

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Text of Paper Delivered to 58th Congress.

CAUTIONS AGAINST EXTRAVAGANCE

Irrigation, Forests, Public Lands, Alaska and Our Island Possessions Receive Due Consideration.

The following is the text of the message of President Roosevelt to the 58th Congress:

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The Nation continues to enjoy noteworthy prosperity. Such prosperity is, of course, primarily due to the high individual average of our citizenship, taken together with our great natural resources, but an important factor therein is the working of our long-continued governmental policies. The people have emphatically expressed their approval of the principles underlying these policies, and their desire that these principles be kept substantially unchanged, although of course applied in a progressive spirit to meet changing conditions.

The enlargement of scope of the functions of the National Government required by our development as a nation involves, of course, increase of expense, and the period of prosperity through which the country is passing justifies expenditures for permanent improvement of the Government far greater than would be wise in hard times. Battle ships and forts, public buildings and improved waterways are investments made when we have the money; but abundant revenues and a large surplus always invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of Government. The cost of doing Government business should be regulated with the same rigid scrutiny as the cost of doing a private business.

In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern Government, the dominant note is the note of industrialism, and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of the industrial and agricultural classes, are the dominant note in the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the State and the several States, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty with which we are now faced. The new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions on this continent during the last half century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult in many cases to get possible to get practically wise action among the various States on these subjects. From the very nature of the case, this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in large numbers. With regard to labor, the problem is no less important, but it is simpler. As long as the States retain the primary control of the police power, the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the Federal Government. In the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by unscrupulous persons who shield themselves behind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the Federal courts, interference with the mails, or interstate commerce, or molestation of Federal property, or if the State authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the Federal Government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abeyance until order has been restored.

There is no objection to employees of the Government forming or belonging to unions, but the Government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against nonunion men who are in its employment, and it is a very grave impropriety for Government employees to band themselves together for the purpose of extorting improperly high salaries from the Government. Especially is this true of those within the classified service. The letter-carriers, both municipal and rural, are as a whole an excellent body of public servants. They should be amply paid. But their payment must be obtained by arguing their case fairly and honorably before the Congress, and not by banding together for the defeat of those who can give them no more. The Administration has already taken steps to prevent and punish abuses of this nature; but it will be wise for the Congress to supplement this action by legislation.

When we come to deal with great corporations, the need for the Government to act directly is far greater than in the case of labor, because great corporations can become such only by engaging in interstate commerce, and interstate commerce is peculiarly in the field of the General Government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by State action. It is difficult to be patient with an argument that such matters should be left to the States, because more than one State pursues the policy of creating an easy terms corporation which are never operated within that State at all, but in other States whose laws they ignore. The National Government alone can deal adequately with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an untemperate, destructive, or demagogic spirit would, in all probability, mean that nothing whatever would be accomplished, and, with absolute certainty, that if anything were accomplished it would be of a harmful nature. The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed, step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating or at least in minimizing whatever of mischief or of evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in an unbecomingly hostile spirit, not against the rich man any more than against the poor man. On the contrary, they are friendly alike toward rich man and toward poor man, provided only that each acts in a spirit of justice and decency toward his fellows. Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole. Where this can be done under the present laws it must be done. Where these laws come short, others should be enacted to supplement them.

Yet we must never forget the determining factor in every kind of work, of head or hand, must be the man's own good sense, courage and kindness. More important than any legislation in the gradual growth of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and workmen alike; a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, and of generosity among themselves, and of workmen among themselves, but of capitalists and workmen in their relations to each other.

and of both in their relations to their fellow-men who with them make up the body politic. There are many captains of industry, many labor leaders, who realize this.

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Agriculture. On this work, I state and territory in the present, and the islands of the sea lately come under our flag. Cooperation is had with the State experiment stations, and with many other institutions and individuals. The world is carefully searched for new varieties of grains, fruits, grasses, vegetables, trees and shrubs, suitable to various localities in our country, and marked benefit to our producers has resulted.

The activities of our age in lines of research have reached the tillers of the soil and inspired them with attention to know more of the principles that govern the forces of Nature with which they have to deal. Nearly half of the people of this country devote their energies to growing things from the soil. Until a recent date little has been done to prepare these millions for their life work. In most lines of human activity college-trained men are the leaders. The farmer had no opportunity for special training until the Congress made provision for it 40 years ago. During these years progress has been made and teachers have been prepared. Over 5000 students are in attendance at our State Agricultural Colleges, and several Government schools \$10,000,000 annually toward this education and for research in Washington and in the several States and territories. The Department of Agriculture has given facilities for postgraduate work to 200 young men during the last seven years, preparing them for advanced lines of work in the department and in the State institutions.

We sell abroad about \$600,000,000 worth of plants and their products every year. Stronous efforts are being made to import from foreign countries such gains as are suitable to our varying localities. Seven years ago we bought from the United States of America 1000 young men during the last seven years, preparing them for advanced lines of work in the department and in the State institutions.

Caution Against Extravagance. The enlargement of scope of the functions of the National Government required by our development as a nation involves, of course, increase of expense, and the period of prosperity through which the country is passing justifies expenditures for permanent improvement of the Government far greater than would be wise in hard times. Battle ships and forts, public buildings and improved waterways are investments made when we have the money; but abundant revenues and a large surplus always invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of Government. The cost of doing Government business should be regulated with the same rigid scrutiny as the cost of doing a private business.

Capital and Labor. In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern Government, the dominant note is the note of industrialism, and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of the industrial and agricultural classes, are the dominant note in the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the State and the several States, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty with which we are now faced. The new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions on this continent during the last half century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult in many cases to get possible to get practically wise action among the various States on these subjects. From the very nature of the case, this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in large numbers. With regard to labor, the problem is no less important, but it is simpler. As long as the States retain the primary control of the police power, the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the Federal Government. In the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by unscrupulous persons who shield themselves behind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the Federal courts, interference with the mails, or interstate commerce, or molestation of Federal property, or if the State authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the Federal Government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abeyance until order has been restored.

Irrigation. The insect friends and enemies of the farmer are getting attention. The enemy of the fig in Java was found near the Great Wall of China, and is now being kept at our orchards. The fig-fertilizing insect imported from Turkey has helped to establish an industry in California that amounts to from 50 to 100 tons of dried figs annually, and is extending over the entire State. A parasitic fly from South Africa is keeping in subjection the black scale, the worst pest of the orange and lemon industry in California.

During the 2 1/2 years that have elapsed since the passage of the reclamation act rapid progress has been made in the surveys and examinations of the opportunities for reclamation in the 11 States and three territories of the arid West. Reclamation has already been begun on the largest and most important of the irrigation works, and plans are being completed for works which will utilize the waters now available. The surveys are being carried on by the Reclamation Service, a corps of engineers selected through competitive civil-service examinations. This corps includes experienced consulting and consulting engineers as well as other experts in mechanical and legal matters, and is composed largely of men who have spent most of their lives in practical affairs connected with irrigation. The larger problems have been solved, and a satisfactory plan of execution with care, economy, and thoroughness the work which has been laid out. All important details are being carefully considered by boards of consulting engineers, selected for their knowledge and practical experience. Each project is taken up on the ground by competent men and viewed from the standpoint of the creation of prosperous homes, and of promptly refunding to the Treasury the cost of construction. The reclamation act has been found to be remarkably complete and effective, and so broad in its provisions that a wide range of undertakings has been possible under it. At the same time, ample guarantee is given by the fact that funds must ultimately be returned to be used over again.

Forests. The reserves are for forest purposes. The first is to preserve the water supply. This is their most important use. The principal users of the water thus preserved are irrigation ranchers and settlers, cities and towns to whom their municipal water supplies are of the very first importance, users and furnishers of water power, and the users of water for domestic, manufacturing, mining, and other purposes. All these are directly dependent upon the forest reserves.

The second reason for which forest reserves are created is to preserve the timber supply for various classes of wood users. Among the most important of these are settlers under the reclamation act and other acts, for whom a cheap and accessible supply of timber for domestic uses is absolutely necessary; miners and prospectors, who are in serious danger of losing their timber supply by fire or through export by lumber companies when timber lands adjacent to their mines pass into private ownership; lumbermen, transportation companies, builders, and commercial interests in general.

Although the wisdom in creating forest reserves is nearly everywhere heartily recognized, yet in a few localities there have been misunderstandings and complaints. The following statement is therefore desirable:

The forest-reserve policy can be successful only when it has not for its support the people of the West. It cannot be and should not be in any case, be imposed upon them against their will. But neither can we accept the views of those whose only interest

in the forest is temporary, who are anxious to reap what they have not sown and then leave it to the Government to hold them. On the contrary, it is everywhere and always the interest of the permanent settler and the permanent business man, the man with a stake in the country, which must be considered in any action taken to change or to improve the forest reserves. In all cases where forest reserves within areas covered by land grants appear to be essential to the prosperity of settlers, miners, or others, the Government lands within such proposed forest reserves will, as in the past, be withdrawn from sale or entry pending the completion of such reservations with the owners of the land grants as will prevent the creation of so-called scripp.

I have repeatedly called attention to the conditions which exist in Government forest lands, and to the suggestions of three independent organizations. The United States is the only one of the great nations in which the forest work of the Government is not centralized under one department, in close connection with the highest authority of the Government, and in which the forest work is not administered by a single department. The present arrangement is bad from every point of view. Merely to mention it is to prove that it should be terminated at once. As I have repeatedly recommended, all the work of the Government should be concentrated in the Department of Agriculture, where the larger part of that work is already being done. Practically all of the trained foresters of the Government are employed where chiefly in Washington there is comprehensive first-hand knowledge of the problems of the reserves acquired on the ground. There are problems relating to growth from the soil and to the diseases of trees, and the services auxiliary to forestry are at hand for prompt and effective cooperation. These reasons are decisive in themselves, but it is hard to add that the great organizations of citizens, such as the National Live Stock Association, the National Woodworkers Association, the American Mining Congress, the National Irrigation Congress, and the National Forestry Association, have all uniformly and emphatically, and most of them repeatedly expressed themselves in favor of placing all Government forest work in the Department of Agriculture because of the peculiar benefits to be derived therefrom. It is true, also, that the forest reserves are nearly all the great nations of the world are under the respective departments of agriculture, while in but two of the smaller nations, the United States and Canada, the department of the interior. This is a result of long and varied experience, and it agrees fully with the requirements of good administration in our own case.

The creation of a forest service in the Department of Agriculture will have far its important results:

First—A better handling of all forest work, because it will be under a single head, and because the Department will have the experience of the Department of the Interior, relating to the forest reserves, to forestry in general, and to other forms of production from the soil, will be easily and rapidly accessible.

Second—The reserves themselves, being handled from the point of view of the man in the field, instead of the man in the office, will be more easily and more wisely used to the people of the West than has been the case.

Third—Within a comparatively short time the reserves will become self-supporting. This is important, because continually and rapidly increasing appropriations will be necessary to carry on the reserves, and this is an important interest of the Nation, and they can and should be offset by returns from the National forests. Under similar circumstances the forest possessions of other great nations have been sold to other governments.

Every administrative officer concerned to consider of the necessity for the proposed consolidation of forest work in the Department of Agriculture, and to make it more than once in former measures. Again I commend it to the early and favorable consideration of the Congress. The interests of the Nation at large and of the West in particular have suffered greatly because of the delay.

Public Lands. The Commission on the Public Lands, created by the second session of the present Congress. The Commission has prosecuted its investigations actively during the past season, and a second report is now in an advanced stage of preparation. The progress of the industry, which civilization though not rapid, is perhaps all that could be hoped for, in view of the circumstances. Within the past year many things have shown, in a degree greater than ever before, the necessity of the necessity of the work.

Indians. The duties of the office of the Governor should be extended to include the supervision of Indian affairs, with necessary assistance from the several States. He should be provided with the means and the power to protect and advise the native people, to furnish medical treatment in time of epidemics, and to extend material relief in periods of unusual distress. He should be empowered to acquire, hold, and dispose of property upon the same conditions as given other individuals; and the privileges of citizenship should be given to such as may be able to meet certain definite requirements. In Hawaii, Congress should give the Governor power to remove all the officials appointed under him. The harbor of Honolulu should be dredged. The Marine Hospital Service should be empowered to study leprosy in the islands. I ask your attention to the report and recommendations of the Governor of Porto Rico.

Hawaii and Porto Rico. In treating of our foreign policy and our attitude that this great Nation should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Army and the Navy, and the Congress, through which the public servants are elected, should be able to feel this so deeply that in the administration of these islands I have positively refused to permit any discrimination whatsoever for political reasons, and have insisted that in choosing the public servants consideration should be paid solely to the worth of the men chosen and to the needs of the island. There is no higher body of men in the Philippines than the Governor, Wright and his associates. So far as possible, these men should be given a free hand, and their suggestions should receive the hearty backing both of the Executive and of the Congress. There is need of a vigilant and disinterested support of the public servants in the Philippines by good citizens here in the United States.

Every measure taken concerning the islands should be taken primarily with a view to their advantage. We should certainly give them lower tariff rates than their exports to the United States; if this is not done, it will be a wrong to extend our shipping laws to them. I earnestly hope for the immediate enactment into law of the legislation now pending to encourage American capital to seek investment in the islands in such lines as factories, in plantations, and in lumbering and mining.

Foreign Policy. The duties of the office of the Governor should be extended to include the supervision of Indian affairs, with necessary assistance from the several States. He should be provided with the means and the power to protect and advise the native people, to furnish medical treatment in time of epidemics, and to extend material relief in periods of unusual distress. He should be empowered to acquire, hold, and dispose of property upon the same conditions as given other individuals; and the privileges of citizenship should be given to such as may be able to meet certain definite requirements. In Hawaii, Congress should give the Governor power to remove all the officials appointed under him. The harbor of Honolulu should be dredged. The Marine Hospital Service should be empowered to study leprosy in the islands. I ask your attention to the report and recommendations of the Governor of Porto Rico.

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