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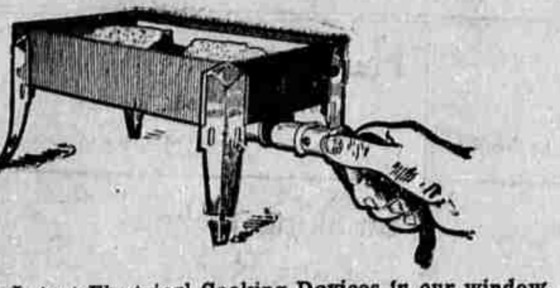

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LAST MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

(Continued from Page Two)

congress should deal at this session. There should no longer be any paltering with the question of taking care of the wage workers who, under our present industrial system, become crippled, killed or worn out as a part of the regular incidents of a given business. The majority of the wage workers must have their rights secured for them by state action, but the national government should legislate in thorough-going and far-reaching fashion not only for all employes of the national government, but for all persons engaged in interstate commerce. The object sought for could be achieved to a measurable degree, as far as those killed or crippled are concerned, by proper employers' liability laws. As far as concerns those who have been worn out, I call your attention to the fact that definite steps toward, providing old-age pensions have been taken in many of our private industries. These may be indefinitely extended through voluntary association and contributory schemes, or through the agency of savings banks, as under the recent Massachusetts plan. To strengthen these practical plans should be our immediate duty; it is not at present necessary to consider the larger and more general governmental schemes that most European governments have found themselves obliged to adopt.

Our present system, or rather no system, works dreadfully wrong, and is of benefit to only one class of people, the lawyers. When a workman is injured what he needs is not an expensive and doubtful lawsuit, but the certainty of relief through immediate administrative action. The number of accidents which result in death or crippling of wage workers in the Union at large is simply appalling; in a very few years it runs up a total far in excess of the dead and wounded in any modern war. No academic theory about "freedom of contract" or "constitutional liberty to contract" should be permitted to interfere with this and similar movements. Progress in civilization has everywhere meant a limitation and regulation of contract. I call your especial attention to the bulletin of the bureau of labor which gives a statement of the methods o ftreating the unemployed in European countries, as this is a subject which in Germany, for instance, is treated in connection with making provision for worn out and crippled workmen.

The Courts

I most earnestly urge upon the congress the duty of increasing the totally inadequate salaries now given to our judges. On the whole there is no body of public servants who do as valuable work, nor whose moneyed reward is so inadequate compared to their work. Beginning with the supreme court the judges should have their salaries doubled. It is not befitting the dignity of the nation that its most honored public servants should be paid sums so small compared with what they would earn in private life that the performance of public service by them implies an exceedingly heavy pecuniary sacrifice.

It is earnestly to be desired that some method should be devised for doing away with the long delays which now obtain in the administration of justice, and which operate with peculiar severity against persons of small means, and favor only the very criminals whom it is desired to punish. These long delays in the final decisions of cases make in the aggregate a crying evil, and a remedy should be devised. Much of this intolerable delay is due to improper regard paid to technicalities which are a mere hindrance to justice. In some noted cases this over-regard for technicalities has resulted in a striking denial of justice, and flagrant wrong to the body politic.

At the last election certain leaders organized labor made a violent and sweeping attack upon the entire judiciary of the country, an attack couched in such terms as to include the most upright, honest and broad-minded judges, no less those of narrower mind and more restricted outlook. It was the kind of attack admirably fitted to prevent any successful attempt at reform abuses of the judiciary, because it gave the champions of the unjust judge their eagerly desired opportunity to shift their ground into a championship of just judges who were unjustly assailed. Last year, before the house committee on judiciary, these same labor leaders formulated their demands, specifying the bill that contained them, refusing all compromise, stating they wished the principle of that bill or nothing. They insisted on a provision that in a labor dispute no injunction should issue except to protect a property right, and specifically provided that the right to carry on business should not be construed as a property right; and in a second provision their bill made legal in a labor dispute any act or agreement by or between two or more persons that would not have been unlawful if done by a single person. In other words, this bill legalized black listing and boycotting in every form, legalizing, for instance, those forms of the secondary boycott which the anthracite coal strike commission so unreservedly condemned; while the right to carry on a business was explicitly taken out from under that protection of law thrown over property. The demand was made that there should be trial by jury in contempt cases, thereby seriously impairing the authority of the courts. All this represented a course of policy which, if carried out, would mean the enthronement of class privilege in its crudest and most brutal form, and the destruction of one of the most essential functions of the judiciary in all civilized lands.

The violence of the crusade for this legislation, and its complete failure, illustrate two truths which it is essential our people should learn. In the first place, they ought to teach the workingman, the laborer, the wage worker, that by demanding what is improper and impossible he plays into the hands of his foes. Such a crude and vicious attack upon the courts, even if it were temporarily successful, would inevitably in the end cause a violent reaction and would band the great mass of citizens together, forcing them to stand by all the judges, competent and incompetent alike, rather than see the wheels of justice stopped. A movement of this kind can ultimately result in nothing but damage to those in whose behalf it is nominally undertaken. This is a most healthy truth, which it is wise for our people to learn. Any movement based upon that class hatred which at times assumes the name of "class consciousness," is certain to ultimately fail, and if it temporarily succeeds, to do far-reaching damage. "Class conscience," which is merely another name for the odious vice of class selfishness, is equally noxious whether it is in an employers' association or in a workingman's association. The movement in question was one in which the appeal was made to all workingmen to vote primarily, not as American citizens, but as individuals of a certain class of society. Such an appeal in the first place revolts the more high-minded and far-sighted among the persons to whom it is addressed, and in the second place tends to arouse a strong antagonism among all other classes of citizens, and it therefore tends to unite them against the very organization in whose behalf it is issued. The result is therefore unfortunate from every standpoint. This healthy truth, by the way, will be learned by the Socialists if they ever succeed in establishing in this country an important national party based on such class consciousness and selfish class interest.

The wage workers, the laboring men of the country, by the way in which they repudiated the effort to get them to cast their votes in response to an appeal to class hatred, have emphasized their sound patriotism and Americanism. The whole country has cause to feel pride in this attitude of sturdy independence, this uncompromising insistence upon acting simply as good citizens, as good Americans, without regard to fancied—and improper—class interests. Such an attitude is an object lesson in good citizenship to the entire nation.

But the extreme reactionaries, the persons who blind themselves to the wrongs now and then committed upon the laboring men by the courts, should also think seriously as to what such a movement as this portends. The judges who have shown themselves able and willing effectively to check the dishonest activity of the very rich man who works iniquity by the mismanagement of corporations, who have shown themselves alert to do justice to the wage worker, and sympathetic with the needs of the mass of our people, so that the dweller in the tenement houses, the man who practices a dangerous trade, the man crushed by excessive hours of labor, feel that their needs are understood by the courts—these judges are the real bulwark of the courts; these judges, the judges of the stamp of the President-elect, who have been fearless in opposing labor when it has gone wrong, but fearless also in holding to strict account corporations that work iniquity, and far-sighted in seeing that the workingman get his rights, are the men of all others to whom we owe it that the appeal for such violent and mistaken legislation has fallen on deaf ears, that the agitation for its passage proved to be without substantial basis. The courts are jeoparded primarily by the action of these federal and state judges who allow inability or unwillingness to put a stop to the wrongdoing of very rich men under modern industrial conditions, and inability or unwillingness to give relief to men of small means of wage workers who are crushed down by these modern industrial conditions, who, in other words, fail to understand and apply the needed remedies for the new wrongs produced by the new and highly complex social and industrial civilization which has grown up in the last half century.

* * * * * * * *

The courts hold a place of peculiar and deserved sanctity under our form of government. Respect for the law is essential to the permanence of our institutions; and respect for the law is largely conditioned upon respect for the courts. It is an offense against the republic to say anything which can weaken this respect, save for the gravest reason and in the most carefully guarded manner. Our judges should be held in peculiar honor, and the duty of respectful and truthful comment and criticism, which should be binding when we speak of anybody, should be especially binding when we speak of them. On an average they stand above any other servants of the community, and the greatest judges have reached the high level held by those few greatest patriots whom the whole country delights to honor. But we must face the fact that there are wise and unwise judges, just as there are wise and unwise executives and legislators. When a president or a governor behaves improperly or unwisely, the remedy is easy, for his term is short, and the same is true with the legislator, although not in the same degree, for he is one of many who belong to some given legislative body, and it is therefore less easy to fix his personal responsibility and hold him accountable therefor. With a judge, who, being human, is also likely to err, but whose tenure is for life, there is no similar way of holding him to responsibility. Under ordinary conditions the only forms of pressure to which he is in any way amenable are public opinion and the action of his fellow judges. It is the last which is most immediately effective, and to which we should look for the reform of abuses. Any remedy applied from without is fraught with risk. It is far better, from every standpoint, that the remedy should come from within. In no other nation in the world do the courts wield such vast and far-reaching power as in the United States. All that is necessary is that the courts as a whole should exercise this power with the far-sighted wisdom already shown by those judges who scan the future while they act in the present. Let them exercise this great power not only honestly and bravely, but with wise insight into the needs and fixed purposes of the people, so that they may do justice and work equity, so that they may protect all persons in their rights, and yet break down the barriers of privilege, which are the foes of right.

Forests

If there is any one duty which more than another we owe it to our children to perform at once, it is to save the forests o fthis country, for they constitute the first and most important element in the conservation of the natural resources of the country. There are of course two kinds of natural resources. One is the kind which can only be used as a part of a process of exhaustion, and this is true of mines, natural oil and gas wells, and the like. The other, and of course ultimately far more important, includes the resources which can be improved in the process of wise use, the soil, the rivers, and the forests come under this head. Any really civilized nation will so use all three of these great national assets that the nation will have their benefit in the future. Just as a farmer, after all his life making his living from the farm, will, if he is an expert farmer, leave it as an asset of increased value to his son, so we should leave our national domain to our children, increased in value and not worn out. There are small sections of our country, in the East and Middle West, in the Adirondacks, the White Mountains and the Appalachians, and in the Rocky Mountains, where we can already see for ourselves the damage in the shape of permanent injury to the soil and the river systems which comes from reckless deforestation. It matters not whether this deforestation is due to the actual reckless cutting of timber, to the fires that inevitably follow such reckless cutting of timber, or to reckless and uncontrolled grazing, especially by the great migratory bands of sheep, the unchecked wanderings of which over the country means destruction to forests and disaster to the small home makers, the settlers of limited means.

Short-sighted persons, or persons blinded to the future by desire to make money in every way out of the present, sometimes speak as if no great damage would be done by the reckless destruction of our forests. It is difficult to have patience with the arguments of these persons. Thanks to our own recklessness in the use of our splendid forests we have already crossed the verge of a timber famine in this country, and no measures that we can now take can, at least for many years, undo the mischief that has already been done. But we can prevent further mischief being done, and it would be in the highest degree reprehensible to let any consideration of temporary convenience or temporary cost interfere with such action, especially as regards the national forests which the nation can now, at this very moment, control.

All serious students of the question are aware of the great damage that has been done in the Mediterranean countries of Europe, Asia and Africa by deforestation. The similar damage that has been done in Eastern Asia is less well known. A recent investigation into conditions in North China by Frank N. Meyer, of the bureau of plant industry o fthe United States department of agriculture, has incidentally furnished in very striking fashion proof of the ruin that comes from reckless deforestation of mountains, and of the further fact that the damage once done may prove practically irreparable. So important are these investigations that I herewith atack as an appendix to my message certain photographs showing present conditions in China. They show in vivid fashion the appalling desolation, taking the shape of barren mountains and gravel and sand-covered plains, which immediately follow and depend upon the deforestation of the mountains. Not many centuries ago the country of Northern China was one of the most fertile and beautiful spots in the entire world, and was heavily forested. We know this not only from Chinese records, but from accounts given by t teh rvaelerM, 78908.. ETAOIN en by the traveler. As an illustration of the complete change in the rivers we may take Polo's statement that a certain river, the Hun Ho, was so large and deep that merchants ascended it from the sea with heavily laden boats; today this river is simply a broad, sandy bed, with shallow rapid currents wandering hither and thither across it, absolutely unnavigable.

The lesson of deforestation in China is a lesson which mankind should have learned many times already from what has occurred in other places. Denudation leaves naked soil, then gullying cuts down to the bare rock, and meanwhile the rock-waste buries the bottom lands. When the soil is gone, men must go, and the process does not take long.

In Northern China this disastrous process has gone on so long and has proceeded so far that no complete remedy could be applied. There are certain mountains in China from which the soil is gone so utterly that only the slow action of the ages could again restore it.

What has happened in Northern China, what has happened in Central Asia, in Palestine, in North Africa, in parts of the Mediterranean countries of Europe, will surely happen in our country if we do not exercise that wise forethought which should be one of the chief marks of any people calling itself civilized.

Inland Watterways

Action should be begun forthwith during the present session of the congress, for the improvement of our inland waterways—action which will result in not only giving us navigable rivers but navigated rivers. We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on these waterways, yet the traffic on nearly all of them is steadily declining. This condition is the direct result of the absence of any comprehensive and far-seeing plan of waterway improvement. Obviously we cannot continue thus to expend the revenues of the government without return. It is poor business to spend money for inland navigation unless we get it.

National Parks

I urge that all our National parks adjacent to the National forests be placed completely under the control of the forest service of the agricultural department, instead of leaving them as they now are, under the interior department and policed by the army. The congress should provide for superintendents with adequate corps of first-class civilian scouts, or rangers, and further, place the road construction under the superintendent instead of leaving it to the war department. Such a change in park management would result in economy and avoid the difficulties of administration which now arise from having the responsibility of care and protection divided by different departments.

I am happy to say that I have been able to set apart in various sections of the country small, well-chosen tracts of ground to serve as sanctuaries and nurseries for wild animals.

Denatured Alcohol

I had occasion in my message of May 4, 1906, to urge the passage of some law putting alcohol, used in the arts, industries and manufactures upon the free list; that is, to provide for the withdrawal free of tax of alcohol which is to be denatured for that purpose. is to be denatured for these purposes. The law of June 7, 1906, and its amendment of March 2, 1907, accomplished what was desired in that respect, and the use of denatured alcohol is making a fair degree of progress.

Indian Service

It has been my purpose from the beginning of my administration to take the Indian service completely out of the atmosphere of political activity, and there has been steady progress toward that end. The last remaining stronghold of politics in that service was the agency system, which had seen its best days and was gradually falling to pieces from natural or purely evolutionary causes. It seems clear that its final extinction had better be made now. On November 1 only eighteen agencies were left on the roster, and with two exceptions these have been changed to superintendencies and their heads brought into the classified civil service.

Secret Service

Last year an amendment was incorporated in the measure providing for the secret service, which provided that there should be no detail from the secret service and no transfer therefrom. If deliberately introduced for the purpose of diminishing the effectiveness of war against crime it could not have been better devised to that end. The amendment in question was of benefit to no one except criminals, anr it seriously hampers the government in the detection of crime and the securing of justice. It forbids the secretary of the treasury from preventing frauds upon the customs service, from investigating irregularities in branch mints and assay offices, and has seriously crippled him. In its present form the restriction operates only the advantage of the criminal, of the wrong doer.

Postal Savings Banks

I again renew my recommendation for postal savings banks, for depositing savings with the security of the government behind them. The object is to encourage thrift and economy in the wage earner and person of moderate means. In fourteen states the deposits in savings banks as reported by the comptroller of the currency amount to $3,590,245,402, or 98.4 per cent of the entire deposits, while in the remaining 32 states there are only $70,308,543, or 1.6 per cent, showing conclusively that there are many localities in the United States where sufficient opportunity is not given to the people to deposit their savings. The result is that money is kept in hiding and unemployed. It is believed that in the aggregate vast sums of money would be brought into circulation by means of the postal savings banks.

Parcels Post

In my last annual message I recommended for an extension of the parcel post on the rural routes. The establishment of a local parcel post on rural routes would be or mutual benefit to the farmer and the country storekeeper, and it is desirable that the routes, serving more than 15,000,000 people, should be utilized to the fullest practicable extent. An amendment was proposed in the senate at the last session, at the suggestion of the postmaster-general, providing that, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of establishing a special local parcel post system on the rural routes throughout the United States the postmaster-general be directed and authorized to experiment and report to the congress the result of such experiment by establishing a special local parcel post system on rural delivery routes in not to exceed four counties in the United States for packages of fourth-class matter originating on a rural route or at the distributing post office for delivery by rural carriers.

Statehood

I advocate the immediate admission of New Mexico and Arizona as states. This should be done at the present session of congress. The people of the two territories have made it evident by their votes that they will not come in as one state. The only alternative is to admit them as two, and I trust this will be done without delay.

International Fisheries

I call the attention of congress to the importance of the problem of the fisheries in the interstate waters. On the Great Lakes we are now, under the very wise treaty of April 11th of this year, endeavoring to come to an international agreement for the preservation and satisfactory use of the fisheries of these waters which can not otherwise be achieved. Lake Erie, for example, has the richest fresh water fisheries in the world; but it is now controlled by the statutes of two nations, four states and one province, and in this province by different ordinances in different counties. All these political divisions work at cross purposes, [illegible] and in no case can they achieve [illegible] protection to the fisheries, on the [illegible] one hand, and justice to the loc[illegible] on the oth[illegible]ities and individuals. Puget [illegible] The case is similar in [illegible] Sound.

[illegible] the problem is quite as pressing [illegible] the interstate waters of the United States. The salmon fisheries of the Columbia river are now but a fraction of what they were twenty-five years ago, and what they would be now if the United States government had taken complete charge of them by intervening between Oregon and Washington. During these twenty-five years the fishermen of each state have naturally tried to take all they could get, and the two legislatures have never been able to agree on joint action of any kind adequate in degree for the protection of the fisheries. At the moment the fishing on the Oregon side is practically closed, while there is no limit on the Washington side of any kind, and no one can tell what the courts will decide as to the very statutes under which this action and nonaction result. Meanwhile very few salmon reach the spawning grounds, and probably four years hence the fisheries will amount to nothing, and this comes from a struggle between the associated, or gill-net fishermen on the one hand, and the owners of the fishing wheels up the river.

Foreign Affairs

This nation's foreign policy is based on the theory that right must be done between nations precisely as between individuals, and in our actions for the last ten years we have in this matter proven our faith by our deeds. We have behaved, and are behaving, toward other nations, as in private life, as an honorable man would behave toward his neighbors.

Panama Canal

The work on the Panama canal is being done with a speed, efficiency and entire devotion to duty which make it a model for all work of the kind. No task of such magnitude has ever before been undertaken by any nation; and no task of the kind has ever been better performed. The men on the Isthmus, from Colonel Goethals and his fellow commissioners through the entire list of employes who are faithfully performing their duty, have won their right to the ungrudging respect and gratitude of the American people.

Ocean Mail Lines

I again recommend the extension of the ocean mail act of 1891 so that satisfactory American ocean mail lines to South America, Asia, the Philippines and Australia may be established. The creation of such mail lines should be the corollary of the voyage of the battle fleet. It should precede the opening of the Panama canal. Even under favorable conditions several years must elapse before such lines can be put in operation. Accordingly I urge that the congress act promptly where foresight already shows action sooner or later will be inevitable.

The Philippines

Real progress toward self-government is being made in the Philippine Islands. The gathering of a Philippine legislative body and Philippine assembly marks a process absolutely new in Asia, not only as regards the Asiatic colonies of European powers, but as regards Asiatic possessions of other Asiatic powers; and indeed, always excepting the striking and wonderful example afforded by the great empire of Japan, it opens an entirely new departure when compared with anything that has happened among Asiatic powers which are their own masters. Hitherto this Philippine legislature has acted with moderation and self-restraint, and has seemed in practical fashion to realize the eternal truth that there must always be government, and that the only way in which any body of individuals can escape the necessity of being governed by outsiders is to show that they are able to restrain themselves, to keep down wrong-doing and disorder. The Filipino people, through their officials, are therefore making real steps in the direction of self-government. I hope and believe that these steps will mark the beginning of a course which will continue till the Filipinos become fit to decide for themselves whether they desire to be an independent nation. But it is well for them (and well also for those Americans who during the past decade have done so much damage to the Filipino by agitation for an immediate independence for which they were totally unfit) to remember that self-government depends, and must depend, upon the Filipinos themselves. All we can do is to give them the opportunity to develop the capacity for self-government. If we had followed the advice of the foolish doctrinaires who wished us at any time during the last ten years to turn the Filipino people adrift, we should have shirked the plainest possible duty and inflicted a lasting wrong upon the Filipino people. We have acted in exactly the opposite spirit. We have given the Filipinos constitutional government; a government based upon justice; and we have shown that we have governed them for their good, and not for our aggrandizement.

Porto Rico

I again recommend that American citizenship be conferred upon the people of Porto Rico.

Cuba

In Cuba our occupancy will cease in about two months' time. The Cubans have in an orderly manner elected their own governmental authorities, and the island will be turned over to them. Our occupation on this occasion has lasted a little over two years, and Cuba th[illegible] ed and prospered under it.

National Guard

Now that the organized militia, the National Guard, has been incorporated with the army as a part of the national forces, it behooves the government to do everything in its power to perfect its efficiency. It should be assisted in its instruction and otherwise aided more liberally than heretofore. The continuous services of many well-trained regular officers will be essential in this connection. Such officers must be

[illegible]

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
The White House,
Tuesday, December 8

FIFTEEN YEARS OF KEEN SUFFERING

Rheumatism Developed Burning, Painful Sores on Legs—Tortured Day and Night—Tried All Kinds of Remedies to No Avail—Wife Had Debility and Pains in Back.

BOTH USED CUTICURA AND ARE WELL AGAIN

"My husband had been a great sufferer with rheumatism for nearly fifteen years. At first it was in his bones, but after a while it was in the flesh and finally running sores broke out on his legs, from below the knees to the ankles. There are no words to tell all the discomfort and great suffering he had to endure night and day. He used every kind of remedy and three physicians treated him, one after the other, without any good results whatever. So one day I happened to read about Cuticura Remedies. I asked him if he would not try them. 'No,' said he, 'it's no use, I've spent enough money now.' The next day I ordered five dollars' worth of Cuticura Soap, Cuticura Ointment, and Cuticura Resolvent. He began to use them without confidence but after three weeks all the sores were dried up. The burning fire stopped, and the pains became bearable. After three months he was quite well. Two years later the pains and sores came back after he had been working hard and had taken cold. But as soon as he used Cuticura again it cured him. Two years ago I used Cuticura Pills for general debility. They did me a great deal of good and made me well. Three months since I had pains in my back and Cuticura took them away, too. I can prove this testimonial at any time. Mrs. V. V. Albert, Upper Frenchville, Me., July 21, 1907."

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