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.

The following is a comprehensive summary of President Roosevelt's message to congress:

The president begins his first annual communication with an official announcement of the death of the late President McKinley, and a eulogy of his former chief in which he says:

"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 bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness 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 home 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 inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged."

"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 stilled in the 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 the Most High. 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."

In the same connection he makes strong recommendations as to how the nation should deal with anarchy. He urges that the preaching or teaching of anarchy be not permitted, and requests congress to enact legislation that will prevent anarchists from foreign countries landing upon our shores. He would also have the federal courts given jurisdiction over any man who kills, or attempts to kill, the president of the country, or any person who is in line for succession to the presidency. He has no fear, however, that the country will ever fall into anarchy.

"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 band 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 blacker 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."

The Trusts.

The president sees cause for congratulation for the nation in the business conditions of the present, but sees in the "tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century" a serious social problem for the present and future. He does not believe that the old laws and old customs are sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth of the present time. He does not attribute the creation of great corporate fortunes to the existence of a protective 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." In this connection he says:

"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, yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon 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."

But while he realizes existing conditions, he emphasizes the fact that congress in providing remedies must act with caution, as the men and corporations "who have built up our commerce and driven our railroads across the continent have done great good to our people, and without 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 unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests. The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy anyone 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 gulf between striking success and hopeless failure."

Another reason for caution in trust legislation which he gives "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.

"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."

He points to the fact that in the past "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 national 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."

Remedies for the Trust Evil.

But while he says the above is true, he yet sees many evils for which there should be remedies provided. Of these evils the chief is over capitalization, "because of its many baleful consequences." He says: "The conviction of the American people that the great corporations, known as trusts, are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare, is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled, and in my judgment this conviction is right."

As a remedy for these evils he says: "The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts—publicity. In the interest 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 sure remedy which we can now invoke. What further remedies are needed in the way of governmental regulation or taxation can only be determined after publicity has been obtained by process of law and in the course of 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 power 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 some 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 so conservative a state as Massachusetts in order to produce excellent results."

The president believes that it will be possible to secure the needed remedies for the trust evil under the constitution as it now exists, but if congress thinks otherwise he recommends that a constitutional amendment be submitted that will confer the power necessary.

In connection with the trusts he recommends legislation creating a cabinet officer, to be known as secretary of commerce, whose duties would be to deal with all questions concerning commerce, labor and the merchant marine.

Would Exclude the Chinese.

The message contains a strong recommendation for the reenactment at once of the present Chinese exclusion act, in which connection he says:

"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 also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever 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 any laborers 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."

He also recommends such legislation, by an amendment to the interstate commerce law, as will protect the labor of one state from competing with the prison labor of another state, and also that the government cease being a party to this competition by not purchasing goods made either by convict labor or that in which women and children are caused to work excessive hours or at night.

In the labor unions of the present he sees much that is good, in which connection he says:

"Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wageworkers when managed with forethought and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves. Finally there must also in many cases be action by the government in order to safeguard the rights and interests of all. Under our constitution there is much more scope for such action by the state and the municipality than by the nation. But on points such as those touched on above the national government can act.

"When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable prerequisite to success in the kind of national life for which we strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him. But each man must remember also that he is indeed his brother's keeper, and that while no man who refuses to walk can be carried with advantage to himself or anyone else, yet that each at times stumbles or halts, that each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him. To be permanently effective aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself, and we can all best help ourselves by joining together in the work that is of common interest to all."

The Immigration Laws.

He pronounces our present immigration laws unsatisfactory, in which connection he says "we need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a good head and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding, God-fearing members of the community." But he says:

"There should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

"The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class, but it would do what is also in point—that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion and hatred of order out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth."

The Tariff.

The president does not desire any change in the present tariff schedule except where such may be made in reciprocity treaties, and recommends the adoption of reciprocity treaties and the general policy of reciprocity as a means of opening the doors of foreign nations to our commerce, in which connection he says:

"Every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well being of the wageworker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation.

"Subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well being at home the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty support. The phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign nations. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be avoided. The customers to whom we dispose of our surplus products in the long run directly or indirectly purchase those surplus products by giving us something in return. Their ability to purchase our products should as far as possible be secured by so arranging our tariff as to enable us to take from them those products which we can use without harm to our own industries and labor or the use of which will be of marked benefit to us.

"The natural line of development for a policy of reciprocity will be in connection with those of our productions which no longer require all of the support once needed to establish them upon a sound basis, and with those others where either because of natural or of economic causes we are beyond the reach of successful competition.

"I ask the attention of the senate to the reciprocity treaties laid before it by my predecessor."

The Merchant Marine.

The president pronounces our merchant marine "discreditable to us as a nation and insignificant to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business," and says we "should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. Of this he says:

"To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products and would provide an auxiliary force for the navy. Ships work for their own countries just as railroads work for their terminal points. Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American built ships."

His recommendation on this subject is only that "our government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean."

Finances.

Under this heading the president recommends such legislation as will better safeguard against the deranging influences of commercial crises and financial panics and such as will make the currency of the country more responsive to the demands of domestic trade and commerce.

He points out the fact that the receipts from duties on imports and internal taxes exceed the expenditures of the government, but counsels against reducing the revenues so that there will be the 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."

He urges the necessity for strict economy in expenditures, but that "our national needs forbid us to be niggardly in the matter of providing whatever is actually necessary to our well-being."

Inter-State Commerce.

He points to defects, in the interstate commerce law, and recommends amendments to correct them, in which connection he says:

"Those who complain of 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 usually in favor of the large shipper, 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 commodities. Upon 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 right of concerted 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 to and open to all shippers alike. 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 must not be forgotten that our 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."

Agricultural Interests.

The president cites the forest legislation of the past and the great good of forest preserves to the people, and says they will inevitably be of still greater value. Continuing, he says:

"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 conservative use with the bureau of 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 and the men who 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."

Irrigation.

Irrigation in connection with the waste lands of the west is a question to which the president gives considerable attention, and makes strong recommendations for government assistance in reclaiming the waste lands by assisting in their irrigation and the control of water rights wherever that is possible, and of this he says:

"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.

"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 kinds and free camping grounds 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 shortsighted greed of a few."

"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 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 Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent western competition with eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful homemaking is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation."

He counsels against attempting too much at the beginning, but advises that we let experience on a small plan teach the possibilities of greater undertakings. He also cites the conditions under which the settlers of the west are attempting to build homes on these arid lands, and says:

"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. Lax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights 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 enduring wrong. 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 disposal of the 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 other 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 the 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."

The Colonies.

Considerable attention is given the colonies, and especially the Philippines. This section of the message begins by citing the needs of Hawaii and Porto Rico, of which he says:

"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 themselves till the farms they own. All our legislation for the islands should be shaped with this end in view. The well being of the average homemaker must afford the true test of the healthy development of the islands. The land policy should as nearly as possible be modeled on our homestead system."

Of Porto Rico he says the island is thriving as never before, and is being administered efficiently and honestly. He deems no legislation necessary except that concerning the public lands of the island.

He calls attention to the fact that in Cuba the independent government of the island will soon be in control, and in the same connection urges strongly the need of reciprocal trade relations with the new nation, upon which subject he says:

"In the case of Cuba 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."

For the Philippines he recommends much in the way of legislation, but again counsels caution that we go neither too far nor with too great haste. He says: "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."

He says 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."

But the idea of the president is that we cannot leave the islands at this time, of which he says: "To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such a desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity."

But he believes sufficient progress has been made along the lines under which we have been working in the islands to warrant us in passing new legislation, but in this connection he urges the need of caution. He believes the time has come when the industries of which the islands are capable should be encouraged by granting franchises for their development, and of this he says:

"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 to his interest to do so, and it is immensely to the interest of the islands that he should go in. It is therefore necessary that the congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed, so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in them and every encouragement be given to the incoming of business men of every kind.

"Not to permit this is to do a wrong to the Philippines. The franchises must be granted and the business permitted only under regulations which will guarantee the islands against any kind of improper exploitation. But the vast natural wealth of the islands must be developed, and the capital willing to develop it must be given 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 to enact suitable laws 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 will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them."

The construction of a Pacific cable is also urged, either that the government lay such a cable to connect Hawaii and the Philippines, or that an arrangement be made by which the advantages accruing from a government cable may be secured to the government by contract with a private cable company. This he deems necessary for both commercial, political and military considerations.

The Isthmian Canal.

He calls attention to the need of an isthmian canal, and says:

"Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity, and yet with a view to these effects alone it would be to the last degree important for us immediately to begin it. While its beneficial effects 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 complete as soon as possible; 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."

Of the new treaty recently concluded with England he says: "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 any 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 and maintenance of a necessarily American ship canal, is abrogated. It specially 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 on terms of equality without the guarantee 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 us by providing for the building of the canal."

The Monroe Doctrine.

The president sets forth the objects of the Monroe doctrine, and the spirit in which it has been received by other countries, and in connection with it says this nation has not the slightest desire to acquire any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors, and cites our attitude toward Cuba as a guarantee of our good faith. He says also that "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." That "we do not ask for any exclusive commercial treaty with any other American state." He says of this:

"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 78 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 non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in nowise intended as hostile to any nation in the old world. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one new world power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere."

The Navy.

The president urges the continued upbuilding of the navy as a means of performing our international duties as well as a protection and safeguard for our international rights. He urges that our place as a first-class power necessitates the building and maintenance of a navy in keeping with our place among the nations of the world, and says:

"So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly-trained navy is the best guarantee 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."

He recommends both the construction of more ships and the addition of more officers and men as absolutely necessary, and says:

"There should be no cessation in the work of completing our navy. So far ingenuity has been wholly unable to devise a substitute for the great war craft whose hammering guns beat out the mastery of the high seas. It is unsafe and unwise not to provide this year for several additional battleships and heavy armored cruisers, with auxiliary and lighter craft in proportion. For the exact number and character I refer you to the report of the secretary of the navy. But there is something we need even more than additional ships, and this is additional officers and men. To provide battleships and cruisers and then lay them up, with the expectation of leaving them unmanned until they are needed in actual war, would be worse than folly. It would be a crime against the nation.

"To send any warship against a competent enemy unless those aboard it have been trained by years of actual sea service, including incessant gunnery practice, would be to invite not merely disaster, but the bitterest shame and humiliation. Four thousand additional seamen and a thousand additional marines should be provided, and an increase in the officers should be provided by making a large addition to the classes at Annapolis. There is one small matter which should be mentioned in connection with Annapolis. The pretentious and unmeaning title of 'naval cadet' should be abolished; the title of 'midshipman,' full of historic association, should be restored.

"We now have 17 battleships appropriated for, of which nine are completed and have been commissioned for actual service. The remaining eight will be ready in from two to four years, but it will take at least that time to recruit and train the men to fight them. It is of vast concern that we have trained crews ready for the vessels by the time they are commissioned. Good ships and good guns are simply good weapons, and the best weapons are useless save in the hands of men who know how to fight with them. The men must be trained and drilled under a thorough and well-planned system of progressive instruction, while the recruiting must be carried on with still greater vigor. Every effort must be made to exact the main function of the officer—the command of men. The leading graduates of the naval academy should be assigned to the combatant branches, the line and marines."

The Army.

No increase in the regular army is deemed necessary at this time, but there are several changes in that branch of the government service which the president recommends to congress. Chief of these is the establishment of a staff department, and of this he says:

"A general staff should be created. As for the general staff and supply departments, they 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 fill 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 retirements they be given by law the same privileges accorded to their comrades in the navy."

Another recommendation which the president makes in connection with the army is for the reduction of the "paper work" of the service, known to the public as "red tape." Of this he says:

"Every effort should be made to bring the army to a constantly increasing state of efficiency. When on actual service, no work save that directly in the line of such service should be required. The paper work in the army, as in the navy, should be greatly reduced. What is needed is proved power of command and capacity to work well in the field. Constant care is necessary to prevent dry rot in the transportation and commissary departments."

He also urges the enactment of legislation in connection with the militia and national guard forces of the nation that they may be better fitted for active service in time of war, and says:

"Our militia law is obsolete and worthless. 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 those 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."

He praises the veterans of the civil war, the war with Spain and those who have rendered the nation valiant service in the Indian uprisings of the west and in the Philippines, and counsels continued liberality in the nation's dealing with them.

The Civil Service.

He recommends the enactment of legislation that will place under the rulings of the merit system many classes of employes not now governed by it. His recommendation for this is as follows:

"I recommend the passage of a law which will extend the classified service to the District of Columbia or will at least enable the president thus 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."

He also wishes the merit system to obtain in the government service in the colonies, and says:

"Not an office should be filled in the Philippines or Porto Rico with any regard to the man's partisan affiliations or services, with any regard to the political, social or personal influence which he may have at his command. In short, heed 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 his country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the peoples who have come under it. This is all that we should ask, and we cannot afford to be content with less."

Other Recommendations.

Among other recommendations which the president makes are those asking for legislation that will improve the consular service along lines outlined in bills introduced at previous sessions, and he says that: "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."

He believes the time has arrived when the Indian should cease to be treated as a member of a tribe, but as an individual, and recommends breaking up the tribal funds, putting a stop to the indiscriminate permission to Indians to lease their allotments and stopping the ration system. He recommends also the establishment of an industrial educational system, and an endeavor to encourage the Indians to become cattle raisers rather than agriculturists where their lands are unsuited to the latter.

He recommends liberal appropriations for the Louisiana Purchase exposition and an appropriation covering expenses incurred by the Charleston exposition in removing government exhibits from the Buffalo exposition to that at Charleston.

Another of his recommendations is for a permanent census bureau, as it would insure better, cheaper and more satisfactory work in the interest of business, statistics, economic and social science.

The Postal Service.

He calls attention to the growth of the postal system and to the fact that the annual deficit in this department of the government service has been reduced to the small sum of $3,923,727. This, he says, could further be increased and possibly a surplus shown but for the fact that many publications are now securing the pound rate as second-class mail matter which are not entitled to the same under the law. Of this he says:

"The full measure of postal progress which might be realized has long been hampered and obstructed by the heavy burden imposed on the government through the intrenched and well-understood abuses which have grown in connection with second-class mail matter. The extent of this burden appears when it is stated that, while the second-class matter makes nearly three-fifths of the weight of all the mail, it paid for the last fiscal year only $4,294,445 of the aggregate postal revenue of $111,631,193. If the pound rate of postage, which produces the large loss thus entailed and which was fixed by the congress with the purpose of encouraging the dissemination of public information, were limited to the legitimate newspapers and periodicals actually contemplated by the law, no just exception could be taken. That expense would be the recognized and accepted cost of a liberal public policy deliberately adopted for a justifiable end. But much of the matter which enjoys the privileged rate is wholly outside of the intent of the law and has secured admission only through an evasion of its requirements or through lax construction. The proportion of such wrongly included matter is estimated by postal experts to be one-half of the whole volume of second-class mail. If it be only one-third or one-quarter, the magnitude of the burden is apparent. The post office department has now undertaken to remove the abuses so far as possible by a stricter application of the law, and it should be sustained in its effort."

The Chinese Difficulties.

He calls attention to the satisfactory settlement of the Chinese difficulties of last year, and this nation's part in the settlement, and says provisions have been made for insuring the future safety of the foreign representatives. Of the promises made by China he says:

"The Chinese government has agreed to participate financially in the work of bettering the water approaches to Shanghai and to Tientsin, the centers of foreign trade in central and northern China, and an international conservancy board, in which the Chinese government is largely represented, has been provided for the improvement of the Shanghai river and the control of its navigation. In the same line of commercial advantages a revision of the present tariff on imports has been assented to for the purpose of substituting specific for ad valorem duties, and an expert has been sent abroad on the part of the United States to assist in this work. A list of articles to remain free of duty, including flour, cereals and rice, gold and silver coin and bullion, has also been agreed upon in the settlement."

In conclusion, he mentions the Pan-American congress, now in session at the City of Mexico, and refers to the death of Queen Victoria and the dowager empress of Germany, which aroused the genuine sympathy of the people of this country, which sympathy was fully reciprocated by the people of both these nations upon the assassination of President McKinley.