THE MESSAGE.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

Twice in the history of the country it has been my fortune to welcome to the capital those of its citizens who, in the service of the Republic, had endured the hardships of war and had returned to their homes, not as victors, but as heroes who had striven mightily for the right and had suffered much that the right might prevail. Now, for the third time, I welcome back a body of our fellow-citizens who have undergone the perils of battle and who have come home crowned with honor. Once more I speak the words of greeting and of pride; but my voice is choked by the memory of the many brave men who fell in the fight, and by the anguish of the many homes which have been draped in mourning.

Our people have responded to the call of duty as readily in this war with Spain as they responded in the days of the Revolution and in the days of the War of 1812. Our regular army, our navy, our militia, our volunteers, have all done their full share in bringing the war to a victorious close. Our officers have shown the same dauntless courage that was shown by the officers who led the soldiers of the Republic in the days of Washington and Jackson, of Scott and Taylor, of Grant and Sherman. Our enlisted men have proved themselves the worthy compeers of the men who fought at Trenton and Chapultepec, at Vicksburg and Gettysburg. Exposed to the deadly fevers of the tropics, they have acquitted themselves like veterans inured to battle. Brought suddenly into action, they have displayed the steadiness of veterans. Fighting with new weapons, they have shown the same high soldierly qualities that were shown by those who fought with the weapons of their fathers. Physically and mentally they have proved themselves the stuff of which the soldiers of a free democracy should be made. Their officers have been chosen from among their fellows strictly on the basis of merit, and they have shown the qualities which entitle them to command. Our marine corps has upheld its old renown. Our navy has proved itself all that we hoped when we gave it the place it now occupies among the navies of the world. Indeed, the war has been a proud one for us in every way, and we have cause for thankfulness because of the results that have come from it.

Our material interests have been benefited, and our prestige among the nations has been increased. Our commerce has felt the stimulus of the new markets opened to it, and our merchant marine, which has been steadily growing, has received a fresh impetus. Our navy has been shown to be not only powerful, but well handled and well administered. Our flag has been planted in the Pacific, and it will never be hauled down. Our influence in the councils of the nations of the world has been greatly increased. We have become a factor in the settlement of the great problems of the Old World, and we have shown ourselves able to hold our own with the strongest powers when the occasion demanded. Above all, we have, as a nation, been brought into close touch with the other nations of the earth, and we have taken our place among them as a matter of right and not merely of favor. We have shown that we possess the traits which entitle us to the position of a great world power, and we have begun to exercise the influence which such a position implies.

Moreover, we have established a new standard of national honor. Our aim was high, and we have achieved it. We have shown that we could carry on a great war for the right without selfishness and without brutality. Even in the midst of strife we have been mindful of the claims of humanity and of the rights of the conquered foe. Finally, we have shown that we could conquer success without arrogance, and that we could show mercy in victory as well as valor in battle. Our aim was to secure peace, and not merely military glory, and we have won both.

Now that we have gained success, we must see to it that we make proper use of it. We must not merely feel pride in what has been done, but we must also feel the responsibility which rests upon us to show that we are worthy of the position in which we have been placed. We have duties to perform toward the people who have been liberated by our victories, and we must perform them. We have duties to perform toward the nations with which we have been brought into contact, and we must perform them. We have duties to perform toward ourselves, and we must perform them. We must show that we have the power to govern ourselves aright, and that we have the power to govern aright the islands which have come into our possession as the result of the war.

I recommend a revision of the tariff laws, both in the interest of the revenue and in the interest of our export trade. A war tariff is always an abomination, and should be changed as soon as possible when peace comes. Unless the Congress which meets in December next shall make such changes in the present tariff law as are necessary to meet the present needs of the country, it will be derelict in its duty. Our system of taxation should be so arranged as to bear as lightly as possible upon the many and to draw the proper proportion of the revenue needed from the few best able to pay. Especially should we avoid putting any tax on the necessaries of life which will bear heavily upon the poor.

I recommend a revision of the tariff laws by which reciprocal benefits shall be secured for our farmers and manufacturers. Our primary object should be our own markets, and we should take such action as will secure them. Whenever possible by treaty, we should secure the opening of the ports of other countries to our products, and wherever practicable we should negotiate commercial treaties which will materially benefit our trade with other nations. Reciprocity must be the basis of our commercial dealings with the nations which produce what we need and which need what we produce. Wherever we show a willingness to take the products of other countries on fair terms we have a right to demand that our products shall be taken in return. Reciprocity is what we should strive for in our commercial dealings with the world.

I call your attention to the present condition of our coinage and currency laws. Recent action has shown clearly the necessity of putting our currency upon a sound basis, and has proved the wisdom of the legislation which provides a definite gold reserve for the redemption of our outstanding notes. Our coinage laws should be so amended as to provide for the free coinage of both gold and silver at the present ratio, or for the coinage of gold alone, on terms which shall insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the two metals, so that a dollar coined or issued by any department of the Government shall be worth exactly as much as a dollar coined or issued by any other department. Whether we shall have gold alone, or gold and silver, as the standard money of the country, is a matter of the highest importance, and should be settled at once. Personally, I am for the gold standard pure and simple, but I am willing to leave the settlement of the matter to the people directly expressing their will at the polls.

Our present banking and currency system, based on the circulation of national bank notes, has given us a safe and sound currency, and has worked well in the past. It may be submitted to Congress whether it cannot be improved at this session. Such legislation as may be necessary to secure the better use of the deposits of the national banks should be provided. The whole matter of our banking and currency laws should be examined by a commission of practical business men, who should report to the Congress the changes necessary in order to secure the most perfect system of banking, currency and coinage.

The collection of the revenue should be so systematized as to make it cost the least possible proportion to the amount collected. Our present methods are extravagant and inefficient, and should be improved. Our civil service law should be thoroughly enforced, and extended wherever practicable. Our consular service should be put entirely upon a business basis. Finally, the whole business of the Government should be conducted with the most rigid economy consistent with honesty and efficiency. Every dollar unnecessarily wasted means that the dollar honestly earned by the toil of the people has been worse than squandered.

The Congress which meets in December next will be the first Congress to assemble after the conclusion of peace with Spain. It will be charged with the solemn duty of taking such action as may be necessary on the part of the United States to secure the future welfare of the Philippines and the islands of the Pacific which belong to us. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the government of Cuba, and of seeing that the people of Cuba are enabled to establish a government which shall be free and independent in fact as well as in name. It will be charged with the duty of dealing with the territory which we have acquired in the West Indies, and of providing suitable governments for Porto Rico and for the Hawaiian Islands. It will be charged with the duty of framing a proper policy for the Philippines, and of taking such steps as may be necessary to insure the well-being and prosperity of the people of the islands, and to develop their resources in such manner as shall best subserve the interests of themselves and of the world. It will be charged with the duty of seeing that the territory which we have obtained in the West Indies shall be developed in such way as to secure the best results to the people living there, and to us as their neighbor and ultimate sovereign. It will be charged with the duty of providing a government for the Isthmian Canal, which shall be speedily begun, and which must be carried forward to completion as rapidly as possible. Panama and Nicaragua must be considered as one in this matter, and the canal must be built in such way as to secure to us the fullest control over the waterway which we have opened between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The Congress will be charged with the duty of providing for the extension of our influence among the nations of the world in such way as may be proper to secure our commercial interests. It will be charged with the duty of dealing with the labor problem in such way as to secure to the laboring man his proper reward for his work, and to establish the relations between capital and labor on a basis of permanent justice and prosperity. It will be charged with the duty of taking such steps as may be necessary to secure the people of the United States against the dangers which may arise from the combination of capital in trusts and other forms of vast aggregation. It will be charged with the duty of enacting such laws as may be necessary to secure the proper restriction of immigration. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma into the Union as States. It will be charged with the duty of taking such steps as may be necessary to secure the admission of the Territories of Alaska and the Indian Territory into the Union as States, and of providing for the admission of the Territories of Utah and New Mexico into the Union as States when they shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Hawaii into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Porto Rico into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population, or sooner if it is the wish of the people of Porto Rico. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Alaska into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Oklahoma into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Indian Territory into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of New Mexico into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. It will be charged with the duty of providing for the admission of the Territory of Arizona into the Union as a State when it shall have the requisite population. In the meantime it will be charged with the duty of providing a proper government for all these Territories and islands.

To perform these various duties wisely and well will require the utmost watchfulness and care, the sanest patriotism, the most unselfish devotion to the public good. Above all, it will require the highest order of legislative ability. Problems of the most difficult character will present themselves for solution, and there will be need to approach them in a spirit free from all partisanship, and solely with a desire to do what is best in the interest of the whole people. The task before the Congress is certainly a very great one, and I am confident that it will be performed in a way to redound forever to the honor of the United States.

I call your attention to the fact that the Constitution forbids the passage of bills of attainder or ex post facto laws. This forbids the passage of a law depriving a man of property without due process of law, or condemning him without trial. Under this provision it seems to me that it is clearly our duty to provide in some proper way for the claims of our loyal citizens against Spain for the destruction of their property by our troops in the course of the war. I do not think that the United States should assume the responsibility for the acts of its soldiers, but I do think that we should pay our own citizens who have suffered wrong at the hands of our troops, precisely as we should pay citizens who have suffered wrong at the hands of private individuals or companies. Such payment should be made only after careful investigation of the merits of each case, and provision should be made for paying only what is just and proper under all the circumstances of the case. Where our troops have been fired upon from houses, the owners of the houses have forfeited their claim to consideration; but scrupulous care should be taken to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty. Our aim should be to treat the Spanish citizens in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines with the same high standard of justice which we intend to apply to the settlement of claims of our own citizens against Spain.

I call your attention to the necessity of making some provision for the pensioning of the widows and orphans of those who have died in the service of the country. This is a duty which should be performed promptly and generously. Pensions should be granted to all invalids who served in the army or navy during the war, and to the widows and orphans of those who died in the service, in accordance with a just and liberal scale. Our pension laws should be so framed as to provide equally for all who were entitled to receive pensions, and the present inequalities in the rates of pensions should be abolished.

I call your attention to the need of providing for the more complete defense of our coast line. Our seacoast cities should be fortified with the most modern guns, and we should have a sufficient navy to prevent the possibility of an enemy's fleet reaching our coast. Our present naval force is entirely inadequate for defensive purposes. We should have a fleet sufficiently large to enable us to meet any force which can be brought against us. Our coast cities should be connected by coast-line railroads, so that troops can be quickly moved from point to point. Our militia should be armed with the most modern weapons, and should be encouraged in every way to keep up its efficiency. Provision should be made for the speedy completion of the new warships now on the stocks, and for the construction of a sufficient number of colliers and transports to render our fighting force available for use in any part of the world.

I call your attention to the necessity of providing for the construction of a Pacific cable. Such a cable is imperatively demanded by our present needs. Our people have a right to demand that the Government shall make every effort to secure the establishment of such a cable, and I trust that the Congress will not hesitate to make the necessary appropriation for the purpose.

I call your attention to the necessity of providing for the reorganization of the militia system of the country. Our militia is in many respects excellent, and in time of war it is relied upon to furnish the bulk of the forces which are not regulars. But it is defective in many ways, and it is to the interest of the country that it should be put on a footing of the highest efficiency. Provision should be made for securing a more complete organization, for better drill, and for more frequent encampments. The militia should be armed with the best modern weapons, and should be provided with the most modern artillery. Provision should be made for securing officers who are competent for their duties. Finally, provision should be made for securing the services of the militia in time of war, by draft if necessary, in such way as to distribute the burden of service as equally as possible among the able-bodied men of the country.

I call your attention to the necessity of providing for the more complete defense of our harbors. Our present system of coast defense is utterly inadequate, and should be speedily remedied. Our harbors should be fortified with the most modern guns, and should be supplied with submarine mines and torpedoes. Our sea-