## THE SCRANTON TRIBUNE- WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1901

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# PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS .- CONTINUED.

suxillary force for the navy, salps work for their own countries, just as tailreads work for their berminal points. Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. 128 should be made auvantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

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At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the hipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast forelan steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or nonce, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing vessele and steamers alike, cargo carriers of slow speed and mail carriers of high speeed, have to meet fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater then is the case abroad; that the wages oald American officers and seamen are very much ligher than these paid the officers and seamen of for eign competing countries; and that the standard of teing on our ships is far superior to the standard of iving on the sulps of our commercial rivals. Our government should take such action as will

remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean. ...

Our Financial The Act of March 14, 1969, intended unequivocally to establish gold as Condition.

the standard money and to maintain at a parity therewith all forms of money medata in use with us, has been shown to be timely and indicious. The price of our government bonds its the world's market, when compared with the price of similar obligations issued by other nations, is a fattering tribute to our public credit. This condition is evidently desirable to maintain.

to many respects the national banking law fur nishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the binking function; but there seems to be need of better safeguards applied the deranging influence of commercial crisis and financlat panics. Moreover, he encourse of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and com-DIDEO

The collections from duties on imports and inter and taxes continue to exceed the ordinary expenditures of the government, thanks mainly to the reduced army expenditures. The utmost care should laken not to reduce the revenues so that there will be any possibility of a deticit; but, after providing against any such contingency, means should be adopted which will bring the revenues more nearly within the limit of our actual needs. In his report to congress the secretary of the treasury consider: all those questions at iongth, and I ask your attention to the report and recommendations.

I call special attention to the need of strict econo my in expenditures. The fact that our national needs forbid as to be niggardly in providing whatever is actually necessary to our well-being, should make us doubly coreful to husband our national resources, as each of us husbands his private resources, by scru blous avoidance of anything like wasteful or reckless expenditure. Only by avoidance of spending money on what is needless or unjustiliable can we legitimately keep our income to the point required to meet our needs that are genuine.

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Interstate in 1887 a measure was cuacted for the Commerce, regulation of interstate railways, commonly known as the interstate com mere 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. Experience has shown the wisdom of its purposes, but has also shown, possibly that some of its requirements 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 bates and similar 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 preforeness are made, affecting both localities and comcondition. Upon the other hand, the railways assort that the law by its very terms tends to produce many of those lifegal practices by depriving carriers of that light of concerted action which they claim is necesto establish and maintain non-discriminating autes. The net should be amended. The railway is a suble servent. Its rates should be just to and open all shippers ellke. The government should see to that within its jurisdiction this is so and should provide a speedy, inexpendive, and effective remedy to that and. At the same time it must not be forgo ten that our fallways are the arteries through which the commercial life-blood of this nation flows. Nothcould be more foolish than the enactment of regionation which would unnecessarily interfere with the devel patent and operation of these commercial Whit subject is one of great importance and code for the arrest attention of the congress

which is also charged with the general advancement of practical forestry in the United States. These various functions should be united in the bureau of forestry, to which they properly belong. The present diffusion of responsibility is bad from every stand polit. It prevents that effective co-operation between the government and the men who utilize the resources of the reserves, without which the interests of both must suffer. The scientific bureaus generally hould 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 depart ment 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. The 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 question 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 need special protection because of the 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 law and properly guarded. Some of these areas have been so denuded of surface vegetation by overgrazing that the ground breeding birds, including grouse and quail and many mammals, including deer, have been exterininated or driven away. At the same time, the water-storing capacity of the surface has been decreased or destroyed, thus promoting floods in times of rain and diminishing the flow of streams between rains.

in cases where natural conditions have been restored for a few years, vegetation has again carpeted the ground, birds and deer are coming back, and hundreds of persons, especially from the immediate neighborhood, come each summer to enjoy the privilege of camping. Some, at least, of the forest reserves should afford perpetual protection to the native fauna and flora, safe havens 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-clad meadows of our mountains. The for est reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the short-sighted greed of a few.

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Urgent Need The forests are natural reservoirs of Irrigation. By restraining the streams in flood and replenishing them in drought

make possible the use of waters otherwise wasted. They prevent the soil from washing, and so protect the storage reservoirs from filling up with HIIt. Forest conservation is therefore an essential condition of water conservation. The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great -torage works are necessary to equalize the flow of

streams and to save the flood waters. Their con struction has been conclusively shown to be an un dertaking too vast for private effort. Nor can it be best accomplished by the individual states acting alone. Far-reaching interstate problems are involved; and the resources of single states would often be inadequate. 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 for water storage as to make useful the rivers and harbors 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 control, under which levees are built on the 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 the streams. the water should be turned freely into the channels in the dry season to take the same course under the same laws as the natural flow. The reclamation of the unsettled arid public lands presents a different problem. Here it 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 this object water must be brought with their reach. The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they ould themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the national government 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, should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with state laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the national govrnment should be to aid irrigation in the several states and territories in such manner as will enable he people in the local communities to help them elves, and as will stimulate needed reforms in the state laws and regulations governing irrigation The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the ettlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic states. The increased do taand for manufactured articles will stimulate indusrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent western competition with castern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home-making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation. The necessary foundation has already been laid for the inauguration of the policy just described. It would be unwise to begin by doing too much, for a great deal will doubtless be learned, both as to what can and what cannot be safely attempted, by the early efforts, which must of necessity be partly experimental in character. At the very beginning the gov ernment should make clear, beyond shadow of doubt, its intention to pursue this policy on lines of the broadest public interest. No reservoir or canal should ever be built to satisfy selfish personal or local inter ests; but only in accordance with the advice of trained experts, after long investigation has shown the locality where all the conditions combine to make the work most needed and fraught with the greatest usefulness to the community as a whole. There should be no extravagance, and the believers in the need of irrigation will most benefit their cause by seeing to it that it is free from the least taint of excessive or reckless expenditure of the public moneys. Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with, and tend to improve, the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting point of this development. Over two hundred millions of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works, and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been the work itself; but as much cannot be said the laws relating thereto. The security and a. of the homes created depend largely on the stability of titles to water; but the majority of these rest on the uncertain foundation of court decisions rendered in ordinary suits at law. With a few creditable exceptions, the arid states have failed to wovide for the certain and just division of streams times of scarcity uncertain laws have de it possible for the to water in excess tout uses or any areams have by passed into produce ership, or a control equivalent to ownership.

Whoever controls a stream practically controls the and it renders productive, and the doctrine of private ownership of water apart from land cannot prevail without causing enduring wrong. The recognition of uch ownership, which has been permitted to grow up in the arid regions, should give way to a more inhtened and larger recognition of the rights of the public in the control and disposal of the public water upplies. Laws founded upon conditions obtaining in humid regions, where water is too abundant to justify boarding it, have no proper application in a dry coun-112

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In the arid states the only right to water which should be recognized is that of use. In irrigation this right should attach to the land reclaimed and be inseparable therefrom. Granting perpetual water rights to others than users, without compensation to the public, is open to all the objections which apply to giving away perpetual franchises to the public utilities of cities. A few of the western states have already recognized this, and have incorporated in their constitutions the doctrine of perpetual state ownership of water.

The benefits which have followed the unaided de clopment of the past justify the nation's aid and cooperation in the more difficult and important work yet to be accomplished. Laws so vitally affecting homes as those which control the water supply will only be effective when they have the sanction of the irriga tors; reforms can only be final and satisfactory when they come through the enlightenment of the people most concerned. The larger development which national aid insures should, however, awaken in every arid state the determination to make its irrigation system equal in justice and effectiveness that of any ountry in the civilized world. Nothing could be more unwise than for isolated communities to continue to learn everything experimentally, instead of profiting by what is already known elsewhere. We are dealing with a new and momentous question, in the pregnant years while institutions are forming, and what we do will affect not only the present but future generations.

Our aim should be not simply to reclaim the larg est area of land and provide homes for the largest number of people, but to create for this new industry the best possible social and industrial conditions; and this requires that we not only understand the existing situation, but avail ourselves of the best experience o the time in the solution of its problems. A careful study should be made, both by the nation and the states, of the irrigation laws and conditions here and abroad. Ultimately it will probably be necessary for the nation to co-operate with the several arid states in proportion as these states by their legislation and administration show themselves fit to receive it.

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Hawaii, Porto In Hawaii our aim must be to de-Rico, Cuba. velop the territory on the tradi-

tional American lines. We do not wish a region of large estates tilled by cheap labor; we wish a healthy American community of men who themselves till the farms they own. All our legislation for the islands should be shaped with this end in view; the well-being of the average home-maker must afford the true test of the healthy development of the islands The land policy should as nearly as possible be modeled on our homestead system.

It is a pleasure to say that it is hardly more nece sary to report as to Porto Rico than as to any state or territory within our continental limits. The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. Its people are now enioying liberty and order under the protection of the United States, and upon this fact we congratulate them and ourselves. Their material welfare must be as carefully and jealously considered as the welfare of any other portion of our country. We have given them the great gift of free access for their products to the markets of the United States. I ask the attention of the congress to the need of legislation con cerning the public lands of Porto Rico.

In Cuba such progress has been made toward putting the independent government of the island upon a firm footing that before the present session of the congress closes this will be an accomplished fact. Cuba will then start as her own mistress; and to the beautiful Queen of the Antilles, as she unfolds this new page of her destiny, we extend our heartiest greetings and good wishes. Elsewhere I have dised the question of reciprocity. In the case Cuba, however, there are weighty reasons of morality and of national interest why the policy should be held to have a peculiar application, and I most earnestly ask your attention to the wisdom, indeed to the vital need, of providing for a substantial reduction in the tariff duties on Cuban imports into the United States. Cuba has in her constitution affirmed what we desired that she should stand. In international matters, in closer and more friendly relations with us than with any other power; and we are bound by every consideration of honor and expediency to pass commercial measures in the interest of her material well-being.

them a degree of independence for which they are unill, thereby inviting reaction and disaster, As fast as there is any reasonable hope that in a given dis trict the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not r locality fitted for self-government which has not received it. But it may well be that in certain cases it will have to be withdrawn because the inhabitant; show themselves unlit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is no the slightest chance of our failing to show a suffciently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opposite direction.

1 Mar 1 A 1 4 80 The P.Y. Salar

There are still troubles ahead in the Islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditt and marauders, who deserve no higher regard than the brigands of portions of the Old World. Encouragement, direct or indirect, to these insurrector stands on the same footing as encouragement to hostile Indians in the days when we still had Indian wars Exactly as our aim is to give to the Indian who remains peaceful the fullest and amplest consideration, but to have it understood that we will show no weakness if he goes on the warpath, so we must make it evident, unless we are false to our own traditions and to the demands of civilization and humanity, that while we will do everything in our power for the Filipino who is peaceful, we will take the sternest measares with the Filipino who follows the path of the insurrecto and the ladrone.

The heartlest praise is due to large numbers of th natives of the Island for their steadfast loyalty. The Macabebes have been conspicuous for their courage and devotion to the flag. I recommend that the sacre tary of war be empowered to take some systematic action in the way of aiding those of these men why are crippled in the service and the families of those who are killed.

The time has come when there should be addi tional legislation for the Philippines. Nothing better can be done for the islands than to introduce industrial enterprises. Nothing would benefit them so much as throwing them open to industrial development. The connection between idleness and mischlef is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventives of war. Of course no business man will go into the Philippines unless it is to his interest to do so; and it is immensely to the interest of the islands that he should go in It is therefore necessary that the congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed; so that franchises (for limited terms of years) can be granted to companies doing business in them, and every encouragement be given to the in coming of business men of every kind.

Not to permit this is to do wrong to the Philippines. The franchises must be granted and the business permitted only under regulations which will guarantee the islands against any kind of improper exploitation. But the vast natural wealth of the islands must be developed, and the capital willing to develop it must be given the opportunity. The field must be thrown open to individual enterprise, which has been the real factor in the development of every region over which our flag has flown. It is urgently necessary to enact suitable laws dealing with general transportation, mining, banking, currency, home steads, and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industria' enterprise; and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them.

Pacific Cable I call your attention most carnesti-Required. to the crying need of a cable to Ha-

wail and the Philippines, to be contiqued from the Philippines to points in Asia. We should not defer a day longer than necessary the construction of such a cable. It is demanded not merely for commercial but for political and military consid erations.

Either the congress should immediately provide for the construction of a government cable, or else an arrangement should be made by which like advantages accruing from a government cable may be secured to the government by contract with a private cable company

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small states of Europe. Through the Monroe doctrine we hope to be able to safeguard like independence and secure like permanence for the lesser among the New World nations.

This doctrine has nothing to do with the commercial relations of any American power, save that it in truth allows each of them to form such as it desires. In other words, it is really a guaranty of the commercial independence of the Americas. We do not ask under this doctrine for any exclusive commercial dealings with any other American state. We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American nower.

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Our attitude in Cuba is a sufficient guaranty of our own good faith. We have not the slightest desire to secure any territory at the expense of any of our neighbors. We wish to work with them hand in hand, so that all of us may be uplifted together, and we rejoice over the good fortune of any of them, we gladly hall their material prosperity and political stability, and are concerned and alarmed if any of them fall into industrial or political chaos. We do not wish to see any Old World military power grow up on this continent, or to be compelled to become a military power ourselves. The peoples of the Americas can prosper best if left to work out their own salvation in their own way.

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Why We Need a The work of upbuilding the navy must be steadily continued. No Larger Navy.

one point of our policy, foreign or domestic, is more important than this to the honor and material welfare, and above all to the peace, of our nation in the future. Whether we desire it or not. we must henceforth recognize that we have international duties no less than international rights. Even if our flag were hauled down in the Philippines and Porto Rico, even if we decided not to build the isthmian canal, we should need a thoroughly trained navy of adequate size, or else be prepared definitely and for all time to abandon the idea that our nation is among those whose sons go down to the sea in ships. Unless our commerce is always to be carried in foreign bottoms, we must have war craft to protect it.

Inasmuch, however, as the American people have thought of abandoning the path upon which they have entered, and especially in view of the fact that the building of the isthmian canal is fast becoming one of the matters which the whole people are united In demanding, it is imperative that our navy should he put and kept in the highest state of efficiency, and should be made to answer to our growing needs. So far from being in any way a provocation to war, an adequate and highly trained navy is the best guaranty against war, the cheapest and most effective peace insurance. The cost of building and maintaining such a navy represents the very lightest premium for in suring peace which this nation can possibly pay.

Probably no other great nation in the world is so anxious for peace as we are. There is not a single civilized power which has anything whatever to fear from aggressiveness on our part. All we want is peace; and toward this end we wish to be able to secure the same respect for our rights from others which we are eager and anxious to extend to their rights in return, to insure fair treatment to us commercially, and to guarantee the safety of the Ameri can people.

Our people intend to abide by the Monroe doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western hemisphere. The navy offers us the only means of making our insistence upon the Monroe doctrine anything but a subject of ferision to whatever nation chooses to disregard it We desire the peace which comes as of right to the just man armed; not the peace granted on terms of ignominy to the crayen and the weakling.

It is not possible to improvise a navy after war breaks out. The ships must be built and the men trained long in advance. Some auxiliary vessels can be turned into makeshifts which will do in default of any better for the minor work, and a proportion of raw men can be mixed with the highly trained, their shortcomings being made good by the skill of their fellows; but the efficient fighting force of the navy when pitted against an equal opponent will be found almost exclusively in the warships that have been regularly built and in the officers and through years of faithful performance of sea duty have been trained to handle their formidable but complex and delicate weapons with the highest efficiency. In the late war with Spain the ships that dealt the decisive blows at Manila and Santiago had been launched from two to fourteen years, and they were able to do as they did because the men in the conning towers, the gun turrets, and the engine rooms had through long years of practice at sea learned how to do their duty. Our present navy was begun in 1882. At that perio our navy consisted of a collection of antiquated wooden ships, already almost as out of place against modern war vessels as the galleys of Alciblades and Hamilear-certainly as the ships of Tromp and Blake. Nor at that time did we have men fit to handle a modern man-of-war. Under the wise legislation of the congress and the successful administration of a succession of patriotic secretaries of the navy, belonging to both political partles, the work of upbuilding the navy went on, and ships equal to any in the world of their kind were continually added; and what was even more important, these ships were exercised at sea singly and in squadrons until the mea aboard them were able to get the best possible service out of them. The result was seen in the short war with Spain, which was decided with such rapidity because of the infinitely greater preparedness of our navy than of the Spanish navy. While awarding the fullest honor to the men whit actually commanded and manned the ships which destroyed the Spanish sea forces in the Philippines and in Cuba, we must not forget that an equal meed of praise belongs to those without whom neither blow could have been struck. The congressmen who voted years in advance the money to lay down the ships, to build the guns, to buy the armor-plate; the department officials and the business men and wageworkers who furnished what the congress had authorized; the secretaries of the navy who asked for and expended the appropriations; and finally the officers who, in fair weather and foul, on actual sea service, trained and disciplined the crews of the ships when there was no war in sight-all are entitled to a full share in the glory of Manila and Santlago, and the respect accorded by every true American to those who wrought such signal triumph for our country. It was forethought and preparation which secured us the overwhelming triumph of 1898. If we fail to show forethought and preparation now, there may come a time when disaster will befall us instead of triumph; and should this time come, the fault will rest primarily, not upon those whom the accident of events puts in supreme command at the moment, but upon those who have failed to prepare in advance There should be no cessation in the work of completing our navy. So far ingenuity has been wholly unable to devise a substitute for the great war craft whose hummering guns beat out the mastery of the high seas. It is unsafe and unwise not to provide this year for several additional battle ships and heavy armored cruisers, with auxiliary and lighter craft in proportion; for the exact numbers and character 1 refer you to the report of the secretary of the navy. But there is something we need even more than addiional ships, and this is additional officers and men. To provide hattle ships and cruisers and then lay them with the expectation of leaving them unmanned matil they are needed in actual war, would be worse than folly; it would be a crime against the nation To send any warship against a competent enemy inless those aboard it have been trained by years of actual sea service, including incessant gunnery pracice, would be to invite not mere disaster, but the bitterest shame and humiliation. Four thousand additional seamen and one thousand additional marines should be provided: and an increase in the officer should be provided by making a large addition to the classes at Annapolis. There is one small matter which should be mentioned in connection with Annapolis. The pretentious and unmeaning title of "naval cadet" should be abolished; the title of "midshipman," full of historic association, should be restored. Even in time of peace a warship should be used until it wears out, for only so can it be kept fit to respond to any emergency. The officers and men alike

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Science Aiding The department of anriculture during the past fifteen years, has Agriculture steadily broadened its work or

a lines and has accomplished results of real alus in upballding domestic and foreign trade. as tone into new fields until it is now in touch with all sollous of our country and with two of the island torough that have lately come under our jurisdiction. whose people must look to agriculture as a livelihood. scarehing the world for grain, grasses, fruits and vegetables specially fitted for introduction into localities in the several states and territories where may add materially to our resources. By scientille attention to soll survey and possible new crops to breeding of new varieties of plants, to experimen al shinments, to animal industry and applied chemisery, very practical aid has been given our farming and stock-growing interests. The products of the form have taken an unprecedented place in our export trade during the year that has just closed.

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Progress in Public opinion throughout the United states has moved steadily toward a just appreciation of the value of for-

whether planted or of natural growth. The creat part played by them in the creation and mainconance of the national wealth is now more fully realized than ever before

Wise forest protection does not mean the withdrawal of forest resources, whether of wood, water, or grass, from contributing their full share to the welfare of the people, but, on the contrary, gives the assurance of larger and more certain supplies. The fundamental idea of forestry is the perpetuation of forests by use. Forest protection is not an end of itself: it is a means to increase and sustain the resources of our country and the industries which depend upon them. The preservation of our forests is an imperative business necessity. We have come to see clearly that whatever destroys the forest, except to make way for agriculture, threatens our well-

The practical usefulness of the national forest reserves to the mining, grazing, irrigation, and other intricuts of the regions in which the reserves ite led to a widespread demand by the people of tha heat for their protection and extension. The forest overvis will inevitably be of still greater use in the totate than in the pass. Additions should be made to them whensee practicable, and their usefulnes should be thereased by a thoroughly bu-

't provent the protection of the sta with the general hand office its soription of their timber with the s-Steins Line allering the geological survey, and the prepart their convervative use will the low or of ference

Future of the 1n the Philippines our problem is Philippines. larger. They are very rich troplcal islands, inhabited by many varying

tribes, representing widely different stages of progress toward civilization. Our earnest effort is to help these people upward along the stony and difficult path that leads to self-government. We hope to make our ad ministration of the islands honorable to our nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos chemselves; and as an earnest of what we intend to do, we point to what we have done. Already a greater measure of material prosperity and of governmental honesty and efficiency has been attained in the Philippines than ever before in their history.

It is no light task for a nation to achieve the tem peramental qualities without which the institutions of free government are but an empty mockery. Our people are now successfully governing themselves. cause for more than a thousand years they have been slowly fitting themselves, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, toward this end. What ha taken us thirty generations to achieve, we cannot expect to see another race accomplish out of hand especially when large portions of that race start very far behind the point which our ancestors had reached even thirty generations ago. In dealing with the Philippine people we must show both patience and strength, forbearance and steadfast resolution aim is high. We do not desire to do for the Islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peo ples by even the best foreign governments. We hop to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics-to make them fit for seifgovernment after the fashion of the really free antions

History may safely be challenged to show a singl instance in which a masterful race such as ours, hav ing been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabit ants with the disinterested zeal for their progress that our people have shown in the Philippines. To leave the islands at this time would mean that they would fall into a welter of murderous anarchy. Such deser tion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity. The character of Governor Taft and of hi associates and subordinates is a proof, if such be needed, of the sincerity of our effort to give the island ers a constantly increasing measure of self-government, exactly as fast as they show themselves fit is exercise it. Since the civil government was estab lished not an appointment has been made in the islands with any reference to considerations of pe litical influence, or to aught else save the finess of the man and the needs of the service

In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of th Philippines, it may be that here and there we have gone too rapidly in giving them local self-government It is on this side that our error, if any, has been com mitted. No competent observer, sincerely desirous of finding out the facts and influenced only by a desire for the welfare of the natives, can assert that we have not gone far enough. We have gone to the very verge of safety in hastening the process. To have taken a single step further or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness, and might well have been crime. We are extremely anxious that the native shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anxious, first for their sakes, and next, because it relieves us of a great burden. There need not be the slightest fear of our not continuing to give them ail the liberty for which they are fit.

The only fear is lest in our overanxiety we give

The Transisthmian No single great material work which remains to be under-Canal. taken on this continent is of

such consequence to the American people as the building of a canal across the isthmus connecting North and South America. Its importance to the nation is by no means limited merely to its material effects upon our business prosperity; and yet with view to these effects alone it would be to the last degree im portant for us immediately to begin it. While its beneficial effects would perhaps be most marked upon the Pacific coast and the Gulf and South Atlantic states, it would also greatly benefit other sections. It is emphatically a work which it is for the interest of the entire country to begin and complete as soon as possible; it is one of those great works which only a great nation can undertake with prospects of success and which when done are not only permanent assets in the nation's material interests, but standing monuments to its constructive ability.

I am glad to be able to announce to you that our negotiations on this subject with Great Britain, conducted on both sides in a spirit of friendliness and mutual good will and respect, have resulted in my being able to lay before the senate a treaty which if ratified will enable us to begin preparations for an isthmian canal at any time, and which guarantees to this nation every right that it has ever asked in connection with the canal. In this treaty, the old Clayton-Bulwer treaty, so long recognized as inadequate to supply the base for the construction and maintensuce of a necessarily American ship canal, is abrogated. It specifically provides that the United States alone shall do the work of building and assume the responsibility of safeguarding the canal and shall regulate its neutral use by all nations on terms of equality without the guaranty or interference of any outside nation from any quarter. The signed treaty will at once he laid before the senate, and if approved the congress can then proceed to g' t effect to the advantages it secures us by providing for the building of the canal.

The American The true end of every great and Doctrine. tree people should be self-respect-

ing peace; and this nation most carnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world, of recent years, wars between the great civilized powers have becomless and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semibarbarous peoples come in an entirely different caregory, being merely a most regrettable but necessar, international police duty which must be performed for the sake of the welfare of mankind. Peace can only be kept with certainty where both sides wish to keep it; but more and more the civilized peoples ar realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for th ights of others which will in the end, as we hope and believe, make world-wide peace possible. The peace conference at The Hague gave definite expression to this hope and belief and marked a stride toward their attainment.

This same peace conference acquiesced in on sintement of the Monroe doctrine as compatible with the purposes and aims of the conference

The Monroe doctrine should be the cardinal fea ture of the foreign policy of all the nations of the two Americas, as it is of the United States, Just seventy-eight years have passed since President Monroe in his annual message announced that "The American continents are henceforth not to be consid ered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." In other words, the Monroe doctrine to a declaration that there must be no territorial ag grandizement by any non-American power at the expense of any American power on American soil. It is in no wise intended as hostile to any nation in the Old World. Still less is it intended to give cover to any aggression by one New World power at the expense of any other. It is simply a step, and a long step, toward assuring the universal peace of the world by securing the possibility of permanent peace on this hemisphere.

During the past century other influences have established the permanence and independence of the