

THE MESSAGE OF FREEDOM BEFORE ROOSEVELT

and lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Mississippi valley brought prosperity to the Atlantic states. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent western crops from being overproduced. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in building local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people will not only prosper, but our country will be made a more important home-making in but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted by 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 reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal or local interests, but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality to be the most useful to the community 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 stain of any excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys.

Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with and tend to improve the condition of those now living on irrigated lands. We are not 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. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself, but as much cannot be said in relation to the laws relating thereto. The security and value 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 ordinary suits at law, with a few creditable exceptions the arid states have failed to provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Tax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights to water in the use of such titles or necessities and many streams have already passed into private ownership or control equivalent to ownership.

Whoever controls a stream practically controls the land it irrigates. The right to water apart from land cannot prevail without causing enduring wrong. The recognition of such ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give to the public the same rights in the control and disposal of the public water supplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify hearing it, have no proper application in arid 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. Grants of water should be made to others than users, without compensation to the public, is open to all the objections which apply to giving away perpetual franchises to the public utilities of cities. A few of the western states have already recognized this principle in their constitutions and the doctrine of perpetual state ownership of water.

The benefits which have followed the unaided development of the past justify the nation's aid and co-operation in the more difficult and important stages of the work. 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 larger development which national aid insures should, however, awaken in every arid state the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and effectiveness to that of any country in the civilized world. Nothing could be more important for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally, instead of profiting by what is already known elsewhere. We are dealing with a new and momentous question, in the present years when institutions are being formed which we do 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 the new industry the most desirable social and 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 of the conditions in the states, of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the nation to co-operate with the several arid states in proportion as these states by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.

of morality and of national interest which the policy should be held to have a peculiar character, 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 desire that she should follow in friendly relations with us, 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 Philippines themselves, and as an earnest of what we intend to do, we point to what we have already done. A greater degree 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 which the institutions of free government are but an 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, to the task. What has taken us fifty generations to achieve we cannot expect to do another race accomplish out of hand, especially when large portions of that race start very far behind the point which our ancestors had reached, even thirty generations ago. We must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution. Our aim is high. 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.

History may safely be challenged to show any 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. It would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity. The character of Governor Taft and of his associates and the recognition 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 Philippines without 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 Philippines it may be that 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, sincerely desirous of finding out the facts, and not less desirous of the welfare of the natives, can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone to the very verge of safety in hastening the process. To have taken a single step farther or faster in advance would have meant a disaster. Our weakness and might have been crime. We are extremely anxious that the natives shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anxious, first for their sakes, and next, because it relieves us of a great burden. There need not be a shadow of a doubt in our minds as to the wisdom of our continuing to give them all the liberty for which they are fit.

The only fear is lest in our over-anxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting reaction and a return to the state of dependence. At a given district the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not a locality fitted for self-government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases the people are not yet fit to receive it. The inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our falling to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opportunity of reaction.

Spain Troubles Ahead.

There are still troubles ahead in the islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders, who deserve no higher regard than the brigands of portions of the old world. Encouragement should be given to those who stand on the same footing as encouragement to hostile Indians 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 not make the sternest measures with the insurrecto and the ladrone.

The heartiest praise is due to large numbers of the natives of the islands for their steadfast loyalty. The Macabebs 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.

The time has come when there should be additional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the islands than to introduce industrial enterprises. Nothing would benefit them so much as throwing them open to industrial development. The connection between idleness and mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is in the interest of doing so. We must have given them the opportunity. The connection between idleness and mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is in the interest of doing so. We must have given them the opportunity. The field must be thrown open to individual enterprise, which has been

the real factor in the development of every region over which our flag has flown. It is urgently necessary that the same policy be dealing with general transportation, mining, banking, currency, homesteads and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industrial enterprise, and the commercial development which will surely follow. It should be to the people of the islands the best proof of the sincerity of our desire to aid them.

I call your attention most earnestly to the crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued from the Philippines to points in Asia. It should not be a day longer than necessary, the construction of such a cable. It is demanded not merely for commercial but for political and military considerations.

Pacific Cable.

Either the congress should immediately provide for the construction of a government cable or else an arrangement should be made by which the advantages to those accruing from a government cable should be secured to the government by contract with a private cable company.

Isthmian Canal.

No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the Isthmus connecting North and South America. Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity, and yet with view to these effects alone it would be to the last degree important for us immediately to begin its construction. It is a fact which would perhaps be most marked upon the Pacific coast and the Gulf and South Atlantic states. It would also greatly benefit other sections. It is emphatically a work which it is for the interest of the entire country to begin and carry to a successful conclusion. It is one of those great works which only a great nation can undertake with prospects of success, and which when done are not only permanent assets in the nation's material interests, but standing monuments to its constructive ability.

Canal Treaty.

I am glad to be able to announce to you that our negotiations on this subject with Great Britain, conducted on both sides in a spirit of friendliness and mutual good will and respect, have resulted in my being able to lay before the senate a treaty which if ratified will enable us to begin preparations for an isthmian canal at a time and which guarantees to this nation every right that it has ever asked in connection with the canal. In this treaty, the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty, so long recognized as inadequate to supply the base for the construction of a canal, is abrogated. It specifically provides that the United States alone shall do the work of building and assume the responsibility of safeguarding the canal and shall regulate its neutral use by all nations. There shall be equality without the guaranty or interference of any outside nation from any quarter. The signed treaty will at once be laid before the senate, and if approved the congress can then proceed to give effect to the advantages it secures by providing for the building of the canal.

Peace Conference.

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace, and this nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world, of recent years, wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples come in an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind. Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it, but more and more the civilized peoples are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights of others which will in the end, as President Monroe said, make world-wide peace possible. The peace conference at the Hague gave definite expression to this hope and belief and marked a stride toward their attainment.

This same peace conference acquiesced in our statement of the Monroe doctrine as consistent with the purposes and aims of the conference.

Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal feature of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States. Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." In other words, the Monroe doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement by any nation of the Americas, and no acquisition of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the world. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one world power at the expense of any other. It is a declaration of our policy and the burden and duty of a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere.

During the past century other influences have established themselves in the independence of the smaller states of Europe. Through the Monroe doctrine we hope to be able to safeguard like independence and secure like permanence for the lesser among the new world nations.

This doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American power, save that it in truth allows each of them to form such as it desires. In other words, it is really a guaranty of the commercial independence of the Americas. We do not ask under this doctrine for any exclusive commercial dealings with any other American state. We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power.

Our attitude in Cuba is a sufficient guaranty of our own good faith. We have not the slightest desire to secure any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors. We wish to work with them hand in hand, so that all of us may be uplifted together, and we rejoice over the good fortune of them, when we gladly help their material prosperity and political stability, and are concerned and alarmed if any of them fall into industrial or political chaos. We do not wish to see any old world military power grow up on this continent, or be compelled to become a military power, or be the peoples of the Americas can prosper best if left to work out their own salvation in their own way.

Upbuilding of Navy.

The work of upbuilding the navy must be steadily continued. It is one of the policy, foreign and domestic, of more importance than this to the honor and material welfare, and above all to the peace, of our nation in the future. Whether we desire it or not, we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than our domestic ones. Every day we are hauled down in the Philippines and Porto Rico, even if we decided not to build the isthmian canal, we should need a thoroughly trained navy of adequate size, or else be prepared definitely and for all time

to abandon the idea that our nation is among those whose gun goes down to the sea in ships. Unless our commerce is always to be carried in foreign bottoms, we must have war craft to protect it.

Inasmuch, however, as the American people have no thought of abandoning the path upon which they have entered, and expect to see the fact that the building of the isthmian canal is fast becoming one of the matters which the whole people are united in demanding, it is imperative that our navy should be put and kept in the highest state of efficiency, and should be made to answer to growing needs. So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guaranty against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a navy represents the very lightest premium for insuring peace which this nation can possibly pay.

Probably no other great nation in the world is so anxious for peace as we are. There is not a single civilized power which has anything to fear from our aggressiveness on our part. All we want is peace, and toward this end we wish to be able to secure the same respect for our rights from others which we are eager and anxious to extend to their rights in return. We are not to be treated as a subordinate, and to guarantee the safety of the American people.

Our people intend to abide by the Monroe doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the western hemisphere, and what was ever the object of making our insistence upon the Monroe doctrine anything but a subject of derision to whatever nation chooses to disregard it. We desire the peace which comes as of right to the just man armed; not the peace granted in a state of ignominy to the craven and the weakling.

It is not possible to improve a navy after war breaks out. The ships must be built and the men trained long in advance. Some auxiliary vessels can be hurried into service in the event of war, but they are better for the minor work, and a proportion of raw men can be mixed with the highly trained, their shortcomings being made good by the skill of the fellows; but the efficient fighting force of the navy when war breaks out is that which has been found almost exclusively in the war ships that have been regularly built and the officers and men who through years of faithful performance of sea duty have been trained to handle their formidable but comparatively simple armament with the highest efficiency. In the late war with Spain the ships that dealt the decisive blows at Manila and Santiago had been launched from two to fourteen years, and they were able to do as they did because the men in the rigging and on the deck, the gunners, the engine rooms had through long years of practice at sea learned how to do their duty.

Our present navy was begun in 1882. At that period our navy consisted of a collection of antiquated ships, some of which were almost as old as the place against modern war vessels as the galleys of Alcibiades and Hamlet—certainly as the ships of Tromp and Blake. Nor at that time did we have men fit to handle a modern man-of-war. Under the wise legislation of the congress and the successful administration of a succession of patriotic secretaries of the navy, belonging to both political parties, the work of upbuilding the navy went on and ships equal to any in the world of their kind were built. Peace and war were of more importance, these ships were exercised at sea singly and in squadrons until the men aboard them were able to get the best possible service out of them. The result was seen in the short war with Spain, in which our navy, with the greatest ease and cause of the infinitely greater preparedness of our navy than of the Spanish navy.

While awarding the fullest honor to the men who actually commanded and manned the ships which destroyed the Spanish sea power in the Philippines, and in giving credit to the officers and men who were the cause of the infinitely greater preparedness of our navy than of the Spanish navy.

The conditions of modern war are such as to make an infinitely heavier demand than ever before upon the individual character and capacity of the officer and the enlisted man, and to make it far more difficult for men to act together with effect. At present the fighting must be done in extended order, which means that each man must act for himself and at the same time in combination with others with whom he is not in direct contact. The old-fashioned blow and the most difficult to perfect is the rifleman who is also a skillful and daring fighter.

The proportion of our cavalry regiments has wisely been increased. The American cavalryman, trained to maneuver and fight with equal facility on foot and on horseback, is the best type of soldier for general purposes now to be found in the world. The ideal cavalryman of the present day is a man who can fight on foot as effectively as on horseback, and who is in addition unsurpassed in the care and management of his horse and in his ability to fight on horseback.

A general staff should be created. As for the present staff and supply departments, these should be filled by details from the line, the men so detailed returning after awhile to their line duties. It is very undesirable to have the senior grades of the army composed of men who have come to the positions by the mere fact of seniority. A system should be adopted by which there shall be an elimination, grade by grade, of those who seem unfit to render the best service in the next grade. Justice to the veterans of the civil war who are still in the army would seem to require that in the matter of retirement they be given by the law the same privileges accorded to their comrades in the navy.

The process of elimination of the least fit should be conducted in a manner that should render it practically impossible to apply political or social pressure on the half of any candidate, so that each man may be judged purely on his own merits. Pressure for the promotion of civil officials for political reasons is bad enough, but it is tenfold more so when applied on behalf of officers of the army and navy. Every promotion and every detail under the War Department must be made solely with regard to the good of the service and to the capacity and merit of the man himself. No pressure, political, social or personal, of any kind, will be permitted to exercise the least effect in any question of promotion or detail, and if there is reason to believe that such pressure is exercised at the instigation of the officer concerned, it will be held to militate against him. In our army we cannot afford to have rewards of any kind, save on the simple ground that those who by their own merits are entitled to the rewards get them, and that those who are peculiarly fit to do the duties are chosen to perform them.

Every effort should be made to bring the army to a constantly increasing state of efficiency. When on actual service no work should be done directly in the line of service which should be required. The paper work in the army, as in the navy, should be greatly reduced, and that which is needed for the management of the army should be done in the field. Constant care is necessary to prevent dry rot in the transportation and commissary departments.

Our army is so small and so much ac-

cept that it is very difficult to give the higher officers (as well as the lower officers and the enlisted men) a chance to practice maneuvers in mass and on a comparatively large scale. In time of need no amount of individual excellence would avail against the paralysis which would follow inability to work as a coherent whole, under skillful and daring leadership. The congress should provide means whereby it will be possible to have field exercises by at least a division of regulars, and if possible also a division of national guardsmen, once a year. These exercises might take the form of field maneuvers; or, if on the great coast or the Pacific or Atlantic seaboard, or in the region of the Great Lakes, the army corps when assembled could be marched from some inland point to some point on the water, there embarked, disembarked after a couple of days' journey at some other point, and again marched inland. Only by actual handling and providing for men in masses while they are marching, camping, embarking and disembarking, will it be possible to train the higher officers to perform their duties well and smoothly.

A great debt is owing from the public to the men of the army and navy. They should be so treated as to enable them to reach the highest point of efficiency, so that they may be able to respond instantly to any demand made upon them to sustain the interests of the nation and the honor of the flag. The individual American enlisted man is probably on the whole a more formidable fighting man than the regular of any other army. Every consideration should be shown him, and in return the highest standard of usefulness should be exacted from him. It is well worth while for the congress to consider whether the pay of enlisted men upon second and subsequent enlistments should not be increased to correspond with the increased value of the veteran soldier.

Much good has already come from the act reorganizing the army, passed early in the present year. The three prime reforms, of them of literally incalculable value, are, first, the substitution of four-year details from the line for permanent appointments in the so-called staff divisions; second, the establishment of a corps of artillery with a chief at the head; third, the establishment of a maximum and minimum limit for the army. It would be difficult to overstate the improvement in the efficiency of our army which these three reforms are making, and have in part already effected.

The reorganization provided for by the act has been substantially accomplished. The improved conditions in the Philippines are the result of the reorganization, and materially to reduce the military charge upon our revenue and to arrange the number of soldiers so as to bring this number much nearer to the minimum than to the maximum limit established by law. There is, however, need of supplementary legislation. Thorough military education must be provided, and in addition to the regular advantages of this education should be given to the officers of the national guard and others in civil life who desire intelligently to arm themselves for possible military duty. The officers should be given the chance to perfect themselves by study in the higher branches of this art. At West Point the education should be of the kind most apt to turn out men who are good in actual field service; too much stress should not be laid on mathematics, nor should proficiency therein be held to establish the right of entry to a corps d'elite. The typical American officer of the best kind need not be a good mathematician; but he must be able to master himself, to control others, and to show boldness and fertility of resource in every emergency.

Militia and Volunteers.

Action should be taken in reference to the militia and to the raising of volunteer forces. Our militia law is obsolete and antiquated. The organization and armament of the national guard of the several states, which are treated as militia in the appropriations by the congress, should be made identical with those provided for the regular forces. The obligations and duties of the guard in time of war should be carefully defined, and a system established by law under which the method of procedure of raising volunteer forces should be prescribed in advance. It is utterly impossible in the excitement and haste of impending war to do this satisfactorily if the arrangements have not been made long beforehand. Provision should be made for utilizing in the first volunteer organizations called out the training of these citizens who have already had experience under arms, and especially for the selection in advance of the officers of any force which may be raised; for careful selection of the kind necessary is impossible after the outbreak of war.

That the army is not at all a mere instrument of destruction has been shown during the last three years. In the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.

No other citizens deserve so well of the republic as the veterans, the survivors of those who saved the union. They did the one deed which if left undone would have meant that all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast prowess in the greatest crisis of our history all our annals would be meaningless and our great experiment in popular freedom and self-government a gloomy failure. Moreover, they not only left us a united nation, but they left us also as a heritage the memory of the noble deeds by which the nation was kept united. We are now indeed a nation, one in fact as well as in name;

are united in our devotion to the flag which is the symbol of national greatness and unity, and the very completeness of our union enables us all, in every part of the country, to glory in the valor shown alike by the sons of the north and the sons of the south in the times that tried men's souls. The men who in the last three years have done so well in the East and West Indies and on the mainland of Asia have shown that this remembrance is not lost. In any serious crisis the United States must rely for the great mass of its fighting men upon the volunteer soldiers who do not make a permanent profession of the military career, and whenever such a crisis arises the deathless memories of the civil war will give to Americans the lift of lofty purpose which comes to those whose fathers have stood valiantly in the forefront of the battle.

The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means that in clerical and other positions, where the duties are entirely non-political, all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his merits as he is able to show them by practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system. In other cases, as where instructors are employed, a system of registration, undoubtedly, can be widely extended. There are, of course, places where the written competitive examination cannot be applied and others where it offers by no means an ideal solution, but where under existing political conditions it is the only way to make yet the best present means of getting satisfactory results.

Advocates Merit System.

Wherever the conditions have permitted the application of the merit system in its fullest and widest sense the gain to the government has been immense. The navy yards and applications illustrate, probably better than any other practices show, the advantage, the great gain in economy, efficiency and honesty due to the enforcement of this principle.

I recommend the passage of a law which will extend the classified service to the District of Columbia, and will at least extend the law to extend it. In my judgment all laws providing for the temporary employment of clerks should hereafter contain a provision that they be selected under the civil service law.

It is important to have this system obtain at home, but it is even more important to have it applied rigidly in our insular possessions. Not an office should be filled in the Philippines or Porto Rico with any regard to the man's partisan affiliations or connections with any regard to the political, social or personal influence which he may have at his command; in short, he should be paid to absolutely nothing save the man's own character and capacity and the needs of the service.

The administration of these islands should be as wholly free from the suspicion of partisan politics as the administration of the army and navy. All that we ask from the public servant in the Philippines or Porto Rico is that he reflect honor on the country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the people who have come under it. This is all that we should ask and we cannot afford to be content with less.

The merit system is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government, and in the long run the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient.

Consular Service.

The consular service is now organized under the provisions of a law passed in 1856, which is entirely inadequate to existing conditions. The interest shown by so many commercial bodies throughout the country in the reorganization of the service is heartily commended to your attention. Several bills providing for a new consular service have in recent years been submitted to the congress, and it is based upon the just principle that appointments to the service should be made only after a practical test of the applicant's fitness, that promotions should be governed by trustworthiness, adaptability and zeal in the performance of duty, and that the tenure of office should be unaffected by partisan considerations.

The guardianship and fostering of our rapidly expanding foreign commerce, the protection of American citizens resorting to foreign countries in lawful pursuit of their affairs, and the maintenance of the dignity of the nation abroad combine to make it essential that our consuls should be men of character, knowledge and enterprise. It is true that the service is now, in the main, efficient, but a standard of excellence cannot be permanently maintained until the principles set forth in the bills heretofore submitted to the congress on this subject are enacted into law.

Lo, the Poor Indian.

In my judgment the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual, and as a member of a tribe. The general allotment act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and the individual. Under its provisions some 60,000 Indians have already become citizens of the United States. We should now break up the tribal funds, doing for them what allotment does for the tribal lands; that is, they should be divided into individual holdings. There will be a transition from the tribal to the individual.

(Continued on Seventh Page.)



You Look Sick

What makes you look that way? What's the trouble?

If your tongue is coated, if you are bilious, if your head aches, if your food rests heavy on your stomach, and if you are constipated, then the whole trouble is with your liver.

What you need is a good liver pill, a purely vegetable liver pill. You need a box of Ayer's Pills, that's what you need. These pills cure constipation, biliousness, dyspepsia, and sick headache.

"I always keep a box of Ayer's Pills on hand. There is no pill their equal for a liver regulator. Long ago I cured me of liver complaint and chronic constipation." — S. L. BRZELMAN, Columbus, Ohio.

J. C. AYER CO., Lowell, Mass.