the greater range of such guns as we are now making for coast defense uses. This general subject has had consideration in congress for some years, and the appropriation for the construction of a large rifle gun, made one year ago, was, I am sure, the expression of a purpose to provide suitable works in which these guns might be mounted. An appropriation now made for that purpose would not advance the completion of the works beyond our ability to supply them with fairly effective guns.

"The security of our coast cities against foreign attack should not rest altogether in the friendly disposition of other nations. There should be second lines wholly in our own keeping. I very urgently recommend an appropriation at this session for the construction of such works in our most exposed harbors.

"I approve the suggestion of the secretary of war that provision be made for occupying rivers and harbors of the National Guard in our coast works for a specified time each year, and for their training in the use of heavy guns. His suggestion that an increase of the artillery force of the army is desirable, is also in connection commended the consideration of congress.

"The improvement of our important rivers and harbors should be promoted by the necessary appropriations. Care should be taken that the government is not committed to the prosecution of works not of public and general advantage and that the relative usefulness of works of that class is not overlooked. So far as this work can ever be completed, I do not doubt that the end would be sooner and more economically reached if fewer separate works were selected for their greater general interest were more rapidly pushed to completion. A work once considerably begun should not be subjected to the risk and deterioration which

interrupted or insufficient appropriations necessarily occasion."

The president referred to the killing of Judge David S. Terry by a deputy United States marshal for assaulting Justice Field. He recommended that more definite provision be made by law for the protection of Federal officers, but for a full trial of such cases in the United States courts.

He says that in making such recommendations he does not desire to impede either the state laws or the general disposition of those charged with their execution.

"Events, which have been brought to my attention, happening in other parts of the country, have also suggested the propriety of extending by legislation, fuller protection to those who may be called as witnesses in the courts of the United States. The investigations of criminal offenses are often rendered difficult and sometimes quite impossible, by the intimidation of witnesses."

The president refers to the crowded condition of the supreme court, and recommends the establishment of intermediate courts having final appellate jurisdiction of certain classes of questions and cases. He also recommends that the salaries of judges of district courts be in no case less than \$5,000.

The earnest attention should be given by congress to the consideration of the question how far the restraint of those combinations of capital commonly called "trusts," is a matter of Federal jurisdiction. When organized, as they often are, to crush out all healthy competition, and to monopolize the production or sale of an article of common and general necessity, they are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory and even penal legislation."

He recommends an international copyright law. He says our naturalization laws should be so revised as to make the inquiry into the character and social standing of the applicant government of the persons applying for citizenship more thorough.

The enactment of a simple and inexpensive National bankruptcy law of a character to be a permanent part of our general legislation is desirable.

He refers favorably to Postmaster General Wannamaker's report, and recommends the plan suggested of a supervision of the post-offices in separate districts that shall involve instruction and supervision, and a rating of efficiency of the postmasters would, I have no doubt, greatly improve the service.

The president recommends the creation of a new department for the joint use of the post-office department and the city postoffice of Washington.

Concerning the transmission of lottery advertisements and remittances throughout the mails, he recommends that more stringent measures be adopted.

He refers in complimentary terms to the present improved condition of the navy and recommends a more rapid increase in the number of serviceable ships. He concludes by saying that the construction of eight armored ships, three gun boats and five torpedo boats be authorized."

He refers in complimentary terms to the naval officers and sailors in the disastrous hurricane in Samoa.

He speaks of the substantial progress made by the Indians, and says: "Our treaty stipulations should be observed with the strictest fidelity, and we should be highly considerate of the best interests of an ignorant and helpless people. We can no longer push the Indian back into the wilderness, and it remains only to push him upward into the state of a self-supporting and responsible citizen."

He then refers at some length to the recent opening of large tracts of lands secured from the Indians and the opening of Oklahoma, and the means taken to protect the citizens and preserve order. In conclusion he recommends the establishment of one of a territorial government for Oklahoma.

He also recommends that provision be made for the acquisition of titles to town lots now in the hands of the Indians, for locating town sites and for the establishment of municipal governments. An appropriation for educational purposes there should neither be overlooked nor stinted.

The law now provides a pension for every soldier and sailor who was engaged in the service of the United States during the civil war, and is now suffering from wounds or disease having an origin in the service and in the line of duty. Two of the three necessary conditions for the receipt of such a pension are: that the man be disabled from service in the service, is often difficult, and in many deserving cases impossible to establish. That very many of those who endured the hardships of the war, and who were engaged in campaigns are now disabled from service that had a real but not traceable origin in the service, I do not doubt.

Besides these there is another class composed of men many of whom served an enlistment of the full term, and of recently discharged veterans who add a fourth year of service, who escaped the casualties of battle and the assaults of disease, who were always ready for any duty, who were in every battle, and who were honorably and unblemished out in sound health, and have since the close of the war, while fighting with the same indomitable and independent spirit the contest of civil life, been overcome by disease or casualty.

"I am not unaware that the pension roll already involves a very large annual expenditure, neither am I deterred by that fact from recommending that congress grant a pension to such honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the civil war as having rendered substantial service during the war, and now dependent upon their own labor for a maintenance, and by disease or casualty are incapacitated from earning it.

"Many of the men who would be included in this class of relief are now dependent upon public aid, and it does not, in my judgment, consist with the National honor that they should continue to subsist upon the local relief given indiscriminately to paupers, instead of upon the special and generous provisions of the nation they served so gallantly and unselfishly. Our people will, I am sure, very generally approve such legislation. And I am equally sure that the survivors of the Union army and navy will feel a grateful and well-earned relief when this worthy and suffering class of their comrades is fairly cared for."

He concludes his reference to pensions by stating that new methods greatly increase the facility of the pension office in disposing of cases and giving information.

The president welcomed the four new states, and gave concise description of the resources of each.

In strong language the president referred to the crippling and killing of so many brakemen and switchmen in handling freight, concluding as follows: "I think, for congress to require uniformity in the construction of cars used in interstate commerce, and the use of improved safety appliances upon such trains. Time will be necessary to make the needed changes, but an earnest and intelligent beginning should be made at once. It is a reproach to our civilization that any class of American workmen should in the pursuit of a necessary and useful vocation be subjected to a peril of life and limb as great as that of a soldier in time of war."

The new executive department, that of agriculture, has been a success, and the president recommended that congress make the usual provision for the publication of its annual report, which cannot fail to be of value to the farming community. He further recommends that the weather service be taken from the war department and established as a bureau in the agricultural department.

The president recommended that "the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating drinks in the District of Columbia should be revised, with a view to bringing the traffic under stringent limitations and control. It is a reproach to our civilization that any class of American workmen should in the pursuit of a necessary and useful vocation be subjected to a peril of life and limb as great as that of a soldier in time of war."

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provement the opening to the public by the civil service commission of the list of eligibles, and adds: "The reform of the civil service will make no safe or satisfactory advance until the present law and its equal administration are well established. In the consideration of the well established, in the confidence of the people. It will be my pleasure, as it is my duty, to see that the law is executed with firmness and impartiality."

The present clerical force of the civil service is inadequate, owing to the increased duties laid upon them by the bringing of the railway mail service under the civil service law. Additional clerks are recommended.

The president dwelt at length upon the question of the general government extending aid to such states and territories as need it in educational matters. He recommended that congress make such an appropriation.

After referring to the great work of making removals and appointments the president said: "It is not true that incumbency is a conclusive argument for a continuance in office. Impartiality, moderation, fidelity to public duty, and a good attainment in the discharge of it must be added before the argument is complete."

"When those holding administrative offices so conduct themselves as to convince just political opponents that no party consideration or bias enters in any way in the discharge of their public duties, we can more easily stay the demands for removals."

He thinks both in and out of the classified service, great benefit would result from the adoption of some system by which office holders would be graded by their faithfulness and efficiency in the performance of duty. He has made such suggestions to the heads of departments and to the postmaster general.

"The colored people did not intrude themselves upon the communities where they are chiefly found, by a cruel slave code. Happily for both races they are now free. They have found a steady and unobscured and poverty, which was our shared not theirs, made remarkable advances in education and in the acquisition of property. They have, as a people, shown themselves to be friendly and impartial towards the white race, under temptations of tremendous strength. They have their representatives in the National Congress where a grateful government has gathered the ashes of those who were slain in the struggle for freedom."

"They have furnished to our regular army and navy men that have won high praise from their commanding officers for courage and self-sacrifice, and for fidelity to the cause of their country. In their life they are now the pillars of their communities, and their full contribution to the widening streams of prosperity which these communities are receiving. Their sudden withdrawal would stop production and bring disorder to the household as well as the shop. Generally they do not desire to quit their homes and their employers resent the interference of the emigration agents who seek to stimulate such a desire."

But notwithstanding all this, in many parts of our country where the colored population is large, the people of that race are, by various devices, deprived of any effective exercise of their political rights and many of their civil rights. The wrong does not extend itself upon those whose votes are suppressed. Every constituency in the Union is wronged.

"It has been the hope of every patriot that a sense of justice and of respect for the law would work a gradual cure of a great and grievous evil. Surely, no one supposes that the present can be accepted as a permanent condition."

"If it is said that these communities must work out this problem for themselves, we have a right to ask whether they are able to do it. Do they suggest any solution? When and under what condition is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he, in fact, to have those full civil rights which have long been his by law, and in my opinion the equality of influence which our form of government has intended to secure to the electors to be restored. This generation should courageously face these grave questions, and not shirk them as a heritage of the next. The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness and great patience, upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty."

"No country can be at rest except upon the firm base of justice and of the law."

"Earnestly invoke the attention of congress to the consideration of such measures as will secure to all our people a free exercise of the right of suffrage and every other civil right under the constitutional laws of the United States. No evil, however deep-seated, can justify the assumption, either on the part of the executive or of congress, of powers not granted, but both will be highly blamable if all the powers granted are not wisely but firmly used to correct these evils."

The power to take the whole direction and control of the election of members of the house of representatives is clearly given to the general government. A partial and qualified supervision of these elections is now provided for by law, and in my opinion the law may be so strengthened and extended to secure on the whole better results than can be obtained by a law taking all the processes of such election into Federal control. The colored man should be protected in his participation in the Federal government, whether as litigant, juror or witness in our courts, as an election of members of congress or as a peaceful traveler on our interstate railways."

Referring to the humiliating fact that our merchant marine is so inferior to that of other nations, not so fortunately situated as we are, the president said: "I recommend that such appropriations be made for ocean steamships and those of Central and South America, China, Japan and the important islands in both of the great oceans, as will be liberally remunerative for the service rendered, and will encourage the building and maintenance of a fair degree of equality the chances of American steamship lines in the competitions which they must meet. That the American states lying south of us were cordially co-operate in establishing and maintaining such lines of steamships to their principal ports, I do not doubt."

"We should also make provision for a naval reserve, to consist of such merchant ships of American construction and of a specified tonnage and speed as the government will consent to place at its disposal in case of need as armed cruisers. England has adopted this policy, and as a result, can now upon necessity place upon her naval list some of the fastest steamships in the world. A proper supervision of the construction of such vessels would make their conversion into effective ships of war very easy."

"I am an advocate of economy in our National expenditures, and it is a matter of terms to make this word describe a policy that will withhold an expenditure for the purpose of extending our foreign commerce. The enlargement and improvement of our merchant marine, the development of a sufficient body of trained American seamen, the promotion of rapid and regular mail communication between the ports of other countries and our own, and the adaptation of large and swift American merchant steamships to naval uses in time of war, are public purposes of the highest concern."

The enlarged participation of our people in carrying trade to the new and increased markets that will be opened for the products of our farms and factories. The fuller and better employment of our mechanics which will result from a liberal promotion of our foreign commerce insure the widest possible diffusion of benefit to all the states and to all our people. Everything is most propitious. For the present inauguration of a liberal and progressive policy upon this subject, and we should enter upon it with promptness and decision. The legislation which I have suggested, it is sincerely believed, will promote the peace and honor of our country and the prosperity and security of the highest concern."

"I have the diligent and serious attention of congress to the consideration of these and such other measures as may be presented, having the same great end in view."

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