

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST MESSAGE

Plain Business Address to the People of the United States With Recommendations For Our National Welfare.

GET AT FACTS IN DEALING WITH INDUSTRIAL CONSOLIDATIONS

Develop Our Islands, Guard Immigration, Increase the Navy, Improve the Army, and Extend Reciprocity.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM SHOULD MEAN SOMETHING MORE

Affectionate Eulogy of William McKinley and Strong Arraignment of Anarchy in All Its Forms and Misdeeds.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—President Roosevelt's message to Congress follows: To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Congress assembled this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist, while attending the Pan-American Exposition, at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month. Of the last seven elected Presidents he was the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly significant significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history; President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of law, order, 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 idealism with which he met his death.

Grief of the People.
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 still in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save forgiveness to his murderers, 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 idealism with which he met his death.

The Anarchist is a Malefactor.
The Federal Courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man provided by the Constitution or by law, is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt of the offense against our institutions. Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.
Restoration of Confidence and Return of Prosperity.
During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the Nation is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws. If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if food or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains not by genuine work with head or hands, but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace, not only to themselves, but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally, the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the Nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual capacity; but wise administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

Growth of Corporate Fortunes.
The growth of cities has gone beyond comparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase, not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individuals, and especially of those great corporate fortunes which have not been due to tariff nor to any other

right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Necessity of Publicity.
The most essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is the knowledge of facts—publicity. In the interest of the public, the Government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations, and to inquire into their 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.

Department of Commerce and Industries.
There should be created a Cabinet officer, to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industries, as provided in the bill introduced at the last session of the Congress. It should be his province to deal with commerce in its broadest sense; including among many other things what ever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine.

The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship for the purpose of our business interests, securing our business firm on a safe basis and making firm our new position in the international industrial world; while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of wage-worker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man in this Republic.

With the sole exception of the farming interest no one matter is of such vital importance to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-worker. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is, therefore, a matter for hearty congratulation that, on the

whole, wages are higher today 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 directed to the maintenance of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible.

Chinese Exclusion.
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 re-enact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers, and to strengthen it whenever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

The National Government should demand the highest quality of service from its employees, and in return it should be a good employer. If possible, legislation should be passed in connection with the interstate commerce law which will render effective the efforts of different states to do away with the competition of convict labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of Government work, provision should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States Government, women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work and from work under unsanitary conditions. The Government should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending, if necessary, to the subcontractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia, a good factory law should be passed; and as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provisions should be made to turn the inhabitants of the District into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals.

ward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.

Trades Unions.
The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world, has to deal, is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangled and far-reaching question which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man—wage-worker, farmer and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Second only to this comes the power of acting in combination or association with others. Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations of wage-workers, 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 scope for such action by the state and the municipality as 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 over-riding factor in the kind of a 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 must remember that each should be a comprehensive law-enforcing body, 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 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.

Better Immigration Laws Needed.
Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. 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 stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way, and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a three-fold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in 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 as an American citizen. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal



PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

class. But it would do what is also in plain, that it 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.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body, political and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies, which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

Tariff Revision Hurtful.
There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system, and a national policy. The first requisite to our prosperity is the continuity and stability of this economic policy. Nothing could be more unwise than to disturb the business interests of the country by any general tariff change at this time. Doubt, apprehension, uncertainty are exactly what we most wish to avoid in the interest of our commercial and material well-being. Our experience in the past has shown that sweeping revisions of the tariff are apt to produce conditions closely approaching panic in the business world. Yet it is not only possible, but eminently desirable to combine with the stability of our economic system, a supplementary system of reciprocal benefit and obligation with other nations. Such reciprocity is an incident and result of the firm establishment and preservation of our present economic policy. It was especially provided for in the present tariff law.

how far this is, must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that 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 wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation. The reciprocity treaties laid before it by my predecessor.

Condition of the Merchant Marine.
The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It is discreditable to us as a Nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. 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 rely on the ships of competing nations for the distributing of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages, when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of 14 knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo-carriers of slow speed and mail-carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than in the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and crews are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals.

Financial Matters.
Our Government should take such action as will remedy the inequalities of the American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean.

The act of March 14, 1900, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain at a parity with the form of the money market in use with us, has been shown to be inoperative and inefficient. The price of our Government bonds in the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations, is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain.

In many respects the National banking law furnishes sufficient security for the proper exercise of the banking function; but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the deranging influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsible to the Secretary of the Treasury considers all these questions at length, and I ask your attention to the report and recommendations.

I call special attention to the need of strict economy in expenditures. The fact that our National needs forbid us to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our well-being should make us doubly careful to husband our National resources as each of us husbands his private resources by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine.

Interstate Commerce Law.
In 1887 a measure was enacted for the regulation of interstate railways, commonly known as the interstate commerce act. The cardinal provisions of that act were that railway rates should be just and reasonable, and that all shippers, utilities and commodities should be accorded equal treatment. A commission was created and endowed with powers to be exercised by the necessary powers to execute the provisions of this act.

The act should be amended. The railway is a public servant. Its rates should be just and open to all shippers alike. The Government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is so, and should provide a speedy remedy to that end. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that our railways are the arteries through which the commercial life-blood 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. The subject is one of great importance and calls for the earnest attention of the Congress.

Department of Agriculture.
The Department of Agriculture, during the past 15 years, has steadily broadened its work on economic lines, and has accomplished results of real value in building domestic and foreign trade. It has gone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sections of our country and with two of the island groups that have lately come under our jurisdiction, whose people must look to agriculture as a livelihood. It is searching the soil for new varieties of plants, to experimental shipments, to animal industry and applied chemistry, a very practical aid has been given our farming and stock growing interests. The products of the farm have taken an unprecedented place in our export trade during the year that has just closed.

Value of the Forests.
Public opinion throughout the United States has moved steadily toward a just appreciation of the value of forests, whether planted or of natural growth. The great part played by them in the creation and maintenance of the National wealth is now more fully realized than ever before.

Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources, whether of wood, water or grass, from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people, but, on the contrary, gives the assurance of a permanent and reliable supply. The fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use. Forest protection is not an end in itself; it is a means to increase and sustain the resources of our country and the industries which depend upon them. The preservation of our forests is a necessary business necessity. We have come to see clearly that whatever destroys the forest, except to make way for

agriculture, threatens our well-being. The practical usefulness of the National forest reserves to the mining, grazing, irrigation and other interests of the regions in which the reserves have been established demand by the people of the West for their protection and extension. The forest reserves will inevitably be of still greater use in the future than in the past. Additions should be made to them whenever practicable, and their usefulness should be increased by thoroughly business-like management.

Protection of Reserves.
At present the protection of the forest reserves rests with the General Land Office, the Department of the Interior, in 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 not from every standpoint. It prevents that effective co-operation between the Government and the men who utilize the resources of the reserve, 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.

The wise administration of the forest reserves will be not less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water supply itself depends on the forest. 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 today if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital international questions of the United States.

Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them need special protection because of the great injury done by the increase in deer and other animals in the Yellowstone Park shows what may be expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been suffering from the face vegetation, and the ground is being eroded by the loss of the forest. The increase in deer, elk and other animals in the Yellowstone Park shows what may be expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been suffering from the face vegetation, and the ground is being eroded by the loss of the forest.

Forests are Reservoirs.
The forests are natural reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought they make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs for filling with water.

Therefore, an essential condition of water conservation.

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 in the construction of such works, and the Government, 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 it is to make 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.

Reclaiming Arid Lands.
The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the Government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish this object water must be brought within their reach.

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 incentive to the Atlantic States will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectively prevent Western competition with Eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be used 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 home-making is but another name for the upbuilding of the Nation.

The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of this policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted, by the early efforts, the more necessary, however, the more they are in character. At the very beginning the Government should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No restriction of personal or local interests, but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least taint of favoritism or special expenditure of the public moneys.

Extension of Irrigation.
Whatever the Nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with, and tend to improve, the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting point of this development. Over \$500,000,000 of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works, and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself, but as much cannot be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and value of the homes created largely rely 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. Law and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights in excess of the water or the necessities, and private ownership, or a control equivalent to ownership.