Text of the Message.

To the Senate and House of Representatives; The congress assembles this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On September 6 President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city September 14.

Of the last seven elected presidents, he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recifal of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an Amertean tresident, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassing types unfortunately not uncommon in history. President Lincoln failing a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield by an utterly deprayed criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible

## Tribute to President McKinley.

It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States, while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his iose associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are allimportant in the makeup of national charneter. A gallant soldier in the great war for the union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal batred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends, inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology cannot be urged.

President McKiniey was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage workers, who had entered the army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the president was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moredate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest-champions the wage worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no president-not even Lincoln himself-was ever what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after baving endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been re-elected to the presidency because the majority of our citizens the majority of our farmers and wage workers believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They with him. They felt that he represented felt themselves in close and intimate touch so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent

And this was the man at whom the assas sin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infam; of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the president was meeting the people generally; and advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal biow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of

The shock, the grief of the country are tween life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal of unfaitering trust in the will of the Most of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

When we turn from the man to the na tion, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand criminal was a professed anarchist, inarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and cannot escape their share of responsibility applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or

excites aimless discontent. The blow was aimed not at this president. but at all presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation expressed through the forms of law as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the president be accepted as due to protest against "inequalities in the social order," save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent" than picking pockets or wife-beating.

Anarchy Must Be Made Odious. The aparchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes

cern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not offord opportunity to every honest and intelligent sor of toil, then the door of hope is forever losed against him. The aparchist is everyshere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for an ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed his own evil passions and in the evil conofficeseeker. President McKinley was killed duct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the state to do justice to him or hie. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a "product of social conditions," save as a highwayman is "proliberal laws, and who are as hostile to the duced" by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and boly names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings and meetings are essentially seditious and

treasonable. I carnestly recommend to the congress hat in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should ensure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and farreaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought

Give Federal Courts Jurisdiction. The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the president or any man who by the constitution or bylaw is in line of succession for the presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offepse against our institutions.

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race, and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be tions, like piracy and that form of manall civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the federal government the power of dealing with the crime.

A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminat who had just taken the life of the president. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the more earnestly anxious to represent the behalf. So fa. from his deed being com- popularly, although with technical inac- wage worker and capitalist, of investor and the immigrants, and they should be held well thought out wishes of the people; his one and the people against the curacy, known as "trusts," appeal, especification of the people; his one as to secure equity as to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law. him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be refear as to his personal eafety. If the risk to the president's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

Proof of Prosperity. During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the nation bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark is to be congratulated because of its pres- in what manner it is practicable to apply mediately the law excluding Chinese labordays while the president yet hovered be- ent abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it mischievous laws. If the hand of the Lord agony uttered no words save of forgiveness is heavy upon any country, if flood or to his murderer, of love for his friends and drouth comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law iligh. Such a death, crowning the glory can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains not by genuine work with need or hand but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace not only to themselves but to nourn a good and great president who is others. If the business world loses its

dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally the welfare of each citizen, and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual our wicest and most resolute action. This capacity; but wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it fismed by the teachings of professed an- the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

The tremendous and highly complex inin the public press, appeal to the dark and dustrial development which went on with evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and ever accelerated rapidity during the latter sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the half of the nineteenth century brings us men who preach such doctrines, and they face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems for the whirlwind that is reaped. This The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind, they are no longer sufficient.

The growth of cities has gone on beyond omparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase, not murely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual, and especially of very corporate, fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the bustness world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

The process has aroused much antagon ism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. because he represents the same depravity There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condihimself morally accessory to murder before tion of conferring immense incidental benethe fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose fits upon others. Successful enterprise, of

form of social order. His protest of con- offer great prizes as the rewards of success. Combinations and Trusts.

The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across this continent. who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have on the whole done great good to our people. Without them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place. Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests. The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation; that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usus ally the factor which fixes the gulf between striking success and hopeless failure An additional reason for caution in deal-

international commercial conditions of today. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world. America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not teoparded, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our

Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national lifethe rule which underlies all others-is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions, and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more, and in times of adversity some will suffer far more than others; but speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them ! made an offense against the law of na- with the conditions in this very year which stealing known as the slave trade; for it is enterprises can never have its effects merce in its broadest sense; including of far blacker infamy than either. It limited to the men at the top. It spreads among many other things whatever conshould be so declared by treaties among throughout, and while it is bad for every- cerns labor and all matters affecting the The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries: but the wage worker may be deprived of

even bare necessities. The mechanism of modern business is so cisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions. the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after Much of the legislation directed at the strained from becoming president by any trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective. In accordance with a well known agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching tected by the tariff, but it should also be national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand the impossible or the undewrath, but when their wrath is once sirable serve as the alli-, of the forces coming freely, yet represent a standard of with which they are "aminally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the them to a lower level. I regard it as necesremedies.

All this is true, and yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being over-capitalization because of its many baleful consequences; and a to correct these evils.

Supervision of Trusts Demanded. There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This springs from no spirit of envy or uncharitableness. nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy. It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the necessity of meeting changing and changed conditions of trade with new methods, nor upon ignorance of the fact that combination of capital in the effort to accomplish great things is necessary when the world's progress demands tha great things be done. It is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits ontrolled; and in my judgment this conviction is right. It is no limitation upon property rights

or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from government the privilege which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be Corporations engaged in interstate com merce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it te therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these

Publicity First Essential.

amine the workings of the great corpora-

by process of law, and in the course of themselves. Finally, there must also in chant marine should be utterly insignift- of wood, water or grass, from contribut-

which may be made public to the world. joint stock or other associations, depending upon any statutory law for their exist- tion. But on points such as those touched own ships. To remedy this state of things est protection is not an end of itself, it te ence or privileges, should be subject to on above the national government can act, proper governmental supervision, and full and accurate information as to their operareasonable intervals.

The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one state, aling very little business in the state where indeed his brother's keeper, and that while they are incorporated. There is utter lack | no man who refuses to walk can be carried of uniformity in the state laws about with advantage to himself or anyone else. them; and as no state has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through state action. permanently effective, aid must always take for the distribution of our goods. It should forest reserves will inevitably be of still Therefore, in the interest of the whole the form of helping a man to help himself, people, the nation should, without interfer- and we can all best help ourselves by ing with the power of the states in the joining together in the work that is of matter itself, also assume power of supering with corporations is to be found in the vision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business. This is especially true where the corporation derives have produced the great aggregations of a portion of its wealth from the existence efficient immigrant fitted to become an corporate and individual wealth have made of some monopolistic element or tendency American citizen, every immigrant who in its business. There would be no hardship in such supervision; banks are subto it, and in their case it is now accepted as a simple matter of course. Inporations by the national government need supervision exercised over them by so conservative a state as Massachusetts, in order produce excellent results. When the constitution was adopted.

man wisdom could foretell the sweeping proper authorities to regulate, so far as especially necessary. was then necessary, the comparatively insignificant and strictly localized corporate tion law ought to be to secure by a careful wholly different and wholly different action test some intelligent capacity to appreciate is called for. I believe that a law can be American institutions and act sanely as framed which will enable the national government to exercise control along the lines above indicated; profiting by the experience gained through the passage and ad- it would do what is also in point, that is, ministration of the interstate commerce tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so If however, the judgment of congress is that it lacks the constitutional power to pass such an act, then a constitutional amendment should be submitted to springs. Finally, all persons should be exconfer the power.

Department of Commerce.

There should be created a cabinet officer, industries, as provided in the bill introduced at the last session of congress. is now closing. Disaster to great business It should be his province to deal with com- under American conditions. This would body, it is worst for those farthest down, great business corporations and our merchant marine.

The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship delicate that extreme care must be taken for the purpose of broadening our markets, not to interfere with it in a spirit of rash- | securing our business interests on a safe ness or ignorance. Many of those who basis, and making firm our new position in have made it their vocation to denounce the international industrial world, while law he defied was at once invoked in his the great industrial combinations which are scrupnfously safeguarding the rights of moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage workers. If the farmer and the wage worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is therefore a matter for hearty to disturb the business interests of the calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. congratulation that on the whole wages country by any general tariff change at

are higher today in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard avoid in the interest of our commercial and of living is also. higher than sociological law, the ignorant or reckless ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible

Chinese Exclusion Act.

Not only must our labor be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag wrongs really are and to what extent and sary, with this end in view, to re-enact imers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

Protection to Laborers The national government should demand resolute and practical effort must be made the highest quality of service from its employes, and in return it should be a good employer. If possible legislation should be passed, in connection with the interstate commerce law, which will render effective the effects of different states to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of government work, provision should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work and from work under unsanitary conditions. The government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending if necessary to the subcontractors. The government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed; and, as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our capital city, into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to bealth and morals. American wage workers work

heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole

civilized world, has to deal, is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man-wage worker. tarmer and capitalist alike-must ever be The first essential in determining how to the sum total of his own individual qualideal with the great industrial combinations, ties and abilities. Second only to this is knowledge of the facts publicity. In comes the power of acting in combination the interest of the public, the government or association with others. Very great should have the right to inspect and ex- good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage workers tions engaged in interstate business. Pub- when managed with forethought, and when licity is the only sure remedy which we they combine insistence upon their own can now invoke. What further remedies rights with law-abiding respect for the are needed in the way of governmental rights of others. The display of these perverted instincts lead bim to prefer con- the type which benefits all manking, can regulation, or taxation, can only be de- qualities in such bodies is a duty to the remedial action by congress. It als dis-

When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable tions should be made public regularly at prerequisite to success in the kind of astional life for which we strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so vide an auxiliary force for the navy. Ships clearly that whatever destroys the forest works no outside help can avail him; but ways do business in many states, often do- cach man must remember also that he is roads work for their terminal points. Shipyet that each at times stumbles or halts. that each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him. To be ommon interest to all.

Immigration Laws Unsatisfactory. Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every bonest and comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as deed, it is probable that supervision of cor- law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comnot go so far as is now the case with the prehensive law enacted with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who of living on the ships of our commercial that effective co-operation between the are known to be believers in anarchistic rivals. the end of the eighteenth century no hu- principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a changes, alike in industrial and political low moral tendency or of unsavery reputaconditions, which were to take place by tion. This means that we should require a stored to the ocean. the beginning of the twentieth century. At more thorough system of inspection abroad that time it was accepted as a matter of and a more rigid system of examination at course that the several states were the our immigration ports, the former being

The second object of a proper immigra bodies of the day. The conditions are now and not merely perfunctory educational out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. malignant passion and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably cluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor to be known as secretary of commerce and There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent star: stop the influx of cheap labor and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life, and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over

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

Reciprocity must be treated as the hand maiden of protection. Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. Just how far this is must be determined according to the individual case, remembering always that every application of our tariff policy to meet our shifting national needs must be conditioned upon the cardinal fact that the duties must never be reduced below the point that will cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage worker is a economic legislation.

prime consideration of our entire policy of Subject to this proviso of the proper protection necessary to our industrial wellbeing at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our hearty support. phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign actions. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be avoided. The customers to whom we dispose of our surplus products in the long run, directly or indirectly, purchase those surplus products by giving us something in return. ability to purchase our products should as far as possible be secured by so arranging our tariff as to enable us to take from them those products which we can use without harm to our own industries and labor, or the use of which will be of marked benefit

It is most important that we should maintain the high level of our present prosperity. We have now reached the point in the development of our interests where we are not only able to supply our own markets but to produce a constantly growing surplus for which we must find markets abroad. To secure these markets we can utilize existing duties in any case where they are no longer needed for the purpose of protection, or in any case where the article is not produced here and the duty is no longer necessary for revenue, as giving us something to offer in exchange for what we ask. The cordial relations will naturally be promoted by the course thus required by our own interests. The natural line of development for

policy of reciprocity will be in connection longer require all of the support once needed to establish them upon a sound basis, and with those others where either because of natural or of economic causes we are beyoud the reach of successful competition I ask the attention of the senate to the reciprocity treaties laid before it by my

predecessor. American Merchant Marine. The condition of the American merchant

ping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial rigation and other interests of the regions benefit. From every standpoint it is un- in which the reserves lie has led to a widewine for the United States to continue to spread demand by the people of the west rely upon the ships of competing nations for their protection and extension. The be made advantageous to carry American greater use in the future than in the past. goods in American built ships. At present American shipping is under ever practicable and their usefulness should certain great disadvantages when put 'u be increased by a thoroughly business-like competition with the shipping of foreign management. countries. Many of the fast foreign At present the protection of the forest steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or reserves rests with the general land office. above, are subsidized; and all our ships, the mapping and description of their timsailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo ber with the United States geological surcarriers of slow speed and mail carriers of vey and the preparation of plans for their high speed, have to meet the fact that the conservative use with the bureau of fororiginal cost of building American ships is estry, which is also charged with the gen-

greater than is the case abroad; that the eral advancement of practical forestry in wages paid American officers and seamen the United States. These various funcare very much higher than those paid the tions should be united in the bureau of officers and scamen of foreign competing forestry, to which they properly belong. countries, and that the standard of living The present diffusion of responsibility is on our ships is far superior to the standard bad from every standpoint. It prevents Our government should take such action

as will remedy these inequalities. The

Maintain Gold Standard.

The act of March 14, 1990, intended unequivocally to establish gold as the standard money and to maintain at a parity therewith all forms of money medium to use with us has been shown to be timely and judicious. The price of our government bonds in the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obliga-American citizens. This would not keep tions issued by other nations, is a flattering tribute to our public credit. This condition it is evidently desirable to maintain in many respects the national banking law furnishes sufficient liberty for the potent in producing the envy, suspicion, i proper exercise of the banking functions, but there seems to be need of better safe-

guards against the deranging influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce.

Question of Surplus.

The collections from duties on imports thanks mainly to the reduced army expenditures. The utmost care should be taken not to reduce the revenues so that there will be any possibility of a deficit; the limit of our actual needs. In his report

ecommendations. that our national needs forbid us to be between rains. niggardly in providing whatever is actually to our well-being should make resources, as each of us husbands his private resources, by scrupulous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustifiable can we legitimately keep our income to the point

required to meet our needs that are genu-In 1887 a measure was enacted for the egulation of interstate railways, commonly known as the interstate commerce act. The cardinal provisions of that act were that railway rates should be just and reasonable and that all shippers, localities and commodities should be accorded equal treatment. A commission was created and endowed with what were supposed to be the necessary powers to execute the provisions of this act.

That law was largely an experiment. Ex perience has shown the wisdom of its purposes, but has also shown, possibly that some of its requirement are wrong, certainly that the means devised for the enforcement of its provisions are defective. Those who complain of the management of the railways allege that established rates are not maintained; that rebates and simtlar devices are habitually resorted to; that these preferences are usually in favor of the large shipper; that they drive out of business the smaller competitor; that while many rates are too low, many others are excessive, and that gross preferences are made, affecting both localities and commodities. Upon the other hand, the railways assert that the law by its very terms tends to produce many of these illegal practices by depriving carriers of that right of concerted action which they claim is necessary to establish and maintain nondiscriminating rates.

The act should be amended. The railway is a public servant. Its rates should be just to and open to all shippers alike. The government should see to it that within its jurisdiction this is so and should provide a speady, inexpensive and effective remedy to that end. At the same time it must not be forgotten that our railways are the arteries through which the commercial lifeblood of this nation flows. Nothing could be more foolish than the enactment of legislation which would unnecessarily interfere with the development and operation of these commercial agencies. The subject is one of great importance and calls for the earnest attention of congress.

Department of Agriculture. The Department of Agriculture during the past fifteen years has steadily broadened its work on economic lines and has accomplished results of real value in upbuilding domestic and foreign trade. it has gone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sections of our country and with two of the island groups that have lately come under our jurisdiction, whose people must look to agriculture as a livelthood. It is searching the world for grains, grasses, fruits and vegetables specially fitted for introduction into localities in the several states and territories where they may add materially to our resources. By with other nations which are so desirable scientific attention to soil survey and possible new crops, to breeding of new varieties of plants, to experimental shipments, to enimal industry and applied chemistry. very practical aid has been given our farming and stock growing interests. The prod-

## the year that has just closed. Public opinion throughout the United

ucts of the farm have taken an unprece-

appreciation of the value of forests, eral states and territories in such manner great part played by them in the creation | mynities to help themselves, and as wil and maintenance of the national wealth is atimulate needed reforms in the state laws marine is such as to call for immediate now more fully realized than ever before. Wise forset protection does not mean! The reclamation and settlement of the

fusion and chaos to the most beneficent only exist if the conditions are such as to | termined after publicity has been obtained, nation no less than to the associations | creditable to us as a nation that our mer- | the withdrawal of forest resources, whether dministration. The first requisite is many cases be action by the government in comparison to that of other nations ing their full share to the welfare of the knowledge full and complete-knowledge order to safeguard the rights and interests which we overtop in other forms of bustwhich may be made public to the world. of all. Under our constitution there is ness. We should not longer submit to consurance of larger and more certain sup-Artificial bodies, such as corporations and much more scope for such action by the ditions under which only a trifling portion plies. The fundamental idea of forestry state and the municipality than by the na- of our great commerce is carried in our is the perpetuation of forests by use. Forwould not merely serve to build up our a means to increase and austain the reshipping interests, but it would also result sources of our country and the industries in benefit to all who are interested in the which depend upon them. The preservapermanent establishment of a wider mar- tion of our forcets is an imperative bustket for American products, and would pro. ners necessity. We have come to see work for their own countries, just as rail- except to make way for agriculture, threat

ens our well-being The practical usefulness of the national forest reserves to the mining, grazing, ir-Additions should be made to them when-

government and the men who utilize the resources of the reserves, without which the interests of both must suffer. The American merchant marine should be re- scientific bureaus generally should be put under the Department of Agriculture The president should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture. He already has such power in the case of lands needed by the Departments of War

and the Navy. The wise administration of the forest reserves will be not less helpful to the interests which depend on water than to those which depend on wood and grass. The water supply itself depends upon the forest. In the arid region it is water, not land, which measures production. western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country today if the waters that now run to waste were saved and used for irrigation. The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States.

Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them and internal taxes continue to exceed the Deed special protection because of the ordinary expenditures of the government, great injury done by live stock, above all by sheep. The increase in deer, elk and other animals in the Yellowstone park shows what may be expected when other mountain forests are properly protected by but, after providing against any such con- law and properly guarded. Some of these tingency, means should be adopted which areas have been so denuded of surface will bring the revenues more nearly within vegetation by overgrazing that the groundbreeding birds, including grouse and quail, to congress the secretary of the treas. and many mammals, including deer, bave ury considers all these questions at length been exterminated or driven away. At the and I ask your attention to the report and same time the water-storing capacity of the surface has been decreased or de-I call special attention to the need of stroyed, thus promoting floods in times strict economy in expenditures. The fact of rain and diminishing the flow of streams

In cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years, vegetatio us doubly careful to husband our national has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back and hundreds of per sons, especially from the immediate neigh borhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some at least of be forest reserves should afford perpetual protection to the pative fauna and flora safe bavens of refuge to our rapidly diminishing wild animals of the larger kinds, and free camping grounds for the ever-increasing numbers of men and women who have learned to find rest, health and recreation in the splendid forests and flower-clar meadows of our mountains. The forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the short-sighted

> The forests are natural reservoirs. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them to drouth they make pos sible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with silt. Forest conservation is herefore an essential condition of water conservation.

## Irrigation Problems

The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction bas been conclusively shown to be an undertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it. best be accomplished by the individua states acting alone. Far-reaching inter state problems are involved, and the resources of single states would often be in adequate. It is properly a national function, at least in some of its features. It is as right for the national government to make the streams and rivers of the arid region useful by engineering works water storage as to make useful the rivers and harpors of the humid region by engineering works of another kind. The storing of the floods in reservoirs at the headwaters of our rivers is but an enlargement of our present policy of river cor trol, under which levees are built on th lower reaches of the same streams. The government should construct and maintain these reservoirs as it does other public works. Where their purpose is to regulate the flow of streams,

under the same laws as the natural flow The reciamation of the unsettled arid put lic lands presents a different problem. Herit is not enough to regulate the flow of streams. The object of the government is to dispose of the land to settlers who will build homes upon it. To accomplish the object, water must be brought within their

should be turned freely into the channels

in the dry season to take the same course

The pioneer settlers on the arid publidomain chess their homes along stream from which they could themselves divert the waters to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for home stead settlement, but only by regervoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private exterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the national governmeni. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the government for actual settlers and the cost of construction should so far as possible be repaid by the land reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators dented place in our export trade during should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with state laws and without interference with those laws or with vester rights. The policy of the national govern-States has moved steadily toward a just ment should be to aid irrigation in the sevwhether planted or of natural growth. The as will enable the people in the local com-

and regulations governing irrigation