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ple of large from the waste and dissipation of our national wealth is not one which quickly impresses itself on the people of the other communities, because its most obvious instances do not occur in their neighborhood, while in the newer part of the country the sympathy with expansion and development is so strong that the danger is scoffed at or ignored. Among scientific men and thoughtful observers, however, the danger has always been present, but it needed some one to bring home the crying need for a remedy to this evil so as to impress itself on the public mind and lead to the formation of public opinion and action by the representatives of the people. Theodore Roosevelt took up this task in the last two years of his administration, and well did he perform it.

As president of the United States I have, as it were, inherited this policy, and I rejoice in my heritage. I prize my high opportunity to do all that an executive can do to help a great people realize a great national ambition. For conservation is national. It affects every man of us, every woman, every child. What I can do in the office, I shall do; not as president of a party, but as president of the whole people. Conservation is not a question of politics, or of factions, or of persons. It is a question that affects the vital welfare of all of us—of our children and our children's children. I urge that no good can come from meetings of this sort unless we assemble from those who take part in them, and who are apparently striving worthily in the cause, all proper motives, and unless we judiciously consider every measure or method proposed with a view to its effectiveness in achieving our common purpose, and unless we are ready to stand up for or who will claim the credit for its adoption. The problems are of very great difficulty and call for the calmest consideration and clearest foresight. Many of the questions presented have phases that are new to this country, and it is possible that in their solution we may have to attempt first one way, and then another. What I wish to emphasize, however, is that a satisfactory conclusion can only be reached promptly if we avoid acrimony, imputations of bad faith and political controversy.

Coal Lands. The present congress passed a bill of great importance, covering the general coal by the government in the ground from the surface and permitting homestead entries upon the surface of the land, which, when perfected, give the settler the right to farm the surface, while the coal beneath the surface is retained in ownership by the government and may be disposed of by it under other laws.

There is no crying need for radical reform in the methods of disposing of what are really agricultural lands. The present laws have worked well. The enlarged homestead law has encouraged the successful farming of lands in the semiarid regions. Of course the teachings of the Agricultural department as to how these subarid lands may be treated and the soil preserved for useful culture are of the very essence of conservation. Then conservation of agricultural lands is shown in the reclamation of arid lands by irrigation and I should devote a few words to what the government has done and is doing in this regard.

By the reclamation act a fund has been created of the proceeds of the public lands of the United States with which to construct water works and other buildings for water at proper altitudes from which, by a suitable system of canals and ditches, the water is to be distributed over the arid and subarid lands of the government to be sold to settlers at a price sufficient to pay for the improvements. The projects are and must be for the improvement of public lands. Incidentally, where private land is also within the reach of the water supply, the furnishing at cost or profit of this water to private owners by the government is held by the federal court of appeals not to be a usurpation of power.

Limitations of Constitution. Suggestions have been made that the United States ought to aid in the drainage of swamp lands belonging to the states or private owners, because, if drained, they would be exceedingly valuable for agriculture and contribute to the general welfare by extending the area of cultivation. I deprecate the agitation in favor of such legislation. It is inviting the general government into contribution from its treasury toward enterprises that should be conducted either by private capital or at the instance of the state. In these days there is a disposition to look too much to the federal government for everything. I am liberal in the construction of the constitution with reference to federal power, but I am firmly convinced that the only safe course for us to pursue is to hold fast to the limitations of the constitution and to regard as sacred the powers of the states. We have made wonderful progress and at the same time have preserved with judicial exactness the restrictions of the constitution. There is no easy way in which the constitution can be violated by congress without judicial inhibition, to-wit: by appropriations from the national treasury for unconstitutional purposes. It will be a sorry day for this country if the time ever comes when our fundamental compact shall be habitually disregarded in this manner.

mount necessary. But, of course, this is more or less guesswork, and the government parts with the ownership of the coal in the ground absolutely. Authorities of the geological survey estimate that in the United States today there is a supply of about 3,000,000,000 tons of coal, and that of this 1,000,000,000 tons is in the public domain.

My investigations show that many owners of mining property in this country do not mine it themselves, and do not invest their money in the plants necessary for the mining; but they lease their properties for a term of years varying from twenty to thirty and forty years, under conditions requiring the erection of a proper plant and the investment of a certain amount of money in the development of the mine, and fixing a rental and a royalty, sometimes an absolute figure and sometimes one proportioned to the market value of the coal. Under this latter method the owner of the mine receives a certain percentage of his lessee when coal is high and the profit good, and also shares to some extent in their disappointment when the price of coal falls.

Have looked with some care into a report made by the geological survey on the disposition of coal lands in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. These are peculiarly mining countries, and their experience ought to be most valuable. In all these countries the method for the disposition and opening of coal mines is generally owned by the government is by granting leasehold, and not by granting an absolute title. The terms of the leases run all the way from twenty to fifty years, while the amount of land which may be leased is anywhere from one acre to 2,000 acres. It appears that a full examination was made and the opinions of all the leading experts on the subject were solicited and given, and that with one exception they approved in all respects the leasehold system. Its success is abundantly shown. It is possible that at first considerable latitude will have to be given to the executive in drafting these forms of lease, but as soon as experiment shall show which is the most workable and practicable, its use should be provided for specifically by statute.

Comparative Value of Coal Lands. The investigations of the geological survey show that the coal properties in Alaska cover about 1,300 square miles and that there are known to be available about 15,000,000,000 tons. This is, however, an underestimate of the coal in Alaska, because further developments will probably increase this amount many times, but we can say with considerable certainty that there are two fields on the Pacific coast which can be reached by railroads at a reasonable cost from deep water—in one case of about 60 miles and in the other case of about 120 miles—which will afford certainly 5,000,000,000 tons of coal. The coal in these fields is of a very high grade of bituminous and of anthracite. It is estimated to be worth in the ground one-half a cent a ton, which makes its value per acre from \$50 to \$200. The coal lands of Pennsylvania are worth from \$600 to \$2,000 an acre, while other Appalachian fields are worth from \$10 to \$250 an acre, and the fields in the central states from \$10 to \$2,000 an acre and in the Rocky mountains \$10 to \$500 an acre. The demand for coal on the Pacific coast is for about 4,000,000 tons a year. It would encounter the competition of cheap fuel oil, of which the equivalent of 12,000,000 tons of coal is consumed annually. It is estimated that the coal could be laid down at Seattle or San Francisco, a high-grade bituminous at \$4 a ton and anthracite at \$5 or \$6 a ton. The price of coal on the Pacific coast varies greatly from time to time in the year and from year to year—\$4 to \$12 a ton. With a regular coal supply established, all these things included a great deal of land that was not useful for power sites. They were intended to include the power sites of twenty-nine rivers in nine states. Since that time 8,475,442 acres have been restored for settlement of the original 4,000,000, because they do not contain power sites; in the world, there have been newly withdrawn 1,345,892 acres on vacant public land and 31,007 acres on entered public land, or a

putting into effect a plan successfully operated in private contracts. "One of the difficulties presented, especially in the California fields, is that the Southern Pacific railroad owns every other section of land in the oil fields, and in those fields the oil seems to be in a common reservoir, or series of reservoirs, communicating through the oil sands, so that the excessive draining of oil at one well, or on the railroad territory generally, would exhaust the oil in the government land. Hence it is important that if the government is to have its share of the oil it should begin the opening and development of wells on its own property.

Under the proposed oil legislation, especially where the government oil lands embrace an entire oil field, as in many cases, prospectors, operators, consumers and the public can be benefited by the adoption of the leasing system. The prospector can be protected in the very expensive work that necessarily antedates discovery; the operator can be protected against condemnation of the productiveness of the wells which he has leased by reason of control of drilling and pumping of other wells too closely adjacent, or by the prevention of improper methods as employed by careless, ignorant or irresponsible operators in the same field which result in the admission of water to the oil sands, while of course the consumer will profit by whatever benefits the prospector or operator receives in reducing the first cost of the oil.

Phosphorus Phosphate Lands. Phosphorus is one of the three essentials to plant growth, the other elements being nitrogen and potash. Of these three, phosphorus is by all odds the scarcest element in nature. It is easily extracted in useful form from the phosphate rock, and the United States contains the greatest known deposits of this rock in the world. They are found in Wyoming, Utah and Florida, as well as South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. The government phosphate lands are confined to Wyoming, Utah and Florida. Prior to March 4, 1909, there were 4,000,000 acres withdrawn from agricultural entry on the ground that the land covered phosphate rock. Since that time, 2,322,000 acres of the land thus withdrawn, was found not to contain phosphate, and was classified properly as phosphate lands. During this administration there has been withdrawn and classified 47,000, so that today there is classified as phosphate-rock land, 1,156,000 acres. This rock is most important in the composition of fertilizers to improve the soil, and as the future is certain to create an enormous demand throughout this country for fertilization, the value to the public of such deposits as these can hardly be exaggerated. Certainly with respect to these deposits a careful policy of conservation should be followed. Half of the phosphate of the rock that is mined in private fields in the United States is exported. As our farming methods grow better the demand for the phosphate will be more and more increased. It must be arranged so that the supply shall equal the needs of the country. It is uncertain whether the placer or lode law applies to the government phosphate rock. There is, therefore, necessity for some definite and well-considered legislation on this subject, and in aid of such legislation all the government lands known to contain valuable phosphate rock are now withdrawn from entry.

Problem of Power Sites. Prior to March 4, 1909, there had been, on the recommendation of the reclamation service, withdrawn from agricultural entry, because they were regarded as useful for power sites which ought not to be disposed of as agricultural lands, tracts amounting to about 4,900,000 acres. The withdrawal was based on the fact that it included a great deal of land that was not useful for power sites. They were intended to include the power sites of twenty-nine rivers in nine states. Since that time 8,475,442 acres have been restored for settlement of the original 4,000,000, because they do not contain power sites; in the world, there have been newly withdrawn 1,345,892 acres on vacant public land and 31,007 acres on entered public land, or a

total of 1,425,899 acres. These withdrawals made from time to time cover all the power sites included in the first withdrawals, and many more, on 125 rivers and in eleven states. The disposition of these power sites involves one of the most difficult questions presented in carrying out practical conservation. The forest service, under a power found in the statute, has leased a number of these power sites in forest reserves by revocable leases, but no such power exists with respect to power sites that are not located within forest reserves, and the revocable system of leasing is, of course, not a satisfactory one for the purpose of inviting the capital needed to put in proper plants for the transmission of power.

It is the plain duty of the government to see to it that in the utilization and development of all this immense amount of water power, conditions shall be imposed that will prevent monopoly, and will prevent extortionate charges, which are the accompaniment of monopoly. The difficulty of adjusting the matter is accentuated by the relation of the power sites to the water, the fall and flow of which create the power. In the states where these sites are riparian sites does not control or own the power in the water which flows past his land. That power is under the control and within the grasp of the state, and generally the rule is that the first user is entitled to the enjoyment. Now, the possession of the bank or water power site over which the water is to be conveyed in order to make the power useful, gives to its owner an advantage and a certain kind of control over the use of the water power, and it is proposed that the government in dealing with its own lands should use this advantage and lease lands for power sites to those who would develop the power and impose conditions on the leasehold with reference to the reasonableness of the rates at which the power, when transmitted, is to be furnished to the public, and forbidding the union of the particular power with a combination of others made for the purpose of monopoly by forbidding assignment of the lease save by consent of the government.

On the other hand, it is contended that it would relieve a complicated situation if the control of the water-power site and the control of the water were vested in the state sovereignty and ownership, viz: the states, and then were disposed of for development to private lessees under the restrictions needed to preserve the interests of the public from the extortion and abuses of monopoly.

I do not express an opinion upon the controversy thus made or a preference as to the two methods of treating water-power sites. I shall submit the matter to congress and urge that one of the other of the two plans be adopted.

Many Other Angles Referred To. At the risk of wearying my audience I have attempted to state as succinctly as may be the questions of conservation as they apply to the public domain of the government, the conditions to which they apply in the outset I alluded to the fact that conservation had been made to include a great deal more than what I have discussed here. Of course, as I have referred only to the public domain of the Federal government, I have left untouched the wide field of conservation with respect to which a heavy responsibility rests upon the states and individuals as well. But I think it of the utmost importance that after the public attention has been roused to the necessity of a change in our general policy to prevent waste and a selfish appropriation to private and corporate purposes of what should be controlled for the public benefit, those who urge conservation shall feel the necessity of making clear how conservation can be practically carried out, and shall work out specific methods and legal provisions and regulations to remedy actual adverse conditions. I am bound to say that the time has come for a halt in general rhapsodies over conservation, making the word mean every known good in the world; for, after the public attention has been roused, such appeals are of doubtful utility and do not direct the public to the

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