

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS

Chief Executive Recommends Passage of Important Legislation—Causes Leading to the Formation of the New Republic of Panama—No Obstruction Now to the Building of the Isthmian Canal—Unsettled Dispute a Triumph for International Arbitration—Extension of Purposes of Appropriation for Enforcing Trust and Interstate Commerce Laws Favored—Public Land and Postal Frauds—Need for Treaties Making Bribery Extraditable—Relations of the Government to Capital and Labor.

The President Charges the Colombian Government with Acting in Bad Faith in Repudiating the Treaty Between That Country and the United States—Precedents Brought Forward to Explain the Attitude of the State Department in the Recent Crisis—Country Has Been in an Almost Constant State of Turmoil for Many Years—The Importance of Preserving Peace in the Isthmus Declared of Paramount Importance.

President Roosevelt's message to the second session of the Fifty-eighth Congress is substantially as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

With a nation as with a man the most important things are those of the household, and therefore the country is especially to be congratulated on what has been accomplished in the direction of providing for the support of the government over the great corporations and combinations of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The Congress has created the Department of Commerce and Labor, including the Bureau of Corporations, and the Bureau of Investigation to secure proper publicity of such proceedings of these great corporations as the public has the right to know. It has provided for the expediting of suits for the enforcement of the Federal anti-trust laws, and by another law it has secured equal treatment to all producers in the transportation of their goods, thus taking a long stride forward in making effective the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Department of Commerce and Labor.—The establishment of the Department of Commerce and Labor, with the Bureau of Corporations thereunder, marks a real advance in the direction of doing all that is possible for the solution of the questions vitally affecting capitalists and wage-workers.

Functions of New Department.—The preliminary work of the Bureau of Corporations in the department has shown the wisdom of its creation. Publicity in corporate affairs will tend to do away with ignorance, and will afford facts upon which intelligent action may be taken. Systematic investigation is already developing facts the knowledge of which is essential to a right understanding of the needs and duties of the business world. The corporation which is honestly and fairly organized, whose managers in the conduct of its business recognize their obligation to deal squarely with their stockholders, their competitors, and the public, has nothing to fear from such supervision. The purpose of this bureau is not to embarrass or assail legitimate business, but to aid in bringing about a better industrial condition—a condition under which there shall be obedience to law and recognition of the rights of all, whether the concern be great or small. The Department of Commerce and Labor will be not only the clearing house for information regarding the business transactions of the nation but also the executive arm of the government to aid in strengthening our domestic and foreign markets, in perfecting our transportation facilities, in building up our merchant marine, in preventing the entrance of undesirable immigrants, in improving our currency, in settling international questions, and in bringing together on common ground those necessary partners in industrial progress—capital and labor. Commerce between the nations is steadily increasing, and the tendency of the times is toward closer trade relations. Constant watchfulness is needed to secure to Americans the chance to participate to the best advantage in foreign trade, and we can confidently expect that the new department will justify the expectation of its creators by the exercise of this watchfulness, as well as by the businesslike administration of such laws relating to our internal affairs as are entrusted to its care.

In enacting the laws above enumerated the Congress proceeded on sane and conservative lines. Nothing revolutionary was attempted; but a common-sense and successful effort was made in the direction of seeing that corporations are to which has been entrusted the public good. The legislation was moderate. It was characterized throughout by the idea that we were not attacking corporations, but endeavoring to provide for doing away with any evil in them; that we drew the line against misconduct, not against wealth; gladly recognizing the great good done by capitalists who alone, or in conjunction with his fellows, does his work along honest and legitimate lines. The purpose of the legislation, which purpose will undoubtedly be fulfilled, was to favor such a man when he does well, and to supervise his action only to prevent him from doing ill. Publicity can do no harm to the honest corporation, and no individual corporation that has cause to dread it is the corporation which shrinks from the light, and about the welfare of such corporations we need not be over-sensitive. The work of the Department of Commerce and Labor has been conditioned upon this theory, of securing fair treatment alike for labor and for capital.

Capital and Labor.—The consistent policy of the national government, so far as it has the power, is to hold in check the unscrupulous man, whether employer or employee; but to refuse to weaken individual initiative or to hamper or cramp the industrial development of the country. We recognize that this is an era of freedom and competition, in which great capitalistic corporations and labor unions have become factors of tremendous importance in all industrial centers. Hearty recognition is given the far-reaching, beneficent work which has been accomplished through both corporations and unions, and the line as between different corporations, as between different unions, is drawn as it is between different individuals; that is, it is drawn on conduct, the effort being to treat both organized capital and organized labor alike; asking nothing save the interest of each shall be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public, and that the conduct of each shall conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to law, of individual freedom, and of justice and fair dealing towards all. Whenever either corporation, labor union, or individual disre-

gards the law or acts in a spirit of arbitrary and tyrannical interference with the rights of others, whether corporations or individuals, then where the Federal Government has jurisdiction, it will see to it that the misconduct is stopped, paying not the slightest heed to the position or power of the corporation, the union, or the individual, but only to one vital fact—that is, the question whether or not the conduct of the individual or aggregate of individuals is in accordance with the law of the land. Every man must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor, so long as he does not infringe the rights of others. No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when he is required to obey it. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right; not asked as a favor.

Receipts and Expenditures.—From all sources, exclusive of the postal service, the receipts of the government for the last fiscal year aggregated \$59,386,674. The expenditures for the same period were \$58,699,967, the surplus for the fiscal year being \$52,707,607. The indications are that the surplus for the present fiscal year will be very small. If indeed there be any surplus. From July to November the receipts from customs were, approximately, nine million dollars less than the receipts from the same source for a corresponding portion of last year. Should this decrease continue at the same ratio throughout the fiscal year, the surplus would vanish. A large surplus is certainly desirable. Two years ago the war taxes were taken off with the express intention of equalizing the government receipts and expenditures, and though the first year thereafter still showed a surplus, it now seems likely that a substantial equalization of revenue and expenditure will be attained. Such being the case it is of great moment both to exercise care and economy in appropriations, and to scan sharply any change in our fiscal revenue system which may reduce our income. The need of a healthy economy in our expenditures is emphasized by the fact that we can not afford to be parsimonious in providing for what is essential to our national well-being. Careful economy wherever possible will alone prevent our income from falling below the point required in order to meet our genuine needs.

Needs of Financial Situation.—The integrity of our currency is beyond question, and under present conditions it would be unwise and unnecessary to attempt a substantial restriction of our monetary system. The same liberty should be granted the Secretary of the Treasury to deposit customs receipts as is granted him in the deposit of receipts from other sources. In my message of Dec. 2, 1912, I called attention to certain needs of the financial situation, and I again ask the consideration of the Congress for these questions.

Gold and Silver Standard.—During the last session of the Congress, at the suggestion of a joint note from the Republic of Mexico and the Imperial Government of China, and in harmony with an act of the Congress appropriating \$25,000 to pay the expenses thereof, a commission was appointed to confer with the principal European countries in the hope that some plan might be devised whereby a fixed rate of exchange could be assured between the gold-standard countries and the silver-standard countries. This commission has filed its preliminary report, which has been made public. I deem it important that the commission be continued, and that a sum of money be appropriated sufficient to pay the expenses of its further labors.

With regards to the improvement of the American merchant marine the President recommends that the Congress direct the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster-General, and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, associated with such a representation from the Senate and House of Representatives as the Congress in its wisdom may designate, to serve as a commission for the purpose of investigating and reporting to the Congress at its next session what legislation is desirable or necessary for the development of the American merchant marine and American commerce, and incidentally of a national ocean mail service of adequate auxiliary naval cruisers and naval reserves.

On the subject of immigration the message calls attention to the report of a committee of New York citizens of high standing, Messrs. Arthur V. Phibbin, Lee K. Frankel, Eugene A. Vrieslin, Thomas W. Hynes, and Ralph Trautman, which deals with the whole situation at length, and concludes with certain recommendations for administrative and legislative action. It is now receiving the attention of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

Anti-Trust Laws.—On the subject of the anti-trust measures which have been dealt with by the Congress the President says: In my last annual message, in connection with the subject of the due regulation of combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public, I recommended a special appropriation for the better enforcement of the

anti-trust law as it now stands, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General. Accordingly by the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act of February 25, 1913, Stat. 24, so that the Congress appropriated for the purpose of enforcing the various Federal trust and interstate-commerce laws, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General, and the employment of special counsel and agents in the Department of Justice to conduct proceedings and prosecutions under said laws in the courts of the United States. I have recognized, as a matter of the utmost importance and urgency, the extension of the purposes of this appropriation, so that it may be available, under the direction of the Attorney-General, and until used, for the due enforcement of the laws of the United States in general, and especially of the civil and criminal laws relating to public lands and the laws relating to postal crimes and offenses and the subject of naturalization. Recent investigations have shown the deplorable state of affairs in these three matters of vital concern. By various frauds and forgeries and perjuries, thousands of acres of the public domain, embracing lands of different values and extending through various sections of the country, have been dishonestly acquired. It is hardly necessary to urge the importance of recovering these dishonest acquisitions, stolen from the people, and of promptly and duly punishing the offenders.

Postal Frauds.—I speak in another part of this message of the widespread crimes by which the sacred right of citizenship is falsely asserted and that "inestimable heritage" is being taken from the people. By similar means—that is, through frauds, forgeries, and perjuries, and by shameless bribes—the laws relating to the proper conduct of the public service in general and to the requirements of foreign lands have been grossly violated, and many indictments have been found, and the consequent prosecutions are in course of hearing or on the eve thereof. For this reason the Department and so that the Government may be prepared to enforce promptly and with the greatest effect the due penalties for such violations of law, and to this end may be furnished with such instruments and facilities as competent legal assistance for the investigations and trials which will be necessary at many different points of the country, I urge upon the Congress the necessity of making the said appropriation available for the purpose of all such purposes, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General.

Needs for Treaties Making Bribery Extraditable.—Steps have been taken by the State Department looking to the making of bribery an extraditable offense with foreign countries. The list of countries with treaties covering this crime is manifest. The exposures and prosecutions of official corruption in St. Louis, Mo., and other cities and states have resulted in a number of givers and takers of bribes becoming fugitives to foreign lands. Bribery has not been included in extradition treaties heretofore, as the necessity for it has not arisen. While there may have been as much official corruption in former years as there is now, the need of it has been brought to light in the immediate past than in the preceding century of our country's history. It should be the policy of the United States to leave no stone unturned in the effort to drive this pest from the country, and in this respect there is no reason why bribery should not be included in all treaties as extraditable. The recent amended treaty with Mexico, whereby this crime was put in outlawed, is a salutary precedent in this regard. Under this treaty the State Department has asked, and Mexico has granted, the extradition of one of the St. Louis bribe takers.

There can be no crime more serious than bribery. Other offenses violate one law, while bribery strikes at the foundation of all law. Under our form of government all authority is vested in the people and they are delegated to those who represent them in official capacity. The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The shame lies in toleration, not in conviction. No citizen, no official, less the nation can be injured by the enforcement of law. As long as public plunderers when detected can find a haven of refuge in any foreign land and avoid punishment, just so long encouragement is given to the commission of such practices. If we fail to do all that in us lies to stamp out corruption we can not escape our share of responsibility for the guilt. The first requisite of successful self-government is the strict enforcement of the law and the cutting out of corruption.

Alaskan Boundary.—The message gives in detail the causes which led to the appointment of the Alaskan boundary commission, and congratulates both countries on the satisfactory termination of the sessions of the tribunal. It continues: The result is satisfactory in every way. It is of great material advantage to our people in the far Northwest. It has removed from the field of discussion and possible dispute a subject which has become more acutely accentuated with each passing year. Finally, it has furnished a signal proof of the fairness and good will with which two friendly nations can approach and determine issues involving national sovereignty and honor, and incapable of submission to a third power for adjudication.

Claims Against Venezuela.—Referring to the success which crowned the efforts of the United States to have the Venezuelan dispute submitted to impartial arbitrators the President says: There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes. It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. The Hague court offers so good an example of what can be done in the direction of such settlement that it should be encouraged in every way.

President McKinley, in his message of Dec. 5, 1898, urged that the Executive be authorized to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime powers with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerent powers.

President Roosevelt says he cordially renews this recommendation, as a matter of humanity and morals, and as a matter of national interest.

Consular Service.—I call your attention to the reduced cost in maintaining consular service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913, as shown in the annual report of the Auditor for the State and other departments, as compared with the year previous. For

the year under consideration the excess of expenditures over receipts on account of the consular service amounted to \$28,125.12, as against \$95,572.20 for the year ending June 30, 1912, and \$147,040.16 for the year ending June 30, 1911. This is the best showing in this respect for the consular service for the past fourteen years, and the reduction in the cost of the service to the Government has been made in the composition of the staff, the employment of clerks engaged in the postal service, especially on the new rural free-delivery routes. More routes have been installed since the first of July last than in any five-year period in the department's history. While a due regard to economy must be kept in mind in the establishment of new routes, yet the extension of the rural free-delivery system must be continued, for reasons of sound public policy. No governmental movement of recent years has resulted in greater immediate benefit to the people of the country districts. Rural free delivery, taken in connection with the telephone, the bicycle, and the trolley, accomplishes much toward breaking the isolation of farm life and making it brighter and more attractive. In the immediate past the lack of just such facilities as these has driven many of the more active and restless young men and women from the farms to the cities, where they rebelled at loneliness and lack of mental companionship. It is unhealthy and undesirable for the cities to grow at the expense of the country; and rural free delivery is not only a good thing in itself, but is good because it is one of the causes which check this unwholesome tendency towards the urban concentration of our population at the expense of the country districts. It is for these reasons that we sympathize with, and approve of the policy of building good roads. The movement for good roads is one fraught with the greatest benefit to the country districts.

In the Philippines and Porto Rico, it is declared, steady progress is being made and the condition of the islands is rapidly improving. The efforts of the lighthouse service have been materially advanced.

Receipts of General Land Office.—On the subject of the public lands of the country the message says: The cash receipts of the General Land Office for the last fiscal year were \$11,024,745.55, an increase of \$4,762,816.47 over the preceding year. Of this sum, approximately, \$4,461,493 will go to the credit of the reclamation of the public lands, making the total of this fund, up to the 30th of June, 1913, approximately, \$16,181,836.

A gratifying disposition has been evinced by those having unlawful interests in public land to remove their fences. Nearly two million acres so inclosed have been thrown open on demand. In but comparatively few cases has it been necessary to go into court for the purpose of this work. This work will be vigorously prosecuted until all unlawful inclosures have been removed.

Irrigation.—The work of reclamation of the arid lands of the West is progressing steadily and satisfactorily under the terms of the law setting aside the proceeds from the disposal of public lands for the benefit of engineers known as the Reclamation Service, which is conducting the surveys and examinations, has been thoroughly organized, special plans being taken to secure under the civil-service rule a body of skilled, experienced, and efficient men. Surveys and examinations are progressing throughout the arid states and territories, plans for reclaiming works being prepared and passed upon by the people of the States. The work is well advanced toward the drawing up of contracts, these being delayed in part by necessities of reaching agreements or understanding as regards rights of way or acquisition of real estate. Most of the work completed for construction are of national importance, involving interstate questions or the securing of stable, self-supporting communities in the midst of vast tracts of vacant land, and for which a whole new course of action is being created, the benefits being added as they do to the wealth and stability of the country, and furnishing a home market for the products of the East and South. The reclamation law, while perhaps not ideal as respects the answer the larger needs for which it is designed, further legislation is not recommended until the necessities of change are more apparent.

Preservation of Forests.—The President points out the necessity of taking steps for the preservation of our forests, especially at the headwaters of streams. Of the cotton-wool he says: The cotton-growing States have recently been invaded by a weevil that has done much damage and threatens the entire cotton industry. I suggest to the States to take the most effective remedial legislation as in their judgment may approve.

Isthmian Canal.—The causes leading up to the establishment of the new republic of Panama, and its recognition by the United States are given in much detail, as follows: By the act of June 28, 1902, the Congress authorized the President to enter into treaty with Colombia for the building of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama; it being provided that in the event of the failure to secure such treaty after the lapse of a reasonable time, recourse should be had to building a canal through Nicaragua. It has not been necessary to consider this alternative, as I am enabled to lay before the Senate a treaty providing for the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. This was the route which commended itself to the deliberate judgment of the Congress, and we can now acquire by treaty the right to construct the canal over this route. The question now before us is not by which route the Isthmian canal shall be built, for that question has been definitely and irrevocably decided. The question is simply whether or not we shall have an Isthmian canal, and in the year 1846 this Government entered into a treaty with New Granada, the predecessor upon the Isthmus of the Republic of Colombia, and of the present Republic of Panama, by which a treaty it was provided that the Government and citizens of the United States should always have free and open right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama for the purpose of communication that might be constructed, while in return our Government guaranteed the perfect neutrality of the above-mentioned Isthmus with the view that the free transit of the one to the other sea might not be interrupted or embarrassed by a treaty vested in the United States a substantial property right carved out of the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada then had and possessed over the Isthmus. The territory of New Granada has passed away and its territory has been divided. Its successor, the Government of Colombia, has ceased to own any property in the Isthmus. A new Republic of Panama, which was at one time a sovereign state, and at another time a mere department of the successive confederations known as New

Granada and Colombia, has now succeeded to the rights which first one and then the other formerly exercised over the Isthmus. But as long as the Isthmus endures, the mere geographical fact of its existence, and the peculiar interest in it, in which is required by our position, perpetuate the solemn contract which binds the holders of the territory to respect our right to freedom of transit across it, and binds us in return to guard for the Isthmus and the world the exercise of that inestimable privilege. The true interpretation of the obligations upon which the United States entered into the treaty of 1846 has been given repeatedly in the utterances of Presidents and Secretaries of State. Secretary Cass in 1858 officially stated the position of this Government as follows:

"The progress of events has rendered the interoceanic route across the narrow portion of Central America vastly important to the commercial world, and especially to the United States, whose possessions extend along the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, and demand the most direct and easiest modes of communication. While the rights of sovereignty of the states occupying this region should always be respected, we shall expect that these rights be exercised in a spirit befitting the occasion and the wants and circumstances that have arisen. Sovereignty has its duties as well as its rights, and none of these local governments, even if administered with more regard to their demands than other nations than they have been, would be permitted, in a spirit of eastern isolation, to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world, and justify the act by the pretension that their avenues of trade and travel belong to them and that they choose to shut them, or what is almost equivalent to encumber them with such unjust relations as would prevent their general use.

Seven years later, in 1865, Mr. Seward in different communications took the following position: "The United States have taken and will take no interest in any question of revolution in the State of Panama, or any State of the United States of Colombia, but will maintain a perfect neutrality in connection with such domestic alterations. The United States will, nevertheless, hold themselves ready to protect the transit across the Isthmus against invasion of either domestic or foreign disturbers of the peace of the State of Panama. * * * Neither the text nor the spirit of the stipulation in the treaty of 1846 which the United States engage to preserve the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, imposes an obligation on this Government to comply with the requisition of the President of the United States of Colombia for a force to protect the Isthmus of Panama from a body of insurgents of that country. The purpose of the stipulation was to guarantee the Isthmus against seizure or invasion by a foreign power solely."

Four hundred years ever since shortly after the discovery of this hemisphere, the canal across the Isthmus has been planned. For two score years it has been worked at. When made it is to be the great artery of the world, the geography of a continent, the trade routes of the world. We have shown by every treaty we have negotiated or attempted to negotiate with the peoples in control of the Isthmus and with foreign powers, in references thereto, our consistent good faith in observing our obligations; on the one hand to the peoples of the Isthmus, and on the other hand to the civilized world whose commercial interests are so vitally affected by our feeling by our action. We have shown our duty to others in letter and in spirit, and we have shown the utmost forbearance in exacting our own rights.

Last spring, under the act above referred to, a treaty concluded between representatives of the Republic of Colombia and of our Government was ratified by the Senate. This treaty was entered into at the urgent solicitation of the people of Colombia and after a body of experts appointed by our Government especially to go into the matter of the routes across the Isthmus had pronounced unanimously in favor of the Panama route. In drawing up this treaty every concession was made to the people and to the Government of Colombia. We were more than just in dealing with them. Our generosity was such as to make it a serious question whether we had not gone too far in our interest at the expense of our own; for in our scrupulous desire to pay all possible heed, not merely to the real but even to the fancied rights of our weaker neighbor, who already owed so much to our protection and forbearance, we yielded to the desire of the Republic of Colombia in drawing up the treaty. Nevertheless the Government of Colombia not merely repudiated the treaty, but repudiated it in such manner as to make it evident to the people of the United States that the Government of Colombia had repudiated the treaty, and that the Government of Colombia had repudiated the treaty, and that the Government of Colombia had repudiated the treaty.

Revolution in Panama.—Immediately after the adjournment of the Congress a revolution broke out in Panama. The people of Panama had long been discontented with the Government of Colombia, and they had been kept quiet only by the prospect of the conclusion of the treaty, which was to them a matter of vital concern. When it became evident that the treaty was being repudiated, the people of Panama rose literally as one man. Not a shot was fired by a single man on the Isthmus in the interest of the Colombian Government. Not a life was lost in the accomplishment of the revolution. The Colombian Government stationed on the Isthmus, who had long been unpaid, made common cause with the people of Panama, and with astonishing unanimity the new republic was started. The duty of the United States in the premises was clear. In strict accordance with the principles laid down by Secretaries Cass and Seward in the official documents above quoted, the United States gave notice that we would permit the landing of no expeditionary force, the arrival of which would mean chaos and destruction along the line of the railroad and of the proposed canal, and an inevitable cessation of transit with its consequences. The de facto Government of Panama was recognized in the following telegram to Mr. Ehrman:

"The people of Panama have, by apparently unanimous movement, dissolved their political connection with the Republic of Colombia and resumed their independence. When you are satisfied that a de facto government, republican in form and without substantial opposition from its own people, has been established in the State of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory and look to it for all due action to protect the person and property of citizens of the United States and to keep Government Isthmian transit, in accordance with the obligations of existing treaties governing the relations of the United States to that territory."

Disturbances on Isthmus Since 1846.—When these events happened, fifty-seven years had elapsed since the United States had entered into its treaty with New Granada. During that time the Governments of New Granada and of its successor, Colombia, have been in a constant state of revolution. A long list of the disturbances and revolutions which have convulsed the Isthmus is given, and the report concludes:

The above is only a partial list of the revolutions, rebellions, insurrections, riots, and other outbreaks that have occurred during the period in question; yet

they number 25 for the 57 years. It will be noted that one of them lasted for nearly three years before it was quelled; another for nearly a year. In short, the experience of over half a century has shown Colombia to be utterly incapable of keeping order on the Isthmus. Only the active interference of the United States has enabled her to preserve so much as a semblance of sovereignty. Had not been for the exercises by the United States of the police power in her interest, her connection with the Isthmus would have been sundered long ago. In 1856, in 1860, in 1873, in 1885, in 1901, and again in 1902, sailors and marines from United States war ships were forced to land in order to patrol the Isthmus, to protect life and property, and to see that the transit across the Isthmus was kept open. In 1861, in 1862, in 1886, and in 1900, the Colombian Government asked that the United States Government would lend troops to protect its interests and maintain order on the Isthmus. Perhaps the most extraordinary request is that which has just been received and which runs as follows:

"Knowing that revolution has already commenced in Panama (an eminent Colombian) says that if the Government of the United States will land troops to preserve Colombia in order to permit the transit, if requested by Colombia, the Government will declare martial law; and, by virtue of vested constitutional authority, when public order is restored, will approve by decree the ratification of the canal treaty as signed, or, if the Government of the United States prefers, will call extra session of the Congress—with new and friendly members—next May to approve the treaty. [An eminent Colombian] has the perfect confidence of vice-presidents, says, and if it became necessary will go to the Isthmus or send representative there to adjust matters along above lines to the satisfaction of the people there."

This dispatch, which is based on two standpoints, its offer of immediately guaranteeing the treaty to us in sharp contrast with the positive and contemptuous refusal of the Congress which has just closed its sessions to consider favorably such a treaty, shows that the Government which made the treaty really had absolute control over the situation, but did not choose to exercise this control. The dispatch further calls on us to restore order and to maintain our supremacy in the Isthmus from which the Colombian Government has just by its action decided to bar us by preventing the construction of the canal.

Importance of Peace in Isthmus.—The control, in the interest of the commerce and traffic of the entire civilized world, of the means of undisturbed transit across the Isthmus of Panama has become of transcendent importance to the United States. We have repeatedly exercised the control of the Isthmus in the course of domestic dissension, and by protecting the territory from foreign invasion. In 1853 Mr. Everett assured the Peruvian minister that we should not hesitate to maintain the neutrality of the Isthmus in the event of war between Peru and Spain. The United States would carry into effect the guaranty of neutrality. There have been few administrations of the State Department in which this treaty has not, either by the one side or the other, been a matter of more or less important demands. It was said by Mr. Fish in 1871 that the Department of State had reason to believe that an attack upon Colombian sovereignty on the Isthmus had, on several occasions, been attempted by the Government of Peru. In 1886, when Colombia was under the menace of hostilities from Italy in the Cerutti case, Mr. Bayard expressed the serious concern that the United States could not be forced, to get a European power should resort to arms against a sister republic of this hemisphere, as to the sovereign and uninterrupted use of a part of whose territory we are guarantors under the solemn faith of a treaty.

Treaty With Republic of Panama.—Every effort has been made by the Government of the United States to persuade Colombia to follow a course which was essentially not only to our interests and to the interest of the world, but to the interest of Colombia. Her efforts have failed, and Colombia, by her persistence in repudiating the advances that have been made, has forced us, for the sake of our own honor, and of the interest and well-being of the people of the Isthmus, and of the people of the civilized countries of the world, to take decisive steps to bring to an end a condition of affairs which had become intolerable. The Republic of Panama, which has better in its terms than the treaty offered to us by the Republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. At last the right to begin this great undertaking is made available. Panama has done her part, and that remains in the hands of the Congress to do its part and forthwith this Republic will enter upon the execution of a project colossal in its size and of well-nigh incalculable possibilities for the good of this country and the nations of mankind.

Provisions of Treaty.—By the provisions of the treaty the United States guarantee and will maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama. There is granted to the United States in perpetuity, upon occupation, a strip of land ten miles wide and extending three nautical miles into the sea at either terminal, with all lands lying outside of the zone necessary for the construction of the canal or for its auxiliary works, and with the islands in the Bay of Panama. The cities of Panama and Colon are not embraced in the canal zone, but the United States assumes their sanitation and, in case of need, the maintenance of order therein; the United States enjoys within the granted limits all the rights, power, and authority which it would possess were it the sovereign of the territory to the exclusion of the exercise of sovereign rights by the Republic. All railway and canal property rights belonging to Panama and needed for the canal pass to the United States, including any property of the respective companies in the cities of Panama and Colon; the crops, property, and personnel of the canal and railways are exempted from taxation as well in the cities of Panama and Colon as in the canal zone and its dependencies. Free immigration of the personnel and importation of supplies for the construction and operation of the canal are granted. Provision is made for the use of military force and the building of fortifications by the United States for the protection of the transit. In other details, particularly as to the acquisition of the interests of the New Panama Canal company and the condemnation of private property for the uses of the canal, the stipulations of the Hay-Herran treaty are closely followed, while the compensation to be given for these enlarged grants remains the same, being ten millions of dollars payable on exchange of ratifications; and, beginning nine years from that date, an annual payment of \$250,000 during the life of the convention.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
White House, Dec. 7, 1913.

The venerable William Jackson, one of the oldest of Wesleyan ministers and for twenty-four years governor of Didsbury college, is dead.