

THE PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS

Roosevelt Sends His Annual Message to Lawmakers.

MANY IMPORTANT SUBJECTS

Sees a Pressing Need for Labor and Trust Legislation.

NO WORD ABOUT TARIFF.

Leaves the Subject for a Special Message Which He Promises at a Later Date.

Shows Good Results from the Work of the Agricultural Department—Outlines Our Relations with Foreign Countries and with the Philippines—Urges Need of Adequate Naval Force as Guarantee of Peace and Asks for Revision of Immigration Laws.

Washington, Dec. 5. — President Roosevelt's annual message to congress makes some 18,000 words. In accordance with established custom considerable space is devoted to a resume of the year in the administrative departments of the government, but much of the message is given up to a discussion of those subjects which are considered of vital interest to the nation, and upon many of which he deems legislation needed. It is this portion of the message which we give below.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The nation continues to enjoy noteworthy prosperity. Such prosperity is of course primarily due to the high individual average of our citizenship, taken together with our great natural resources; but an important factor therein is the working of our long-continued governmental policies. The people have emphatically expressed their approval of the principles underlying these policies, and their demand that they be kept substantially unchanged, although of course applied in a progressive spirit to meet changing conditions.

Caution Against Extravagance. The enlargement of scope of the functions of the national government required by our development as a nation involves, of course, increase of expense; and the period of prosperity through which the country is passing justifies expenditures for permanent improvements far greater than would be wise in hard times. Battleships and forts, public buildings, and improved waterways are investments which should be made when we have the money; but abundant revenues, and a large surplus always invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of government. The cost of doing government business should be kept as low as possible, and the cost of doing a private business should be kept as low as possible.

Capital and Labor. In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern civilized life the dominant note is the note of industrialism; and the relations of capital and labor are especially of organized capital and organized labor, to each other and to the public at large, come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the nation and the several states, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty of achieving proper ends by legislation; the new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions on this continent during the last half-century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult, and in many cases impossible, to get unanimity of action among the various states on these subjects. From the very nature of the case this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in huge masses.

With regard to labor the problem is no less important, but it is simpler. As long as the states retain the primary control of the police power the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the federal authorities, whether in the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by unruly persons who shield themselves behind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the federal courts, interference with the mails, or interstate commerce, or if the state authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the federal government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abeyance until order has been restored. In the District of Columbia and in the territories the federal law covers the entire field of government; but the labor question is only acute in populous centers of commerce, manufactures or mining. Nevertheless, both in the enactment and in the enforcement of law the federal government within its restricted sphere should set an example to the state governments, especially in labor, so that as the modern industrial conditions it is often necessary, and even where not necessary it is yet often wise, that there should be organization of labor in order better to secure the rights of citizenship, and that the encouragement should be given to any such organization, so long as it is conducted with a due and decent regard for the rights of others. There are in this country some labor unions which have habitually and other labor unions which have often been among the most effective agents in working for good citizenship and for uplifting the condition of those whose welfare should be closest to our hearts. But when any labor union seeks improper ends, or when any man or group of men seeks to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens and more especially all honorable public servants must oppose the wrongdoing as resolutely as they would oppose the wrongdoing of any great corporation. Of course any violence, brutality or corrup-

tion should not for one moment be tolerated. Every worker has an entire right to organize and by all peaceful and honorable means to endeavor to persuade their fellows to join with them in organizations. They have a legal right, which, according to circumstances, may or may not be a right to refuse to work in company with men who decline to join their organizations. They have under no circumstances the right to commit violence upon those, whether capitalists or wage-workers, who refuse to support their organizations, or who side with those with whom they are at odds; for mob law is intolerable in any form.

Employer's Liability Law. The wage-workers are peculiarly entitled to the protection and the encouragement of the law. From the very nature of their occupation railroad men, for instance, are liable to be maimed in doing the legitimate work of their profession, unless the railroad companies are required by law to make ample provision for their safety. The administration has been zealous in enforcing the existing law for this purpose. That law should be amended and strengthened. However the national government has power there should be a stringent employer's liability law, which should apply to the government itself where the government is an employer of labor.

In my message to the Fifty-seventh congress at its second session, I urged the passage of an employer's liability law for the District of Columbia. I now renew that recommendation, and further recommend that the congress appoint a commission to make a comprehensive study of employer's liability with a view of extending the provisions of a great and constitutional law to all employments within the scope of federal power.

Medals of Honor. The government has recognized heroism upon the water, and bestowed medals upon those who, by extreme and heroic daring have endangered their lives in saving, or endeavoring to save, the lives over which the United States has jurisdiction, or upon an American vessel whose recognition should be extended to cover cases of conspicuous bravery and self-sacrifice in the saving of life in private employments under the jurisdiction of the United States, and particularly in the land commerce of the nation.

Prevention of Railroad Accidents. The increasing casualty list upon our railroads is a matter of grave public concern, and urgently calls for action by the congress. In the matter of speed and comfort of railway travel our railroads give at least as good service as those of any other nation, and there is no reason why our service should not also be as safe as human ingenuity can make it. Many of our leading roads have been foremost in the adoption of the most approved safeguards for the protection of travelers and employees, yet the list of clearly avoidable accidents continues to grow large. The law requiring the adoption of block signal system has been proposed to the congress. I earnestly concur in that recommendation, and would also point out to the congress the urgent need of legislation in the interest of the public safety limiting the hours of labor for railroad employees in train service upon railroads engaged in interstate commerce, and providing that only trained and experienced persons be employed in positions of responsibility connected with the operation of trains. Of course, nothing can ever prevent accidents caused by human error or misconduct; and there should be drastic punishment for any railroad employee, whether officer or man, who by issuance of wrong orders or by disobedience of orders causes disaster. The law of 1901, requiring interstate railroads to make reports of all accidents to passengers and employes on duty, should also be amended so as to empower the government to make a personal investigation, through proper officers, of all accidents involving loss of life which seem to require investigation. With a view to the prompt results of such investigation, it should be made public.

The safety appliance law, as amended by the act of March 2, 1903, has proved beneficial to railway employees, and in order that its provisions may be properly carried out, the force of inspectors provided for in that act should be largely increased. This force is analogous to the steamboat inspection service, and deals with even more important interests. It has passed the experimental stage and demonstrated its utility, and should receive generous recognition by the congress.

Unions of Government Employees. There is objection to employees of the government forming or belonging to unions; but the government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against nonunion men who are in its employment, or who seek to be employed under it. Moreover, it is a very grave injustice to keep together for the purpose of extorting improper high salaries from the government. Especially is this true of those within the classified service. The letter carriers, both municipal and rural, are as a whole an excellent body of public servants, and their pay should be determined by the same standards as those of other public servants. Their payment must be obtained by arguing their claims fairly and honorably before the congress, and not by banding together for the defeat of those congressmen who refuse to give promises which they cannot conscientiously make. The same steps have been taken to prevent and punish abuses of this nature; but it will be wise for the congress to supplement this action by legislation.

Corporations. When we come to deal with great corporations the need for the government to act directly is far greater than in the case of small business. A great corporation can become such only by engaging in interstate commerce, and interstate commerce is peculiarly the field of the general government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by state action. It is difficult to be sure that any state action in such matters should be left to the states, because more than one state pursues the policy of creating easy terms corporations which are never operated within that state at all, but in other states whose laws they ignore. The national government alone can deal directly with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an intemperate, destructive or demagogic spirit would, in all probability, mean that nothing whatever would be accomplished, and with absolute certainty that if anything were accomplished it would be of a harmful nature. The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating or at least in minimizing whatever of mischief or evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no spirit of hostility to wealth, either individual or corporate. They are not against the rich man any more than against the poor man. On the contrary, they are friendly alike toward rich man and toward poor man, provided only that each acts in a spirit of justice and decency toward his fellow-men. Great corporations are a necessary part of our modern industrial power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole. There is no doubt that under the present laws it must be done. Where these laws cannot do short others should be enacted to supplement them.

Yet we must never forget the determining factor in every kind of good, of head or hand, must be the man's own good character and his kindness. More important than any legislation is the gradual growth

of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and wage workers alike; a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves, and of wage workers among themselves, but a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves, and of wage workers among themselves, but a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves, and of wage workers among themselves, but a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others.

Bureau of Corporations. The bureau of corporations has made careful preliminary investigation of many important corporations. It will make a special report on the beef industry. The policy of the bureau is to accomplish the purposes of its creation by cooperation, not antagonism; by making constructive legislation, not destructive prosecution; by conservative investigation of law and fact, and by refusal to issue incomplete and hence necessarily inaccurate reports. Its policy being thus one of open inquiry into, and not attack upon, business, the bureau has a right to expect cooperation from those with whom it deals, and of both in their relations to each other, and of both in their relations to their fellows who with them make up the body politic. There are many captains of industry, many labor leaders, who realize this.

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Rebates. Above all else, we must strive to keep the highways of commerce open to all on equal terms; and to do this it is necessary to put a complete stop to the practice of rebates. Whether the shipper or the railroad is to blame makes no difference; the rebate must be stopped, the abuses of the private car and private terminal track, and side-track systems must be stopped, and the legislation of 1911, which gives the government the right to investigate and to regulate interstate commerce, should be extended to cover interstate transactions in insurance.

Postal Service. In the post office department the service has increased in efficiency, and expenditures have been reduced to a satisfactory degree. The increase of revenue during the year was \$2,358,181.10, or 6.9 per cent., the total receipts amounting to \$143,382,243.4. The expenditures were \$141,024,062.34, an increase of about nine per cent. over the preceding fiscal year. Large as this increase of the current revenue, included in these expenditures was a total appropriation of \$12,856,637.35 for the continuation and extension of the rural free delivery service, which was an increase of \$4,902,257.55 over the amount expended for this purpose in the preceding fiscal year. Large as this expenditure has been, the beneficial results attained in extending the free distribution of mails to the residents of rural districts have justified the wisdom of the outlay. Statistics brought down to the list of October 1, 1904, show that there are now 2,138 rural routes established, serving approximately 12,000,000 of people in rural districts remote from post offices, and that here were pending at that time 3,500 petitions for the establishment of new rural routes. Unquestionably some part of the general results of the rural free delivery service has afforded. The revenues have also been aided greatly by amendments in the classification of mail matter, and the curtailment of abuses of the second-class mailing privilege. The average increase in the volume of mail matter for the period beginning with 1902 and ending June, 1904 (that portion for 1904 being estimated), is 10.47 per cent., as compared with 25.46 per cent. for the period immediately preceding immediately preceding.

National Quarantine Law. It is desirable to enact a proper national quarantine law. It is an undesirable condition that a state should on its own initiative enforce quarantine regulations which are in effect a restriction upon interstate and international commerce. The question should properly be assumed by the government alone. The urgent need of a national public health and marine hospital service has repeatedly and convincingly set forth the need for such legislation.

Currency. The attention of the congress should be especially given to the currency question, and that the standing committees on the matter in the two houses charged with the duty, take the lead. Every citizen should be assured that it is not possible to secure an agreement in the business world for bettering the system; the committees should consider the question of the retirement of the greenbacks and the problem of securing in our currency such elasticity as is necessary for a good currency. Every dollar should be made by law redeemable in gold at the option of the holder.

Merchant Marine. I especially commend to your immediate attention the encouragement of our merchant marine by appropriate legislation. On the tariff I shall communicate with you later. There is no danger of having too many immigrants of the right kind. It makes no difference from what country they come, if they are sound in body and in mind, and above all, if they are of good character, and that we can rest assured that their children and grandchildren will be worthy fellow citizens of our children and grandchildren, then we should welcome them with cordial hospitality. The citizenship of this country should not be debased. It is vital that we should keep high the standard of well-being among our wage workers, and therefore we should not admit masses of men whose standards of living and whose personal customs and habits are such that they tend to lower the level of our civilization. Every dollar should be made by law redeemable in gold at the option of the holder.

connected with irrigation. The large problems have been solved and it now remains to execute with care, economy and thoroughness the work which has been laid out. All important details are being carefully considered by boards of consulting engineers, selected for their thorough knowledge and practical experience. Each project is taken up on the ground by competent men and viewed from the standpoint of the creation of prosperous communities by providing for the treasury the cost of construction. The reclamation act has been found to be remarkably complete and effective, and so broad in its provisions that a wide range of undertakings has been possible under it. At the same time, economy is guaranteed by the fact that the funds must ultimately be returned to be used over again.

Forests. It is the cardinal principle of the forest-reserve policy of this administration that the reserves are for use. Whatever interests are of special importance should be avoided by every possible means. But these resources must be used in such a way as to make them permanent.

The forest policy of the government is just now a subject of vivid public interest. It touches the west and the people of the United States in general. The forest reserves themselves are of extreme value to the present as well as to the future welfare of all the western public-land states. They powerfully affect the use and disposal of the public lands in respect of a most important because they preserve the water supply and the supply of timber for domestic purposes, and so promote settlement under the reclamation act. Indeed, they are essential to the welfare of every one of the great interests of the west.

Although the wisdom of creating forest reserves is nearly everywhere heartily recognized, yet in a few localities there has been misunderstanding and complaint. The following statement is therefore desirable: The forest-reserve policy can be successful only when it has the full support of the people of the west. It cannot safely, and should not in any case, be imposed upon them against their will. Neither can we accept the view of those who would the enactment of a law temporary, who are anxious to reap what they have not sown and then move away, leaving desolation behind them. On the contrary, it is everywhere and always the interest of the permanent settler and the farmer to have the land under cultivation with a stake in the country, which must be considered and which must decide.

I have repeatedly called attention to the confusion which exists in government forest matters because the work is divided among three independent organizations. The United States is the only one of the great nations in which the forest work of the government is not concentrated under one department, in consonance with the plainest dictates of good sense and common sense. The present arrangement is bad from every point of view. Merely to mention it is to prove that it should be terminated at once. As I have repeatedly recommended, all the forest work of the government should be concentrated in one department of agriculture, where the larger part of that work is already done, where practically all of the trained foresters of the government are employed, where chiefly in Washington there is comprehensive first-hand knowledge of the work, and where the resources are gathered, and where all the sciences auxiliary to forestry are at hand for prompt and effective cooperation.

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a curse to our government; and it is the affair of every honest voter, whether born, to see that no fraudulent voting is allowed, that no fraud in connection with naturalization is permitted.

Naturalization Laws Need Revision. There should be a comprehensive revision of the naturalization laws. The courts having power to naturalize should be defined by national authority; the testimony upon which naturalization may be conferred should be definitely prescribed; publication of impending naturalization applications should be required in advance of the hearing in court; the form and content of certificates issued should be uniform throughout the country, and the courts should be required to make returns to the secretary of state at stated periods of the number of naturalizations conferred.

Not only are the laws relating to naturalization now defective, but those relating to citizenship of the United States ought also to be made the subject of a further inquiry with a view to probable further legislation. By what act citizenship may be assumed to have been conferred, how long an alien citizen may reside abroad and receive the protection of our passport, whether any degree of protection should be extended to one who has made the declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States but has not yet been naturalized, are questions of serious import, involving personal rights and often producing friction between this government and foreign governments. Yet upon these questions our laws are silent. I recommend that an examination be made into the subject of citizenship, expatriation and protection of Americans abroad, with a view to appropriate legislation.

Protection of Elections. The power of the government to protect the integrity of the elections of its own officials is inherent and has been recognized and affirmed by repeated declarations of the supreme court. There is no enemy of free government more dangerous and none so insidious as the corruption of the electorate. No one defends or excuses corruption, and it would seem to follow that none would vigorously measure to eradicate it. I recommend the enactment of a law directed against bribery and corruption in federal elections. The details of such a law may be safely left to the wise discretion of the congress, but it should go as far as under the constitution it is possible to go, and should include the penalties against him who gives or receives a bribe intended to influence his act or opinion as an elector; and provisions for the publication not only of the expenditures for nominations and campaigns, but also of the names of all contributions received and expenditures made by political committees.

Our Foreign Policy. In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this great nation should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the army and the navy, and the congress, through which the thought of the nation is expressed, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, save as conditioned upon the attitude we are willing to take toward our army, and especially toward our navy. It is not merely unwise, it is contemptible, for a nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous, and then to refuse to provide the force. If there is no intention of providing and of keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is far better not to assume such an attitude.

Striving for World Peace. The steady aim of this nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyranny and oppression are many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion at the demand that they should defend themselves, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. The peace of tyrannical oppression, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness, when each nation is merely safeguarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our duty is to fight for the cause of righteousness. If righteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right cannot be divorced. One of our great problems is well and rightly in the hands of our courts. Neither does it tarry long in the hands of those too slothful, too dishonest or too unintelligent to understand the difference between right and wrong, or to guard against our own selfish or thoughtless shortcomings.

Not Ready for Disarmament. If these self-evident truths are kept before us, and only if they are so kept before us, we shall have a clear idea of what our foreign policy in its largest aspects should be. In our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we should also remember that it is as much the duty of the nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual to do so. Within the nation the individual has not delegated this right to the state, that is, to the representative of the individual, and it is a maximum of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. There is as yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which the wrongdoer can be brought. Either it is necessary to suppose to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation vainly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recurrence of barbarism in one form or another. Under the circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international police; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a disarming of the American people with respect to itself and of doing good to others must have a force adequate for the work which it feels is allotted to it as its part of the general world duty. Therefore it follows

that a self-respecting, just and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavor by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions more brotherly, and indeed toward their own peoples, more responsive to the general sentiment of humane and civilized mankind; and on the other hand, that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoings of itself, to take action which in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all mankind not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil.

Second Hague Conference. We are in every way endeavoring to help on with cordial good will every movement which will tend to bring us into more friendly relations with the rest of mankind. In pursuance of this policy I shall shortly lay before the senate treaties of arbitration with all powers which are willing to enter into these treaties with us. It is not possible at this period of the world's development to agree to arbitrate all matters, but there are many matters of possible difference between us and other nations which can be thus arbitrated. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, an eminent body of international statesmen from all countries, I have asked the powers to join with this government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the work already so happily begun at The Hague may be carried some steps further toward completion. This conference is the desire expressed by the first Hague conference itself.

The Monroe Doctrine. In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the far east, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here, rather than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to the evils which are common here, than by passing resolutions about wrongdoing elsewhere. Nevertheless there are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such peculiar horror as to make it imperative for us to show our manifest duty to endeavor at least to show our disapproval of the deed and our sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifiable. There must be no effort made to remove the mote from our brother's eye, if it is not our own manifest duty to endeavor to remove the beam from our own. But in extreme cases action may be justifiable and proper. What form the action shall take must depend upon the circumstances of the case; that is, upon the degree of the atrocity and upon our power to remedy it. The cases upon which we present this appeal are of arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are necessarily very few. Yet it is not to be expected that a people like ours, which in spite of certain very obvious shortcomings, nevertheless as a whole shows by its consistent and energetic efforts to better its condition and religious liberty and of orderly government, a people among whom even the worst crime, like the crime of lynching, is never more than sporadic, so that individuals and not classes are molested in their fundamental rights; it is inevitable that such a people should desire to extend its jurisdiction to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishineff, or when it witnesses such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression as the cruelty and oppression of which the Armenians have been the victims, and which have won for them the indignity of the civilized world.

The Philippines. In the Philippine islands there has been during the past year a continuation of the steady progress which has obtained ever since our troops definitely got the upper hand of the insurgents. The Philippine people, or, to speak more accurately, the vast majority of the people, are distinguished from one another more or less sharply, who go to make up the people of the Philippine islands, contain many elements of good, and some elements which we have a right to hope stand for progress. At the same time there are elements of existing in independence at all or of building up a civilization of their own. I firmly believe that we can help them to rise higher and higher in the scale of civilization and of capacity for self-government. We have a sincere hope that in the end they will be able to stand, if not entirely alone, yet in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands. This end is not yet in sight, and it may be indefinitely postponed if our policy is not wisely directed to turn the attention of the Filipinos away from the problems of achieving moral and material prosperity of working for a stable, orderly and just government, and toward foolish and dangerous intrigues which are able to do in fact what they are as yet totally unfit.

On the other hand our people must keep steadily before their minds the fact that the justification for our stay in the Philippines must ultimately rest chiefly upon the good we are able to do in the islands. I do not overlook the fact that in the development of our interests in the Pacific ocean and along its coasts, the Philippines have played and will play an important part, and that our interests have been served in no small measure by the possession of the islands. But our chief reason for continuing to hold them must be that we ought in good faith to try to do our share of the world's work, and this particular piece of work has been imposed upon us by the results of the war itself.

For Elective Government. Within two years we shall be trying the experiment of an elective lower house in the Philippine legislature. It may be that the Filipinos will misuse this legislature, and they certainly will misuse it if they are misled by foolish persons here or there into starting an agitation for their own independence or into any factious or improper action. In such case they will do themselves no good and will stop for the time being all further effort to advance them and give them a greater share in their own government. But if the good we can do in them is self-restraint. If they show that they are capable of electing a legislature which in its turn is capable of taking a sane and efficient part in the actual work of government, they can rest assured that a full and increasing measure of recognition will be given them. Above all they should remember that their prime needs are moral and industrial, not political. It is a good thing to try the experiment of giving them a legislature; but it is a far better thing to give them schools, good roads, railroads which will enable them to get their products to market, honest courts, an honest and efficient constabulary, and all that tends to produce order, peace, fair dealing as between man and man, and the raising of intelligent industry and thrift. If they are safeguarded against oppression, and if their wants, material and spiritual, are studied intelligently and in a spirit of friendly sympathy, much more good will be done than by any effort to give them political power. Only by this means can in its own proper time and place be proper enough.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.