## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE READ TO CONGRESS

Document Deals Voluminously with Questions of State---Tariff Left for Future Communication --- Position of the Government Toward Organized Labor--- Dealing with Illegal Combinations.

Congress, read at the opening of the short secsion of that body, deals voluminously with questions of state, The subject of tariff revision is left for a further communication. Substantially the message is as follows: To the Senate and House of Represen-

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

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 improvements far greater than would be wise in bard Battle ships and forts, public buildings, and improved waterways are investments which should be made when we have the money; but abundant revenues and a large surplus niways invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of gov-

Capital and Labor.

In the vast and complicated mechanism of our modern civilized life 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. As long as the states retain the prim-

ary control of the police power the cir-

cumstances 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 wrong is not done by unruly persons who shield themselves be-hind 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 have caused the breach of orderfor 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. In the District of Columbia and in the territories the federal law covers the entire field of government; but the labor question is only acute in populous centers of commerce manufactures, or mining. Nevertheless. both in the enactment and in the en forcement of law the federal government within its restricted sphere should set an example to the state governments, espe cially in a matter so vital as this affecting labor. I believe that under modern industrial conditions it is often necessary and even where not necessary, it is yet often wise, that there should be organ-ization of labor in order better to secure the rights of the individual wage-worker. All encouragement should be given to any such organization, so long as it is con ducted with a due and decent regard for the rights of others. There are in this country some labor unions which have habitually, and other labor unions which have often, been among the most effective agents in working for good citizenship and for uplifting the condition of those whose welfare should be closest to But when any labor union seeks improper ends, or seeks to achieve proper ends by improper means, all good citizens and more especially all honorable public servants must oppose the wrongdoing as resolutely as they would oppose the wrongdoing of any great corporation. Of course any violence, brutality, or corruption, should not for one moment be tolerated. Wage-workers have an entire right to organize and by all peaceful and norable means to endeavor to persuade their fellows to join with them in organ They have a legal right, which. according to circumstances, may or may not be a moral right, to refuse to work company with men who decline to join their organizations. They have under no circumstances the right to commit violence upon those, whether capitalists or wage-workers, who refuse to support their organizations, or who side with those with whom they are at odds; for mob rule is intolerable in any form.

The amendment and strengthening of the employers' liability law is recommended, and the passage of a law requiring the adoption of a block signal system, to prevent railroad acci-

Unions of Government Employes. The message continues:

There is no objection to employes o the government forming or belonging to unions; but the government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against non-union men who are in its employ ment, or who seek to be employed under Moreover, it is a very grave impropriety for government employes 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 pub lic servants. They should be amply paid But their payment must be obtained by arguing their claims fairly and honorabl before the Congress, and not by banding together for the defeat of those congress men who refuse to give promises which Administration has already taken steps to prevent and punish abuses of this rature; but it will be wise for the Congress to supplement this action by legislation.

Bureau of Labor. Much can be done by the government in labor matters merely by giving put licity to certain conditions. The bureau of labor has done excellent work of this kind in many different directions. I small it reaches every state and territory in

President Roosevelt's message to | shortly lay before you in a special message the full report of the investigation of the bureau of labor into the Colorado mining strike, as this is a strike in which certain very evil forces, which are more or less at work everywhere under the conditions of modern industrialism, became startlingly prominent.

Corporations.

When we come to deal with great cor-porations 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 com-merce is peculiarly the field of the general government. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great cor-porations 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 corpora tions which are never operated vithin that state at all, but in other states whose laws they ignore. government alone can deal adequately with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an intemperate, structive, 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 eaminating or at least in minimizing whatever of mischlef or of evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no apirit 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 corporaare necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can nanage such corporations successfully. and such man 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 Where these laws come short others should be enacted to supplement

them. The bureau of corporations has made careful preliminary investigation of many important corporations. It will make a special report on the beef industry.

Bureau of Corporations. The pelicy of the bureau is to accomplish the purposes of its creation by cooperation, not antagonism; by making constructive legislation, not destructive prosecution, the immediate object of its conservative investigation of law and fact, and by refusal to issue ncomplete and hence necessarily inaccurate reports. Its policy being thus one of open inquiry into, and not attack upon, business, the bureau has been able to gain not only the confidence, but, better still, the co-operation of men engaged in egitimate business.

The bureau offers to the Congress the means of getting at the cost of production of our various great staples of com-

Above all else, we must strive to keep the highways of commerce open to all on equal terms; and to do this it is necessary to put a complete stop to all re Whether the shipper or the railroad is to blame makes no difference; the rebate must be stopped, the abuses of the private car and private terminal track and side-track systems must be stopped, and the legislation of the Fiftyeighth Congress which declares it to be unlawful for any person or corporation to offer, grant, give, solicit, accept, or receive any rebate, concession, or discrimination in respect of the transportation of any property in interstate or foreign commerce whereby such property shall by any device whatever be transported it a less rate than that named in the tariffs published by the carrier must be enforced. While I am of the opinion that at present it would be undesirable, if it were not impracticable, finally to cothe Interstate Commerce Commission with general authority to fix railroad rates. I do not believe that, as a fair security to shippers, the Commission should be vested with the power, where a given rate has been challenged and after full hearing found to be unreasonable, to de cide, subject to judicial review, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place; the ruling of the commission to take effect immediately, and to obtain unless and until it is reversed by the court of review. In my judgment the most important legislative act now needed as regards the regulation of corpora tions is this act to confer on the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to revise rates and regulations, the revised rate to at once go into effect, and to stay in effect unless and until the court of review reverses it.

Much space is here devoted to a consideration of the problem of the proper housing of the poor in our great cities, and the importance of a proper solution of the question shown.

On this subject the message says: There should be severe child-labor and factory-inspection laws. It is very desirable that married women should not ock in factories. The prime duty of the man is to work, to be the breadwinner; the prime duty of the woman is to be the mother, the housewife. All questions of tariff and finance sink into utter insignificance when compared with the tre mendous, the vital importance of trying shape conditions so that these two duties of the man and of the woman car e fulfilled under reasonably favorable reumstances. If a race does not have lenty of children, or if the children de ot grow up, or if when they grow up they are unhealthy in body and stunted or vicious in mind, then that race is de adent and no heaping up of wealth, no plendar of momentary material prosper ity, can avail in any degree as offsets.

Agriculture.
The Department of Agriculture ha grown into an educational institution with a faculty of two thousand special fats waking research into all the sciences of production. The Congress appropria 2444, directly and indirectly, six millions of donar annually to carry on this work

ly come under our flas Co-operation is had with the state experiment stations. end with many other in titutions and inlividuals. The world is carefully searchd for new varieties of grains, grasses, vegetables, trees, and shrubs suitable to various localities in our country; and marked benefit to our producers has resulted.

Irrigation. During the two and a half years that have clapsed since the passage of the eclamation act rapid progress has been nade in the surveys and examinations of the opportunities for reclamation in the thirteen states and three territories of the arid West. Construction has already been begun on the largest and most important of the irrigation works, and plans ere being completed for works which will utilize the funds now available. reclamation act has been found to be remarkably complete and effective, and wo broad in its provisions that a wide range of undertakings has been possible under it. At the same time, economy is guarinteed by the fact that the funds must ultimately be returned to be used over again.

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

Although the wisdom of creating forest reserves is nearly everywhere heartly recognized, yet in a few localities there has been misunderstanding and complaint. The following statement is

therefore desirable: The forest-reserve policy can be sucessful only when it has the full support of the people of the West. It can not safely, and should not in any case, be im-posed 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 move away. leaving desolation behind them.

The making of forest reserves within railroad and wagon-road land-grant limits will bereafter, as for the past three years, be so managed as to prevent the issue, under the act of June 4, 1897, of base for exchange or lieu selection (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 forest reserves will, as in the recent past, 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 socalled scrip.

Establishment of game reserves wherein may be preserved specimens of our wild animals which are now rapidly tending toward extinction is urged.

Pensions.

The veterans of the civil war have a claim upon the nation such as no other body of our citizens possess. The pension bureau has never in its history been managed in a more satisfactory manner than is now the case.

Indians.

The progress of the Indians toward clvilization, though not rapid, is perhaps all that could be hoped for in view of the ircumstances. It is commonly declared that the slow advance of the Indians is due to the unsatisfactory character of the men appointed to take immediate charge of them, and to some extent this is true. While the standard of the employes in the Indian service shows great improvement over that of bygone years, and while actual corruption or flagrant dishonesty is now the rare exception, it ertheless the fact that the salaries paid Indian agents are not large enough to attract the best men to that field of To achieve satisfactory results work. the official in charge of an Indian tribe should possess the high qualifications which are required in the manager of a large business, but only in exceptional cases is it possible to secure men of such a type for these positions.

Postal Service. In the Postoffice Department the servve has increased in efficiency, and conditions as to revenue and expenditure continue satisfactory. The increase revenue during the year was \$9,358,181.10, or 6.9 per cent, the total receipts amounting to \$143,382,624.34. The expenditures were \$152,362,116.70. an increase of about 9 per cent over the previous year, being thus \$8,979,492.36 in excess of the current revenue. Included in these expenditures was a total appropriation of \$12. 956,637.35 for the continuation and extension of the rural free delivery which was an increase of \$4,902,237.33 over the amount expended for this purpose in the preceding fiscal year. Large as this expenditure has been the beneficent results attained in extending the free distribution of mails to the residents of rural districts have justified the wisdom of the outlay. Statistics brought down to the 1st of October, 1994, show that on that date there were 27,138 rural routes established, serving approximately 12,000,000 of people in rural districts remote from postoffices, and that there were pending at that time 3.859 petitions for the establishment of new rural routes Unquestionably some part of the general ncrease in receipts is due to the increased postal facilities which the rural service has afforded. The revenues have also been aided greatly by amendments in the classification of mail matter, and the curtailment of abuses of the secondclass mailing privilege. 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, and 15.92 for the four-year period immediately preceding

The message here points out the need for improvement in our consular system, advises the creation of a national art gallery and suggests the enactment of a national quarantine

Extravagance in Printing. I call your attention to the great extravagance in printing and binding govrnment publications, and especially to he fact that altogether too many of hese publications are printed. There is constant tendency to increase their number and their volume. It is an understatement to say that no appreciable narm would be caused by, and substanial benefit would accrue from, decreasing the amount of printing now done by at least one-half.

Laws Concerning Citizenship. Not only are the laws relating to nat uralization now defective, but those reating to citizenship of the United States ought also to be made the subject of cientific inquiry with a view to prob tble further legislation. By what act xpatriation may be assumed to have can citizen may reside abroad and re eive the protection of our passport vhether any degree of protection should extended to one who has made th eclaration of intention to become a citi en of the United States but has not se ured naturalization are quistions e-erious import, involving personal right end often producing friction between thi covernment and foreign government Yet upon these questions our laws at

the Union and the islam's of the sea late- | silent. I recommend that an examination | e made into the subjects of citizenship, expatriation, and protection of Ameri cans abroad, with a view to appropriate legislation.

Currency.

The attention of the Congress should e especially given to the currency ques tion, and that the standing committees on the matter in the two houses charged with the duty, take up the matter of our currency and see whether it is not possible to secure an agreement in the busi-ness world for bettering the system; the committees should consider the question of the retirement of the greenbacks and the problem of securing in our currency such elasticity as is consistent with safe ty. Every silver dollar should be made law redeemable in gold at the option of the holder Merchant Marine.

I especially commend to your immediate attention the encouragement of our merchant marine by appropriate legisla-

Tariff. On the tariff I shall communicate with you later. Immigration and Naturalization.

In dealing with the questions of immi gration and naturalization it is indispensable to keep certain facts ever before the minds of those who share in enacting the laws. First and foremost, let us remember that the question of being a good American has nothing whatever to do with a man's birthplace any more than it has to do with his creed. In every generation from the time this government was founded men of foreign birth have stood in the very foremost rank of good citizenship, and that not merely in one but in every field of American activity; while to try to draw a distinction between the man whose parents came to this country and the man whose ancestors came to it several generations back is a mere absurdity. Good Americanism is a matter of heart, of conscience, of lofty aspiration, of sound com-mon sense, but not of birthplace or of

There is no danger of having too many immigrants of the right kind. But the citizenship of this country should not be debased. It is vital that we should keep high the standard of well-being among our wage-workers, and therefore we should not admit masses of men whose standards of living and whose personal customs and habits are such that they tend to lower the level of the American wage-worker; and above all we should not admit any man of an unworthy type any man concerning whom we can say that he will himself be a bad citizen, or that his children and grandchildren will detract from instead of adding to the sum of the good citizenship of the country. Similarly we should take the greatcare about naturalization.

Under the Constitution it is in the power of the Congress "to establish a uniform rule of naturalization," numerous laws have from time to time been enacted for that purpose, which have been supplemented in a few states by state laws having special application There should be a comprehensive revision of the naturalization laws. The courts having power to naturalize should be definitely named by national authority; the testimony upon which naturalization may be conferred should be definitely prescribed; publication of impending naturalization applications should be required in advance of their hearing in court: the form and wording of all certificates issued should be uniform throughout the country, and the courts should be required to make returns to the Secretary of State at stated periods of all naturalizations conferred.

Protection of Elections. The power of the government to protect the integrity of the elections of its own officials is inherent and has been recognized and affirmed by repeated declarations of the Supreme court. There is no enemy of free government mor dangerous and none so insidious as the corruption of the electorate. No one de fends or excuses corruption, and it would eem to follow that none would oppose vigorous measures to eradicate it. recommend the enactment of a law directed against bribery and corruption in Federal elections. The details of such a law may be safely left to the wise discretion of the Congress, but it should go as far as under the Constitution it is possible to go, and should include severe penalties against him who gives or re ceives a bribe intended to influence his act or opinion as an elector; and provisions for the publication not only of the expenditures for nominations and elections of all candidates but also of all contributions received and expenditures

nade by political committees. Delays in Criminal Prosecutions. No subject is better worthy the attenion of the Congress than that portion of the report of the Attorney-General deal ing with the long delays and the great obstruction to justice experienced in the cases of Beavers, Green and Gaynor, and Benson. Were these isolated and special cases, I should not call your attention to them; but the difficulties encountered regards these men who have been indictd for criminal practices are not exceptional; they are precisely similar in kind to what occurs again and again in the case of criminals who have means to enable them to take advantage of a system of procedure which grown up in the Federal courts and which amounts in effect to making the aw easy of enforcement against the who has no money, and difficult of enforcement, even to the point of some times securing immunity, as regards the man who has money. In criminal cases the writ of the United States should run hroughout its borders. The wheels of justice should not be clogged, as they have been clegged in the cases above mentioned, where it has proved absolute y impossible to bring the accused to the place appointed by the Constitution for

At present the interests of the inno cent man are amply safeguarded; but the interests of the government, that the interests of honest administration that is the interests of the people, are not recognized as they should be. subject better warrants the attention of he Congress. Indeed, no subject bette warrants the attention of the bench and the bar throughout the United States.

Many suggestions for the improve ment of conditions in Alaska are nade, among others the admission of a delegate from that territory to con

The Alaskan natives should be given he right to acquire, hold, and dispos of property upon the same conditions a riven other inhabitants; and the privilege of citizenship should be given to such as nay be able to meet certain definite re ulrements. In Hawali Congress should ive the governor power to remove al he officials appointed under him. The arbor of Honolulu should be dredged 'he marine-rospital service should b mpowered to study leprosy is 'he ands. I ask special consideration for he report and recommendations of the

overnor of Porto Rico. Fore on Policy. In treating of our foreign policy and o he attitude that this great nation should ume in the world at large, it is abso tely necessary to consider the army and navy, and the Congress, throng hich the thought of the nation f. i mind the fundamental fact that it is possible to treat our foreign policy other this policy takes shape in the

effort to secure justice for others or jusfor ourselves, save as conditioned ipon the attitude we are willing to take toward our army, and especially toward our navy. It is not merely unwise, it is ontemptible, for a no-on, as for an individual, to use high-sounding language o proclaim its purposes, or to take positions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no intention of providing and of keeping the orce necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is far better not to assume such an attitude.

The steady aim of this nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive o bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds 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. The peace of tyrannous terror, the peace of craven weakness, the peace of injustice, all these should be shunned as we shun unrighteous war. The goal to set before us as a nation, the goal which should be set before all mankind. s the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its cwn rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others.

There is as yet no judicial way of enforcing a right in international law. When one nation wrongs another or wrongs many others, there is no tribunal before which the wrongdoer can be brought. Either it is necessary supinely to acquiesce in the wrong, and thus put a premium upon brutality and aggres-sion, or else it is necessary for the aggrieved nation valiantly to stand up for ts rights. Until some method is devised by which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most civilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous ap-preciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civlized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarsm in one form or another-

Arbitration Treatles. We are in every way endeavoring to help on, with cordial good will, every movement which will tend to bring us into more friendly relations with the resi 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. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary Union. an eminent body composed of practical statesmen from all countries. isked the Powers to join with this government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the work already so happily begun at The Hague may be carried some steps further to-ward completion. This carries out the desire expressed by the first Hague conference itself.

Policy on Western Hemisphere. It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the western hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by ome civilized nation, and in the western hemisphere the adherents of the United States to the Monroe doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an inter-

national police power, Our interests and those of our south ern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by as in a spirit of cordial and helpful sym-We would interfere with them in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations.

In asserting the Monroe doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama. and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have ected in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Phere are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such peculiar herror as to make us doubt whether it is not our manifest duty to endeavor least to show our disapproval of the deed end our sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifable. But in extreme cases action may be justifiable and proper. What form the action shall take must depend upon the circumstances of the case; that is, upon the degree of the atrocity and upon ur power to remedy it. The cases in which we could interfere by force arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are necessarily very few. Yet it is not to be exected that a people like ours, which in pite of certain very obvious shortcomngs, nevertheless as a whole shows its consistent practice its belief in the orinciples of civil and religious liberty and of orderly freedom, a people among whom even the worst crime, like the crime of lynching, is never more than poradic, so that individuals and not lasses are molested in their fundamental ights-it is inevitable that such a naion should desire eagerly to give exession to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishenef, or when it witnesses such sysematic and long-extended cruelty and ppression as the cruelty and oppression which the Armenians have been the ictims, and which have won for them Rights of American Citizens Abroad.

Even where it is not possible to se are in other nations the observance of he principles which we accept as axematic, it is necessary for us "irmly to nsist upon the rights of our own cititens without regard to their creed ace; without regard to whether they were born here or born abroad.

The strong arm of the government in inforcing respect for its just rights in aternational matters is the navy of the 'nited States I most earnestly recomend that there be no halt in the work f upbuilding the American navy. There no more patriotic duty before us as a copie than to keep the navy adequate o the needs of this country's position. We have undertaken to build the Isthmian canal. We have undertaken to secure for ourselves our just share in the taken to protect our citizens from im-

proper treatment in foreign lands. We cation of the Monroe dectrine to vestern hemisphere. Unless our attitude in these and all similar matters is to be a mere boastful sham we can not afford to abandon 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 would neither receive nor deserve the slightest attention if we were impotent to make them good.

The Army. Within the last three years the United States has set an example in disarmament where disarmament was proper. By law our army is fixed at a maximum one hundred thousand and a minimum of sixty thousand men. When there was insurrection in the Philippines we kept the army at the maximum. Peace came in the Philippines, and now our army has been reduced to the minimum which it is possible to keep it with due regard to its efficiency. The guns now mounted require twenty-eight thousand men, if the coast fortifications are to be adequately manned. Relatively to the nation, it is not now so large as the police force of New York or Chicago reletively to the population of either c.s. We need more officers; there are not enough to perform the regular army work. It is very important that the offiers of the army should be accustomed to handle their men in masses, as it is also important that the national guard of the several states should be accustomed to actual field maneuvering, especially in connection with the regulars, For this reason we are to be congratu-lated upon the success of the field maenuvers at Manassas last fall, maneuvers in which a larger number of regulars and national guard 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 fall to keep it at a very high grade of proficiency.

Great progress has been made in protecting our coasts by adequate fortin-cations with sufficient guns. We should, however, pay much more heed than at present to the development of an exten-sive system of floating mines for use in all our more important harbors. These mines have been proved to be a most formidable safeguard against hostile fleets.

The Philippines.
In the Philippine islands there has been during the past year a continuation of the steady progress which has obtained 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, sundered from one another more or less sharply, 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 incapable of existing in 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 1 most 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 turn the attention of the Filipinos away from the problems of achieving moral and material prosperity, of working for a stable, orderly, and just government, and toward foolish and dangerous intrigues for a complete independence for which they are as yet totally

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. I do not 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 interests have been served in more 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 world's work, and this particular piece of work has been imposed upon us by the results of the war with Spain. The problem presented to us in the Philipine islands is akin to, but not exactly like, the problems presented to the other great civilized powers which have possessions in the Orient. More distinctly than any of the powers we are endeavoring 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. There are commissioners, judges, and governors in the islands who are Filipines and who have exactly the same share in the government of the islands as have their colleagues who are Americans, while in the lower ranks, of course, the great majority of the public servants are Filipinos. Within two years we shall be trying the experiment of an elective lower house in he Philippine legislature,

Meanwhile our own people should remember that there is need for the highest standard of conduct among the Americans sent to the Philippine islands, not only among the public among the private individuals who go to them. It is because I feel this so deeply that in the administration of these islands I have positively refused to permit any discrimination whatseever 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 Gov. 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 There is need of a vigilant and disinterested support of our public servants in the Philippines by good citizens here in the United States. Unfortunately hitherto those of our people here at home who have specially claimed to be the champions of the Filipinos have in reality been their worst enemies. This continue to be the case as long as they strive to make the Filipinos independent, and stop all industrial development of the islands by crying out against the laws which would bring it on the ground that capitalists must not "exploit" the islands. Such proceedings are not only unwise, but are most harmful to the Filpinos, who do not need independence at all, but who do need good laws, good public servants, and the industrial development that can only come if the investment of American and foreign capital in the islands is favored in all legitimate

Every measure taken concerning the islands should be taken primarily with a view to their advantage. We should cer-tainly 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. earnestly hope for the immediate 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. The White House, Dec. 5, 1904.