

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, and the principles underlying these policies, and their desire that these principles be kept substantially unchanged, although, of course, applied in 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 improvements far greater than would be wise in hard times.

Caution Against Extravagance. Battleships and forts, public buildings and improved waterways are investments which should be made when we have the money; but, as the revenues and 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 related with the same rigid scrutiny as the cost of doing a private business.

In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern civilization, the dominant note is the note of industrialism; and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of organized capital and organized labor, to each other and to the public at large come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life.

Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the Nation and the several States, has been on the whole far more advantageous to the development of the Nation than a more centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty of meeting with adequate legislation the new problems presented by the total change in industrial conditions since this country began its half century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult, and in many cases impossible, to get unanimity of 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 huge masses.

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 authorities, whether in the way of safeguarding the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that which 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, or who seek to be employed under it. Moreover, 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 purpose of those who cannot in conscience give promises which they cannot in conscience give. 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.

Unions of Government Employees. 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 within 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 on easy terms corporations which are never created 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 impenetrable, 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 mischief or evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no spirit of hostility to wealth, either individual or corporate. They are 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 is the gradual growth of a feeling of responsibility and forbearance among capitalists and wage-workers alike; and the feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not merely of capitalists among themselves, and of wage-workers among themselves, but of capitalists and wage-workers in their relations to each other, and of both in their relations to their fellow-citizens who with them make up the body politic. There are many captains of industry, many labor leaders, who realize this.

The Department of Agriculture has grown into an educational institution with a faculty of 2000 specialists making research into all the sciences of production. The Congress appropriates, directly and indirectly, \$3,000,000 annually to carry on this work. It reaches every State and territory in the Union, and the islands of the sea lately come under our flag. Co-operation is had with the State experiment stations, and with many other institutions and individuals. The world is carefully searched for new crops of grain, 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 ambition 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 of such 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. The Federal Government spends \$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 post-graduate work to 500 young men during the last two 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. Strenuous efforts are being made to import from foreign countries such gains as are suitable to our varying localities. Seven years ago we bought three-fourths of our rice; by helping the ricegrowers on the Gulf coast to secure seeds from the Orient under their conditions, and by giving them adequate protection, they now supply home demand and export to the islands of the Caribbean Sea and to other rice-growing countries. Wheat and other grain have been imported from light-rainfall countries to our lands in the West and Southwest that have not grown crops because of light precipitation, resulting in an extensive addition to our cropping area. The cotton-making territory that can not be irrigated. Ten million bushels of first-class macaroni wheat were grown from these experimental importations last year. Fruits suitable to our soils and climate are being imported from all the countries of the world. The date from Turkey, the almond from Spain, the date from Algeria, the mango from India. We are helping our fruitgrowers to get their crops into European markets by studying the methods of packing, which have been quite successful. We are helping our hoggrowers by important varieties that ripen earlier and later than the kinds they have been raising, thereby lengthening the harvesting season. The cotton-bollworm, the boll weevil, our pathologists will find immune varieties that will resist the root disease, and the bollworm can be dealt with by the use of the funds of the Central American insect that has become acclimated in Texas and has done great damage. A scientist of the Department of Agriculture found the weevil at home in Guatemala, being kept in check by an ant that has been brought to our cotton fields for observation. It is hoped that it may serve a good purpose.

The insect friends and enemies of the farmer are getting attention. The most recent of these is the San Jose scale was found near the Great Wall of China, and is now cleaning up all 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 Pacific Coast. A parasite fly from South Africa is keeping in subjection the black scale, the worst pest of the orange and lemon industry in California.

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During the 24 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 States and the territories of the arid West. Construction 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 funds now available. The operations are being carried on by the Reclamation Service, a corps of engineers selected through competitive civil-service examinations. This corps includes experienced consulting engineers, 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 the smaller ones are being executed 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 thorough knowledge and practical experience. The work 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 carried out 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, economy is guaranteed by the fact that funds must ultimately be returned to be used over again.

Irrigation. It is the cardinal principle of the forest-reserve policy of this Administration that the reserves are for use. Whatever interference with their use is to be avoided by every possible means. But these resources must be used in such a way as to make them permanent.

The forest policy of the Government is just now a subject of vivid public interest throughout the West and to the people of the United States in general. The forest reserves themselves are of extreme value to the present, and to the future welfare of all the Western public-land States. They powerfully affect the use and disposal of the public lands. They are of special importance because they preserve the water supply and the supply of timber for domestic purposes, and so promote settlement and the reclamation act. Indeed, they are essential to the welfare of every one of the great interest of the West.

Forest reserves are created for two principal purposes. The first is to preserve the water supply. This is the most important. 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 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 more important of these are settlers under the reclamation act and other acts, for whom a cheap and accessible supply of timber for domestic use 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 of creating forest reserves is nearly everywhere heartily recognized, yet in a few localities there have been misunderstanding and complaint. The following statement will show that this is not the case. The forest-reserve policy can be successful only when it has the full support of the people of the West. It cannot safely and should not 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 reach what they have not sown and then to leave the land to the next generation. On the contrary, it is everywhere behind them. The interest of the permanent settler and the permanent business man, the man with a stake in the country, which must be considered in the making of forest reserves.

The making of forest reserves within railroad and wagon-road land-grant limits was managed, as for the past three years, by the Bureau of Land Management, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior. (usually called scrip). 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 reserves will be withdrawn from sale or entry pending the completion of such negotiations with the owners of the land grants as will prevent the creation of so-called scrip.

It was formerly the custom to make forest reserves without first getting definite and detailed information as to the character of land and timber within their boundaries. This method of action often resulted in badly chosen boundaries and consequent injustice to settlers and others. Therefore this Administration adopted the present method of first withdrawing the land from disposal, followed by careful examination on the ground and the preparation of detailed maps and descriptions, before any forest reserve is created.

I have repeatedly called attention to the confusion which exists in Government forest reserves. The work is scattered among three independent organizations. The United States is the only one of the great nations in which the forest work of the Government is not concentrated under one department, in accordance with the plainest dictates of good administration and common sense. 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 forest work of the Government should be concentrated in the Department of Agriculture, where the larger part of that work is already done, where practically all of the trained foresters of the Government are employed, where the knowledge of the problems of the reserves is acquired on the ground, where all problems relating to growth from the soil are already gathered, and where all the necessary auxiliary to forestry are at hand for prompt and effective cooperation. These reasons are decisive in themselves, but it should be added that the great organizations of citizens whose interests are affected by the forest reserves, such as the National Live-stock Association, the National Live-stock Association, the American Mining Congress, the National Irrigation Congress, and the National Board of Trade, have uniformly, emphatically, and most of them repeatedly, expressed their views in favor of placing all Government forest work in the Department of Agriculture because of the peculiar adaptation of that Department for it. It is true, also, that the forest services of all the great nations of the world are under the Department of Agriculture, or agriculture, while in two of the smaller nations, and in one colony are they under the department of the interior. This is the result of long and varied experience and it is the result of the requirements of good administration in our own case.

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

First—The handling of all forest work, because it will be under a single head, because the vast and indispensable experience of the Department in all matters pertaining 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 wisely and more effectively used to the people of the West than has been the case hitherto.

Third—Within a comparatively short time the reserves will become self-supporting. This is important, because continually and rapidly increasing appropriations will be necessary for the proper care of this exceedingly important interest of the Nation, and they can and should be offset by returns from the National Forests. Under similar circumstances, the Nation would be able to pay for the maintenance of an important source of revenue to their governments.

Every administrative officer concerned is convinced of the necessity for the proposed consolidation of forest work in the Department of Agriculture, and I myself have written more than once in former messages. 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. I call the attention of the Congress again to the report and recommendation of the Commission on the Public Lands, forwarded to me to 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 Indians toward civilization, though not rapid, is perhaps all that could be hoped for, in view of the circumstances. Within the past year many tribes have shown, in a degree greater than ever before, an appreciation of the necessity of working for a livelihood. The policy, though severe, is a useful one, but it is to be exercised only with judgment and with a full understanding of the conditions which exist in each reservation, and which it is intended to bring the Indian reservations there is usually very little desire for labor, and if the Indians are to earn their living and when work cannot be furnished from outside sources, it is imperative that it must be furnished by the Government. Practical instruction of this kind would in a few years result in the forming of habits of regular industry, which would result in a producer and a maintenance of a great reduction in the cost of his maintenance.

In the Postoffice Department the service has increased in efficiency, and conditions as to revenue and expenditure continue satisfactory. The revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905, was \$9,338,181.19, or 6.9 per cent, the total receipts amounting to \$143,382,924.34. The expenditures were \$152,362,116.70, an increase of about 9 per cent over the year ending June 30, 1904, or \$18,709,492.21 in excess of the current revenue. Included in these expenditures was a total appropriation of \$12,950,937.35 for the continuation and extension of the rural free-delivery service, which was an increase of \$4,902,267.35 over the amount expended for this purpose in the preceding fiscal year.

Postal Service. Large as this expenditure has been the beneficial results attained since the establishment of the postal facilities to the residents of rural districts have justified the wisdom of the outlay. Statistics brought down to October 1, 1904, show that on that date there were 27,138 rural post offices, serving approximately 12,000,000 people in rural districts remote from postoffices, and that there were pending at that time 3859 petitions for the establishment of new rural routes. Unquestionably some part of the general increase in the second-class mailing privileges. The average increase in the volume of mail matter for the period beginning with 1902 and ending June, 1905 (that portion for 1905 being estimated), is 40.47 per cent, as compared with 25.46 per cent for the period immediately preceding, or 1902 and 1903.

The growing importance of the Orient as a field for American exports drew from my predecessor, President McKinley, an urgent request for its special consideration by the Congress. In his message of 1898 he stated:

"In this relation, as showing the peculiar volume and value of our trade with China and the peculiarly favorable conditions which exist for their expansion in the normal course of trade, I refer to the communication addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives by the Secretary of the Treasury on the 14th of last June, with its accompanying letter of the Secretary of State, recommending an appropriation for a commission to study the industrial and commercial conditions in the Chinese Empire and to report as to the opportunities for and the obstacles to the enlargement of markets in China for the raw products and manufactures of the United States. I cordially urge that the recommendation receive at your hands the consideration which its importance and timeliness merit."

My message of 1899 he again called attention to this recommendation, quoting it, and stated further:

"I now renew this recommendation, as the importance of the subject has steadily grown since it was first submitted to you, and no time should be lost in studying for ourselves the resources of this great field for American trade and enterprise."

The importance of securing proper information and data with a view to the enlargement of our trade with Asia is undiminished. Our Consular representatives in China have strongly urged a place for permanent display of American products in some prominent trade center of that empire, under Government control and management, as an effective means of advancing our export trade therein. I call the attention of the Congress to the desirability of carrying out these suggestions.

Alaska, like all our territorial acquisitions, has been acquired beyond the expectations of those who made the purchase. It has become the home of many hardy, industrious, and thrifty American citizens. Towns of a permanent character have been built. The extent of its wealth in minerals, timber, fisheries, and agriculture, while great, is probably not comprehended yet in any just measure by our people. We do know, however, that from a very small beginning its products have grown until they are a steady and material contribution to the wealth of the Nation. Owing to the immensity of Alaska and its location in the far north, it is a difficult matter to provide any means of communication to its growth and to the happiness and comfort of its people by private enterprise alone. It should, therefore, receive reasonable aid from the Government. The Government has already undertaken work for Alaska in laying cables and building telegraph lines. This work has been done in the most economical and efficient way by the Signal Corps of the Army.

In some respects it has outgrown its present laws, and in others those laws have been found to be inadequate. In order to obtain information upon which I could rely I caused an official of the Department of Justice, in whose judgment I have confidence, to conduct during the past summer for the purpose of ascertaining how government is administered there and what legislation is actually needed at present. A statement of the conditions found to exist, together with some recommendations and the reasons therefor, which I strongly recommend, will be found in the annual report of the Attorney-General. In some instances I feel that the legislation suggested is so imperatively needed that I am moved briefly to emphasize the Attorney-General's proposals.

Under the code of Alaska as it now stands many purely administrative powers and duties, including by far the most important, devolve upon the District Judges or upon the Clerk of the District Court acting under the direction of the Judges, while the Governor, upon whom these powers and duties should logically fall, has nothing specific to do except to make annual reports, issue proclamations, and appoint and remove Indian policemen and notaries public. I believe it essential to good government in Alaska, and therefore recommend, that the Congress divest the District Judges and clerks of their courts of the administrative or executive functions that they now exercise and cast them upon the Governor. This would not be an innovation; it would simply conform the government of Alaska to fundamental principles, making the Governor a real instead of a merely nominal office, and leaving the Judges free to give their entire attention to their judicial duties and at the same time removing them from a great deal of the strife that now embitters the administration of Alaska.

Alaska should have a Delegate in the Congress. Where possible, the Congress should aid in the construction of needed wagon roads. Additional lighthouses should be provided. In my judgment, it is especially important to aid in the construction of a trunk line of railway to connect the Gulf of Alaska with the Yukon River through American territory. This would be most beneficial to the people of Alaska, and to the comfort and welfare of its people. Salmon hatcheries should be established in many different streams, so as to secure the preservation of this valuable food fish. Salmon fisheries and canneries should be protected on certain rivers where the mass of those Indians dwell who live almost exclusively on fish.

The needs of these people are: The abolition of the present fee system, whereby the Indians are degraded, imposed upon, and taught the injustice of law. The establishment of hospitals at central points, so that contagious diseases that are brought to them continually by incoming whites may be localized and not allowed to become epidemics to spread death and destitution over great areas.

The development of the educational system in the form of practical training in such industries as will assure the Indians self-support under changed conditions in which they will have to live. The duties of the office of the Governor should be extended to include the supervision of Indian affairs, with necessary assistants in different parts of the Territory. He should be empowered to advise the native people, to furnish medical treatment in time of epidemics, and to extend material relief in periods of famine and extreme destitution.

The Alaskan natives should be given the right to hold, and dispose of property upon the same conditions as given other inhabitants; and the privilege of citizenship should be given to such as may be able to meet the requirements, in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Act. There are some 100,000 natives in Alaska. The Marine Hospital Service should be empowered to study leprosy in the islands. I ask special consideration for the report and recommendations of the Governor of Porto Rico.

In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that the United States should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Army and the Navy, and the Congress, through which the thought of the Nation should be expressed, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, without at the same time showing our willingness to take toward our Army, and especially toward our Navy. It is not merely untrue, it is contemptible, for a Nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous and unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no intention of providing and of keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is better to avoid such an attitude.

The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to arrive by ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kindreds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peace has been a cloak for the most heinous crimes, who have been clothed in the garb of luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them peace.

Hawaii and Porto Rico. The Hawaiian Islands, like all our territorial acquisitions, have been acquired beyond the expectations of those who made the purchase. It has become the home of many hardy, industrious, and thrifty American citizens. Towns of a permanent character have been built. The extent of its wealth in minerals, timber, fisheries, and agriculture, while great, is probably not comprehended yet in any just measure by our people. We do know, however, that from a very small beginning its products have grown until they are a steady and material contribution to the wealth of the Nation. Owing to the immensity of Hawaii and its location in the far south, it is a difficult matter to provide any means of communication to its growth and to the happiness and comfort of its people by private enterprise alone. It should, therefore, receive reasonable aid from the Government. The Government has already undertaken work for Hawaii in laying cables and building telegraph lines. This work has been done in the most economical and efficient way by the Signal Corps of the Army.

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The needs of these people are: The abolition of the present fee system, whereby the Indians are degraded, imposed upon, and taught the injustice of law. The establishment of hospitals at central points, so that contagious diseases that are brought to them continually by incoming whites may be localized and not allowed to become epidemics to spread death and destitution over great areas.

The development of the educational system in the form of practical training in such industries as will assure the Indians self-support under changed conditions in which they will have to live. The duties of the office of the Governor should be extended to include the supervision of Indian affairs, with necessary assistants in different parts of the Territory. He should be empowered to advise the native people, to furnish medical treatment in time of epidemics, and to extend material relief in periods of famine and extreme destitution.

The Alaskan natives should be given the right to hold, and dispose of property upon the same conditions as given other inhabitants; and the privilege of citizenship should be given to such as may be able to meet the requirements, in accordance with the provisions of the Organic Act. There are some 100,000 natives in Alaska. The Marine Hospital Service should be empowered to study leprosy in the islands. I ask special consideration for the report and recommendations of the Governor of Porto Rico.

In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that the United States should assume in the world at large, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Army and the Navy, and the Congress, through which the thought of the Nation should be expressed, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, without at the same time showing our willingness to take toward our Army, and especially toward our Navy. It is not merely untrue, it is contemptible, for a Nation, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous and unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no intention of providing and of keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is better to avoid such an attitude.

The steady aim of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to arrive by ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kindreds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peace has been a cloak for the most heinous crimes, who have been clothed in the garb of luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them peace.

tives, by calling them peace. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of cruel weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war.

We are in every way endeavoring to help on, with cordial good will, every movement which will tend to friendly relations with the rest of mankind. In pursuance of this policy I shall shortly lay before the Senate treaties of arbitration with all powers which are willing to enter into these treaties with us. It is not possible at this period of the world's development to agree to arbitrate all matters, but there are many matters of possible difference between us and other nations which can be thus arbitrated. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union, an eminent body of statesmen, composed of practical statesmen from all countries, I have asked the powers to join with this Government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the world may happily begin at The Hague may be carried some steps further toward completion. This carries out the desire expressed by the first Hague Conference itself.

The strong arm of the Government in enforcing respect for its just rights in international matters is the Navy of the United States. I most earnestly recommend that there be no halt in the work of upbuilding the American Navy. There is no more patriotic duty before us as a people than to keep the Navy adequate to the needs of this country's position. We have undertaken to build the formidable fleet. We have undertaken to secure for ourselves our just share in the trade of the Orient. We have undertaken to protect our citizens from improper treatment in foreign lands, and to continue steadily to insist on the application of the Monroe Doctrine to the Western Hemisphere. Unless our attitude in these and all similar matters is to be a mere boastful sham we cannot afford to neglect our naval programme. Our voice is now potent for peace, and is so potent because we are not afraid of war. But our protestations upon behalf of peace will be of little avail unless we deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good.

Within the last three years the United States has set an example in disarmament which has caused already a proportion of 100,000 and a minimum of 50,000 men, surrection in the Philippines we kept the Army at the maximum force of 17,000 men, and now our Army has been reduced to the minimum at which it is possible to keep it with due regard to its efficiency. The guns now mounted require 25,000 men, if the conditions are to be adequately manned. Relatively to the Nation, it is not now so large as the police force of New York or Chicago relatively to the population of either city. We need more officers of regular army, and more men to perform the regular Army work. It is very important that the officers of the Army should be accustomed to handle their men in masses, as it is also important that the National Guard should be accustomed to actual field exercises, especially in connection with the regulars. For this reason we are to be congratulated upon the success of the field maneuvers at Manila last fall, maneuvers in which a larger number of regulars and National Guards took part than was ever before assembled together in time of peace. No other civilized Nation has, relatively to its population, such a diminutive Army as ours; and while the Army is so small we are not to be excused if we fail to keep it at the highest grade of proficiency. It must be incessantly practiced; the standard for the enlisted men should be kept very high, while at the same time the service should be made as attractive as possible, and the conditions of the officers should be kept even higher—which, as regards the upper ranks, can best be done by introducing some system of selection and rejection into the promotions. We should be able, in the event of sudden emergency, to put into the field one first-class Army corps, which should be, as a whole, at least the equal of any body of troops of like number belonging to any other nation.

In the Philippine Islands there has been during the past year a continuation of the steady progress which has been made ever since our troops definitely got the upper hand of the insurgents. The Philippine people, or, to speak more accurately, the many tribes, and even races, who go to make up the people of the Philippine Islands, contain many elements of good, and some elements which we have a right to hope stand for progress. At present they are utterly ignorant of the value of independence at all or of building up a civilization of their own. I firmly believe that we can help them to rise higher and higher in the scale of civilization and of capacity for self-government, and that we earnestly hope that in the end they will be able to stand, if not entirely alone, yet in some such relation to the United States as Cuba now stands. This end is not yet in sight, and it may be indefinitely postponed if our people are foolish enough to neglect the attention of the Philippine people away from the problems of achieving moral and material property, of working for a stable, orderly, and just government, and toward foolish and dangerous intrigues for complete independence for which they are as yet totally unfit.

On the other hand, our people must keep steadily before their minds the fact that the justification for our stay in the Philippines must ultimately rest chiefly upon the good we are able to do in the islands, and overlook the fact that in the development of our interests in the Pacific Ocean and along its coasts, the Philippines have played and will play an important part, and that our interest in the islands is not less than one way by the possession of the islands, our chief reason for continuing to hold them must be that we ought in good faith to try to do our share of the world's work, and this particular piece of world's work has been imposed upon us by the results of the war with Spain. The problem presented to us in the Philippine Islands is akin to, but not exactly like, the problems presented to the other great civilized powers which have possessions in the Orient. There are points of resemblance in our work to the work which is being done by the British in India and Egypt, by the French in Algiers, by the Dutch in Java, by the Russians in Turkestan, by the Japanese in Formosa; but more distinctly than any of these powers we have undertaken to develop the natives themselves so that they shall take an ever-increasing share in their own government, and as far as is prudent we are already admitting their representatives to a governmental equality with our own.

Meanwhile our own people should remember that for the highest standard of conduct among the Americans sent to the Philippine Islands, not only among the public servants but among the private individuals who go to them. It is because I feel so deeply that 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 islands. There is no higher body of men in our public service than we have in the Philippine Islands under 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 our 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 on 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 that the long-pending enactment into law of the legislation now pending to encourage American capital to seek investment in the islands in railroads, in factories, in plantations, and in lumbering and mining.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.