Roosevelt Sends His Annual Message to Lawmakers.

MANY IMPORTANT SUBJECTS

Sees a Pressing Need for Labor and Trust Legislation.

WORD ABOUT TARIFF.

Leaves the Subject for a Special Message Which He Promises at a Later Date.

Shows Good Results from the Work of the Agricultural Department-Outlines Our Relations with Foreign Countries and with the Philippines-Urges Need of Adequate Naval Force as Guarantee of Peace and Asks for Revision of Immigration Laws

Washington, Dec. 5. - President Roosevelt's annual message to congress makes some 18,000 words. In accordance with established custom considerable space is devoted to a resume of the year in the administrative departments of the government, but

but an important factor therein is the working of our long-continued governmental policies. The people have emphatically expressed their approval of the principles underlying these policies, and their desire that these principles be kept substantially unchanged, although of course applied in a progressive spirit to meet changing conditions.

Caution Against Extravagance. The enlargement of scope of the func-ions of the national government required by our development as a nation involves, by our development as a nation in of course, increase of expense; and the period of prosperity through which the country is passing justifies expenditures for permanent improvements far greater than would be wise in hard times. Battleships 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 abundant revenues and a large surplus always invite extravagance, and constant care should be taken to guard against unnecessary increase of the ordinary expenses of government. The cost of doing government business should be regulated with the same rigid scrutiny as the cost of doing a private

Capital and Labor. In the vast and complicated mechanism odern civilized life the dominant note is the note of industrialism; and the relations of capital and labor, and especially of organized capital and organ-ized labor, to each other and to the pub-lic at large come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life. Our peculiar form of government, life. Our peculiar form of government, with its sharp division of authority between the nation and the several states, has been on the whole far more advantageous to our development than a more strongly centralized government. But it is undoubtedly responsible for much of the difficulty of meeting with adequate improperly high salaries from the government.

s important, but it is simpler. As long abuses of this nature; but it will be the states retain the primary control for the congress to supplement this a of the police power the circumstances must be altogether extreme which require interference by the federal author-fties, whether in the way of safeguard-ing the rights of labor or in the way of seeing that wrong is not done by un-ruly persons who shield themselves be-hind the name of labor. If there is resistance to the federal courts, interference with the mails, or interstate com-merce, or molestation of federal proper-ty, or if the state authorities in some crisis which they are unable to face call for help, then the federal government may interfere; but though such interference may be caused by a condition of things arising out of trouble connected with some question of labor, the interference itself simply takes the form of restoring order without regard to the questions which have caused the breach of order—for to keep order is a primary duty and in a time of disorder and violence all other questions sink into abey-ance 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 enforcement of law the federal government within its restricted sphere should set an example to the state governments, especially 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 organization of labor in order better to secure the relate of the individbetter to secure the rights of the individ-ual wage-worker. All encouragement should be given to any such organization, so long as it is conducted 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 wel-fare should be closest to our hearts. 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 serv-ants must oppose the wrongdoing as rescutely as they would oppose the hand, must be the man's own good sense. wrongdoing of any great corporation. Of course any violence, brutality or corrup-

tion should not for one moment be tolerated. Wage-workers have an entire right to organize and by all peaceful and honorable means to endeavor to persuade their fellows to join with them in organizations. They have a legal right, which, according to circumstances, may or may not be a moral right, to refuse to work n 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.

Employer's Liability Law.

The wage-workers are peculiarly en-titled to the protection and the encour-agement of the law. From the very naagement of the law. From the very nature of their occupation railroad men, for instance, are liable to be maimed in doing the legitimate work of their profession, unless the railroad companies are required by law to make ample provision for their safety. The administration has been realous in enforcing the existing law for this purpose. That law should be amended and strengthened. Wherever the national government has power there should be a stringent employer's liability law, which should apply to the government itself where the government is an employer of labor. employer of labor.

In my message to the Fifty-seventh congress, at its second session, I urged the passage of an employer's liability law for the District of Columbia. I now refor the District of Columbia. I now renew that recommendation, and further
recommend that the congress appoint a
commission to make a comprehensive
study of employer's liability with the
view of extending the provisions of a
great and constitutional law to all employments within the scope of federal

Medals of Honor.

The government has recognized heroism upon the water, and bestows medals of thonor upon those persons who by ex-treme and heroic daring have endangered their lives in saving, or endeavoring to save, lives from the perils of the sea in the waters over which the United States has jurisdiction, or upon an American vessel. This recognition should be extended to cover cases of conspicuous bravery and self-sacrifice in the saving of life in private employments under the jurisdiction of the United States, and particularly in the land compares of the particularly in the land commerce of the

Prevention of Railroad Accidents. The ever-increasing casualty list upon our railroads is a matter of grave public

departments of the government, but much of the message is given up to a discussion of these subjects which are considered of vital interest to the nation, and upon many of which he deems legislation needed. It is this portion of the message which we give below.

To the Senate and House of Representatives: The nation continues to enjoy noteworthy prosperity. Such prosperity is of course primarily due to the high individworthy prosperity. Such prosperity is of course primarily due to the high individual average of our citizenship, taken to-ual average areas natural resources; that recommendation, and would also point that recommendation, and would also point that recommendation. out to the congress the urgent need of legislation in the interest of the public safety limiting the hours of labor for rail-road employes in train service upon rail-roads engaged in interstate commerce, and providing that only trained and experienced persons be employed in positions of re-sponsibility connected with the operation of trains. Of course, nothing can ever prevent accidents caused by human weakness or misconduct; and there should be drastic punishment for any railroad employe, whether officer or man, who by issuof wrong orders or by disobedience of orders causes disaster. The law of 1901, requiring interstate railroads to make monthly reports of all accidents to passengers and employes on duty, should also be amended so as to empower the government to make a personal investigation, through proper officers, of all accidents involving loss of life which seem to require investigation, with a requirement that the results of such investigation be made public.

The safety appliance law, as amended by the act of March 2, 1903, has proved beneficial to rallway employes, and in order that its provisions may be properly carried out, the force of inspectors provided for by appropriation should be largely increased. This service is analogous to the steamboat its utility, and should receive generous recognition by the congress.

Unions of Government Employes. There is no objection to employes of the government forming or belonging to unions; but the government can neither discriminate for nor discriminate against nonunion men who are in its employment, or who seek to be employed under it. Moreover, it is a very grave impropriety for government employes to band themselves together for the purpose of extorting legislation the new problems presented ment. Especially is this true of those with-by the total change in industrial condi-in the classified service. The letter cartions on this continent during the last tions on this continent during the last talf-century. In actual practice it has proved exceedingly difficult, and in many cases impossible, to get unanimity of wise action among the various states on these subjects. From the very nature of the case this is especially true of the laws affecting the employment of capital in huge masses. tions on this continent during the last riers, both municipal and rural, are as a half-century. In actual practice it has whole an excellent body of public servants. already taken steps to prevent and punish for the congress to supplement this action

by legislation, Corporations.

When we come to deal with great corporations the need for the government to act directly is far greater than in the case of labor, because great corporations can become such only by engaging in interstate commerce, and interstate commerce is peculiarly the field of the general govern-ment. It is an absurdity to expect to eliminate the abuses in great corporations by state action. It is difficult to be patient with an argument that such matters should be left to the states, because more than one state pursues the policy of creating on easy terms corporations which are never operated within that state at all, but in other states whose laws they ignore. The national government alone can deal ade-quately with these great corporations. To try to deal with them in an intemperate, estructive or demagogic spirit would, in all probability, mean that nothing what-ever would be accomplished, and with absolute certainty that if anything were ac-complished it would be of a harmful na-The American people need to continue to show the very qualities that they have shown—that is, moderation, good sense, the earnest desire to avoid doing any damage, and yet the quiet determination to proceed, step by step, without halt and without hurry, in eliminating or at least in minimizing whatever of mischlef or of evil there is to interstate commerce in the conduct of great corporations. They are acting in no spirit of hostility to wealth, either individual or corporate. They are not against the rich man any more than against the poor man. On the contrary, they are friendly alike toward rich man and toward poor man, provided only that each acts in a spirit of justice and decency toward his fellows. Great corporations are necessary, and only men of great and singular mental power can manage such corporamental power can manage such corporations successfully, and such men must have great rewards. But these corporations should be managed with due regard to the interest of the public as a whole. Where this can be done under the present laws it must be done. Where these laws come short others should be enacted to supplement them.

West. Construction has already been between the irrigation works, and plans are being completed for works which will utilize the funds now available. The operations are being carried on by the reclamation service, a corps of engineers selected through competitive civil-service examinations. This corps includes are ment them.

Yet we must never forget the determining

of a feeling of responsibility and forbear-ance among capitalists and wage workers alike; a feeling of respect on the part of each man for the rights of others; a feeleach man for the rights of others; a feeling of broad community of interest, not
merely of capitalists among themselves,
and of wage workers among themselves,
but of capitalists and wage workers in their
relations to each other, and of both in their
relations to their fellows who with them
make up the body politic. There are many
captains of in justry, many labor leaders,
who realize this.

who realize this.

Bureau of Corporations. The bureau of corporations has made careful preliminary investigation of many

important corporations. It will make a special report on the beef industry.

The policy 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 inquiries; by conservative investigation of law and fact, and by refusal to issue incomplete 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 cooperation of men engaged in legitimate business.

The bureau offers to the congress the means of getting at the cost of production of our various great staples of commerce.
Of necessity the careful investigation of special corporations will afford the com-missioner knowledge of certain business facts, the publication of which might be an improper infringement of private rights. The method of making public the results of these investigations affords, under the law, a means for the protection of private rights. The congress will have all facts except such as would give to another cor-poration information which would injure the legitimate business of a competitor and destroy the incentive for individual superiority and thrift.

The bureau has also made exhaustive examinations into the legal condition under which corporate business is carried on in the various states; into all judicial decisions on the subject; and into the various systems of corporate taxation in use. I call special attention to the report of the chief of the bureau; and I earnestly ask that the congress carefully con sider the report and recommendations of

the commissioner on this subject.

The business of insurance vitally affects the great mass of the people of the United States and is national and not local in its application. It involves a multitude of transactions among the peo ple of the different states and between American companies and foreign governments. I urge that the congress carefully consider whether the power of the bureau of corporations cannot constitutionally be extended to cover interstate transactions in insurance.

Rebates.

Above all else, we must strive to keep 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 rebates. Whether the shipper or the railroad is to plame makes no difference; the rebate must be stopped, the abuses of the private car and private terminalization and side-track systems must be stopped, and the legislation of the Fifty-aighth 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 of any property in interstate or foreign commerce whereby such property shall by any device whatever be transported at a less rate than that named in the tariffs published by the carrier must be en-forced. For some time after the enactment of the act to regulate commerce remained a mooted question whether that act conferred upon the interstate com-merce commission the power, after it had found a challenged rate to be unreasonable, to declare what thereafter should, prima facie, be the reasonable maximum rate for the transportation in dispute. The supreme court finally resolved that question in the negative, so that as the law now stands the commission simply possess the bare power to denounce particular rate as unreasonable. While I am of the opinion that at present it would be undesirable, if it were not impracticable, finally to clothe the commission with general authority to fix rallroad rates, I do believe that, as a fair security to shippers, the commission should be vested with the power, where inspection service, and deals with even more important interests. It has passed the experimental stage and demonstrated the experimental stage and demonstrated able to dealing some the experimental stage and demonstrated the experimental stage and demonstrated able to dealing some the experimental stage and demonstrated able to demonstr able, to decide, subject to judicial re-view, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place; the ruling of the com-mission to take affect immediately, and to obtain unless and until it is reversed by the court of review. The government must in increasing degree supervise and regulate the workings of the railways engaged in interstate commerce; and such increased supervision is the only alternative to an increase of the present evils on the one hand or a still more radical policy on the other. In my judgment the most important legislative act now needed as regards the regulation of corpora-tions is this act to confer on the inter-state 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 re

view reverses it. Department of Agriculture. The department of agriculture has grown into an educational inhititution with a faculty of 2,000 specialists making research congress appropriates, directly and indi-rectly, \$6,000,000 annually to carry on this ly come under our flag. Cooperation is had with the state experiment stations, and national public health and marine hospital service has repeatedly and convincingly uals. The world is carefully searched for new varieties of grains, fruits, grasses, verstables trace and should related the state of the search vegetables, trees and shrubs, suitable to various localities in our country; and marked benefit to our producers has re-

sulted. search have reached the tillers of the soil and inspired them with ambition to know and inspired them with ambition to know an agreement in the business world for more of the principles that govern the bettering the system; the committees forces of nature with which they have to more of the principles that govern the bettering the system; the committees forces of nature with which they have to should consider the question of the retiredeal. Nearly half of the people of this country devote their energies to growing things from the soil. Until a recent date things from the soil. Until a recent date little has been done to prepare these mil-lions for their life work. In most lines of human activity college trained men are the leaders. The farmer had no opportunity for special training until the con-gress made provision for it 40 years ago. During these years progress has been made and teachers have been prepared. Over 5,000 students are in attendance at our state agricultural colleges. The federal government expends \$10,000,000 annually toward this education and for research in Washington and in the several states and territories. The department of agriculture has given facilities for post-graduate work to 500 young men during the last seven years, preparing them for advanced lines of work in the department and in the state institu-

Irrigation.

tions. During the two and a half years that have elapsed since the passage of the reclamation act rapid progress has been made in the surveys and examinations of the opportunities for reclamation in the 13 states and three territories of the arid west. Construction has already been be examinations. This corps includes experienced consulting and constructing engineers as well as various experts in mechanical and legal matters, and is com-

connected with irrigation. The larger problems have been solved and it now remains to execute with care, economy and thoroughness the work which has been laid out. All important details are being carefully considered by boards of consulting engineers, selected for their thorough browledge, and progressly thorough knowledge and practical ex-perience. Each project is taken up on the ground by competent men and viewed from the standpoint of the creation of prosperous homes, and of promptly re-funding to the treasury the cost of construction. The reclamation act has been found to be remarkably complete and effective, and so broad in its provisions that a wide range of undertakings has been possible under it. At the same time, economy is guaranteed by the fact that the funds must ultimately be returned to be used over again.

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

The forest policy of the government is just now a subject of vivid public interest throughout the west and to the people of the United States in general. forest reserves themselves are of treme value to the present as well as to the future welfare of all the western public-land states. They powerfully af-fect the use and disposal of the public lands. They are of special importance because they preserve the water supply and the supply of timber for domestic and the supply of timber for domestic purposes, and so promote settlement un-der the reclamation act. Indeed, they are

essential to the welfare of every one of the great interests of the west. Although the wisdom of creating for-Although the wisdom of creating for-est reserves is nearly everywhere heart-ily recognized, yet in a few localities there has been misunderstanding and complaint. The following statement is therefore desirable:

The forest-reserve policy can be successful only when it has the full support of the people of the west. It cannot safely, and should not in any case, be imposed upon them against their will. But neither can we accept the views of those whose only interest in the forest is temporary; who are anxious to reap what they have not sown and then move away. leaving desolation behind them. On the contrary, it is everywhere and always the interest of the permanent settler and the permanent business man, the man with a stake in the country, which must be considered and which must decide. I have repeatedly called attention to the confusion which exists in govern-ment forest matters because the work is ment forest matters because the work is scattered among three independent organizations. The United States is the only one of the great nations in which the forest work of the government is not concentrated under one department, in consonance with the plainest dictates of good administration and common sense. The present arrangement is bad from every noint of view. Merely to mention

The present arrangement is bad from every point of view. Merely, to mention it is to prove that it should be terminated at once. As I have repeatedly recommended, all the forest work of the government should be concentrated in the department of agriculture, where the larger part of that work is already done, where practically all of the trained foresters of the government are employed, where chiefly in Washington there is comprehensive first-hand knowledge of the problems of the reserves acquired on the ground, where all problems relat-ing to growth from the soft are already gathered, and where all the sciences auxiliary to forestry are at hand for prompt and effective cooperation.

The Postal Service. In the post office department the service has increased in efficiency, and conditions as to revenue and expenditure continue satisfactory. The increase of 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 \$152,262,116.70, an increase of about nine per cent. over the previous year, being thus \$8,979,492.35 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 service, which was an increase of \$4,902,237.35 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 Statistics brought down to the 1st of October, 1904, show that on that date there were 27,138 rural routes established, serving ap-proximately 12,000,000 of people in rural districts remote from post offices, and that there were pending at that time 3,859 peti-tions for the establishment of new rural routes. Unquestionably some part of the general increase 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 second-class 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 the classification of mail matter, and the cent. for the period immediately preced-ing, and 15.92 for the four-year period im-

mediately preceding that. National Quarantine Law. It is desirable to enact a proper national quarantine law. It is most undesirable into all the sciences of production. The that a state should on its own initiative enforce quarantine regulations which are in effect a restriction upon interstate and work. It reaches every state and territory international commerce. The question in the union and the islands of the sea late. I should properly be assumed by the govern-

The attention of the congress should be especially given to the currency question, and that the standing committees on the The activities of our age in lines of re-learch have reached the tillers of the soil and insured them with ambition to know. dollar should be made by law redeemable in gold at the option of the holder.

Merchant Marine. I especially commend to your immediate attention the encouragement of our mer-chant marine by appropriate legislation. Tariff.

On the tariff I shall communicate with Immigration and Naturalization.

There is no danger of having too many immigrants of the right kind. It makes no difference from what country they come. If they are sound in body and in mind, and, above all, if they are of good character, so that we can rest assured that their chil-dren and grandchildren will be worthy fe:low citizens of our children and grandchildren, then we should welcome them

with cordial hospitality.

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 wags workers, and therefore, we should not admit masses of men whose 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 stead of adding to the sum of the good Yet we must never forget the determining factor in every kind of work, of head or hand, must be the man's own good sense, courage and kindliness. More important than any legislation is the gradual growth good sense, the man and legislation is the gradual growth good sense, the man and place by the man

a curse to our government; and it is the affair of every honest voter, wherever born, to see that no fraudulent voting is allowed, that no fraud in connection with naturalization is permitted

Maturalization Laws Need Revision. 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 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.

Not only are the laws relating to naturalization now defective, but those relating to citizenship of the United States ought also to be made the subject of scientific inquiry with a view to prob-

of scientific inquiry with a view to probable further legislation. By what acts expatriation may be assumed to have expatriation may be assumed to have been accomplished, how long an American citizen may reside abroad and receive the protection of our passport, whether any degree of protection should be extended to one who has made the declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States but has not secured naturalization, are questions of cured naturalization, are questions of serious import, involving personal rights and often producing friction between this government and foreign governments. Yet upon these questions our laws are silent. I recommend that an examina-tion be made into the subjects of citizenship, expatriation and protection of Americans abroad, with a view to appropriate legislation.

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 to prosterior that is no enemy of free government to prosterior that is no enemy of free government. is no enemy of free government more dangerous and none so insidious as the corruption of the electorate. No one defends or excuses corruption, and it would seem to follow that none would oppose vigorous measures to eradicate it. I 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 converse, but it shelds cretion of the congress, but it should go as far as under the constitution it is posable 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 pro-visions for the publication not only of the expenditures for nominations and elections of all candidates but also of all contributions received and expendi-tures made by political committees.

Our Foreign Policy. In treating of our foreign policy and of the attitude that this great nation should assume in the world at large, it is ab-solutely necessary to consider the army and the navy, and the congress, through which the thought of the nation finds its which the thought of the nation finds its expression, should keep ever vividly in mind the fundamental fact that it is immind the fundamental fact that it is impossible to treat our foreign policy, whether this policy takes shape in the effort to secure justice for others or justice for ourselves, save as conditioned upon the artitude we are willing to take toward our army, and especially toward our navy. It is not merely universe. our navy. It is not merely unwise, it is contemptible, for a nation, as for an in-dividual, to use high-sounding language to proclaim its purposes, or to take posi-tions which are ridiculous if unsupported by potential force, and then to refuse to provide this force. If there is no inten-tion of providing and of keeping the force necessary to back up a strong attitude, then it is far better not to assume

Striving for World Peace. The steady aim of this nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to strive to bring ever nearer the day when there shall prevail throughout the world the peace of justice. There are kinds of peace which are highly undestrable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that necded self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of 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 be-fore all mankind, is the attainment of the peace of justice, of the peace which comes when each nation is not merely safe-guarded in its own rights, but scrupulously recognizes and performs its duty toward others. Generally peace tells for righteousness; but if there is conflict between the two, then our fealty is due first to the cause of righteousness. Un-

righteous wars are common, and unrighteous peace is rare; but both should be shunned. The right of freedom and the responsibility for the exercise of that right cannot be divorced. One of our great poets has well and finely said that freedom is not a gift that tarries long in the hands of cowards. Neither does it tarry long in the hands of those too slothful, too dishonest or too unintelliwhich is the price of liberty must be exercised, sometimes to guard against out-side foes; although of course far more often to guard against our own selfish thoughtless shortcomings.
Not Ready for Disarmament.

If these self-evident truths are kept before us, and only if they are so kept before us, we shall have a clear idea of what our foreign policy in its larger aspects should be. It is our duty to remember that a na-tion has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we must also remember that it is as much the duty of the nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual so to do. Within the nation the individual has now delegated this right to the state, that is, to the representative of all the individuals, and it is a maxim of the law that for every wrong there is a remedy. But in international law we have not advanced by any means as far as we have advanced in municipal law. 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 aggression, or else it is necessary for the aggreed nation valiantly to stand up for its rights. Until some method is devised which there shall be a degree of international control over offending nations, it would be a wicked thing for the most ivilized powers, for those with most sense of international obligations and with keenest and most generous appreciation of the difference between right and wrong, to disarm. If the great civilized nations of the present day should completely disarm, the result would mean an immediate recrudescence of barbarism in one form or another. Under any circumstances a sufficient armament would have to be kept up to serve the purposes of international po-lice; and until international cohesion and the sense of international duties and rights are far more advanced than at present, a nation desirous both of securing respect

that a self-respecting, just and far-seeing nation should on the one hand endeavor by every means to aid in the development of the various movements which tend to provide substitutes for war, which tend to render nations in their actions toward one render nations in their actions toward one another, and indeed toward their own peo-ples, more responsive to the general senti-ment of humane and civilized mankind; and on the other hand, that it should keep prepared, while scrupulously avoiding wrongdoing itself, to repel any wrong, and in exceptional cases to take action which in a more advanced stage of international in a more advanced stage of international relations would come under the head of the exercise of the international police. A great free people owes it to itself and to all manking not to sink into helplessness before the powers of evil.

Second Hague Conference. 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 rest of manking. In pursuance of this policy I shall shortly lay before the senate treaties of arbitration with all powers which are willing to enter into these treaties with us. It is not pos-sible at this period of the world's development to agree to arbitrate all matters, but there are many matters of possible difference between us and other nations which can be thus arbitrated. Furthermore, at the request of the Interparliamentary union, an eminent body composed of practical statesmen from all countries, I have asked the powers to join with this government in a second Hague conference, at which it is hoped that the work already so happily begun at The Hague may be carried some steps further toward completion. This carries out the desire expressed by

the first Hague conference itself. The Monroe Doctrine.

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 deavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the far east, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of human-ity at large. There are, however, cases in which, while our own interests are not greatly involved, strong appeal is made to our sympathies. Ordinarily it is very much wiser and more useful for us to concern ourselves with striving for our own moral and material betterment here at home than to concern ourselves with trying to better the condition of things in other nations. We have plenty of sins of our own to war against, and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civic corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions about wrongdoing elsewhere. Nevertheless there are occasional crimes committed on so vast a scale and of such peculiar horror as to make us doubt whether it is not our manifest duty to endeavor at least to show our disapproval of the deed and our

sympathy with those who have suffered by it. The cases must be extreme in which such a course is justifiable. There must be no effort made to remove the mote from our brother's eye if we refuse to remove the beam from our own. 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 our power to remedy it. The cases in which we could interfere by force of arms as we interfered to put a stop to intolerable conditions in Cuba are neces-sarily very few. Yet it is not to be expected that a people like ours, which in spite of certain very obvious shortcomings, never-theless as a whole shows by its consistent practice its belief in the principles 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 sporadic, so that individuals and not classes are molested in their fundanation should desire eagerly to give expres sion to its horror on an occasion like that of the massacre of the Jews in Kishineff, or when it witnesses such systematic and long-extended cruelty and oppression the crueity and oppression of which the Armenians have been the victims, and which have won for them the indignant 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 I 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 postaged in the control of the control poned 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 which they are as yet totally unfit. On the other hand our people must keep steadily before their minds the fact that the justification for our stay in the Philippines must ultimately rest chiefly upon the good we are able to do in the islands. 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 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. But our chief reason for continuing to hold them must be that we ought in good faith to try to do our share of the world's work, and this particular plece of work has been imposed upon us by the results of the war with Spain.

The Flective Government

For Elective Government Within two years we shall be trying the experiment of an elective lower house in the Philippine legislature. It may be that the Filipinos will misuse this legislature, and they certainly will misuse it if they are misled by feolish persons here at home into starting an agitation for their own independence or into any factious or improper action. In such case they will do themselves no good and will stop for the time being all further effort to advance them and give them a greater share in their own gov-ernment. But if they act with windows and self-restraint, if they show that they are capable of electing a legislature which in its turn is capable of taking a sane and efficient part in the actual work of government, they can rest assured that a full and increasing measure of that a full and increasing measure of recognition will be given them. Above all they should remember that their prime needs are moral and industrial, not political. It is a good thing to try the experiment of giving them a legislature; but it is a far better thing to give them schools, good roads, railroads which will enable them to get their products to market, honest courts, an honest and efficient constabulary, and all that tends to preconstabulary, and all that tends to produce order, peace, fair dealing as between man and man, and habits of intelligent industry and thrift. If they are safe-guarded against oppression, and if their real wants, material and spiritual, are studied intelligently and in a spirit of friendly sympathy, much more good will be done them than by any effort to give them political power, though this effort may