ROOSEVELT TO CONGRESS

Sends His First Annual Message to the Senate and House of Representatives.

MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS.

Eulogizes the Late President McKinley and Advocates Stern Measures for Anarchists—Proposes Trust Legislation Along the Lines of Publicity—Favors Government Construction of Irrigation Works—Urges Construction of Isthmian Canal and Laying of Pacific Cable—Asks Legislation for the Colonies and Reciprocity for Cuba—Would Exclude Chinese.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The congress assembles this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American exposition at Buffalo and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

On the last seven elected presidents he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American president, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history. President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed officeseeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States, while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to hear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and greatness of character which so endeared him to his close associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and homely virtues which are all important in the makeup of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends lavish against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged.

TRIBUTE TO M'KINLEY.

President Roosevelt Eulogizes the Lamented Victim of Anarchy.

President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself labored among the wage-workers, who had entered the army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the president was assassinated, but the honest toil which he constant with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wageworker has ever had, at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no president, not even Lincoln himself, was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well thought out wishes of the people. His one anxiety in every act was to keep in closest touch with the people, to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had been reelected to the presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wageworkers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infamy of his act he took advantage of an occasion when the president was meeting the people generally, and, advancing as if to take the hand stretched out to him kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

His Death a Crowning Glory.

The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the president yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was extinguished in his kindly eyes, and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends and of unfaltering trust in the will of God. Such a death crowning the glory of such a life leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great president who is dead, but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who on the stump and in the public press appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and hatred, envy and evil-spoken hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism and to the crude and foolish visionary who for whatever reason apologizes for crime or excites ill-will and discontent.

The blow was aimed not at this president, but at all presidents, at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law abiding purpose and practice of the people of that town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the president be accepted as due to protest against "inequalities in the social order" save as the murder of all those men engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent" than picking pockets or wife beating.

Must Suppress Anarchy.

The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly in any shape or fashion or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is impudent and absurd insincerity, for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for his one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the state to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a "product of social conditions" save as a highwayman is "produced" by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

I earnestly recommend to the congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country, and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came, and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the congress.

The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the president or any man who by the constitution or by law is in line of succession for the presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should hand against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man stealing known as the slave trade, for it is of far higher infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the federal government the power of dealing with the crime.

A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the president. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the government, the government felt itself obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest disturbance in our governmental system and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving boldness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming president by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the president's life become great it would mean that every office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder, and this would not fall into an anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY.

Caution Is Needed to Preserve the Present Reign of Prosperity.

During the last five years business confidence has been growing. It now is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by unwise laws. If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if flood or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains not by genuine work with head or hand, but by gambling in any form, are always the prey of those who think for themselves, but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally the welfare of each citizen and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the nation must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this. Within the limits of wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

The growth of vast and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face at the beginning of the twentieth with many serious social problems. The old laws and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law were once quite sufficient to regulate the acquisition and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient.

The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison larger than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual and especially of very large corporate fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wageworker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth, but it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on conditions conferring immense incidental benefits on others. Successful enterprise of the type which benefits all mankind can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

Deal with Caution.

The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have on the whole done great good to our people. With them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place. Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as much to individual initiative as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably depends, the slightest study of business conditions will suffice to convince any man capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation; that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usually the factor which fixes the guilt between striking success and hopeless failure.

An additional reason for caution in dealing with corporations is to be found in the international commercial conditions of today. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world. America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeoparded, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our nation.

Careful Legislation Needed.

Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life, the rule which underlies all others, is that on the whole and in the long run we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions, and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more and in times of adversity some will suffer far more than others; but, speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement. The memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we are now suffering from the conditions in this very year which is now closing. Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and while it is bad for everybody, it is worse for those farthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries, but the wageworker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as "trusts," appeal especially to hatred and fear. These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sobre self restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective. In accordance with a well-known sociological law the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests for the government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching and terrible disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

THE TRUST EVIL.

Recommendations as to How It Should Be Remedied.

All this is true. And yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being the concentration in hands of its many baleful consequences, and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.

There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This spring from no quixotic sentiment or intolerance nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy. It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the immense benefits thus conferred upon our country by the men who have made these results possible, but it is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be not prohibited, but controlled and within proper limits controlled, and in my judgment this conviction is right.

It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to prevent or control when they are receiving from government the privilege of doing business under corporate form which frees them from individual responsibility and enables them to call into their employment the capital of the public they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek to social betterment to put a stop to the growing crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions, and it is the duty of these institutions to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Governmental Supervision.

The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interests of the public the government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sunshine in business, and we can now invoke it. What further remedies are needed in the way of governmental regulation or taxation can only be determined after publicity has obtained by process of law and has been made use of by administration. The first requisite is knowledge, full and complete—knowledge which may be made public to the world.

Artificial bodies, such as corporations and joint stock or other associations depending upon any statutory law for their existence or privileges, should be subject to proper governmental supervision, and full and accurate information as to their operations should be made public regularly at reasonable intervals.

The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one state, always do business in many states, often doing very little business in the state where they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the state laws about them, and as no state has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through state action. Therefore in the interest of the whole people the nation should, without interfering with the power of the states in the matter itself, also assume control of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business. This is especially true where the corporation derives a portion of its wealth from the existence of a monopolistic element or tendency in its business. There would be no hardship in such supervision. Banks are subject to it, and in their case it is now accepted as a simple matter of course. Indeed it is probable that supervision of corporations by the national government need not go so far as is now the case with the supervision exercised over them by the officials of a state as Massachusetts in order to produce excellent results.

May Take Constitutional Amendment

When the constitution was adopted, at the end of the eighteenth century, no human wisdom could foretell the vast changes which would come in the industrial and political conditions, which were to take place by the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time it was accepted as a matter of course that the several states were the proper authorities to regulate so far as was then necessary the comparatively insignificant and strictly localized corporate bodies of the day. The conditions now are wholly different, and wholly different action is called for. I believe that a law can be framed which will enable the national government to exercise the proper supervision and control over industrial business, profiting by the experience gained through the passage and administration of the interstate commerce act. If, however, the judgment of the courts shall be that it is beyond constitutional power to pass such an act, then a constitutional amendment should be submitted to confer the power.

There should be created a cabinet officer, to be known as secretary of commerce and industries, as provided in the bill introduced at the last session of the congress. It should be his province to deal with commerce in its broadest sense, including, among many other things, whatever concerns labor, and all matters affecting the interests of business corporations and our merchant marine.

The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching effort to extend our commercial mastership for the purpose of broadening our markets, securing our business interests on a safe basis and making firm our hold on our position as the international industrial world, while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of wageworker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man in this republic.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

Recommends That the Present Exclusion Law Be Reenacted.

With the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wageworkers. If the farmer and the wageworker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off, for it is to these that we look for hearty congratulation that on the whole wages are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is higher than it ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and to the improvement where possible. Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of those who have brought over by contract or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to reenact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

Protection for Free Labor.

The national government should demand the highest quality of service from its employes and in return it should be a model employer. The principle of eight hours should be passed in connection with the interstate commerce law which will render effective the efforts of different states to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of government work provision should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work and from work under unsanitary conditions. The government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions and, in addition to setting a high standard, should uphold it by proper inspection, extending if necessary to the subcontractors. The government should forbid all night work for women and children as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed, and, as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad, that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals.

Our government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean.

OUR FINANCES.

Revenues Should Be More Nearly in Equality with Our Expenditures.

The act of March 14, 1900, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain as a parity therewith all forms of money medium in use with us, has been shown to be timely and judicious. The price of our government bonds in the world's market when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain.

In many respects the national banking law furnishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the banking function, but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the deranging influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce.

The collections from duties on imports and internal taxes continue to exceed the ordinary expenditures of the government, thanks mainly to the reduced army expenditures. Steps should be promptly taken not to reduce the revenues so that there will be any possibility of a deficit, but after providing against any such contingency means should be adopted which will bring the revenues more nearly within the limit of our actual needs. In his report to the congress the secretary of the treasury considers all these questions at length, and I ask your attention to the report and recommendations.

I call special attention to the need of strict economy in expenditures. The fact that our national needs forbid us to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our well being should make us doubly careful to husband our national resources as each of us husbands his private resources by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or undistributable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

The Laws Regulating It Should Be Amended in Several Ways.

In 1887 a measure was enacted for the regulation of interstate railways, commonly known as the interstate commerce act. The continual revisions that act have thrown the railway rates should be just and reasonable and that all shippers, localities and commodities should be accorded equal treatment. A commission was created and endowed with what was supposed to be the necessary powers to execute the provisions of this act.

That law was largely an experiment. Experience has shown the wisdom of its purposes, but has shown also that possibly that some of its requirements are wrong, certainly that the means devised for the enforcement of its provisions are defective. Those who complain that the management of the railways allege that established rates are not maintained, that rebates and similar devices are habitually resorted to, that these preferences are invariably in favor of the strong, so that they drive out of business the smaller competitor, that while many rates are too low many others are excessive and that gross preferences are made affecting both localities and individuals. On the other hand, the railways assert that the law by its very terms tends to produce many of these illegal practices by depriving carriers of that power of concert in action which they claim is necessary to establish and maintain nondiscriminating rates.

The act should be amended. The railway is a public servant. Its rates should be just and reasonable to all concerned. The government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is so, and should provide a speedy, inexpensive and effective remedy to that end. At the same time it is foolish to forget that the railways are the arteries through which the commercial lifeblood of this nation flows. Nothing could be more foolish than the enactment of legislation which would unnecessarily interfere with the development and operation of these commercial agencies. The subject is one of great importance and calls for the earnest attention of the congress.

AGRICULTURAL INTERESTS.

They Are of the Greatest Importance to the Welfare of the Nation.

The department of agriculture during the past 5 years has steadily broadened its work on economic lines and has accomplished results of the highest value to our upbuilding domestic and foreign trade. It has gone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sections of our country and with two of the island groups that have latterly come under our jurisdiction, whose people must look to agriculture as a livelihood. It is searching the world for grains, grasses, fruits and vegetables specially fitted to the business interests of one in the several states and territories where they may add materially to our resources. By scientific attention to soil survey and possible new crops, to breeding of new varieties of cereals, to experiment in shipments, to animal industry and applied chemistry, very practical aid has been given our farming and stock growing interests. The products of this department have taken an unprecedented place in our export trade during the year that has just closed.

Protect the Forests.

Public opinion throughout the United States has moved steadily toward a just appreciation of the value of forests, whether considered as of natural growth. The great part played by them in the creation and maintenance of the national wealth is now more fully realized than ever before.

Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources, whether of wood, water or grass, from contributing their full share to the welfare of this nation. On the contrary, it gives the assurance of larger and more certain supplies. The fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use. The material interests and needs of itself: it is a means to increase and sustain the resources of our country and the industries which depend upon them. The preservation of our forests is an imperative business necessity. We have come to see clearly that whatever destroys the forest except to make way for agriculture threatens our well being.

The practical application of national forest reserves to the mining, grazing, irrigation and other interests of the regions in which the reserves lie has led to a widespread demand by the people of the west for their protection and extension. The forest reserves will inevitably be of still greater use in the future than in the past. Additions should be made to them whenever practicable, and their usefulness should be increased by a thoroughly businesslike management.

Bureau of Forestry.

At present the protection of the forest reserves rests with the general land office, the mapping and description of their timber with the United States geological survey and the preparation of plans for their conservation and administration with the forestry, which is also charged with the general advancement of practical forestry in the United States. These various functions should be united in the bureau of forestry, to which they properly belong. The present diffusion of responsibility is bad from every standpoint. It prevents that effective cooperation between the government agencies which alone utilize the resources of the reserves without which the interests of both must suffer. The scientific bureaus generally should be put under the department of agriculture. The president should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the department of agriculture. He already has such power in the case of lands needed by the departments of war and the navy.

Necessity of Irrigation.

The wise administration of the forest reserves will be not less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. The western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States.

Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them need special protection because of the great injury done by live stock, above all by sheep. The increase in deer, elk and other animals in the Yellowstone park shows what may be expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been so denuded of surface vegetation by overgrazing that the ground breeding birds, including grouse and quail, and many mammals, including deer, have been exterminated or driven away. At the same time the water storing capacity of the surface has been decreased or destroyed, thus promoting floods in times of rain and diminishing the flow of streams between rains.

In cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years vegetation has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back, and hundreds of persons, especially from the immediate neighborhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some at least of the forest reserves should afford perpetual protection to the native fauna and flora, safe havens of refuge to our rapidly diminishing wild animals of the larger species, and places of recreation for the ever increasing numbers of men and women who have learned to find rest, health and recreation in the splendid forests and flower clad meadows of our mountains. The forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the short sighted greed of a few.

The forests are national reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is therefore an essential condition of water conservation.

The Government Should Assist.

The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual states acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved, and the resources of single states would often be inadequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the national government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river control under which levees are built on the lower reaches of the same streams.

The government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow.

The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will make homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the national government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should so far as possible be repaid by the lands reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the control of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with state laws and without interference with state laws or with vested rights. The policy of the national government should be to aid irrigation in the several states and territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves and as will stimulate needed reforms in the state laws and regulations governing irrigation.

Value of Irrigation.

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic states. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of every kind will insure the larger supplies and other products of our western plains and other sections to compete with eastern agriculture. Indeed the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of industry and only a small portion of them would ever come into existence were it not for the irrigation. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful homemaking is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

The necessary legislation has already been laid by the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to keep by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot safely be attempted in the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reserved or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal greed or interest, but in accordance with the advice of trained experts after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and most easily built to carry out the purpose for the common good as a whole. There should be no extravagance and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least suspicion of wasteful or reckless expenditure of the public moneys.

Needed Irrigation Laws.

Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with and tend to improve the condition of those now living on the arid lands. We are at the starting point of this development. Over $200,000,000 of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works and many million acres of arid land reclaimed by a high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself, but as much cannot be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and prosperity of the homes created depend largely on the stability of titles to water, but the majority of these rest on the uncertain foundation of court decisions rendered in private suits and contests. With a few creditable exceptions, the arid states have failed to provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Some of the uncertain laws have made it possible to establish claims to water in excess of actual uses or necessities, and many streams have already passed into private ownership or a control equivalent to ownership.

Whoever controls a stream practically controls the land it renders productive, and the doctrine of private ownership of water apart from land cannot prevail without causing endless controversy. The recognition of such ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more enlightened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and distribution of their public water supplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hoarding it, have no proper application in a dry country.

In the arid states the only right to water which should be recognized is that of use. In irrigation this right should attach to the land reclaimed and be inseparable therefrom. Granting perpetual water rights to others than users without compensation to the public is open to all the objections which apply to giving away a franchise to a beneficial use, the utilities of cities. A few of the western states have already recognized this and have incorporated in their constitutions the doctrine of perpetual state ownership of water.

Nation's Aid Justified.

The benefits which have followed the unaided development of the past justify the nation's aid and cooperation in the more difficult and important work yet to be accomplished. Laws so vitally affecting homes as those which control the water supply will only be effective when they have the sanction of the irrigators; reforms can only be final and satisfactory when they come through the enlightenment of the people most concerned. The largest development which national aid in this direction will bring, however, awaken in every arid state the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and effectiveness that of any country in the civilized world. Nothing could be more unwise than for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally instead of profiting by what is already known elsewhere. This is a timely and momentous question in the pregnant years while institutions are forming, and what we do will affect not only the present but future generations.

Our aim should be not simply to reclaim the largest area of land and provide homes for the largest number of people, but to create for this new industry the best possible conditions for industrial conditions, and this requires that we not only understand the existing situation, but avail ourselves of the best experience of the time in the solution of its problems. A careful study should be made both by the nation and the states of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the nation to cooperate with the several arid states in proportion as these states by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.

THE COLONIES.

What the Aim of the Government Should Be in Their Control.

In Hawaii our aim must be to develop the territory on the traditional American lines. We do not wish a region of large estates tilled by cheap labor. We wish a healthy American community of men who till the farms they own in fee. All our legislation for the islands should be shaped with this end in view. The well being of the average homemaker must be the test of the healthy development of the islands. The land policy should as nearly as possible be modeled on our homestead system.

It is premature to say that it is hardly more necessary to report as to Porto Rico than as to any state or territory within our continental limits. The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. Its people are now enjoying liberty and order under the protection of the United States, and upon this fact we congratulate them and ourselves. Their material welfare must be as carefully and jealously considered as the welfare of any other portion of our country. We have given them the great gift of free access for their products to the markets of the United States. I ask the attention of the congress to the need of legislation concerning the public lands of Porto Rico.

Reciprocity with Cuba.

In Cuba such progress has been made toward putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the congress closes this will be an accomplished fact. Cuba will then start as her own mistress, and to the beautiful Queen of the Antilles as she unfolds this new page of her destiny we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes. Elsewhere I have discussed the question of reciprocity. In the case of Cuba, however, there are weighty reasons of morality and of national interest why the policy should be held to have a peculiar application, and I most earnestly ask your attention to the wisdom, indeed to the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States. Cuba has in her constitution affirmed what we desired that she should stand in international matters in closer and more friendly relations with us than with any other power, and we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency to pass commercial measures in the interest of her material well being.

The Philippines.

In the Philippines our problem is larger. They are very rich tropical islands, inhabited by many varying tribes, representing widely different stages of progress toward civilization. Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self government. We hope to make our administration of the islands honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves, and as an earnest of what we intend to do we point to what we have done. Already a greater measure of material prosperity and of governmental honesty and efficiency has been attained in the Philippines than ever before in their history.

It is no light task for a nation to achieve the temperamental qualities without which the institutions of free government are but empty mockery. Our people are now successfully governing themselves, because for more than a thousand years they have been slowly fitting themselves, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, toward this end. What has taken us thirty generations to achieve we cannot expect to see another race accomplish out of hand, especially when large portions of that race start very far behind our ancestors who lived and reached even thirty generations ago. In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is kindly. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self government after the fashion of the really free nations.

Must Hold the Islands.

History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of mutinous anarchy. Such a decision of such a point would be a crime against humanity. The character of Gov. Taft and of his associates and subordinates is a proof, if such is needed, of the sincerity of our effort to give the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self government exactly as fast as they show themselves fit to exercise it. Since the civil government was established not an appointment has been made in the islands with any reference to considerations of political influence or to aught else save the fitness of the man and the needs of the service.

In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the Filipinos we must not be blind to the fact that our action here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self government. It is on this side that our error, if any, has been committed. No competent observer doubts the sincerity of those who out the facts and influenced only by a desire for the welfare of the natives can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone as rapidly as safety and in hastening the process. To have taken a single step farther or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness and might well have been a crime. We are anxious first for their sakes and next because it relieves us of a great burden. There will not be the least care of our relinquishing to give them all the liberty for which they are fit.

The Need of Caution.

The only fear is lest in our overanxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting anarchy and bloodshed, for it is also there is any reasonable hope that in a given district the people can govern themselves self government has been given in that district. We do not wish to inflict self government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases it will have to be withdrawn because the inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it. Such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our failing to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opposite direction.

There are still troubles ahead in the islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders. We do not believe that the leaders of the brigands of portions of the old world. Encouragement, direct or indirect, to these insurrecto stands on the same footing as aid to the Confederate raiders in the days when we still had Indian wars. Exactly as our aim is to give to the Indian who remains peaceful the fullest and amplest consideration, but to have it understood that we will take no weakness if he goes on the warpath, so we must make it evident, unless we are false to our own traditions and to the demands of civilization, that we will, while we will do everything in our power for the Filipino who is peaceful we will take the sternest measures with the Filipino who follows the path of the insurrecto and the latrocer.

The heartiest praise is due to large numbers of the natives of the islands for their steadfast loyalty. The Macabebes have been conspicuous for their courage and devotion to the flag. I recommend that the secretary of war be empowered to take some systematic action in the way of aiding those of these men who are crippled in the service, and the families of those who are killed.

Time for Franchise Granting.

The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the isl