

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.—CONTINUED.

should be kept as much as possible on line water, for it is there only they can learn their duties as they should be learned. The big vessels should be manœuvred in squadrons containing not merely battle ships, but the necessary proportion of cruisers and scouts. The torpedo boats should be handled by the younger officers in such manner as will best fit the latter to take responsibility and meet the emergencies of actual warfare.

Every detail ashore which can be performed by a civilian should be so performed, the officer being kept for his special duty in the sea service. Above all, gunnery practice should be unceasing. It is important to have our navy of adequate size, but it is even more important that ship for ship it should equal in efficiency and man in the gun. This is possible only with highly drilled crews and officers, and this in turn imperatively demands continuous and progressive instruction in target practice, ship handling, squadron tactics, and general discipline. Our ships must be assembled in squadrons actively cruising away from harbors and never lost at anchor. The resulting wear upon engines and hulls must be endured, a high standard of work must be maintained, and the men will be paid for by the results, while, on the other hand, no matter in how excellent condition, it is useless if the crew be not expert.

We now have seventeen battleships appropriated for, of which nine are completed and have been commissioned for actual service. The remaining eight will be ready in from two to four years, but it will take at least that time to recruit and train the men to fight them. It is of vast concern that we have trained crews ready for the vessels by the time they are commissioned. Good ships and good guns are simply good weapons, and the best weapons are useless save in the hands of men who know how to fight with them. The men must be trained and drilled under a thorough and well-planned system of progressive instruction, while the recruiting must be carried on with still greater vigor. Every effort must be made to excel the main function of the officer—the command of men. The leading graduates of the naval academy should be assigned to the combatant branches, the line and marines.

Many of the essentials of success are already recognized by the general board, which, as the central office of a growing staff, is moving steadily toward a proper war efficiency and a proper efficiency of the whole navy, under the secretary. This general board, by fostering the creation of a general staff, is providing for the officer and then the general recognition of our altered conditions as a nation and of the true meaning of a great war fleet, which means, first, the best men, and second, the best ships.

The naval militia forces are state organizations, and are trained for coast service, and in event of war they will constitute the inner line of defense. They should receive hearty encouragement from the general government. But in addition we should at once provide for a national naval reserve, organized and trained under the direction of the navy department, and subject to the call of the chief executive whenever war becomes imminent. It should be a real auxiliary to the naval sea-going peace establishment, and offer material to draw from at once for manning our ships in time of war. It should be composed of graduates of the naval academy, graduates of the naval militia, officers and crews of coast-line steamers, longshore schooners, fishing vessels, and steam yachts, together with the coast population about such centers as life-saving stations and light houses.

The American people must either build and maintain an adequate navy or else make up their minds definitely to accept a secondary position in international affairs, not merely in political, but in commercial matters. It has been well said that there is no surer way of courting national disaster than to be "equivalent, aggressive, and unarmed."

To Improve Our Army. It is not necessary to increase our army beyond its present size at this time. But it is necessary to keep it at the highest point of efficiency. The individual units who are officers and enlisted men compose this army, and we have good reason to believe, at least as efficient as those of any other army in the entire world. It is one of our chief responsibilities to make it so, to insure the highest possible expression of power to these units when acting in combination.

The conditions of modern war are such as to make an infinitely heavier demand than ever before upon the individual character and capacity of the officer and the enlisted man, and to make it far more difficult for men to see the result of their effort. At present the fighting must be done in extended order, which means that each man must act for himself and at the same time act in combination with others with whom he is no longer in the old-fashioned elbow-to-elbow touch. Under such conditions a few men of the highest excellence are worth more than many men without the special skill which is only found as the result of a training which is the result of a kind of physical and moral. But nowadays the most valuable fighting man and the most difficult to perfect is the rifeman who is also a skillful and daring rider.

The proportion of our cavalry regiments has wisely been increased. The American cavalryman, on foot and on horseback, is the best type of soldier for general purposes now to be found in the world. The ideal cavalryman of the present day is a man who can fight on foot as effectively as the best infantryman, and who is in addition unsurpassed in the care and management of his horse and in his ability to fight on horseback.

A general staff should be created. As for the present staff and supply departments, they should be filled by details from the line, the men so detailed returning after a while to their line duties. It is very undesirable to have the senior grades of the army composed of men who have come to fill the positions by the mere fact of seniority. A system should be adopted by which there shall be an elimination grade by means of which those who seem unfit to render the best service in the next grade. Justice to the veterans of the civil war who are still in the army would seem to require that in the matter of retirement they be given by law the same privileges accorded to their comrades in the navy.

The process of elimination of the least fit should be conducted in a manner that would render it practically impossible to apply political or social pressure on behalf of any candidate, so that each man may be judged purely on his own merits. Pressure for the promotion of civil officials for political reasons is bad enough, but it is ten-fold worse when applied on behalf of officers of the army or navy. Every promotion and every detail under the war department must be made solely with regard to the good of the service and to the capacity and merit of the man himself. No pressure, political, social, or personal, of any kind, will be permitted to exercise the least effect in any question of promotion or detail; and if there is reason to believe that such pressure is exercised at the instigation of the officer concerned, it will be held to militate against him. In our army we cannot afford to have rewards or duties distributed save on the simple ground that those who by their own merits are

entitled to the rewards get them, and that those who are peculiarly fit to do the duties are chosen to perform them.

Every effort should be made to bring the army to a constantly increasing state of efficiency. When on actual service no work save that directly in the line of such service should be required. The paper work of the army, as in the navy, should be greatly reduced. What is needed is greater power of command and capacity to work well in the field. Constant care is necessary to prevent dry rot in the transportation and commissary departments.

Our army is so small and so much scattered that it is very difficult to give the higher officers (as well as the lower officers and the enlisted men) a chance to practice manœuvres in mass and on a comparatively large scale. In time of need no amount of individual excellence would avail against the paralysis which would follow inability to work as a coherent whole, under skillful and daring leadership. The congress should provide means whereby it will be possible to have field exercises by at least a division of regular troops, and if possible, a division of regular troops, once a year. These exercises might take the form of field manœuvres; or, if on the Gulf Coast or the Pacific or Atlantic seaboard, or in the region of the Great Lakes, the army corps when assembled could be marched from some inland point to some point on the water, there embarked, disembarked after a couple of days' journey at another inland point, and again marched inland. Only by actual handling and providing for men in masses while they are marching, camping, embarking, and disembarking, will it be possible to train the higher officers to perform their duties well and smoothly.

A great debt is owing from the public to the men of the army, and they should be so treated as to enable them to reach the highest point of efficiency, so that they may be able to respond instantly to any demand made upon them to sustain the interests of the nation and the honor of the flag. The individual American enlisted man is probably on the whole a more formidable fighting man than the regular of any other army. Every consideration should be shown him, and the highest standard of usefulness should be exacted from him. It is well worth while for the congress to consider whether the pay of enlisted men upon second and subsequent enlistments should not be increased to correspond with the increased value of the veteran soldier.

Much good has already come from the act reorganizing the army, passed early in the present year. The three reforms, all of them of literally incalculable value, are, first, the substitution of four-year details from the line for permanent appointments in the so-called staff divisions; second, the establishment of a corps of artillery with a chief at the head; third, the establishment of a maximum and minimum limit for the army. It would be difficult to estimate the improvement in the efficiency of our army which these three reforms are making, and have in part already effected.

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Action should be taken in reference to the militia and to the raising of volunteers for the militia law is obsolete and worthless. The organization and armament of the National Guard of the several states, which are treated as militia in the appropriations by the congress, should be made identical with those provided for the regular forces. The obligations and duties of the Guard in time of war should be carefully defined, and a system established by which the method of procedure of raising volunteer forces should be prescribed in advance. It is utterly impossible in the excitement and haste of impending war to do this satisfactorily if the arrangements have not been made long beforehand. Provision should be made for utilizing in the first volunteer organizations called out the training of those citizens who have already had experience under arms, and especially for the selection in advance of the officers of any force which may be raised; for careful selection of the kind necessary is impossible after the outbreak of war.

That the army is not at all a mere instrument of destruction has been shown during the last three years. In the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.

Tribute to the Veterans. No other citizens deserve so well of the Republic as the veterans, the survivors of those who saved the Union. They did the one deed which if left undone would have meant that all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast prowess in the greatest crisis of our history, all our annals would be meaningless, and our great experiment in popular freedom and self-government a gloomy failure. Moreover, they not only left us a united nation, but they left us also as a heritage the memory of the mighty deeds by which the nation was kept united. We are now indeed one nation, one in fact as well as in name; we are united in our devotion to the flag which is the symbol of national greatness and unity; and the very completeness of our union enables us all, in every part of the country, to glory in the valor shown alike by the sons of the North and the sons of the South in the times that tried men's souls.

The men who in the last three years have done so well in the East and the West Indies and on the mainland of Asia have shown that this remembrance is not lost. In any serious crisis the United States must rely for the great mass of its fighting men upon the volunteer soldiers who do not make a permanent profession of the military career; and whenever such a crisis arises the deathless memories of the civil war will give to Americans the lift of lofty purpose which comes to those whose fathers have stood valiantly in the forefront of the battle.

Civil Service Reform. The merit system of making appointments is in its essence a democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means that in clerical and

other positions where the duties are entirely non-political, all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his merits as he is able to show them by practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system. In other cases, as where laborers are employed, a system of registration undoubtedly can be widely extended. There are, of course, places where the written competitive examination cannot be applied, and others where it offers by no means an ideal solution, but where under existing political conditions it is, though an imperfect means, yet the best present means of getting satisfactory results.

Wherever the conditions have permitted the application of the merit system in its fullest and widest sense, the gain to the government has been immense. The navy yards and postal service illustrate, probably better than any other branches of the government, the great gain in economy, efficiency, and honesty due to the enforcement of this principle.

I recommend the passage of a law which will expand the classified service to the District of Columbia, or will at least enable the president thus to extend it. In my judgment all laws providing for the temporary employment of clerks should hereafter contain a provision that they be selected under the civil service law.

It is important to have this system obtain at home, but it is even more important to have it applied abroad, in our insular possessions. Not an officer should be filled in the Philippines or Porto Rico with any regard to the man's partisan affiliations or services, with any regard to the political, social, or personal influence which he may have at his command; in short, hood should be paid to absolutely nothing save the man's own character and capacity and the needs of the service.

The administration of these islands should be as wholly free from the suspicion of partisan politics as the administration of the army and navy. All that we ask from the public servant in the Philippines or Porto Rico is that he reflect honor on his country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the people who have come under it. This is all that we should ask, and we cannot afford to be content with less.

The merit system is simply one method of securing honest and efficient administration of the government; and in the long run the sole justification of any type of government lies in its proving itself both honest and efficient.

The Consular Service. The consular service is now organized under the provisions of a law passed in 1856, which is entirely inadequate to existing conditions. The interest shown by so many commercial bodies throughout the country in the reorganization of the service is heartily commended to your attention. Several bills providing for a new consular service have in recent years been submitted to the congress. They are based upon the first principle that appointments to the service should be made only after a practical test of the applicant's fitness, that promotions should be governed by trustworthiness, adaptability, and zeal in the performance of duty, and that the tenure of office should be unaffectedly partisan considerations.

The guardianship and fostering of our rapidly expanding foreign commerce, the protection of American citizens resorting to foreign countries in lawful pursuit of their affairs, and the maintenance of the dignity of the nation abroad, combine to make it essential that our consuls should be men of character, knowledge, and enterprise. It is true that the service is now, in the main, efficient, but a standard of excellence cannot be permanently maintained until the principles set forth in the bills heretofore submitted to the congress on this subject are enacted into law.

New Policy for the Indians. In my judgment the time has arrived when we should definitely make up our minds to recognize the Indian as an individual and not as a member of a tribe. The General Allotment Act is a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass. It acts directly upon the family and the individual. Under its provisions some sixty thousand Indians have already become citizens of the United States. This should now break up the tribal funds, doing for them what allotment does for the tribal lands; that is, they should be divided into individual holdings. There will be a transition period during which the funds will in many cases have to be held in trust. This is the case also with the lands. A stop should be put upon the indiscriminate extension to true that the several allotments. The effort should be steadily to make the Indian work like any other man on his own ground. The marriage laws of the Indians should be made the same as those of the whites.

In the schools the education should be elementary and largely industrial. The use of higher education should be restricted to those who are fitted for it. On the reservations care should be taken to try to induce teaching to the needs of the particular Indian. There is no use in attempting to induce agriculture in a country suited only for cattle raising, where the Indian should be made a stock grower. The ration system, which is merely the corral and the reservation system, is highly detrimental to the Indians. It promotes beggary, perpetuates pauperism, and stifles industry. It is an effectual barrier to progress. It must continue to a greater or less degree as long as tribes are herded on reservations and have everything in common. The Indian should be treated as an individual like the white man. During the change of treatment inevitable hardships will occur; every effort should be made to minimize these hardships; but we should not because of them hesitate to make the change. There should be a continuous reduction in the number of agencies.

In dealing with the aboriginal races few things are more important than to preserve them from the terrible physical and moral degradation resulting from the liquor traffic. We are doing all we can to save our own Indian tribes from this evil. Wherever by international agreement this same end can be attained as regards races where we do not possess exclusive control, every effort should be made to bring it about.

Expositions and Libraries. I bespeak the most cordial support from the congress and the people for the St. Louis exposition to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana purchase. This purchase was the greatest instance of expansion in our history. It definitely repaid, by far the heaviest money in the Western hemisphere. It is one of three or four great landmarks in our history—the great turning points in our development. It is eminently fitting that all our people should join with heartiest good will in commemorating it, and the citizens of St. Louis, of Missouri, of all the adjacent region, are entitled to every aid in making the celebration a noteworthy event in our annals. We earnestly hope that foreign nations

will appreciate the deep interest our country takes in this exposition, and our view of its importance from every standpoint, and that they will participate in securing its success. The national government should be represented by a full and complete set of exhibits.

The people of Charleston, with great energy and civic spirit, are carrying on an exposition which will continue throughout most of the present season. I heartily commend their exposition to the good will of the people. It deserves all the encouragement that can be given it. The managers of the Charleston exposition have requested the cabinet officers to place thereat the government exhibits which have been at Buffalo, promising to pay the necessary expenses. I have taken the responsibility of directing that this be done, for I feel that it is due to Charleston to help her in her praiseworthy effort. In my opinion the management should not be required to pay all these expenses. I earnestly recommend that the congress appropriate at once the small sum necessary for this purpose.

The Pan-American exposition at Buffalo has just closed. The position of the industrial and agricultural standpoint this exposition has been in a high degree creditable and useful, not merely to Buffalo but to the United States. The terrible tragedy of the president's assassination interfered materially with its being a financial success. The exposition was peculiarly in harmony with the trend of our public policy, because it represented an effort to bring into closer touch all the peoples of the Western hemisphere, and give them an increasing sense of unity. Such an effort was a genuine service to the entire American public.

The advancement of the highest interests of national science and learning and the custody of objects of art and of the valuable results of scientific expeditions conducted by the United States have been committed to the Smithsonian Institution. In furtherance of its declared purpose—the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men"—the congress has from time to time given it other important functions. Such trusts have been executed by the institution with notable fidelity. There should be no halt in the work of the institution, and in accordance with the plans which its secretary has presented for the preservation of the vanishing races of great North American animals in the National Zoological park. The urgent needs of the National Museum are recommended to the favorable consideration of the congress.

Perhaps the most characteristic educational movement of the past fifty years is that which has created the modern public library and developed it into broad and active service. There are now over five thousand public libraries in the United States, the product of this period. In addition to accumulating material, they are also striving by organization, by improvement in method, and by co-operation, to give greater efficiency to the material they hold, to make it more widely used, and by avoidance of unnecessary duplication in process to reduce the cost of its administration.

In these efforts they naturally look for assistance to the Federal library, which, though still the library of congress, and so entitled, is the one national library of the United States. Already the largest single collection of books in the Western hemisphere, and rapidly increasing more rapidly than any other through purchase, exchange, and the operation of the copyright law, this library has a unique opportunity to render to the libraries of this country—to American scholarship—service of the highest importance. It is housed in a building which is the largest and most magnificent yet erected for library uses. Resources are now being provided which will develop the collection properly, equip it with the apparatus and service necessary to its effective use, render its bibliographic work widely available, and enable it to become, not merely a center of research, but the chief factor in great co-operative efforts for the diffusion of knowledge and the advancement of learning.

Permanent Census Bureau. For the sake of good administration, sound economy, and the advancement of science, the census office as now constituted should be made a permanent government bureau. This would insure better, cheaper, and more satisfactory work. In the interest not only of our business but of statistics, economic, and social sciences.

Postal Developments. The remarkable growth of the postal service is shown in the fact that its revenues have doubled and its expenditures have nearly doubled within twelve years. Its progressive development, complete constantly increasing output, but in this period of business energy and prosperity its receipts grow so much faster than its expenses that the annual deficit has been steadily reduced from \$11,411,729 in 1887 to \$3,925,727 in 1899. Among recent postal advances the success of rural free delivery wherever established has been so marked and actual experience has made its benefits so plain, that the demand for its extension is general and urgent.

It is just that the great agricultural population should share in the improvement of the service. The number of rural routes now in operation is 4,600, practically all established within three years, and there are 4,000 applications awaiting action. It is expected that the number in operation at the close of the current fiscal year will reach 4,900. The mail will then be daily carried to the doors of 2,500,000 of our people who have heretofore been dependent upon distant offices, and one-third of all that portion of the country which is adapted to it will be covered by this kind of service.

The full measure of postal progress which might be realized has long been hampered and obstructed by the heavy burden imposed on the government through the entrenched and well understood abuses which have grown up in connection with second-class mail matter. The extent of this burden appears when it is stated that while the second-class matter makes nearly three-fifths of the weight, it consumes only one-fifth of the total revenue of \$111,641,981. If the pound rate of postage, which produces the large loss thus entailed, and which was fixed by the congress with the purpose of encouraging the dissemination of public information, were limited to the legitimate newspapers and periodicals actually contemplated by the law, no just exception could be taken. That expense would be recognized and accepted cost of a liberal public policy deliberately adopted for a justifiable end. But much of the matter which enjoys the privileged rate is wholly outside of the intent of the law, and has secured admission only through an evasion of its requirements or through lax construction. The proportion of such wrongly included matter is estimated by postal experts to be one-half of the whole volume of second-class mail. If it be only one-third or one-quarter, the magnitude of the burden is apparent. The postoffice department has now undertaken to remove the abuses so far as is possible by a stricter application of the law; and it should be sustained in its effort.

The Situation in China. Owing to the rapid growth of our power and our interests on the Pacific, whatever happens in China must be of the keenest national concern to us.

The general terms of the settlement of the questions growing out of the anti-foreign uprisings in China of 1900, having been formulated in a joint note addressed to China by the representatives of the injured powers in December last, were promptly accepted by the Chinese government. After protracted conferences the plenipotentiaries of the several powers were able to sign a final protocol with the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the 7th of last September, setting forth the measures taken by China in compliance with the demands of the joint note, and expressing their satisfaction therewith. It will be laid before the congress, with a report of the plenipotentiary on behalf of the United States, William Woodville Rockwell, to whom high praise is due for the tact, good judgment, and energy he has displayed in performing an exceptionally difficult and delicate task.

The agreement reached disposes in a manner satisfactory to the powers of the various questions of complaint, and will contribute materially to better future relations between China and the powers. Reparation has been made by China for the murder of foreigners during the uprising and punishment has been inflicted on the officials, however high in rank, recognized as responsible for or having participated in the outbreak. Official examinations have been forbidden for a period of five years in all cities in which foreigners have been murdered or cruelly treated, and edicts have been issued making all officials directly responsible for the future safety of foreigners and for the suppression of violence against them.

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Under the provisions of the joint note of December, 1900, China has agreed to revise the treaties of commerce and navigation and to take such other steps for the purpose of facilitating foreign trade as the foreign powers may decide to be needed.

The Chinese government has agreed to participate financially in the work of bettering the water approaches to Shanghai and to Tientsin, and to create a fund for the purpose of facilitating foreign trade as the foreign powers may decide to be needed. The Chinese government has agreed to participate financially in the work of bettering the water approaches to Shanghai and to Tientsin, and to create a fund for the purpose of facilitating foreign trade as the foreign powers may decide to be needed.

During these troubles our government has unhesitatingly advocated moderation, and has materially aided in the work of restoring order and peace to the watersheds of the great northern China, and an international conservancy board, in which the Chinese government is largely represented, has been provided for the improvement of the Shanghai river and the control of its navigation. In the same line of commercial advantages a revision of the present tariff on imports has been assented to for the purpose of substituting specific duties for the present ad valorem duties, and a list of articles to remain free of duty, including tobacco, cereals, and rice, gold and silver coin and bullion, has also been agreed upon in the settlement.

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International Amenities. The death of Queen Victoria caused the people of the United States deep and heartfelt sorrow, to which the government gave full expression. When President McKinley died, our nation in turn received from every quarter of the British empire expressions of grief and sympathy no less sincere. The death of the Empress Dowager Frederick of Germany also aroused the genuine sympathy of the American people; and this sympathy was cordially reciprocated by Germany when the president was assassinated. Indeed, from every quarter of the civilized world we received, at the time of the president's death, assurances of such grief and regard as to touch the hearts of our people. In the midst of our affliction we reverently thank the Almighty that we are at peace with the nations of mankind; and we firmly intend that our policy be such as to continue unbroken these international relations of mutual respect and good will.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
White House, Dec. 3, 1901.