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The committee was established in 1967 in response to public outcry at a series of congressional scandals. The first chairman was Illinois Democrat Melvin Price. The House gave the panel only a limited mission at first: to write a code of conduct. Approved in 1968, the code expanded the committee's responsibility, giving it authority to enforce the new rules.

But the code was couched in general terms and FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE was confined to sources, not amounts, of income. The House and Senate each revamped its code in 1977, and in 1978 Congress applied ethics codes to the entire federal government.

Although the House usually goes along with the recommendations of the ethics committee, it has acted independently. In 1983 the committee recommended that two legislators be reprimanded because of improper relationships with teenage pages; the House opted for the stiffer penalty of censure.

State of the Union

Early each year the president addresses a joint session of Congress, spelling out his legislative program and goals for the year in a State of the Union message. The annual address is the traditional way presidents comply with a constitutional directive to "from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union...."

The evening session of Congress, usually in late January, brings a rare mood of pageantry to the House chamber, which is seldom so filled with people. Seated in the front rows are the Supreme Court justices, wearing their judicial robes, and members of the president's cabinet. Nearby are foreign diplomats. Galleries are packed with family

members, visitors, and reporters. A special escort committee, dispatched by the Speaker, greets the president and accompanies him down the aisle.

The president's speech is usually interrupted several times with applause. On rare occasions members of an opposing party groan to indicate their disagreement with a statement. More typical is the reaction of the Democratic-controlled Congress to Republican President Ronald Reagan in 1988. Even when he was criticizing Congress for its catchall spending bills, and hefting a forty-three pound stack of documents to demonstrate their unwieldiness, the legislators reacted with applause and cheers.

The nation's first two presidents, George Washington and John Adams, delivered their annual messages as speeches to Congress. The third president, Thomas Jefferson, chose in 1801 to avoid what was an elaborate, formal ceremony, complete with a chair called "the president's throne." Instead he had his private secretary carry the message to Capitol Hill.

No president addressed Congress again until 1913, when Woodrow Wilson renewed the custom of delivering the message in person, a decision that was quite controversial. He eventually appeared before Congress twenty-six times, a record that still held in 1988. Since Wilson's time, only President Herbert Hoover has declined to visit Capitol Hill at all.

President Lyndon B. JOHNSON in 1965 shifted the time of the State of the Union address from midday to evening, a move designed to attract the large television audience during prime time. The next year Republicans got a half-hour slot from each network to offer their own assessment of national affairs. By 1976 television time was available to the opposing party immediately following the State of the Union broadcast.

In 1986 the State of the Union address was postponed for the first time.



State of the Union, 1974

The House and Senate meet in joint session early each year to hear the president deliver his State of the Union address. In this 1974 picture, President Richard Nixon hands a copy of his address to Vice President Gerald R. Ford. Half hidden behind Ford is House Speaker Carl Albert. Before the year was over, Nixon had resigned, and Ford had succeeded him as president.

On the morning of President Reagan's scheduled January 28 address to Congress, the space shuttle *Challenger* exploded, taking the lives of all seven crew members. Reagan delayed the speech until February 4. ~

States and Congress

Their relationship uneasy from the beginning, Congress and the states have never agreed on how to share—or divide—responsibility for governing the nation.

The ongoing conflict, which erupted once into civil war, has spawned numerous political disputes. Certain areas, such as national defense, are clearly in the federal domain. But the Constitution left many gray areas, with no clear rules about what level of government was in charge. Often the Supreme Court has been forced to referee, deciding whether the federal government or the states are ultimately responsible.

The sharing of responsibility for

governing is called federalism, with a national government, fifty state governments, and thousands of local governments operating at different levels. By the 1980s the federal government clearly dominated the relationship; several Supreme Court decisions had enhanced federal authority, as had the enormous flow of federal money to state and local governments.

State and local officials found it almost impossible to refuse their share of tax dollars, even when the money came with rules and regulations that encroached on their autonomy. Congress, for its part, became accustomed in the 1960s and 1970s to setting national goals and giving other governments money to carry them out.

By the 1980s constraints on the federal budget made that pattern increasingly difficult to sustain. Sweeping new programs simply were not possible, and existing policies were at risk. Congress continued to set national goals but could no longer be counted on to couple the rules with federal money—"carrots"—for state and local governments to use in carrying them out. Governors and mayors, who developed an exten-

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE UNION

Notable Quotes

Lessons from Past State of the Unions

The Importance of Ideals

Presidential Approval Ratings

Dates of State of the Unions

Lists of Firsts

Bibliography

"...the one great public document of the United States which is widely read and discussed. Congressional debates receive scant notice, but the President's message is ordinarily printed in full on nearly every metropolitan daily, and is the subject of general editorial comment throughout the length and breadth of the land. It stirs the country; it often affects Congressional elections; and it may establish grand policy."

Charles Beard

LESSONS FROM PAST STATE OF THE UNIONS

As a result of perusing many articles I found these points of interest on the State of the Union.

o As evidenced in past State of the Unions, the administration's agenda is shaped by crisis items. If there is no front page crisis, there is an opportunity for the President to set the priorities of the Nation.

o There are two different approaches to the State of the Union address: first, the Christmas list of proposals which is a longer speech where every Congressman calls and volunteers his input. The other approach is a shorter thematic and inspirational speech. With the shorter speech the President submits a Christmas list of proposals. Thus he satisfies those who want to submit proposals and he also sustains the public's interest.

o Reagan found exceptional people and made them heroes by describing their feats in his address. This maneuver inspired the public and stimulated more patriotism.

o Reagan moved issues that caused Congressional resistance off of his agenda. From 1986-87, time dedicated to Reagan's social agenda in the State of the Union addresses dropped from 14 to 7% (after he lost seats on the hill).

o Reagan hardly mentioned women and civil rights in his State of the Unions (only 377 words in 7 years or 1.1171% of all seven State of the Unions).

o A study conducted by Journalism Quarterly "asserts press influence on the president's address and holds that the empirical relationship between the president's address and subsequent press coverage is spurious."

o In a study conducted by Presidential Studies Quarterly, it was demonstrated that presidents who are better teachers are better leaders.

o Summary of Reagan's State of the Union Priorities

1) In 1981 the state of the domestic economy was the number one priority. The importance of domestic affairs diminished over the years. 44% of all Reagan's State of the Unions focused on domestic issues.

word count.

2) During his administration Reagan's domestic agenda was curbed and international affairs became a larger priority. 30% of all Reagan's State of the Unions were designated to international affairs.

3) The Iran-Contra affair affected the priorities in 1987 State of the Union.

4) Reagan's social agenda received special emphasis in election years. In social issues, his focus was on moral issues.*

5) Reagan focused on U.S./U.S.S.R. relations rather than any other region of the world i.e. avoided the Middle East.

6) In economic affairs Reagan's focus was on budget and spending.

*The importance of moral issues featured in next section.

QUOTES

"All this will not be finished in the 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime of this planet..."

John F. Kennedy

"But I have promises to keep and miles to go before I sleep."

Robert Frost
President Kennedy quoted
this remark at the close
of many meetings.

"Sometimes people call me an idealist. That is why I know I am an American."

Woodrow Wilson

"We have every right to dream heroic dreams ..believe in ourselves and...believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, ...believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us....And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans."

Ronald Reagan

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable support...reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

George Washington

"The Founding was an act of panoramic idealism and unbounded hopefulness and optimism. It is this idealism and optimism that distinguishes America from Europe; it is the basis for what is known as 'American exceptionalism.'"

Steven Hayward
Policy Review

"...America is alarmingly optimistic, compassionate, incredibly generous...It was a spiritual wind that drove Americans irresistibly ahead from the beginning."

Luigi Barzini

"The American sees in his glorious past a prologue to an even more glorious future."

Steven Hayward
Policy Review

"The American sound is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent and fair."

Ronald Reagan

"the distinguishing feature of America -- expansion, growth, perennial rebirth, and new opportunity."

Frederick Jackson Turner

"...the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans..."

John F. Kennedy

"Can we forge...a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind?"

John F. Kennedy

Devise
"United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new co-operative ventures."

John F. Kennedy
on famine in Kasai

"To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe...we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves..."

John F. Kennedy

"If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

John F. Kennedy

FDR?
Quotes on "City on a hill" theme

"rendez vous with destiny"

keeping alight the "the torch of freedom"

Cmoh
"the last best hope of mankind"

Ronald Reagan

PUBLIC VALUES AND PRESIDENTIAL RHETORIC

According to a study published by Presidential Studies Quarterly, there are five core values that every President (Democrat or Republican) has incorporated into his speeches. These core values are:

- a) Puritan and Pioneer Morality
- b) Peace
- c) Patriotism
- d) Effort and Optimism
- e) Progress and Change

The following are key points regarding the public value system and presidential rhetoric.

- o Presidents "sell and defend their programs and behavior through their conceptions of the American public and its values (Presidential Studies Quarterly)."
- o Words like "Morality," "Peace," and "Patriotism" have been used with different meanings for different presidents. "Morality" has been used to begin Affirmative Action and to attack it. "'Peace' and 'Patriotism' were used to begin the War in Vietnam, to criticize it, to sustain it, and to end it."
- o Presidents have been most influential when addressing bipartisan issues. "Therefore it should be politically wise to stress common national problems or values rather than partisan ones addressing the nation. In the cauldron of American democracy the use of transcendent, ambiguous, inoffensive, but inspiring values can more successfully unite the political masses than can specific, divisive, potentially polarizing partisan values."
- o Although agenda priorities have changed since the 40's only one change has been made in the five core values. Peace became an important and respectable ideal after Kennedy's American University speech in 1963.
- o Presidents have not always succeeded in presenting new unpleasant ideas i.e. Carter's 'national malaise' and Nixon's Cambodian incursion speech. Presidents usually and more successfully say what the public wants to hear. And when presidents introduce unpleasant ideas

they are more successful when they wrap them in familiar rhetoric within the "consistent set of value priorities."

- o "Ultimately this study suggests that the relationship between presidential values and public priorities is highly interdependent, and that a change in individual presidents, or parties, or eras will not noticeably change the criteria by which national policies are advocated."
- o Attached is a more extensive list of values to which the public responds.

Steele and Redding's "American Values"

TABLE I

PURITAN AND PIONEER MORALITY	The world is seen in terms of good and evil. Virtues such as honesty, simplicity, courage, orderliness, humility, responsibility, and cooperation are stressed. Actions need to be justified with a moral purpose.
VALUE OF THE INDIVIDUAL	Every person is a unique, autonomous person worthy of concern and possessing intrinsic dignity which should not be violated.
ACHIEVEMENT AND SUCCESS	The accumulation of wealth is a measure of personal merit. Business success is especially valued. Success is equated with morality. Means can be justified by goals or results.
CHANGE AND PROGRESS	Human nature can be improved. The present is better than the past, and the future will be better than the present. Change is necessary and beneficial.
ETHICAL EQUALITY	All individuals are spiritually and ethically equal in the sight of God and the law, regardless of material differences.
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY	Each individual, regardless of circumstance of birth, has the opportunity to rise in the economic and social system.
EFFORT AND OPTIMISM	Optimistic action can overcome any problem. Hard work is inherently good, apart from its consequences. "Doing something" is good, whereas is bad. Since hard work will overcome problems, optimism is advisable.
EFFICIENCY, PRACTICALITY AND PRAGMATISM	Activity, when guided by reason, emphasizes getting things done through the choice of the most effective means. Abstraction and long-range planning are devalued.
REJECTION OF AUTHORITY	A deep aversion to coercive restraint by established social organizations or personal authorities.
SCIENCE AND SECULAR RATIONALITY	Better in an ordered universe that can be understood, predicted, and controlled by rationality.
SOCIALITY	Emphasis on getting along with a group. Also emphasizes being loved or being lovable, but not necessarily giving love.
MATERIAL COMFORT	An unlimited desire for material comforts. Happiness is material.
QUANTIFICATION	Size is equated with goodness. Bigger is better, quantity is preferred over quality.
EXTERNAL CONFORMITY	Adherence to the group pattern or norm is routine or automatic without regard to situational necessities. This includes role-playing, cooperation, and a compulsive need to be popular.
HUMOR	Humor is characteristically equated with nature. "Poking fun" at oneself, or one's opponents is a leveling influence.
GENEROSITY AND CONSIDERATENESS	A universal concern for others. Generally, humanitarianism, helpfulness, compassion, and a "missionary spirit" are good.
PATRIOTISM	Loyalty to the tradition and values of America rather than undifferentiated, egocentric nationalism. A willingness to defend the United States.

ment of Article 2, section 3 of the Constitution, which provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union." The term "State of the Union Message" came into use on January 6, 1941; before then, the messages were generally called "annual messages."

William Henry Harrison and James Abram Garfield did not prepare annual messages. Harrison served only 32 days and Garfield only 199 days.

George Washington did not prepare a message during the calendar year 1789, but delivered two messages in 1790, one on January 8 and one on December 8.

Until the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933, there were 141 messages. Of these 125 were delivered in December, 1 in January, 1 in September, 3 in October, and 11 in November.

Since the inauguration date was changed to January, 41 messages have been made in January and 2 in February.

The longest State of the Union message was sent to Congress in 1946 by President Harry S. Truman and consisted of more than 25,000 words.

It is generally conceded that most presidential speeches are prepared by writers, presumably carrying out the wishes and thoughts of the executives. It is estimated that President Lyndon Baines Johnson's speech of January 8, 1964, consisting of 3,059 words, required the services of about twenty-four writers, who took about six weeks to draft the speech, with ten to sixteen major revisions.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

Washington

Jan. 8, 1790	Dec. 3, 1793
Dec. 8, 1790	Nov. 19, 1794
Oct. 25, 1791	Dec. 8, 1795
Nov. 6, 1792	Dec. 7, 1796

J. Adams

Nov. 22, 1797	Dec. 3, 1799
Dec. 8, 1798	Nov. 22, 1800

Jefferson

Dec. 8, 1801	Dec. 3, 1805
Dec. 15, 1802	Dec. 2, 1806
Oct. 17, 1803	Oct. 27, 1807
Nov. 8, 1804	Nov. 8, 1808

Madison

Nov. 29, 1809	Dec. 7, 1813
Dec. 5, 1810	Sept. 20, 1814
Nov. 5, 1811	Dec. 5, 1815
Nov. 4, 1812	Dec. 3, 1816

Monroe

Dec. 2, 1817
Nov. 16, 1818
Dec. 7, 1819
Nov. 14, 1820
Dec. 3, 1821
Dec. 3, 1822
Dec. 2, 1823
Dec. 7, 1824

J. Q. Adams

Dec. 6, 1825
Dec. 5, 1826
Dec. 4, 1827
Dec. 2, 1828

Jackson

Dec. 8, 1829
Dec. 6, 1830
Dec. 6, 1831
Dec. 4, 1832
Dec. 3, 1833
Dec. 1, 1834
Dec. 7, 1835
Dec. 5, 1836

Van Buren

Dec. 5, 1837
Dec. 3, 1838
Dec. 2, 1839
Dec. 5, 1840

Tyler

Dec. 7, 1841
Dec. 6, 1842
Dec. 5, 1843
Dec. 3, 1844

Polk

Dec. 2, 1845
Dec. 8, 1846
Dec. 7, 1847
Dec. 5, 1848

Taylor

Dec. 4, 1849

Fillmore

Dec. 2, 1850
Dec. 2, 1851
Dec. 6, 1852

Pierce

Dec. 5, 1853
Dec. 4, 1854
Dec. 31, 1855
Dec. 2, 1856

Buchanan

Dec. 8, 1857
Dec. 6, 1858
Dec. 19, 1859
Dec. 3, 1860

Lincoln

Dec. 3, 1861
Dec. 1, 1862
Dec. 8, 1863
Dec. 6, 1864

A. Johnson

Dec. 4, 1865
Dec. 3, 1866
Dec. 3, 1867
Dec. 9, 1868

Grant

Dec. 6, 1869
Dec. 5, 1870
Dec. 4, 1871
Dec. 2, 1872
Dec. 1, 1873
Dec. 7, 1874
Dec. 7, 1875
Dec. 5, 1876

Hayes

Dec. 3, 1877
Dec. 2, 1878
Dec. 1, 1879
Dec. 6, 1880

Arthur

Dec. 6, 1881
Dec. 4, 1882
Dec. 4, 1883
Dec. 1, 1884

Cleveland—

1st Administration

Dec. 8, 1885
Dec. 6, 1886
Dec. 6, 1887
Dec. 3, 1888

B. Harrison

Dec. 3, 1889
Dec. 1, 1890
Dec. 9, 1891
Dec. 6, 1892

Cleveland—

2nd Administration

Dec. 4, 1893
Dec. 3, 1894
Dec. 2, 1895
Dec. 7, 1896

McKinley

Dec. 6, 1897
Dec. 5, 1898
Dec. 5, 1899
Dec. 3, 1900

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

-Continued

T. Roosevelt	Jan. 7, 1943
Dec. 3, 1901	Jan. 11, 1944
Dec. 2, 1902	Jan. 6, 1945
Dec. 7, 1903	Truman
Dec. 6, 1904	Jan. 22, 1946
Dec. 5, 1905	Jan. 6, 1947
Dec. 3, 1906	Jan. 7, 1948
Dec. 3, 1907	Jan. 5, 1949
Dec. 8, 1908	Jan. 4, 1950
Taft	Jan. 8, 1951
Dec. 7, 1909	Jan. 9, 1952
Dec. 6, 1910	Jan. 7, 1953
Dec. 5, 1911	Eisenhower
Dec. 3, 1912	Feb. 2, 1953
Wilson	Jan. 7, 1954
Dec. 2, 1913	Jan. 6, 1955
Dec. 8, 1914	Jan. 5, 1956
Dec. 7, 1915	Jan. 10, 1957
Dec. 5, 1916	Jan. 9, 1958
Dec. 4, 1917	Jan. 9, 1959
Dec. 2, 1918	Jan. 7, 1960
Dec. 2, 1919	Jan. 12, 1961
Dec. 7, 1920	Kennedy
Harding	Jan. 30, 1961
Dec. 4, 1921	Jan. 11, 1962
Dec. 8, 1922	Jan. 14, 1963
Coolidge	L. B. Johnson
Dec. 6, 1923	Jan. 8, 1964
Dec. 3, 1924	Jan. 4, 1965
Dec. 8, 1925	Jan. 12, 1966
Dec. 7, 1926	Jan. 10, 1967
Dec. 6, 1927	Jan. 17, 1968
Dec. 4, 1928	Jan. 14, 1969
Hoover	Nixon
Dec. 3, 1929	Jan. 22, 1970
Dec. 2, 1930	Jan. 22, 1971
Dec. 8, 1931	Jan. 20, 1972
Dec. 6, 1932	Feb. 2, 1973
F. D. Roosevelt	Jan. 30, 1974
Jan. 3, 1934	Ford
Jan. 4, 1935	Jan. 15, 1975
Jan. 3, 1936	Jan. 19, 1976
Jan. 6, 1937	Jan. 12, 1977
Jan. 3, 1938	Carter
Jan. 4, 1939	Jan. 19, 1978
Jan. 3, 1940	Jan. 23, 1979
Jan. 6, 1941	Jan. 23, 1980
Jan. 6, 1942	Jan. 16, 1981

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution contains the following provisions:

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . . If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

The Constitution thus provides not only for a regular veto, which Congress may override by a two-thirds majority of both Houses, but also for a "pocket veto"—if the President opposes a bill sent to him ten days before the adjournment of Congress, he can, instead of vetoing it, merely ignore it, or "pocket" it, and prevent it from becoming a law.

The following list shows the number of bills vetoed by each President. Noted in parenthesis after each total are the figures comprising the total: first, the number of regular vetoes; second, the number of pocket vetoes; third, the number of vetoes sustained by Congress; and fourth, the number passed over his veto.

Washington—2 (2, 0; 2, 0)
 J. Adams—0
 Jefferson—0
 Madison—7 (5, 2; 7, 0)
 Monroe—2 (1, 1; 1, 1)
 J. Q. Adams—0
 Jackson—12 (5, 7; 12, 0)
 Van Buren—0
 W. H. Harrison—0

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESSES

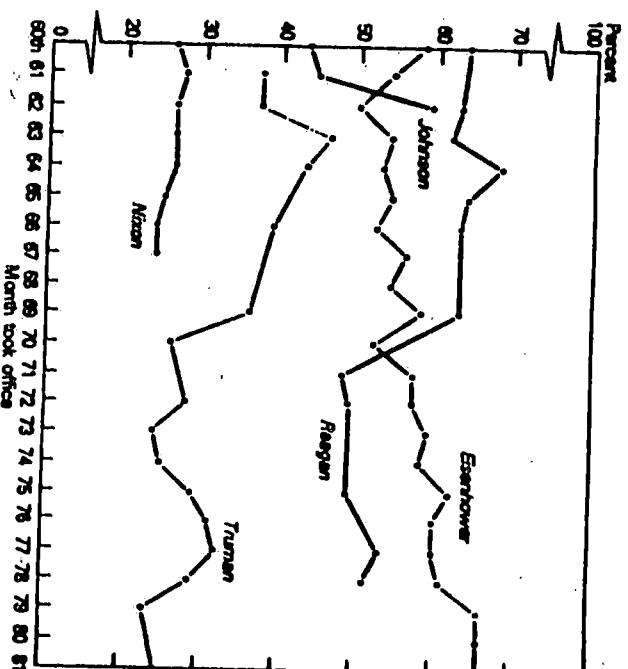
Jan. 26, 1982 ()
Jan. 25, 1983 ()
Jan. 25, 1984 ()
Feb. 6, 1985 ()
Feb. 4, 1986 ()
Jan. 27, 1987 ()
Jan. 25, 1988 ()

REAGAN AND HIS PREDECESSORS

Hydemic
Are this
legs

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way (name of President) is handling his job as president?

	Approval									
	Truman (4/45)	Eisenhower (1/53)	Kennedy (1/61)	Johnson (11/63)	Nixon (1/69)	Ford (8/74)	Carter (1/77)	Reagan (1/81)		
Month took office	—	—	—	—	59%	71%	—	51%		
After 1st month	—	68%	—	79%	61	50	71%	55		
After 2nd month	—	59	73%	80	63	55	72	60		
After 3rd month	87%	74	83	75	61	48	63	67		
After 4th month	—	74	76	73	65	42	64	68		
After 5th month	—	71	71	77	63	39	63	58		
After 6th month	—	71	71	75	65	39	67	60		
After 7th month	75	73	74	74	62	37	66	60		
After 8th month	—	75	75	—	58	39	59	52		
After 9th month	—	65	76	—	56	51	51	56		
After 10th month	63	77	—	—	68	52	56	54		
After 11th month	—	60	78	—	59	—	57	49		
After 12th month	50	68	77	69	61	46	52	47		
After 13th month	—	71	78	69	56	47	50	47		
After 14th month	—	68	79	71	53	44	48	46		
After 15th month	43	77	—	—	56	41	41	44		
After 16th month	—	64	73	69	59	39	43	45		
After 17th month	—	61	71	67	55	46	42	44		
After 18th month	32	69	69	64	55	48	39	41		
After 19th month	—	71	66	70	56	50	43	42		
After 20th month	—	65	67	69	58	48	42	42		
After 21st month	35	64	62	65	57	45	49	42		
After 22nd month	48	57	—	—	47	—	—	—		
After 23rd month	60	63	74	63	52	—	50	43		
After 24th month	—	69	76	64	56	—	51	41		
After 25th month	—	71	70	63	50	—	43	35		
After 26th month	54	66	67	61	50	—	37	40		
After 27th month	—	68	66	56	50	—	42	41		
After 28th month	—	69	64	57	49	—	32	46		
After 29th month	55	61	61	54	48	—	29	47		
After 30th month	—	72	63	51	50	—	29	42		
After 31st month	—	71	63	48	49	—	32	43		
After 32nd month	—	—	56	56	52	30	31	46		
After 33rd month	—	—	58	47	—	31	46	—		
After 34th month	—	77	58	46	49	38	53	—		
After 35th month	—	75	—	44	50	54	54	—		
After 36th month	36	77	—	49	50	58	55	—		
After 37th month	—	76	—	44	52	39	54	—		
After 38th month	39	72	—	46	53	39	52	—		
After 39th month	—	69	—	45	62	38	54	—		
After 40th month	—	—	—	45	57	31	54	—		
After 41st month	—	69	—	49	—	21	52	—		
After 42nd month	—	—	—	45	—	32	54	—		
After 43rd month	—	67	—	51	—	—	57	—		
After 44th month	—	—	—	47	—	—	58	—		
After 45th month	69	—	—	39	62	—	61	—		
After 46th month	—	75	—	38	59	34	59	—		
After 47th month	57	79	—	38	67	—	64	—		
After 48th month	—	73	—	42	—	—	—	—		
After 49th month	—	72	—	46	65	—	—	—		
After 50th month	57	—	—	49	—	—	—	—		
After 51st month	—	67	—	41	—	—	—	—		
After 52nd month	—	62	—	44	—	—	—	—		



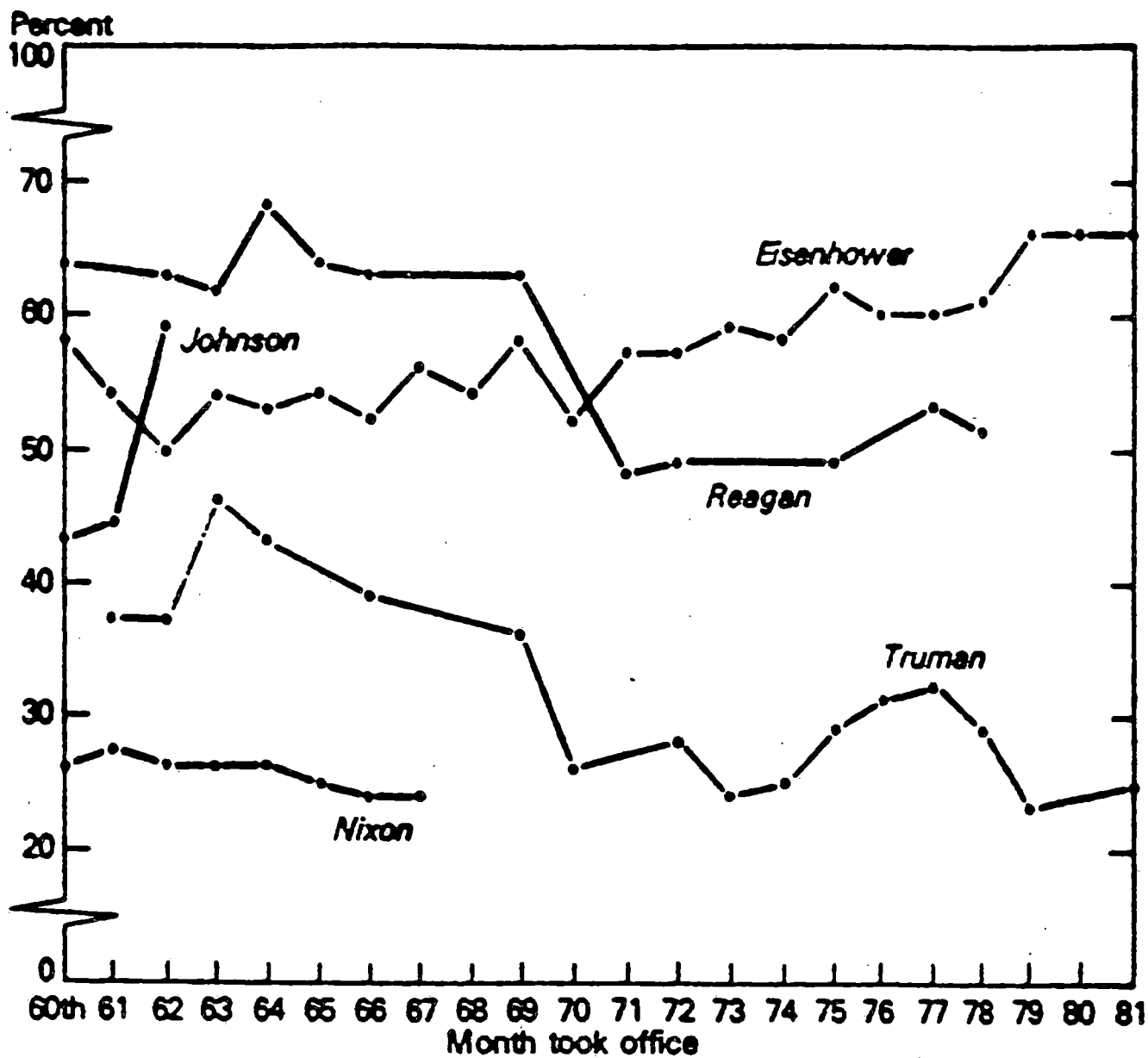
After 53rd month	51	Truman
After 54th month	63	Eisenhower
After 55th month	—	Kennedy
After 56th month	59	Johnson
After 57th month	45	Nixon
After 58th month	57	Ford
After 59th month	—	Carter
After 60th month	58	Reagan
After 61st month	54	—
After 62nd month	37	—
After 63rd month	46	—
After 64th month	43	—
After 65th month	54	—
After 66th month	39	—
After 67th month	52	—
After 68th month	56	—
After 69th month	54	—
After 70th month	36	—
After 71st month	26	—
After 72nd month	57	—
After 73rd month	28	—
After 74th month	24	—
After 75th month	25	—
After 76th month	29	—
After 77th month	31	—
After 78th month	32	—
After 79th month	23	—

	Truman	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Johnson	Nixon	Ford	Carter	Reagan
After 80th month	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	49
After 81st month	25	66	-	-	-	-	-	-
After 82nd month	-	64	-	-	-	-	-	-
After 83rd month	-	76	-	-	-	-	-	49
After 84th month	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	49
After 85th month	28	64	-	-	-	-	-	-
After 86th month	32	64	-	-	-	-	-	50
After 87th month	-	65	-	-	-	-	-	50
After 88th month	-	65	-	-	-	-	-	48
After 89th month	-	57	-	-	-	-	-	51
After 90th month	32	63	-	-	-	-	-	51
After 91st month	-	61	-	-	-	-	-	-
After 92nd month	31	65	-	-	-	-	-	53
After 93rd month	-	58	-	-	-	-	-	54
After 94th month	-	59	-	-	-	-	-	-
After 95th month	-	59	-	-	-	-	-	TK
After 96th month	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	TK

Note: In months in which more than one approval poll was conducted, the last results of the month are presented.

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of September 25-October 1, 1988.

Question: Do you approve or disapprove of the way (name of President) is handling his job as president?



Methodist College—Cokesbury College—Abingdon, Md.—opened—Dec. 6
 Money—Continental coin—copper Fugio—authorized—July 6
 Music Book—secular songbook—A. Reinagle—published—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Play (drama)—native American play successfully acted on a regular stage—Royall Tyler—*The Contrast*
 Playwright—playwright (professional)—William Dunlap—comedy written
 Prison Reform Society—formed—Philadelphia, Pa.—May 8
 Ship—ship to carry the United States flag around the world—*Columbia*—sailed—Boston, Mass.—Sept. 30
 Ship—steamboat to carry a man—John Fitch—Aug. 27
 Slavery—law (federal) prohibiting slavery in a territory of the United States—Northwest Territory—enacted July 13
 State—state to ratify the federal Constitution—Delaware—Dec. 7
 Territorial Expansion—acquisition of land by the federal government
 Unitarian Minister—Unitarian minister—James Freeman—Boston, Mass.—ordained—Nov. 18

1788

Algebra Book—algebra book by a native-born American—published—Newburyport, Mass.
 Cloth—sailcloth factory—Boston, Mass.
 Constitution of the United States—printed copies of the Constitution—Constitution ratified—June 21
 Cotton—cotton goods to be trademarked—Beverly, Mass.—June 6
 Cotton Mill—cotton mill—established—Beverly, Mass.
 Dictionary—dictionary published in the United States—Worcester, Mass.
 Dictionary—pocket dictionary published in the United States—William Perry—*Royal Standard English Dictionary*—Worcester, Mass.
 Election—federal election in the United States—authorized—Sept. 13
 Horse—horse (trotting horse)—imported—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Music Book—secular songbook by a native American—published—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Naval Officer—naval chaplain (Continental navy)—B. Parks—appointed—Oct. 28
 Shaker Society—organized Shaker community—New Lebanon, N.Y.
 Ship—ship built on the Pacific coast—*Northwest America*—begun—June 11
 Ship—steamboat patent—Isaac Briggs—Georgia—Feb. 1
 Wool—worsted mill operated by waterpower—Hartford, Conn.

1789

Army—army organization under the Constitution—act enacted, April 30
 Army—medical corps—Richard Allison appointed surgeon—Sept. 29
 Army Officer—commander-in-chief of the U.S. Army—Josiah Harmar—September
 Attorney General—Attorney General—E. J. Randolph—Sept. 26
 Attorney of the United States—Attorney General of the United States—Samuel Sherburne, Jr.—appointed—Sept. 26
 Bibliography—bibliography of Americana in English—published
 Book Publisher of denominational books—New York City—May
 Cabinet of the United States—Cabinet—April 30
 Catholic Diocese—established—Baltimore, Md.—April 6
 Catholic Periodical—Catholic magazine—published—Boston, Mass.—April 23
 College—Catholic college—Georgetown College—established—Washington, D.C.—Jan. 23
 Comb—of ivory—manufactured—Centerbrook, Conn.
 Comptroller—Comptroller of the United States Treasury—Nicholas Eveleigh—served—Sept. 11
 Congress (U.S.)—Congress of the U.S.—New York City—March 4
 Congress (U.S.)—congressional act—June 1
 Congress (U.S.)—congressional act declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the U.S.—Sept. 24
 Congress (U.S.)—joint meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives—April 6
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—clerk of the House of Representatives—John Beckley—began service April 1
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—chaplain of the House of Representatives—William Linn—began service May 1
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—committee of the House of Representatives—appointed—April 2
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—contested election—April 13
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—House of Representatives—assembled—March 4
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—sergeant at arms—Joseph Wheaton—began service April 8
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—Speaker of the House—F. A. Muhlenberg
 Congress (U.S.)—Senate—president pro tempore of the United States Senate—John Langdon—April 6
 Congress (U.S.)—Senate—Senate—Senate meeting—New York City—March 4
 Constitution of the United States—printed copies of the Constitution—Constitution declared in effect—March 4

Constitutional Amendment (U.S.)—constitutional amendments—submitted to the states—Sept. 25
 Constitutional Amendment (U.S.)—proposed amendment to the Constitution
 Cotton Mill—cotton mill—established—Charleston, S.C.
 Drawback Legislation—tariff act—July 4
 Flour Mill—flour mill—of importance—designed—Oliver Evans
 Holiday—Thanksgiving Day—designated by presidential proclamation—Oct. 3—for Nov. 28
 Horse—Morgan horse—foaled—Randolph, Vt.
 Insurance Treatise—English reprint—published—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Internal Revenue Commissioner—Tench Coxe—Commissioner of Revenue—Sept. 11
 Justice Department (U.S.)—office of Attorney General created—Sept. 24
 Land Office—"Great American Wilderness"—Canandaigua, N.Y.
 Lawbook—law compilation of federal session laws—published
 Law Reports—E. Kirby—*Reports of Cases*—published—Litchfield, Conn.
 Lighthouse—lighthouse built after American independence—legislation—Aug. 7
 Loan—loan to the United States—negotiated by Alexander Hamilton—Sept. 13
 Map—road map—published—New York City
 Money—trade tokens—issued—"Motts, N.Y."—New York City
 Navigation Act—navigation act (U.S.)—approved—July 20
 Newspaper—political newspaper—*Gazette of the United States*—published—New York City—April 15
 Novel—American novel published in America—*The Power of Sympathy*—published—Boston, Mass.
 Pension—pensions paid by the United States Government—authorized—Sept. 29
 Periodical—children's magazine—published—Hartford, Conn.
 Pharmacy Professor—pharmacy professor—S. P. Griffiths—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Post Office—Post Office Department of the United States—established—Sept. 22
 Postmaster—postmaster general of the United States—Samuel Osgood—Sept. 26
 Presbyterian General Assembly—Philadelphia, Pa.—May 22
 President (U.S.)—President elected—George Washington—inaugurated—April 30
 President (U.S.)—President to receive the unanimous vote of the presidential electors—George Washington
 President (U.S.)—President to tour the country—George Washington—Oct. 15
 Presidential Inaugural Ball—New York City—May 7
 "Presidential Mansion"—New York City—April 23
 Representative (U.S.)—Catholic representative—began service March 4

Senate Journal—published—New York City
 Senator (U.S.)—Catholic senator—Daniel Carroll—March 4
 State Department (U.S.)—State Department (U.S.)—established—July 27
 Supreme Court (U.S.)—Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—John Jay—Sept. 24
 Supreme Court (U.S.)—Supreme Court Justice who was nominated but who did not serve—R. H. Harrison—Sept. 24
 Supreme Court (U.S.)—Supreme Court of the United States—appointments made
 Tariff—tariff legislation—enacted—July 4
 Temperance Society—temperance organization (local)—formed—Litchfield County, Conn.
 Treasury Department (U.S.)—Register of the Treasury—Joseph Nourse—began service, Sept. 12
 Treasury Department (U.S.)—Secretary of the Treasury—Alexander Hamilton—Sept. 11
 Treasury Department (U.S.)—Treasury Department (U.S.)—organized—Sept. 2
 War Department (U.S.)—War Department (U.S.)—authorized—Aug. 7
 White Lead Manufacturer—Samuel Wetherill—Philadelphia, Pa.

1790

Actor—actor of American birth—appeared—March 13
 Bible—Catholic Bible—printed—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Birds—partridge propagation—Beverly, N.J.
 Bond—bonds—of the U.S. Government—authorized—Aug. 4
 Book—book entered for copyright—Pennsylvania—June 9
 Button—pewter or block tin buttons—manufactured—Waterbury, Conn.
 Catholic Bishop—Catholic bishop appointed to serve in the U.S.—John Carroll—consecrated—Dorset, England—Aug. 15
 Census—census of the United States—authorized—March 1—enumerated—Aug. 1
 Coast Guard (U.S.)—Coast Guard—revenue cutter service—organized—Aug. 4
 Congress (U.S.)—Congress of the United States—first session in Philadelphia, Pa.—Dec. 6
 Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—filibuster of "dilatatory tactics"—June 11
 Copyright Law—copyright law of the U.S.—enacted—May 31
 Cotton Mill—cotton mill to spin cotton yarn successfully—Pawtucket, R.I.—Dec. 20
 Dictionary—agricultural dictionary—*The New England Farmer*—published—Worcester, Mass.
 Diplomatic Service—consul under the Department of State—Samuel Shaw—Feb. 9
 Diplomatic Service—consuls of the United States appointed after the adoption of the constitution
 Drill—dental drill—invented—John Greenwood

Bank—bank for blacks operated by blacks—chartered—Richmond, Va.—March 2
 Bank—bank for blacks privately operated by blacks—organized—Washington, D.C.—Oct. 17
 Baseball Team—baseball teams to go on a world tour—Oct. 20
 Camera—roll-film camera—patented—George Eastman
 College—papal seminary—Pontifical College Josephinum—established—Worthington, Ohio—Sept. 1
 Corporation Course—industrial corporation course—University of Nebraska—Lincoln, Neb.
 County—county created by federal legislation—Latah County, Idaho—authorized May 14
 Crematory—crematory (state)—authorized—New York—May 21
 Door (revolving)—patented—T. Van Kannel—Philadelphia, Pa.—Aug. 7
 Election Law—Australian ballot system—adopted—Kentucky—Feb. 24
 Electric Meter—patented—O. B. Shallenberger—Rochester, Pa.—Aug. 14
 Ferryboat—double-deck ferryboat—launched—Bergen—Newburgh, N.Y.—Oct. 25
 Health Laboratory—health laboratory (municipal)—Providence, R.I.—established—Jan. 1
 Holding Company authorization (state)—enacted—New Jersey—April 4
 Hotel—hotel transported—Brighton Beach Hotel, Brooklyn, N.Y.—April 3-July 29
 Incubator for Infants—constructed—New York City
 Locomotive—electric freight locomotive—built—Pullman, Ill.—tested—May 1
 Mayor—woman mayor elected with an all-woman council—M. D. Lowman—Oskaloosa, Kans.—April
 Monument—monument to George Washington (national)—Washington, D.C.—opened to public—Oct. 9
 Motorboat—storage-battery motorboat—Magnet—built—Newark, N.J.
 Naval Officer—naval chaplain who was Catholic—C. H. Parks
 Pen—ball-point pen patent—J. J. Loud—Weymouth, Mass.—Oct. 30
 Presidential Candidate—black presidential candidate nominated—Frederick Douglass—Chicago, Ill.—June 23
 Psychology Professor—J. M. Cattell—Philadelphia, Pa.
 Rodeo—competition—Prescott, Ariz.—July 4
 Saxophone—manufactured—Elkart, Ind.
 Seismograph—exhibited—Lick Observatory—Mount Hamilton, Calif.—June 1
 Ship—battleship of importance—*Maine*—keel laid—Oct. 17
 Ship—torpedo boat of importance—*Cushing*—keel laid—Bristol, Pa.
 Straws (artificial)—for drinking—patented—M. C. Stone—Washington, D.C.—Jan. 3

Telautograph—telautograph—invented—Elisha Gray—patented, July 31
 Time Recorder—dial time recorder—invented—Alexander Dey
 Time Recorder—employees' time recorder—patented—W. L. Bundy—Auburn, N.Y.—Nov. 20
 Typewriter Ribbon—typewriter "copy" ribbon—patented—J. L. Wortman—Philadelphia, Pa.—Jan. 24
 Union Labor Party—convention—Cincinnati, Ohio—May 15
 United Labor Party—formed—Cincinnati, Ohio—May 16

1889

Agriculture Bureau—agriculture bureau—made an executive department—Feb. 9
 Agriculture Department (U.S.)—Secretary of the Department of Agriculture—N. J. Colman—appointed—Feb. 13
 Aluminum—aluminum—C. M. Hall—patented process—April 2
 Bacteriology Laboratory—bacteriology laboratory—Hoagland Laboratory—New York City—opened—Feb.
 Bank—bank for blacks operated by blacks—opened—Richmond, Va.—April 3
 Bicycle—bicycle with a back-pedal brake—patented—Dec. 24
 Bicycle Race—women's six-day bicycle race—Madison Square Garden, New York City—Feb. 11-16
 Brokerage—investment trust—New York Stock Trust formed—April 11
 Business School—business high school—authorized—Washington, D.C.—June 11
 Clarinet—made of metal—patented—Aug. 27
 Conference—Pan American Conference—Washington, D.C.—Oct. 2
 Dam—dam disaster of great consequence—Johnstown, Pa.—May 31
 Electric Power Plant—alternating-current hydroelectric power plant to operate over a long distance—June 2
 Elevator—electric elevator successfully operated—installed—New York City
 Fellowship—fellowship (graduate) awarded by a women's college—Bryn Mawr College—Bryn Mawr, Pa.—June 6
 Football Dummy—used—New Haven, Conn.
 Freemasons—Grotto—formed—Hamilton, N.Y.—Sept. 10
 Golf Match—mixed foursome—Yonkers, N.Y.—March 30
 High School—county high school—Dickinson County Community High School—opened—Chapman, Kan.
 Historical Society—historical society (general)—American Historical Association—incorporated—Jan. 4
 Holiday—national holiday—April 30

- Library—children's department in a library—Minneapolis Public Library—Minneapolis, Minn.
- Lithuanian Church—organized—Plymouth, Pa.—Oct. 27
- Medical Clinic—medical clinic (general)—Johns Hopkins Medical School—Baltimore, Md.—opened—Oct.
- Medical Instruction—bacteriology courses in a college—University of Michigan—Ann Arbor, Mich.—Jan.
- Niagara Falls—utilization of Niagara Falls water-power (large-scale)—Cataract Construction Company incorporated—June 13
- Novel Course—lecture course on the English novel—University of Pennsylvania—Philadelphia, Pa.
- Photograph—photograph (taken in the U.S.) on which a meteor was found—Cambridge, Mass.—Aug. 10
- Political Science Society—political and social science society (national)—American Academy of Political and Social Science—organized—Philadelphia, Pa.—Dec. 14
- Railroad—daily railroad service to the Pacific coast—through service without a change—Nov. 17
- Sanitary District—Chicago, Ill.—authorized—Nov. 5
- Sewing Machine—electric sewing machine—manufactured—Singer Manufacturing Company—Elizabethport, N.J.
- State—state named for a native-born American—Washington—admitted to Union—Nov. 11
- State—states admitted to the Union simultaneously—North and South Dakota—Nov. 3
- Stock Quotation Board—stock quotation boards—manufactured—New York City
- Tabulating Machine—patented—Herman Holzerith—New York City—Jan. 8
- Telephone—automatic telephone system (successful)—A. B. Strowger—patent application—March 12
- Telephone—coin telephone—patented—William Gray—Aug. 13
- Tennis Match—professional lawn tennis contest (international)—Newport, R.I.—Aug. 29
- Time Recorder—dial time recorder—patented—A. Dey—Sept. 24
- Tour of the World—tour of the world made by a woman traveling alone—E. Cochrane (Nellie Bly)—started—Nov. 14
- Trust—antitrust law (state)—general law—enacted—Kansas—March 9
- Tuberculosis Circular—issued—New York City—July
- Architect—woman architect—L. B. Bethune—elected to membership in American Institute of Architects—Sept. 15
- Building—steel-frame residence—built—Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Business School—business high school—opened—Washington, D.C.—Sept. 22
- Button—buttons of freshwater pearl—Muscatine, Iowa
- Census—census compiled by machines—June 1
- Dairy School—of collegiate rank—University of Wisconsin—Madison, Wis.—Jan. 3
- Dam—rock-filled dam—Castlewood, Colo.—opened—Nov.
- Deaf—School—lipreading school for adults—established—New York City
- Decalcomanias—manufactured—Thomas Burke—Philadelphia, Pa.
- Election Law—corrupt election practices law (state)—New York State—enacted—April 4
- Electric Transmission—alternating-current power transmission—Telluride, Colo.
- Employment Service—state employment service—Ohio—April 28
- Execution—electrocution of a human being—Auburn Prison—Auburn, N.Y.—Aug. 6
- Football Game—Army-Navy football game—West Point, N.Y.—Nov. 29
- Golf Course—golf course (nine holes)—completed—Newport, R.I.
- Hammer (pneumatic)—invented—C. B. King—Detroit, Mich.
- Leather—chrome tanned leather successfully marketed—R. H. Foerderer—Philadelphia, Pa.
- Library Society—state library society—Albany, N.Y.
- Meat Inspection Legislation (federal)—enacted—Aug. 30
- Milk Tester—of value—invented—S. M. Babcock
- Narcotics Legislation—narcotic regulation (federal)—enacted—Oct. 1
- Navy—naval militia (state)—Massachusetts—organized—March 18
- Niagara Falls—utilization of Niagara Falls water-power (large-scale)—ground broken—Oct. 4
- Opera—light opera presented in 2 cities on the same day by the same company—*The Gondoliers*—Francis Wilson's Company—New York City and Philadelphia—April 17
- Pan American Union—established—Washington, D.C.—April 14
- Paper—crepe paper—manufactured—Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Polo Club—polo association (national)—U.S. Polo Association—formed—New York City—June 6
- Prizefight—state legislation concerning prizefighting—Louisiana—enacted—May 12
- Sewage—sewage disposal by chemical precipitation—Worcester, Mass.
- Ship—battleship of importance—*Maine*—launched—Nov. 18
- Ship—navy vessel equipped to lay mines—*Baltimore*—commissioned—Jan. 7

1890

Animal Husbandry—animal husbandry professor—J. A. Craig—University of Wisconsin—Madison, Wis.

Post Office—airplane post office—dedicated—May 15—Washington, D.C.

Prizefighter—pugilist to hold three titles simultaneously—H. J. Armstrong—Aug. 17

Radar—passenger ship equipped with radar—*New York*—in service—Feb. 28

Radio Facsimile Transmission—radio facsimile broadcasting on the regular broadcast band—began—Des Moines, Iowa—Feb. 4

Radio Station—municipal school-owned ultra-high-frequency radio station—Cleveland, Ohio—licensed—Nov. 21

Railroad Car—car with fluorescent lighting—in service—Sept. 2

Recreational Ranching Course—in a college—Laramie, Wyo.—degree conferred—June 6

Representative (U.S.)—woman representative who was not sworn in—E. H. Gasque of South Carolina—began service Sept. 13

Saint (Catholic)—Saint (Catholic) who was a citizen—F. X. Cabrini—beatified—Nov. 13

Ship—seaplane tender designed and built for the U.S. Navy—keel laid—April 25

Ski Lift—aerial tramway—Franconia, N.H.—opened, June 17—dedicated June 28

Skimobile—in operation—North Conway, N.H.—Dec. 27

Submarine—submarine refloated—*Squalus*—launched—Portsmouth, N.H.—Sept. 14

Tape Recording—radio broadcast from a tape recording—New York City—Aug. 26

Television—electronic television system—patented—V. K. Zworykin—Dec. 20

Television—Telecast—book review to be televised—New York City—May 3

Television—Telecast—motion picture (full-length) telecast—*The Return of the Scarlet Pimpernel*—May 31

Television—Telecast—play to be televised with its original Broadway cast—*Susan and God*—New York City—June 7

Tennis Player—lawn tennis champion to win four major titles—J. D. Budge—New York City—Sept. 24

Theater—television theater—licensed—Boston, Mass.—July 13

Toothbrush—with synthetic bristles—marketed

Voice Mechanism—voice mechanism capable of creating the complex sounds of speech—publicly exhibited—Philadelphia, Pa.—June 5

Woman—woman of American descent to become a queen—married—King Zog of Albania—April 27

1939

Airmail Service—airmail transatlantic service—inaugurated—May 20

Airmail Service—autogiro mail delivery regular service—Philadelphia, Pa.—July 6

Autogiro—autogiro patent—Juan de la Cierva—granted posthumously—assigned to Autogiro Company of America—April 25

Autogiro—autogiro rotary-wing aircraft fellow-ship—student enrolled—New York City—Sept. 8

Automobile—air-conditioned automobile—Packard—exhibited—Chicago, Ill.—Nov. 4

Automobile—miniature automobile manufactured in the U.S.—Crosley—offered for sale—April 28

Aviation—Flights (transatlantic)—Atlantic Ocean scheduled air service—inaugurated—May 20

Aviation—Flights (transatlantic)—transatlantic regular commercial airplane service—began—June 28

Aviation—License—airplane instructor's license—Civil Aeronautics Authority—A. J. Banks—Sept. 27—issued to a woman—E. P. Kilgore—Oct. 13

Aviation—Passenger—woman flown in a U.S. Army plane from one country to another—left New York City—Dec. 7

Aviation—Passenger—woman to fly entirely around the world by commercial heavier-than-air plane—completed trip—June 19

Baseball Player—baseball player to play in more than 2,100 games—H. L. Gehrig—2,130th game, April 30

Building—building devoted entirely to highway traffic—completed—Saugatuck, Conn. July 1

Cans—disposable can for dispensing liquids under pressure—J. S. Kahn—patented Aug. 22

Catholic Beatification—Catholic beatification of an American Indian—Rome, Italy—May 19

College—woman dean of a graduate school—elected—New York City—Jan. 4

Congress (U.S.)—House of Representatives—page (female)—served—Washington, D.C.—Jan. 3

Degrees (academic and honorary)—Doctor of Philosophy in Accounting degree—Urbana, Ill.—conferred—June 12

Degrees (academic and honorary)—Master of Hebrew Literature degree awarded a woman—New York City—May 28

Electric Power—electric power generated by cosmic rays—Hayden Planetarium, New York City—April 30

Electric Starting Gate (racetrack)—installed—Inglewood, Calif.—May 8

Federal Crop Insurance Corporation—indemnity payment—J. F. Biggs—Floydada, Tex.—April 14

Federal Security Agency—established—April 25

Federal Works Agency—established—July 1

Flea Laboratory—San Francisco, Calif.—opened—Jan. 1

Hall of Fame—hall of fame (baseball)—dedicated—June 12

Helicopter—helicopter (direct-lift aircraft)—successful—constructed—Stratford, Conn.

Impregnation—impregnation (artificial)—Cambridge, Mass.

Judge—woman judge (black)—J. M. Bolin—appointed—New York City—July 22
 Locomotive—rack-rail diesel-electric locomotive—in service—July 16
 Motion Picture—motion picture to gross more than \$70 million—*Gone With the Wind*—premiere in Atlanta, Ga.—Dec. 15
 Museum—museum devoted exclusively to paper-making—opened—Cambridge, Mass.—June 5
 Newspaper—offset-printed daily newspaper—*World*—Opelousas, La.—operations began, Dec. 24
 Nylon—nylon yarn manufacture (commercial)—Seaford, Del.—Dec. 15
 Pinball Game—pinball legislation enacted by a major city prohibiting the machines—Atlanta, Ga.—effective—July 1
 Postal Service—coin-operated mailbox—installed—New York City—May 17
 President (U.S.)—President to hold an airplane pilot's license—D. D. Eisenhower—license issued
 Public Buildings Administration—approved—April 3
 Radar—battleship equipped with radar—*New York*—tested—Jan.
 Radio Instruction—radio college course—offered—New York City
 Railroad Car—train with fluorescent lights—in service—April 30
 Ski School—indoor ski school—R. H. Johnson—opened—Boston, Mass.—Oct. 16
 Snow Cruiser (automobile)—demonstrated—Chicago, Ill.—Oct. 22
 Strike—anti-sit-down-strike decision (federal)—Feb. 27
 Submarine—submarine refloated—*Squalus*—foundered—off Portsmouth, N.H.—May 23—raised, Sept. 13
 Suture—fiberglass sutures—used—R. P. Scholz—St. Louis, Mo.—July 19
 Telephone—telephone weather-forecasting service—inaugurated—New York City—April 8
 Television—Telecast—baseball game (collegiate) televised—New York City—May 17
 Television—Telecast—baseball games (major-league) televised—New York City—Aug. 26
 Television—Telecast—beauty contest telecast—New York City—June 22
 Television—Telecast—bicycle race telecast—New York City—May 20
 Television—Telecast—fashion show telecast—New York City—May 17
 Television—Telecast—football game (collegiate) to be televised—New York City—Sept. 30
 Television—Telecast—football game (professional) to be televised—Brooklyn, N.Y.—Oct. 22
 Television—Telecast—king and queen to be televised—New York City—June 10
 Television—Telecast—motion picture premiere festivities to be televised—New York City—Dec. 19
 Television—Telecast—musical comedy telecast (one-hour)—New York City—July 25

Television—Telecast—operetta to be televised—New York City—June 20
 Television—Telecast—play to be televised as a full-hour program—New York City—June 29
 Television—Telecast—President to appear on television—F. D. Roosevelt—April 30
 Television—Telecast—prizefight to be televised—New York City—June 1
 Television—Telecast—surgical-operation classroom-instruction telecast—Brooklyn, N.Y.—March 21
 Television—Telecast—telecast (long-distance) received in an airplane—Oct. 17
 Television—Telecast—telecast produced for a tricity gathering—Schenectady, N.Y.—Dec. 8
 Television—Telecast—telecast (public) over telephone wires—New York City—May 20
 Television—Telecast—tennis tournament to be televised—Rye, N.Y.—Aug. 9
 Visiting Celebrities—King and Queen of Great Britain—arrived—Niagara Falls, N.Y.—June 7
 Vitamin—synthetic vitamin K—produced—Cambridge, Mass.—Aug. 1
 Water Ski Association (national)—American Water Ski Association—formed—Trenton, N.J.—April
 Water Ski Tournament (national)—Jones Beach State Park, N.Y.—June 22
 Woman—woman presidential campaign co-manager—R. H. M. Simms—Dec. 2

1940

Air Defense Command (U.S.)—created—Feb. 26
 Air Raid Shelter—air raid shelter—completed—Fleetwood, Pa.—Nov. 1
 Aquatic Mammals—born in captivity—porpoise—Marineland, Fla.—Feb. 14
 Archival Administration—American University—Washington, D.C.—training program offered—Sept. 25
 Army Officer—brigadier-general (black)—B. O. Davis—appointed—Oct. 25
 Army Parachute Troops—training started—July 1
 Art Course—industrial camouflage course—Kansas City, Mo.—Oct. 15
 Automobile Tire—synthetic rubber tire—exhibited—Akron, Ohio—June 5
 Aviation—Airplane—naval patrol bomber—launched like a ship—*Mars*—keel laid—Baltimore, Md.—Aug. 22
 Aviation—Airplane—plastic-bonded airplane—built—Van Nuys, Calif.—July
 Aviation—Airport—airport (federally owned and operated)—cornerstone laid—Washington, D.C.—Sept. 28
 Aviation—Flights—all-blind distance flight by the U.S. Army—New York City—Langley Field, Va.—April 6
 Aviation—Flights—stratoliner commercial flight—July 8
 Aviation—License—Civil Aeronautics Administration—honorary license—to Orville Wright—Aug. 19

JANUARY 20

St Agnes Eve, popularly the day upon which a woman could divine her future husband; subject of a poem by John Keats. Rio de Janeiro Foundation Day, Brazil. National Heroes Day, Cape Verde Islands. National Heroes Day, Guinea-Bissau. Army Day, Republic of Mali. Presidential Inauguration Day, USA (every four years). Feasts of SS: Fabian, pope and martyr; Sebastian, martyr; Euthymius the Great, abbot; Fechin, abbot.

First assembly of the Commons as an agreed representational body (according to Sir William Dugdale), 1265. ¶ The first Secretary of State for the Colonies is appointed in Britain, 1768. ¶ The London Docks are opened, 1805. ¶ Chile victorious over Peru and Bolivia at the battle of Yungay, 1839. ¶ Adrianople is taken by the Russians, 1878. ¶ British-Chinese Treaty of Peking, 1925. ¶ Edward VIII ascends the throne in Britain upon the death of George V, 1936. ¶ Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi in India, 1948. ¶ Inauguration of Dwight D. Eisenhower as US President, 1953. ¶ The South Pole is reached by the British contingent of the Commonwealth Transantarctic Expedition under the leadership of Vivian Fuchs, 1958. ¶ Inauguration of John F. Kennedy as US President, 1961. ¶ Inauguration of L. B. Johnson as 36th President of US, 1965. ¶ Inauguration of Richard M. Nixon as President of the US, 1969. ¶ Four members of the RAF's Red Arrow aerial display team are killed in a mid-air collision in Gloucestershire, 1971. ¶ British and French authorities abandon the Channel Tunnel proposal, 1975. ¶ Press censorship is brought to an end in India and many political prisoners are released, 1977. ¶ Inauguration of Jimmy Carter as President of US, 1977.

BORN: Theobald Wolfe Tone, Irish Nationalist, fought against British rule in Ireland and enlisted French support, Dublin, 1763. André-Marie Ampère, physicist, Lyon, 1775. Johannes Jensen, poet and novelist, *The Long Journey*, Denmark, 1873. Federico Fellini, film director, *La Dolce Vita*, Italy, 1920. Edwin 'Buzz' Aldrin, US astronaut, New Jersey, 1930.

DIED: David Garrick, actor and theatre manager, 1779. Sir John Soane, architect, London, 1837. John Ruskin, art critic, teacher and reformer, *The Stones of Venice*, *Modern Painters*, near Coniston, Lancashire, 1900. Dmitri Mendeleev, chemist, formulated the periodic table of chemical elements, St Petersburg, Russia, 1907. Charles Doughty, writer, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 1926. King George V of England (reigned 1910-36), 1936. Robinson Jeffers, poet, *Tamar and Other Poems*, 1962. Edmund Blunden, poet and literary critic, *Undertones of War*, 1974.

JANUARY 20

- 1778 **Court-Martial**—military court-martial—Cambridge, Mass.
- 1783 **Treaty**—treaty between the United States Government and a nation with which it had been at war—hostilities ceased—Great Britain
- 1809 **Geology Book**—geology book—of importance—William Maclure—read before American Philosophical Society—Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1820 **Agricultural "Board"** (state)—New York State board formed
- 1869 **Woman**—woman congressional hearing witness—E. C. Stanton
- 1885 **Railroad**—switchback railway—roller coaster patent—L. A. Thompson—Coney Island, N.Y.
- 1919 **Ship**—destroyer of the U.S. Navy named for a Confederate officer—*Buchanan*—commissioned
- 1929 **Motion Picture**—talking picture taken outdoors (full-length)—*In Old Arizona*—released
- 1937 **President (U.S.)**—President inaugurated on Jan. 20—F. D. Roosevelt
- 1937 **President (U.S.)**—President whose mother saw her son inaugurated President of the United States for a second term—F. D. Roosevelt
- 1943 **Ship**—ship transported overland across the Rocky Mountains—*Brennan*—commissioned
- 1947 **Christmas Carols Association (national)**—organized—St. Louis, Mo.
- 1952 **Bullfight**—woman bullfighter (professional)—Patricia McCormick—debut
- 1953 **Television**—Telecast—telecast transmitted to Canada—from Buffalo, N.Y.
- 1954 **Radio Station**—black network—National Negro Network—formed
- 1959 **Attorney General**—state attorney general (woman)—A. X. Alperin—commissioned—Harrisburg, Pa.
- 1966 **Medicare**—medicare identification card—presented to H. S. Truman—Independence, Mo.
- 1967 **Hospital**—general hospital to adopt the Social Security account number as a numbering system for medical records—Altoona, Pa.
- 1969 **Rowing**—transatlantic solo trip by rowboat—John Fairfax—left Canary Islands
- 1975 **College**—college commencement exercises within a prison—Jackson, Mich.

JANUARY 21

- 1677 **Medical Book**—medical pamphlet—published—Boston, Mass.
- 1781 **Diplomatic Service**—consular officer detailed for duty in the Department of Foreign Affairs—Thomas Barclay—appointed

- 1789 **Novel**—American novel published in America—*Power of Sympathy*—advertised
- 1812 **Bridge**—"Y" bridge—authorized—Zanesville, Ohio
- 1847 **Senator (U.S.)**—senator who served a term of less than 6 weeks—Pierre Soule of Louisiana—began service
- 1853 **Envelope**—envelope folding machine—patented—R. L. Hawes
- 1865 **Oil**—oil well drilled by torpedoes
- 1880 **Sewage**—separate system of sewage disposal—started—Memphis, Tenn.
- 1894 **Medal**—Medal of Honor action—medal awarded to B. J. D. Irwin
- 1918 **Air Force**—air force aviation unit—landed—Ponta Delgada, Azores
- 1927 **Opera**—opera broadcast over a national network from an American opera house—Chicago, Ill.
- 1937 **Automobile License (federal)**—common carrier license—effective
- 1937 **Legislature**—unicameral legislature (state)—first appropriation bill—Nebraska
- 1941 **Magnesium**—magnesium commercial production—Freeport, Tex.
- 1947 **Army Officer**—army officer to occupy both the nation's highest military post and the highest nonelective civilian post—Chief of Staff G. C. Marshall—became Secretary of State
- 1954 **Automobile**—gas-turbine automobile—publicly introduced—New York City
- 1954 **Submarine**—atomic-powered submarine—*Nautilus*—launched—Groton, Conn.
- 1954 **Submarine**—submarine of the U.S. Navy christened by a President's wife—*Nautilus*—M. G. D. Eisenhower—Groton, Conn.
- 1961 **Cabinet (U.S.)**—Cabinet member who was a brother of a President—R. F. Kennedy—took office
- 1971 **Representative (U.S.)**—representative of Puerto Rican ancestry—Herman Badillo of New York—sworn in

JANUARY 22

- 1673 **Postal Service**—postal route—service began—Boston—New York City
- 1814 **Freemasons**—Knights Templar Grand Encampment—New York City
- 1879 **Senator (U.S.)**—senator to serve three states—James Shields—elected
- 1881 **Monument**—obelisk to be brought to the United States—erected on pedestal—New York City
- 1895 **Manufacturers' Association**—National Association of Manufacturers—organized—Cincinnati, Ohio
- 1931 **Autogiro**—autogiro of the U.S. Government—ordered from Pitcairn Aircraft Company, Inc.—Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1932 **Reconstruction Finance Corporation**—authorized

January the Twentieth

We perish, we disappear, but the march of time goes on forever.

Many famous men are reported as having died on this day—emperors and cardinals, an archbishop and an architect, writers and actors—here they are for those who are curious about the dates upon which men die:

Cardinal Bembo in 1547,
Rodolph II, Emperor, in 1612,
Charles, first Duke of Manchester, in 1722,
Sir James Fergusson in 1759,
David Garrick 'who never had his equal as an actor' in 1779,
John Howard in 1790. He was a great philanthropist.
Sir John Soane, the architect and founder of the Soanean Museum at Lincoln's Inn Fields, in 1837,
Cadell, the Scots publisher, at Edinburgh in 1849,
Sothorn, the actor, in 1881,
John Ruskin in 1900,
R. D. Blackmore, author of *Lorna Doone*, in 1900, and
King George V in 1936.

Two birthdays may be noted—

Frederick, Prince of Wales, at Hanover in 1707,
Jean Jacques Barthelemy at Casis in 1716.

A number of curious happenings are related on this day—

One king was deposed and another ascended a throne—

a foreign Prince was naturalized a British subject.

In all their incongruity they are at one in this that they occurred on January the Twentieth.

ENGLAND'S FIRST PARLIAMENT, 1265,

EDWARD II WAS DEPOSED, 1327,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY KILLED HIS PARK KEEPER BY MISTAKE IN 1621,

PRINCE ALBERT WAS NATURALIZED A BRITISH SUBJECT IN 1840,

HONG KONG WAS CEDED TO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1841,

LEFT-HANDED PERSONAL SALUTE WAS ABOLISHED BY ADMIRALTY IN 1923,

EDWARD VIII ACCEDED TO THE THRONE IN 1936,

MR. CHURCHILL INVITED NEUTRALS TO JOIN IN THE WAR IN 1940.

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1806 Britain took possession of the Cape Colony
(South Africa)
1807 Robert E. Lee, Civil War general, born
(Southern U.S. holiday)
1809 Edgar Allan Poe, writer, born
1813 Sir Henry Bessemer, steel-making inventor,
born
1839 Paul Cezanne, French artist, born
1855 Mescalero Apaches ambushed the First Dragoons
of the U.S. Cavalry in New Mexico
1861 Georgia seceded from the Union
1883 Germany's Cambria hit an iceberg; 389 died
1887 Alexander Woolcott, author, born
1907 Train wreck in Fowler, Indiana
1910 National Institute of Arts and Letters incor-
porated by an act of Congress
1927 Empress Charlotte, wife of Maximilian, of
Mexico, died
1940 Province of Osorno, Chile created
1943 Princess Margriet of the Netherlands born
1947 Greek Hemeia hit a mine off Athens and 392 died
1961 Dr. Thomas Dooley, medical missionary to Viet
Nam, died
1970 Vasant Panchami (Hindu harvest festival in
Surinam)

January 20th

U.S. Presidential Inauguration Day
St. Agnes Eve
Feast of St. Sebastian, invoked against plague
250 AD St. Fabian, Pope, martyred
473 St. Euthymius the Great died (Feast Day)
1320 Wladislaus was crowned king of Poland
1479 John II, King of Aragon, died
1500 Pinzon discovered Brazil
1612 Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor, died
1615 Portuguese again defeated by the British off
Swally, India
1732 Richard Henry Lee, signer of the Declaration
of Independence, born
1734 Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of
Independence, born
1779 David Garrick, English actor, died
1788 The first settlers, mostly convicts, arrived
in New South Wales, Australia
1795 The French cavalry captured the ice-bound
Dutch fleet
1830 Red Jacket, chief of the Seneca Indians, died
1840 Adelie Island, Antarctic, discovered by
Jules d'Urville
1866 Livingstone landed in Zanzibar

1776 "

- 1734. James Watt, Scottish inventor; perfected the steam engine.
- 1807. Robert E. Lee, General-in-Chief of the Confederate Army
- 1809. Edgar Allan Poe, poet, critic, short-story writer
- 1813. Sir Henry Bessemer, inventor of Bessemer process for making steel
- 1839. Paul Cezanne, French painter, "the Father of Modern Art"
- 1839. James M. Guffey, Pennsylvania oil developer
- 1842. George Trumbull Ladd, founder of psychology laboratory at Yale
- 1851. David Starr Jordan, first President of Leland Stanford, Jr. University
- 1866. Harry Davenport, character actor
- 1887. Alexander Woollcott, literary critic
- 1894. Karl Krueger, orchestra conductor
- 1900. Mady Christians, actress
- 1905. Oveta Culp Hobby, Director of Women's Army Corps; first Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare
- 1906. Millen Brand, novelist (The Outward Room)
- 1916. Victor Mature, actor

January 20.

- 1734. Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence
- 1804. Eugene Sue, novelist (Mysteries of Paris)
- 1814. David Wilmot, U.S. Senator; introduced the "Wilmot proviso."
- 1866. Richard LeGallienne, English writer
- 1876. Joseph Hofmann; pianist
- 1880. Ruth St. Denis, dancer
- 1891. Mischa Elman, concert violinist
- 1894. Harold Gray, cartoonist ("Little Orphan Annie")
- 1894. Walter Piston, composer
- 1896. Paul E. Richter, co-founder of Trans-World Airline
- 1896. George Burns, comedian
- 1897. Ivan L. Albright, painter
- 1897. Rosa Ponselle, soprano
- 1908. Henry L. Scott, pianist-humorist
- 1914. Willie Turnesa, golf champion
- 1926. Patricia Neal, actress, winner of Drama Critic Awards
- 1940. Carol Heiss, figure-skater

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The Annual Message to the Congress

I shall be happy to submit the matter, with a favorable recommendation, to the Congress at the first opportunity.

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable A. W. Mellon,
Washington, D. C.

235 ¶ The Annual Message to the Congress.
January 6, 1937

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

FOR the first time in our national history a President delivers his Annual Message to a new Congress within a fortnight of the expiration of his term of office. While there is no change in the Presidency this year, change will occur in future years. It is my belief that under this new constitutional practice, the President should in every fourth year, in so far as seems reasonable, review the existing state of our national affairs and outline broad future problems, leaving specific recommendations for future legislation to be made by the President about to be inaugurated.

At this time, however, circumstances of the moment compel me to ask your immediate consideration of: First, measures extending the life of certain authorizations and powers which, under present statutes, expire within a few weeks; second, an addition to the existing Neutrality Act to cover specific points raised by the unfortunate civil strife in Spain; and, third, a deficiency appropriation bill for which I shall submit estimates this week.

In March, 1933, the problems which faced our Nation and which only our national Government had the resources to meet were more serious even than appeared on the surface.

It was not only that the visible mechanism of economic life had broken down. More disturbing was the fact that long neglect of the needs of the underprivileged had brought too many of our

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The Annual Message to the Congress

people to the verge of doubt as to the successful adaptation of our historic traditions to the complex modern world. In that lay a challenge to our democratic form of Government itself.

Ours was the task to prove that democracy could be made to function in the world of today as effectively as in the simpler world of a hundred years ago. Ours was the task to do more than to argue a theory. The times required the confident answer of performance to those whose instinctive faith in humanity made them want to believe that in the long run democracy would prove superior to more extreme forms of Government as a process of getting action when action was wisdom, without the spiritual sacrifices which those other forms of Government exact.

That challenge we met. To meet it required unprecedented activities under Federal leadership to end abuses, to restore a large measure of material prosperity, to give new faith to millions of our citizens who had been traditionally taught to expect that democracy would provide continuously wider opportunity and continuously greater security in a world where science was continuously making material riches more available to man.

In the many methods of attack with which we met these problems, you and I, by mutual understanding and by determination to cooperate, helped to make democracy succeed by refusing to permit unnecessary disagreement to arise between two of our branches of Government. That spirit of cooperation was able to solve difficulties of extraordinary magnitude and ramification with few important errors, and at a cost cheap when measured by the immediate necessities and the eventual results.

I look forward to a continuance of that cooperation in the next four years. I look forward also to a continuance of the basis of that cooperation — mutual respect for each other's proper sphere of functioning in a democracy which is working well, and a common-sense realization of the need for play in the joints of the machine.

On that basis, it is within the right of the Congress to determine which of the many new activities shall be continued or abandoned, increased or curtailed.

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The Annual Message to the Congress

On that same basis, the President alone has the responsibility for their administration. I find that this task of Executive management has reached the point where our administrative machinery needs comprehensive overhauling. I shall, therefore, shortly address the Congress more fully in regard to modernizing and improving the Executive branch of the Government.

That cooperation of the past four years between the Congress and the President has aimed at the fulfillment of a twofold policy: first, economic recovery through many kinds of assistance to agriculture, industry and banking; and, second, deliberate improvement in the personal security and opportunity of the great mass of our people.

The recovery we sought was not to be merely temporary. It was to be a recovery protected from the causes of previous disasters. With that aim in view — to prevent a future similar crisis — you and I joined in a series of enactments — safe banking and sound currency, the guarantee of bank deposits, protection for the investor in securities, the removal of the threat of agricultural surpluses, insistence on collective bargaining, the outlawing of sweat shops, child labor and unfair trade practices, and the beginnings of security for the aged and the worker.

Nor was the recovery we sought merely a purposeless whirring of machinery. It is important, of course, that every man and woman in the country be able to find work, that every factory run, that business and farming as a whole earn profits. But Government in a democratic Nation does not exist solely, or even primarily, for that purpose.

It is not enough that the wheels turn. They must carry us in the direction of a greater satisfaction in life for the average man. The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible, especially those who need it most, to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

Even with our present recovery we are far from the goal of

The Annual Message to the Congress

that deeper purpose. There are far-reaching problems still with us for which democracy must find solutions if it is to consider itself successful.

For example, many millions of Americans still live in habitations which not only fail to provide the physical benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations. The menace exists not only in the slum areas of the very large cities, but in many smaller cities as well. It exists on tens of thousands of farms, in varying degrees, in every part of the country.

Another example is the prevalence of an un-American type of tenant farming. I do not suggest that every farm family has the capacity to earn a satisfactory living on its own farm. But many thousands of tenant farmers, indeed most of them, with some financial assistance and with some advice and training, can be made self-supporting on land which can eventually belong to them. The Nation would be wise to offer them that chance instead of permitting them to go along as they do now, year after year, with neither future security as tenants nor hope of ownership of their homes nor expectation of bettering the lot of their children.

Another national problem is the intelligent development of our social security system, the broadening of the services it renders, and practical improvement in its operation. In many Nations where such laws are in effect, success in meeting the expectations of the community has come through frequent amendment of the original statute.

And, of course, the most far-reaching and the most inclusive problem of all is that of unemployment and the lack of economic balance of which unemployment is at once the result and the symptom. The immediate question of adequate relief for the needy-unemployed who are capable of performing useful work, I shall discuss with the Congress during the coming months. The broader task of preventing unemployment is a matter of long-range evolutionary policy. To that we must continue to give our best thought and effort. We cannot assume that immediate indus-

The Annual Message to the Congress

trial and commercial activity which mitigates present pressures justifies the national Government at this time in placing the unemployment problem in a filing cabinet of finished business.

Fluctuations in employment are tied to all other wasteful fluctuations in our mechanism of production and distribution. One of these wastes is speculation. In securities or commodities, the larger the volume of speculation, the wider become the upward and downward swings and the more certain the result that in the long run there will be more losses than gains in the underlying wealth of the community.

And, as is now well known to all of us, the same net loss to society comes from reckless overproduction and monopolistic underproduction of natural and manufactured commodities.

Overproduction, underproduction and speculation are three evil sisters who distill the troubles of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation. It is to the interest of the Nation to have Government help private enterprise to gain sound general price levels and to protect those levels from wide perilous fluctuations. We know now that if early in 1931 Government had taken the steps which were taken two and three years later, the depression would never have reached the depths of the beginning of 1933.

Sober second thought confirms most of us in the belief that the broad objectives of the National Recovery Act were sound. We know now that its difficulties arose from the fact that it tried to do too much. For example, it was unwise to expect the same agency to regulate the length of working hours, minimum wages, child labor and collective bargaining on the one hand and the complicated questions of unfair trade practices and business controls on the other.

The statute of N.R.A. has been outlawed. The problems have not. They are still with us.

That decent conditions and adequate pay for labor, and just return for agriculture, can be secured through parallel and simultaneous action by forty-eight States is a proven impossibility. It is equally impossible to obtain curbs on monopoly, unfair trade practices and speculation by State action alone. There are those

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The Annual Message to the Congress

who, sincerely or insincerely, still cling to State action as a theo-
retical hope. But experience with actualities makes it clear that
Federal laws supplementing State laws are needed to help solve
the problems which result from modern invention applied in an
industrialized Nation which conducts its business with scant re-
gard to State lines.

During the past year there has been a growing belief that there
is little fault to be found with the Constitution of the United
States as it stands today. The vital need is not an alteration of our
fundamental law, but an increasingly enlightened view with
reference to it. Difficulties have grown out of its interpretation;
but rightly considered, it can be used as an instrument of prog-
ress, and not as a device for prevention of action.

It is worth our while to read and reread the preamble of the
Constitution, and Article I thereof which confers the legislative
powers upon the Congress of the United States. It is also worth
our while to read again the debates in the Constitutional Con-
vention of one hundred and fifty years ago. From such reading,
I obtain the very definite thought that the members of that
Convention were fully aware that civilization would raise prob-
lems for the proposed new Federal Government, which they
themselves could not even surmise; and that it was their definite
intent and expectation that a liberal interpretation in the years
to come would give to the Congress the same relative powers over
new national problems as they themselves gave to the Congress
over the national problems of their day.

In presenting to the Convention the first basic draft of the
Constitution, Edmund Randolph explained that it was the pur-
pose "to insert essential principles only, lest the operation of
government should be clogged by rendering those provisions
permanent and unalterable which ought to be accommodated to
times and events."

With a better understanding of our purposes, and a more in-
telligent recognition of our needs as a Nation, it is not to be
assumed that there will be prolonged failure to bring legislative
and judicial action into closer harmony. Means must be found to

The Annual Message to the Congress

adapt our legal forms and our judicial interpretation to the actual present national needs of the largest progressive democracy in the modern world.

That thought leads to a consideration of world problems. To go no further back than the beginning of this century, men and women everywhere were seeking conditions of life very different from those which were customary before modern invention and modern industry and modern communications had come into being. The World War, for all of its tragedy, encouraged these demands, and stimulated action to fulfill these new desires.

Many national Governments seemed unable adequately to respond; and, often with the improvident assent of the masses of the people themselves, new forms of government were set up with oligarchy taking the place of democracy. In oligarchies, militarism has leapt forward, while in those Nations which have retained democracy, militarism has waned.

I have recently visited three of our sister Republics in South America. The very cordial receptions with which I was greeted were in tribute to democracy. To me the outstanding observation of that visit was that the masses of the peoples of all the Americas are convinced that the democratic form of government can be made to succeed and do not wish to substitute for it any other form of government. They believe that democracies are best able to cope with the changing problems of modern civilization within themselves, and that democracies are best able to maintain peace among themselves.

The Inter-American Conference, operating on these fundamental principles of democracy, did much to assure peace in this Hemisphere. Existing peace machinery was improved. New instruments to maintain peace and eliminate causes of war were adopted. Wider protection of the interests of the American Republics in the event of war outside the Western Hemisphere was provided. Respect for, and observance of, international treaties and international law were strengthened. Principles of liberal trade policies, as effective aids to the maintenance of peace, were reaffirmed. The intellectual and cultural relationships among

The Annual Message to the Congress

American Republics were broadened as a part of the general peace program.

In a world unhappily thinking in terms of war, the representatives of twenty-one Nations sat around a table, in an atmosphere of complete confidence and understanding, sincerely discussing measures for maintaining peace. Here was a great and a permanent achievement directly affecting the lives and security of the two hundred and fifty million human beings who dwell in this Western Hemisphere. Here was an example which must have a wholesome effect upon the rest of the world.

In a very real sense, the Conference in Buenos Aires sent forth a message on behalf of all the democracies of the world to those Nations which live otherwise. Because such other Governments are perhaps more spectacular, it was high time for democracy to assert itself.

Because all of us believe that our democratic form of government can cope adequately with modern problems as they arise, it is patriotic as well as logical for us to prove that we can meet new national needs with new laws consistent with an historic constitutional framework clearly intended to receive liberal and not narrow interpretation.

The United States of America, within itself, must continue the task of making democracy succeed.

In that task the Legislative branch of our Government will, I am confident, continue to meet the demands of democracy whether they relate to the curbing of abuses, the extension of help to those who need help, or the better balancing of our interdependent economies.

So, too, the Executive branch of the Government must move forward in this task, and, at the same time, provide better management for administrative action of all kinds.

The Judicial branch also is asked by the people to do its part in making democracy successful. We do not ask the Courts to call non-existent powers into being, but we have a right to expect that conceded powers or those legitimately implied shall be made effective instruments for the common good.

The Annual Budget Message

The process of our democracy must not be imperiled by the denial of essential powers of free government.

Your task and mine is not ending with the end of the depression. The people of the United States have made it clear that they expect us to continue our active efforts in behalf of their peaceful advancement.

In that spirit of endeavor and service I greet the 75th Congress at the beginning of this auspicious New Year.

236 ¶ The Annual Budget Message to the Congress. January 7, 1937

To the Congress of the United States:

PURSUANT to provisions of law I transmit herewith the Budget of the United States Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, together with this message, which is a part thereof. The estimates have been developed after careful analysis of the revenues, obligations, and reasonable needs of the Government, and I recommend appropriations for the purposes specifically detailed herein.

PART I

The programs inaugurated during the last four years to combat the depression and to initiate many needed reforms have cost large sums of money, but the benefits obtained from them are far outweighing all their costs. We shall soon be reaping the full benefits of those programs and shall have at the same time a balanced Budget that will also include provision for reduction of the public debt.

The fiscal plans of the Federal Government for these four years have been formulated with two objectives in mind. Our first was to restore a successful economic life to the country, by providing greater employment and purchasing power for the people, by stimulating a more balanced use of our productive capacity, and

Anatomy of an Enigma: Jimmy Carter's 1980 State of the Union Address

Dan F. Hahn
and J. Justin Gustainis

This essay identifies several "image" problems faced by President Jimmy Carter during the period leading up to his 1980 State of the Union speech. It is contended that Carter's address failed to overcome those problems, largely due to a series of rhetorical "errors" contained in the speech.

KEY CONCEPTS Jimmy Carter, presidential rhetoric, State of the Union addresses, political rhetoric, rhetorical criticism, argumentation, U.S. presidents, media coverage, 1980 presidential campaign.

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In his 1980 State of the Union address, President Jimmy Carter said that the state of the union was bad because the state of the world was bad. Thus, if America were to put her own house in order, it would be necessary to be tough with the Soviet Union and to help put the world in order. But, he suggested, it would not be easy.

Neither was the rhetorical situation faced by Carter an easy one to modify. Given public cynicism about government generally, Carter's own lackluster performance in office and the ways in which news media portray the modern presidency (and the effects of such portrayals on public opinion), Carter was in need of a rhetorical miracle. The 1980 State of the Union speech did not provide one. This essay discusses the above mentioned factors affecting Carter's popularity and then considers how, through a series of rhetorical errors—including the use of absolutes and superlatives, internal contradictions, argumentative deficiencies, stylistic problems and a lack of toughness—Carter failed to mitigate them.

Carter's Problems

One of the biggest problems which Jimmy Carter faced in his attempts to create and implement policy was public cynicism about government performance. In 1958, during the latter part of Dwight Eisenhower's administration,

60 percent of Americans surveyed indicated that they were "trusting" of government; only 11 percent saw themselves as "cynical." By 1978, opinions had shifted drastically. Only 19 percent of Americans who were questioned regarding their opinions about government described themselves as "trusting"; a characterization of "cynical" was given by 52 percent (Harwood, Johnson, & Lemann, 1980, p. 7).

Of course, much of this decline in trust could not be blamed on Jimmy Carter. The Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal had been primary culprits. But Carter had been unable to reverse the trend, at least partially because of his own ineptness, including his rhetorical weaknesses (Hahn, 1984). His plan for a tax rebate had been abandoned because of "changed circumstances"; he characterized his energy program as the "moral equivalent of war" and then saw it mangled by a Congress dominated by his own party. And, although Carter described America's power as "second to none," it apparently was insufficient to deter Iranian militants from taking American diplomats hostage (Walsh, 1980, pp. 236-237).

Thus, due partly to a general cynicism about government and partly to a specific cynicism that Jimmy Carter was not up to the job, the American people did not trust their president to lead them out of the international wilderness. *Time* magazine pointed out that many Americans felt that Carter had been "too soft" in dealing with Iran; the number expressing dissatisfaction had risen from 27 percent in December of 1979 to 44 percent by January ("In a fiercely," 1980, p. 23). A writer for *The Washington Post* noted that, "for most of Carter's presidency, it appeared that the country basically did not give a damn" (Schram, 1980, p. A22). In fact, Lewis Lapham contended that Carter had been elected not to lead but to "perform the rites of purification." He argued:

He had a talent for telling fairy tales and cautionary stories, and most people didn't expect him to do much of importance. By electing him President, the country thought it had declared a four-year holiday, saying in effect that after the trouble caused by Richard Nixon, it might be nice not to have any President at all. It was enough that Mr. Carter merely existed, a passive and ceremonial figure, representing noble or democratic states of feeling, making occasional well-photographed gestures signifying his earnest and life-long commitment to truth, liberty, justice, beauty, equality and the flag. (Lapham, 1980, p. 18)

Carter's task was further complicated by the ways in which modern Americans tend to view their Presidents in the latter stages of their administrations. Just as the Presidential "honeymoon" (that period immediately following the inauguration when the President's popularity reaches great heights, almost irrespective of his actions) is a recognized phenomenon, so too is the fact that Presidential popularity inevitably declines over time, and reaches its lowest levels during the final two years of office (Cronin, 1977, p. 81).

The State of the Union address is, of course, broadcast live on television and radio during "prime time," and this massive public exposure represents the final monkey wrench that was waiting to drop into Jimmy Carter's machinery. As Grossman and Kumar (1981, p. 239) point out, "The President

and his aides know that a public judgment of his commitments will be made on the basis of what he says in [the State of the Union] address," for there is a "public expectation that the President show himself as a policy leader." The extensive media coverage which the President receives in the modern world has created a series of extremely high expectations for his performance, both rhetorically and otherwise. And, since these expectations are so unreasonably high much of the time, Presidents often fail to meet them; their standing in public opinion often suffers as a result (Cronin, 1975, p. 109). Jimmy Carter was no exception. The situation he faced in January of 1980 called for a tough-minded and emotionally stirring piece of rhetoric. As is shown below, the speech that was given failed to meet these criteria.

Carter's Errors

Despite the problems just outlined, the situation faced by Jimmy Carter as he prepared his State of the Union address did not lack for opportunities. With the Iranian takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Carter was given a chance to move away from symbolism toward action, while concomitantly moving up in the estimation of his fellow citizens and thus in the polls. The people could now find out if the man they had elected was the right answer to the "Why Not the Best"? question or if "Wee Jimmy" (as James Reston called him) was as ineffectual as his critics had been charging. The 1980 State of the Union speech was one of the first indications of Carter's response to the situation presented to him by the Iranians and the Russians. It was his chance to convert to toughness, to shed his "Mr. Nice Guy" image and demonstrate that he was the right man for the job, both then and for the next four years. To use terms first employed by Bitzer (1968), Carter was faced with a rhetorical situation, the exigencies of which were modifiable, if only he could find the right rhetoric.

While Carter's failure to win reelection nine months later can be taken as indicative of his failure to convert his opportunity into votes, it remains to be demonstrated whether any of that failure can reasonably be ascribed to weaknesses in the speech. The assessment argued here is that the speech, while one of Carter's better efforts, did contain a number of tactical errors. It was not a giant failure in the "wrong content at the wrong time by the wrong speaker" mold, but there were a number of deficiencies which, added together, undermined his attempt to portray himself as the right person saying what needed to be said in the exigencies existing at the moment. Then too, as suggested earlier, he had other problems to overcome—those involving high public expectations of presidential media performances and the low public opinion which often afflicts presidents towards the end of their terms.

One error committed by Carter in his State of the Union address was the use of absolutes and superlatives. Americans have come to expect some exaggeration from politicians, of course, but those who understood that Afghanistan had already been a puppet of the Soviets for several years may have detected a poor fit between Carter's announcement that henceforth America was going to "face the world as it is" and his description of the

Russian use of troops to consolidate its hold there as "this latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others."¹

Carter's most famous superlative in the address was his contention that the Soviet invasion was "the most serious threat to the peace since the second world war." Senator Edward Kennedy, Carter's major opponent within his own party, took issue with that assertion, asking: "Is it a graver threat than the Berlin blockade, the Korean War, the Soviet march into Hungary and Czechoslovakia, the Berlin wall, the Cuban missile crisis, or Vietnam?" Kennedy concluded that, "Exaggeration and hyperbole are the enemies of sensible foreign policy" ("Transcript of Kennedy's Speech," 1980, p. A12). In short, Carter's superlatives undermined his assertion of fealty to the facts and brought into question his ability to assess the world realistically.

The superlatives might, however, have been seen as justifications for a tough stand—and Carter made some major forays into toughness, saying, "The United States will not yield to blackmail," and "The Soviet Union must pay a concrete price for their aggression," and most notably, in laying down a new Persian Gulf doctrine: "Any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America. And such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

But Carter also undermined his new toughness in two ways. First, he interlaced his speech with calls for caution and restraint—talk of avoiding bloodshed in Iran and observing the "mutual constraints" of the SALT treaties, as well as exercising restraint in the use of military force. The situation, Carter said, called for "careful thought," "steady nerves," "resolute action," "consultation," "close cooperation," "national will," and "diplomatic and political wisdom." Hahn (1982, p. 41) defines "tough talk" as "strong language in support of polar positions." Although the positions taken by Carter with respect to the Soviet Union may have been tough, the toughness was undermined by his vacillating language. This contrast was not, apparently, lost on the President's staff. One of Carter's aides, after the speech had been given, described it as "forcefully ambiguous" ("Carter Takes Charge," 1980, p. 14).

The second way in which Carter watered down his earlier tough rhetoric probably had its roots in political considerations. He could not, after all, allow the new crises to be seen as undermining his previous three years in the presidency. So, in the latter half of the speech, Carter emphasized the necessity of continuing his policies, from stressing human rights in international relations to cutting bureaucratic paperwork at home. In nine of the eleven references to his earlier policies, he even employed the phrase, "we will continue," so that it would be obvious that his administration was on the right track all along.

But the implied contradiction was obvious. If Carter had been on the right track, then why did these crises develop? Or, conversely, since the world had moved into a crisis situation, why should the old policies be continued? Either way, the call for continuation of the policies seemed to conflict with the announcement of new crises demanding new policies. While that conflict

may have been more apparent than real, and while restraint may have been the best course of action given the nature of the Iran and Afghanistan crises, the fact remained that the *seeming* contradictions between the international exigencies and Carter's solutions made him appear weak and passive at precisely the moment when he needed to be perceived as tough and active. As Schumacher (1980, p. A13) observed, "Critics say the statements [in the State of the Union address] represent not evolution but inconsistent lurching from crisis to crisis."

As a final demonstration of this "lack of fit," one may compare the first few paragraphs of the speech with the last few. In the introduction, Carter laid out the problems: "turmoil," "strife," "change," "challenges," "terrorism," "anarchy," "attempted subjugation," and "threats to peace." And, in the conclusion, he provided his vision of America's future: "strong," "free," "at peace," "with equal rights," "jobs," "good health," "good education," "a clean and bountiful life," "secure," with "justice, tolerance and compassion." The formidable challenges depicted in the beginning of the speech were countered, not with a tough new foreign policy, but with the mushiness of the American dream. Carter had lapsed from national leader to national dreamer.

Another type of lapse by Carter might be called "argumentative inadequacy." When putting forth a new policy, a President is normally expected to argue for it, to give reasons why it should be adopted. Such argumentation need not be highly detailed, but it should be easy to follow. Causes and effects need to be clearly related. The nature of the change, and the reasons for it, should be persuasively stated. And, if possible, the dovetailing of the new policy with American experience and values should be demonstrated.

In his State of the Union address, Jimmy Carter did very few of these things. He did establish a need for change, and he did announce a new doctrine. But he did not demonstrate how or whether the new doctrine would work, nor did he place it in the framework of past American policy.

Rather, perhaps because his own thought processes were honed by his engineering years, Carter tended to provide lists and leave the listeners to establish the relationships and rationales on their own. Thus, in this speech, he presented seven lists: a list of three basic developments which created the contemporary challenges, a list of five goals which he would continue to pursue, a four-part historic list of American-Soviet confrontations organized by decades in chronological order, beginning with the 1940's, a list of six ways in which America will continue to work for world peace, a list of five actions that will be undertaken to strengthen the national economy, a list of eight visions of the American future and a list of three things which all Americans could do together to make these visions realities.

In no case were Carter's lists expanded upon, defended or in any way argued for in subsequent paragraphs; in only one instance, in reference to the need to continue supporting human rights in international relations (point four of list four), was an item on one of the lists argued for within the confines of the list-making. In short, his lists consisted of 33 unsupported assertions and one supported one. Whether these 34 items were meant to be the meat of his argument or mere byproducts offered as addenda to the argumentation found

with our children. In fact, a case could be made that Carter response was so soft that Reagan was able to soften his pro-military force stance enough to escape his "trigger happy" image and still come off as much tougher than the incumbent.

Conclusion

To the extent that a specimen of rhetoric may be measured by its effects, Jimmy Carter's 1980 State of the Union address was a failure. It did not convince the Iranians to return the hostages, did not influence the Russians to withdraw from Afghanistan, and did not persuade the American people that Jimmy Carter was tough enough to be allowed to direct America's fight against her enemies for another four years.

Thus, several months later, amid the wreckage (both literal and figurative) of the abortive attempt by American commandos to rescue the hostages from Iran, a widely held conclusion was that the episode was "just the sort of tragically flawed comedy of errors the public had come to expect from its president—a nice try, too bad the little guy couldn't pull it off" (Walsh, 1980, p. 236).

NOTE

¹All subsequent quotations from Carter's speech are taken from "Transcript of President's State of the Union Address to Joint Session of Congress," *The New York Times*, January 24, 1980, p. A12.

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→ 3pm. Duvall.

7.20

Wach him down.
see him to ground.
gibber.

→ Mr. W. is late for his appointment
in Miami.

7 ¶ Statement by the President on the
Resignation of Sir Anthony Eden.

January 9, 1957

I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED of the official announcement of the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden as head of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Sir Anthony is an old and good friend. During the days of World War II and since, there have been few periods when he and I were not engaged in the study of some problem common to our two countries. Through the years I have developed for him a great respect and admiration.

As Foreign Minister and then as Prime Minister, Sir Anthony has been a dedicated leader in the cause of freedom. He is a staunch believer in the need for unity among the community of free nations, especially between his country and ours.

Mrs. Eisenhower and I extend to him and to Lady Eden our hopes that Sir Anthony will soon fully recover his health so that he may have many useful years of happiness ahead.

8 ¶ Annual Message to the Congress on the State
of the Union. January 10, 1957

[Delivered in person before a joint session]

To the Congress of the United States:

I appear before the Congress today to report on the State of the Union and the relationships of the Union to the other nations of the world. I come here, firmly convinced that at no time in the history of the Republic have circumstances more emphatically underscored the need, in all echelons of government, for vision and wisdom and resolution.

You meet in a season of stress that is testing the fitness of polit-

ical systems and the validity of political philosophies. Each stress stems in part from causes peculiar to itself. But every stress is a reflection of a universal phenomenon.

In the world today, the surging and understandable tide of nationalism is marked by widespread revulsion and revolt against tyranny, injustice, inequality and poverty. As individuals, joined in a common hunger for freedom, men and women and even children pit their spirit against guns and tanks. On a larger scale, in an ever more persistent search for the self-respect of authentic sovereignty and the economic base on which national independence must rest, peoples sever old ties; seek new alliances; experiment—sometimes dangerously—in their struggle to satisfy these human aspirations.

Particularly, in the past year, this tide has changed the pattern of attitudes and thinking among millions. The changes already accomplished foreshadow a world transformed by the spirit of freedom. This is no faint and pious hope. The forces now at work in the minds and hearts of men will not be spent through many years. In the main, today's expressions of nationalism are, in spirit, echoes of our forefathers' struggle for independence.

This Republic cannot be aloof to these events heralding a new epoch in the affairs of mankind.

Our pledged word, our enlightened self-interest, our character as a Nation commit us to a high role in world affairs: a role of vigorous leadership, ready strength, sympathetic understanding.

The State of the Union, at the opening of the 85th Congress continues to vindicate the wisdom of the principles on which this Republic is founded. Proclaimed in the Constitution of the Nation and in many of our historic documents, and founded in devout religious convictions, these principles enunciate:

A vigilant regard for human liberty.

A wise concern for human welfare.

A ceaseless effort for human progress.

Fidelity to these principles, in our relations with other peoples, has won us new friendships and has increased our opportunity for

service within the family of nations. The appeal of these principles is universal, lighting fires in the souls of men everywhere. We shall continue to uphold them, against those who deny them and in counselling with our friends.

At home, the application of these principles to the complex problems of our national life has brought us to an unprecedented peak in our economic prosperity and has exemplified in our way of life the enduring human values of mind and spirit.

Through the past four years these principles have guided the legislative programs submitted by the Administration to the Congress. As we attempt to apply them to current events, domestic and foreign, we must take into account the complex entity that is the United States of America; what endangers it; what can improve it.

The visible structure is our American economy itself. After more than a century and a half of constant expansion, it is still rich in a wide variety of natural resources. It is first among nations in its people's mastery of industrial skills. It is productive beyond our own needs of many foodstuffs and industrial products. It is rewarding to all our citizens in opportunity to earn and to advance in self-realization and in self-expression. It is fortunate in its wealth of educational and cultural and religious centers. It is vigorously dynamic in the limitless initiative and willingness to venture that characterize free enterprise. It is productive of a widely shared prosperity.

Our economy is strong, expanding, and fundamentally sound. But in any realistic appraisal, even the optimistic analyst will realize that in a prosperous period the principal threat to efficient functioning of a free enterprise system is inflation. We look back on four years of prosperous activities during which prices, the cost of living, have been relatively stable—that is, inflation has been held in check. But it is clear that the danger is always present, particularly if the government might become profligate in its expenditures or private groups might ignore all the possible results on our economy of unwise struggles for immediate gain.

This danger requires a firm resolution that the Federal Government shall utilize only a prudent share of the Nation's resources, that it shall live within its means, carefully measuring against need alternative proposals for expenditures.

Through the next four years, I shall continue to insist that the executive departments and agencies of Government search out additional ways to save money and manpower. I urge that the Congress be equally watchful in this matter.

We pledge the Government's share in guarding the integrity of the dollar. But the Government's efforts cannot be the entire campaign against inflation, the thief that can rob the individual of the value of the pension and social security he has earned during his productive life. For success, Government's efforts must be paralleled by the attitudes and actions of individual citizens.

I have often spoken of the purpose of this Administration to serve the national interest of 170 million people. The national interest must take precedence over temporary advantages which may be secured by particular groups at the expense of all the people.

In this regard I call on leaders in business and in labor to think well on their responsibility to the American people. With all elements of our society, they owe the Nation a vigilant guard against the inflationary tendencies that are always at work in a dynamic economy operating at today's high levels. They can powerfully help counteract or accentuate such tendencies by their wage and price policies.

Business in its pricing policies should avoid unnecessary price increases especially at a time like the present when demand in so many areas presses hard on short supplies. A reasonable profit is essential to the new investments that provide more jobs in an expanding economy. But business leaders must, in the national interest, studiously avoid those price rises that are possible only because of vital or unusual needs of the whole nation.

If our economy is to remain healthy, increases in wages and other labor benefits, negotiated by labor and management, must

be reasonably related to improvements in productivity. Such increases are beneficial, for they provide wage earners with greater purchasing power. Except where necessary to correct obvious injustices, wage increases that outrun productivity, however, are an inflationary factor. They make for higher prices for the public generally and impose a particular hardship on those whose welfare depends on the purchasing power of retirement income and savings. Wage negotiations should also take cognizance of the right of the public generally to share in the benefits of improvements in technology.

Freedom has been defined as the opportunity for self-discipline. This definition has a special application to the areas of wage and price policy in a free economy. Should we persistently fail to discipline ourselves, eventually there will be increasing pressure on government to redress the failure. By that process freedom will step by step disappear. No subject on the domestic scene should more attract the concern of the friends of American working men and women and of free business enterprise than the forces that threaten a steady depreciation of the value of our money.

Concerning developments in another vital sector of our economy—agriculture—I am gratified that the long slide in farm income has been halted and that further improvement is in prospect. This is heartening progress. Three tools that we have developed—improved surplus disposal, improved price support laws, and the soil bank—are working to reduce price-depressing government stocks of farm products. Our concern for the well-being of farm families demands that we constantly search for new ways by which they can share more fully in our unprecedented prosperity. Legislative recommendations in the field of agriculture are contained in the Budget Message.

Our soil, water, mineral, forest, fish, and wildlife resources are being conserved and improved more effectively. Their conservation and development are vital to the present and future strength

of the Nation. But they must not be the concern of the Federal Government alone. State and local entities, and private enterprise should be encouraged to participate in such projects.

I would like to make special mention of programs for making the best uses of water, rapidly becoming our most precious natural resource, just as it can be, when neglected, a destroyer of both life and wealth. There has been prepared and published a comprehensive water report developed by a Cabinet Committee and relating to all phases of this particular problem.

In the light of this report, there are two things I believe we should keep constantly in mind. The first is that each of our great river valleys should be considered as a whole. Piecemeal operations within each lesser drainage area can be self-defeating or, at the very least, needlessly expensive. The second is that the domestic and industrial demands for water grow far more rapidly than does our population.

The whole matter of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it touches our soil until it reaches the oceans, for such purposes as irrigation, flood control, power production, and domestic and industrial uses clearly demands the closest kind of cooperation and partnership between municipalities, States and the Federal Government. Through partnership of Federal, state and local authorities in these vast projects we can obtain the economy and efficiency of development and operation that springs from a lively sense of local responsibility.

Until such partnership is established on a proper and logical basis of sharing authority, responsibility and costs, our country will never have both the fully productive use of water that it so obviously needs and protection against disastrous flood.

If we fail in this, all the many tasks that need to be done in America could be accomplished only at an excessive cost, by the growth of a stifling bureaucracy, and eventually with a dangerous degree of centralized control over our national life.

In all domestic matters, I believe that the people of the United

States will expect of us effective action to remedy past failure in meeting critical needs.

High priority should be given the school construction bill. This will benefit children of all races throughout the country—and children of all races need schools now. A program designed to meet emergency needs for more classrooms should be enacted without delay. I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of integration. I urge the people in all sections of the country to approach these problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and good will, and in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice.

I should say here that we have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding—the chief buttress of human and civil rights. Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color. But unhappily much remains to be done.

Last year the Administration recommended to the Congress a four-point program to reinforce civil rights. That program included:

- (1) creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights and to make recommendations;
- (2) creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice in charge of an Assistant Attorney General;
- (3) enactment by the Congress of new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights; and
- (4) amendment of the laws so as to permit the Federal Government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases.

I urge that the Congress enact this legislation.

Essential to the stable economic growth we seek is a system of well-adapted and efficient financial institutions. I believe the

time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry into the nature, performance and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as the mechanism through which monetary and credit policy takes effect. I believe the Congress should authorize the creation of a commission of able and qualified citizens to undertake this vital inquiry. Out of their findings and recommendations the Administration would develop and present to the Congress any legislative proposals that might be indicated for the purpose of improving our financial machinery.

In this message it seems unnecessary that I should repeat recommendations involving our domestic affairs that have been urged upon the Congress during the past four years, but which, in some instances, did not reach the stage of completely satisfactory legislation.

The Administration will, through future messages either directly from me or from heads of the departments and agencies, transmit to the Congress specific recommendations. These will involve our financial and fiscal affairs, our military and civil defenses; the administration of justice; our agricultural economy; our domestic and foreign commerce; the urgently needed increase in our postal rates; the development of our natural resources; our labor laws, including our labor-management relations legislation, and vital aspects of the health, education and welfare of our people. There will be special recommendations dealing with such subjects as atomic energy, the furthering of public works, the continued efforts to eliminate government competition with the businesses of tax-paying citizens.

A number of legislative recommendations will be mentioned specifically in my forthcoming Budget Message, which will reach you within the week. That message will also recommend such sums as are needed to implement the proposed action.

Turning to the international scene:

The existence of a strongly armed imperialistic dictatorship poses a continuing threat to the free world's and thus to our own Nation's security and peace. There are certain truths to be remembered here.

First, America alone and isolated cannot assure even its own security. We must be joined by the capability and resolution of nations that have proved themselves dependable defenders of freedom. Isolation from them invites war. Our security is also enhanced by the immeasurable interest that joins us with all peoples who believe that peace with justice must be preserved, that wars of aggression are crimes against humanity.

Another truth is that our survival in today's world requires modern, adequate, dependable military strength. Our Nation has made great strides in assuring a modern defense, so armed in new weapons, so deployed, so equipped, that today our security force is the most powerful in our peacetime history. It can punish heavily any enemy who undertakes to attack us. It is a major deterrent to war.

By our research and development more efficient weapons—some of amazing capabilities—are being constantly created. These vital efforts we shall continue. Yet we must not delude ourselves that safety necessarily increases as expenditures for military research or forces in being go up. Indeed, beyond a wise and reasonable level, which is always changing and is under constant study, money spent on arms may be money wasted on sterile metal or inflated costs, thereby weakening the very security and strength we seek.

National security requires far more than military power. Economic and moral factors play indispensable roles. Any program that endangers our economy could defeat us. Any weakening of our national will and resolution, any diminution of the vigor and initiative of our individual citizens, would strike a blow at the heart of our defenses.

The finest military establishment we can produce must work

closely in cooperation with the forces of our friends. Our system of regional pacts, developed within the Charter of the United Nations, serves to increase both our own security and the security of other nations.

This system is still a recent introduction on the world scene. Its problems are many and difficult, because it insists on equality among its members and brings into association some nations traditionally divided. Repeatedly in recent months, the collapse of these regional alliances has been predicted. The strains upon them have been at times indeed severe. Despite these strains our regional alliances have proved durable and strong, and dire predictions of their disintegration have proved completely false.

With other free nations, we should vigorously prosecute measures that will promote mutual strength, prosperity and welfare within the free world. Strength is essentially a product of economic health and social well-being. Consequently, even as we continue our programs of military assistance, we must emphasize aid to our friends in building more productive economies and in better satisfying the natural demands of their people for progress. Thereby we shall move a long way toward a peaceful world.

A sound and safeguarded agreement for open skies, unarmed aerial sentinels, and reduced armament would provide a valuable contribution toward a durable peace in the years ahead. And we have been persistent in our effort to reach such an agreement. We are willing to enter any reliable agreement which would reverse the trend toward ever more devastating nuclear weapons; reciprocally provide against the possibility of surprise attack; mutually control the outer space missile and satellite development; and make feasible a lower level of armaments and armed forces and an easier burden of military expenditures. Our continuing negotiations in this field are a major part of our quest for a confident peace in this atomic age.

This quest requires as well a constructive attitude among all the nations of the free world toward expansion of trade and in-

vestment, that can give all of us opportunity to work out economic betterment.

An essential step in this field is the provision of an administrative agency to insure the orderly and proper operation of existing arrangements under which multilateral trade is now carried on. To that end I urge Congressional authorization for United States membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation, an action which will speed removal of discrimination against our export trade.

We welcome the efforts of a number of our European friends to achieve an integrated community to develop a common market. We likewise welcome their cooperative effort in the field of atomic energy.

To demonstrate once again our unalterable purpose to make of the atom a peaceful servant of humanity, I shortly shall ask the Congress to authorize full United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency.

World events have magnified both the responsibilities and the opportunities of the United States Information Agency. Just as, in recent months, the voice of communism has become more shaken and confused, the voice of truth must be more clearly heard. To enable our Information Agency to cope with these new responsibilities and opportunities, I am asking the Congress to increase appreciably the appropriations for this program and for legislation establishing a career service for the Agency's overseas foreign service officers.

The recent historic events in Hungary demand that all free nations share to the extent of their capabilities in the responsibility of granting asylum to victims of Communist persecution. I request the Congress promptly to enact legislation to regularize the status in the United States of Hungarian refugees brought here as parolees. I shall shortly recommend to the Congress by special message the changes in our immigration laws that I deem necessary in the light of our world responsibilities.

The cost of peace is something we must face boldly, fearlessly. Beyond money, it involves changes in attitudes, the renunciation of old prejudices, even the sacrifice of some seeming self-interest.

Only five days ago I expressed to you the grave concern of your Government over the threat of Soviet aggression in the Middle East. I asked for Congressional authorization to help counter this threat. I say again that this matter is of vital and immediate importance to the Nation's and the free world's security and peace. By our proposed programs in the Middle East, we hope to assist in establishing a climate in which constructive and long-term solutions to basic problems of the area may be sought.

From time to time, there will be presented to the Congress requests for other legislation in the broad field of international affairs. All requests will reflect the steadfast purpose of this Administration to pursue peace, based on justice. Although in some cases details will be new, the underlying purpose and objectives will remain the same.

All proposals made by the Administration in this field are based on the free world's unity. This unity may not be immediately obvious unless we examine link by link the chain of relationships that binds us to every area and to every nation. In spirit the free world is one because its people uphold the right of independent existence for all nations. I have already alluded to their economic interdependence. But their interdependence extends also into the field of security.

First of all, no reasonable man will question the absolute need for our American neighbors to be prosperous and secure. Their security and prosperity are inextricably bound to our own. And we are, of course, already joined with these neighbors by historic pledges.

Again, no reasonable man will deny that the freedom and prosperity and security of Western Europe are vital to our own prosperity and security. If the institutions, the skills, the manpower of its peoples were to fall under the domination of an

aggressive imperialism, the violent change in the balance of world power and in the pattern of world commerce could not be fully compensated for by any American measures, military or economic.

But these people, whose economic strength is largely dependent on free and uninterrupted movement of oil from the Middle East, cannot prosper—indeed, their economies would be severely impaired—should that area be controlled by an enemy and the movement of oil be subject to its decisions.

Next, to the Eastward, are Asiatic and Far Eastern peoples, recently returned to independent control of their own affairs or now emerging into sovereign statehood. Their potential strength constitutes new assurance for stability and peace in the world—if they can retain their independence. Should they lose freedom and be dominated by an aggressor, the world-wide effects would imperil the security of the free world.

In short, the world has so shrunk that all free nations are our neighbors. Without cooperative neighbors, the United States cannot maintain its own security and welfare, because:

First, America's vital interests are world-wide, embracing both hemispheres and every continent.

Second, we have community of interest with every nation in the free world.

Third, interdependence of interests requires a decent respect for the rights and the peace of all peoples.

These principles motivate our actions within the United Nations. There, before all the world, by our loyalty to them, by our practice of them, let us strive to set a standard to which all who seek justice and who hunger for peace can rally.

May we at home, here at the Seat of Government, in all the cities and towns and farmlands of America, support these principles in a personal effort of dedication. Thereby each of us can help establish a secure world order in which opportunity for freedom and justice will be more widespread, and in which the resources now dissipated on the armaments of war can be released for the life and growth of all humanity.

When our forefathers prepared the immortal document that proclaimed our independence, they asserted that every individual is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. As we gaze back through history to that date, it is clear that our nation has striven to live up to this declaration, applying it to nations as well as to individuals.

Today we proudly assert that the government of the United States is still committed to this concept, both in its activities at home and abroad.

The purpose is Divine; the implementation is human.

Our country and its government have made mistakes—human mistakes. They have been of the head—not of the heart. And it is still true that the great concept of the dignity of all men, alike created in the image of the Almighty, has been the compass by which we have tried and are trying to steer our course.

So long as we continue by its guidance, there will be true progress in human affairs, both among ourselves and among those with whom we deal.

To achieve a more perfect fidelity to it, I submit, is a worthy ambition as we meet together in these first days of this, the first session of the 85th Congress.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: This is the text of the document which the President signed and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives (H. Doc.

1, 85th Cong., 1st sess.).

The Address as reported from the floor appears in the Congressional Record (vol. 103, p. 387).

EE reform:
We will never compromise
our principle.
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FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE

WHITE HOUSE, December 3, 1901.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Congress assembles this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the sixth of September, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and died in that city on the fourteenth of that month.

Of the last seven elected Presidents, he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history; President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

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

President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the Army as a

private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no President — not even Lincoln himself — was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people — to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been re-elected to the Presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

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

The shock, the grief of the country, are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days, while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unfaltering trust in the will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the Nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

When we turn from the man to the Nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press,

appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

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

The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

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

meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

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

The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who by the Constitution or by law is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.

Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of man-stealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the Federal Government the power of dealing with the crime.

A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

During the last five years business confidence has been restored, and the nation is to be congratulated because of its present abounding prosperity. Such prosperity can never be created by law alone, although it is easy enough to destroy it by mischievous laws. If the hand of the Lord is heavy upon any country, if flood or drought comes, human wisdom is powerless to avert the calamity. Moreover, no law can guard us against the consequences of our own folly. The men who are idle or credulous, the men who seek gains not by genuine work with head or hand but by gambling in any form, are always a source of menace not only to themselves but to others. If the business world loses its head, it loses what legislation cannot supply. Fundamentally the welfare of each citizen, and therefore the welfare of the aggregate of citizens which makes the nation, must rest upon individual thrift and energy, resolution, and intelligence. Nothing can take the place of this individual capacity; but wise legislation and honest and intelligent administration can give it the fullest scope, the largest opportunity to work to good effect.

The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind, they are no longer sufficient.

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

The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

The captains of industry who have driven the railway systems across

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

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

Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions; and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more, and in times of adversity, some will suffer far more, than others; but speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them with the conditions in this very year which is now closing. Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and while it is bad for everybody, it is worst for those farthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries; but the wage-worker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care

must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as "trusts," appeal especially to hatred and fear. These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective. In accordance with a well-known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the Government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

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

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

It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations

as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

The first essential in determining how to deal with the great industrial combinations is knowledge of the facts — publicity. In the interest of the public, the Government should have the right to inspect and examine the workings of the great corporations engaged in interstate business. Publicity is the only sure remedy which we can now invoke. What further remedies are needed in the way of governmental regulation, or taxation, can only be determined after publicity has been obtained, by process of law, and in the course of administration. The first requisite is knowledge, full and complete — knowledge which may be made public to the world.

Artificial bodies, such as corporations and joint stock or other associations, depending upon any statutory law for their existence or privileges, should be subject to proper governmental supervision, and full and accurate information as to their operations should be made public regularly at reasonable intervals.

The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one State, always do business in many States, often doing very little business in the State where they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the State laws about them; and as no State has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through State action. Therefore, in the interest of the whole people, the Nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter itself, also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business. This is especially true where the corporation derives a portion of its wealth from the existence of some monopolistic element or tendency in its business. There would be no hardship in such supervision; banks are subject to it, and in their case it is now accepted as a simple matter of course. Indeed, it is probable that supervision of corporations by the National Government need not go so far as is now the case with the supervision exercised over them by so conservative a State as Massachusetts, in order to produce excellent results.

When the Constitution was adopted, at the end of the eighteenth century, no human wisdom could foretell the sweeping changes, alike in industrial and political conditions, which were to take place by the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time it was accepted as a

matter of course that the several States were the proper authorities to regulate, so far as was then necessary, the comparatively insignificant and strictly localized corporate bodies of the day. The conditions are now wholly different and wholly different action is called for. I believe that a law can be framed which will enable the National Government to exercise control along the lines above indicated; profiting by the experience gained through the passage and administration of the Interstate-Commerce Act. If, however, the judgment of the Congress is that it lacks the constitutional power to pass such an act, then a constitutional amendment should be submitted to confer the power.

There should be created a Cabinet officer, to be known as Secretary of Commerce and Industries, as provided in the bill introduced at the last session of the Congress. It should be his province to deal with commerce in its broadest sense; including among many other things whatever concerns labor and all matters affecting the great business corporations and our merchant marine.

The course proposed is one phase of what should be a comprehensive and far-reaching scheme of constructive statesmanship for the purpose of broadening our markets, securing our business interests on a safe basis, and making firm our new position in the international industrial world; while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of wage-worker and capitalist, of investor and private citizen, so as to secure equity as between man and man in this Republic.

With the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is therefore a matter for hearty congratulation that on the whole wages are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible. Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to re-enact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.

The National Government should demand the highest quality of service from its employees; and in return it should be a good employer. If possible legislation should be passed, in connection with the Interstate Commerce Law, which will render effective the efforts of different

States to do away with the competition of convict contract labor in the open labor market. So far as practicable under the conditions of Government work, provision should be made to render the enforcement of the eight-hour law easy and certain. In all industries carried on directly or indirectly for the United States Government women and children should be protected from excessive hours of labor, from night work, and from work under unsanitary conditions. The Government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending if necessary to the subcontractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime. For the District of Columbia a good factory law should be passed; and, as a powerful indirect aid to such laws, provision should be made to turn the inhabited alleys, the existence of which is a reproach to our Capital city, into minor streets, where the inhabitants can live under conditions favorable to health and morals.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.

The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world, has to deal, is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man—wage-worker, farmer, and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Second only to this comes the power of acting in combination or association with others. Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage-workers, when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The display of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves. Finally, there must also in many cases be action by the Government in order to safeguard the rights and interests of all. Under our Constitution there is much more scope for such action by the State and the municipality than by the nation. But on points such as those touched on above the National Government can act.

When all is said and done, the rule of brotherhood remains as the indispensable prerequisite to success in the kind of national life for which we strive. Each man must work for himself, and unless he so works no outside help can avail him; but each man must remember also

that he is indeed his brother's keeper, and that while no man who refuses to walk can be carried with advantage to himself or anyone else, yet that each at times stumbles or halts, that each at times needs to have the helping hand outstretched to him. To be permanently effective, aid must always take the form of helping a man to help himself; and we can all best help ourselves by joining together in the work that is of common interest to all.

Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant fitted to become an American citizen, every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart, a good head, and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a threefold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to be believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary.

The second object of a proper immigration law ought to be to secure by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. This would not keep out all anarchists, for many of them belong to the intelligent criminal class. But it would do what is also in point, that is, tend to decrease the sum of ignorance, so potent in producing the envy, suspicion, malignant passion, and hatred of order, out of which anarchistic sentiment inevitably springs. Finally, all persons should be excluded who are below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor. There should be proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living and enough money to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would stop the influx of cheap labor, and the resulting competition which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life; and it would dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations have their greatest possibility of growth.

Both the educational and economic tests in a wise immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general body politic and social. A very close supervision should be exercised over the steamship companies which mainly bring over the immigrants, and they should be held to a strict accountability for any infraction of the law.

There is general acquiescence in our present tariff system as a na-

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

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

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

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

to offer in exchange for what we ask. The cordial relations with other nations which are so desirable will naturally be promoted by the course thus required by our own interests.

The natural line of development for a policy of reciprocity will be in connection with those of our productions which no longer require all of the support once needed to establish them upon a sound basis, and with those others where either because of natural or of economic causes we are beyond the reach of successful competition.

I ask the attention of the Senate to the reciprocity treaties laid before it by my predecessor.

The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It is discreditable to us as a Nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products, and would provide an auxiliary force for the Navy. Ships work for their own countries just as railroads work for their terminal 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. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships, at a speed of fourteen knots or above, are subsidized; and all our ships, sailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo carriers of slow speed and mail carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries; and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships 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.

The Act of March 14, 1900, intended unequivocally to establish gold

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

In many respects the National Banking Law furnishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the banking function; but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the deranging influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce.

The collections from duties on imports and internal taxes continue to exceed the ordinary expenditures of the Government, thanks mainly to the reduced army expenditures. The utmost care should be taken not to reduce the revenues so that there will be any possibility of a deficit; 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 the Congress the Secretary of the Treasury considers all these questions at length, and I ask your attention to the report and recommendations.

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

In 1887 a measure was enacted for the regulation of interstate railways, commonly known as the Interstate Commerce Act. The cardinal provisions of that act were that railway rates should be just and reasonable and that all shippers, localities, and commodities should be accorded equal treatment. A commission was created and endowed with what were supposed to be the necessary powers to execute the provisions of this act.

That law was largely an experiment. 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 that established rates are not maintained; that rebates 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 preferences are made, affecting both localities and commodities. Upon the other hand, the railways assert that the law by its very terms tends to produce many of these illegal practices by depriving carriers of that right of concerted action which they claim is necessary to establish and maintain non-discriminating rates.

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

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

Public opinion throughout the United States has moved steadily toward a just appreciation of the value of forests, whether planted or of natural growth. The great part played by them in the creation and maintenance 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 preser-

vation 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 being.

The practical usefulness of the national forest reserves to the mining, grazing, irrigation, and other interests of the regions in which the reserves lie has led to a widespread demand by the people of the West for their protection and extension. The forest reserves will inevitably be of still greater use in the future than in the past. Additions should be made to them whenever practicable, and their usefulness should be increased by a thoroughly business-like management.

At present the protection of the forest reserves rests with the General Land Office, the mapping and description of their timber with the United States Geological Survey, and the preparation of plans for their conservative use with the Bureau of Forestry, 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 standpoint. 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 should be put under the Department of Agriculture. The President should have by law the power of transferring lands for use as forest reserves to the Department of Agriculture. He already has such power in the case of lands needed by the Departments of War and the Navy.

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

Certain of the forest reserves should also be made preserves for the wild forest creatures. All of the reserves should be better protected from fires. Many of them 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 exterminated 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 forest reserves should be set apart forever for the use and benefit of our people as a whole and not sacrificed to the shortsighted greed of a few.

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

The forests alone cannot, however, fully regulate and conserve the waters of the arid region. Great storage works are necessary to equalize the flow of streams and to save the flood waters. Their construction has been conclusively shown to be an undertaking 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 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 within their reach.

The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could 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 Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves, 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 settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies and effectually prevent Western competition with Eastern 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 Government 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 interests; 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 shown in the work itself; but as much cannot be said in reference to the laws relating thereto. The security and value 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 provide for the certain and just division of streams in times of scarcity. Lax and uncertain laws have made it possible to establish rights to water in excess of actual uses or necessities, and many streams have already passed into private ownership, or a control equivalent to ownership.

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

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 development of the past justify the nation's aid and co-operation 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 irrigators; 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 country 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 largest 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 of 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.

In Hawaii our aim must be to develop the Territory on the traditional 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 necessary to report as to Puerto 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 enjoying 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 concerning the public lands of Puerto 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 discussed the question of reciprocity. In the case of 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.

In the Philippines our problem is larger. They are very rich tropical 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 administration of the islands honorable to our Nation by making it of the highest benefit to the Filipinos themselves; 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 temperamental qualities without which the institutions of free government are but an empty mockery. Our people are now successfully governing themselves, because for more than a thousand years they have been slowly fitting themselves, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, toward this end. What has 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. Our aim is high. We do not desire to do for the islanders merely what has elsewhere been done for tropic peoples by even the best foreign governments. We hope to do for them what has never before been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations.

History may safely be challenged to show a single instance in which a masterful race such as ours, having been forced by the exigencies of war to take possession of an alien land, has behaved to its inhabitants 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 desertion of duty on our part would be a crime against humanity. The character of Governor Taft and of his associates and subordinates is a proof, if such be needed, of the sincerity of our effort to give the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government, exactly as fast as they show themselves fit to exercise it. Since the civil government was established not an appointment has been made in the islands with any reference to considerations of political influence, or to aught else save the fitness of the man and the needs of the service.

In our anxiety for the welfare and progress of the 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 committed. 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 farther or faster in advance would have been folly and weakness, and might well have been crime. We are extremely anxious that the natives shall show the power of governing themselves. We are anx-

ious, 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 all the liberty for which they are fit.

The only fear is lest in our overanxiety we give them a degree of independence for which they are unfit, thereby inviting reaction and disaster. As fast as there is any reasonable hope that in a given district the people can govern themselves, self-government has been given in that district. There is not a 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 inhabitants show themselves unfit to exercise it; such instances have already occurred. In other words, there is not the slightest chance of our failing to show a sufficiently humanitarian spirit. The danger comes in the opposite direction.

There are still troubles ahead in the islands. The insurrection has become an affair of local banditti and marauders, who deserve no higher regard than the brigands of portions of the Old World. Encouragement, direct or indirect, to these insurrectors 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 measures with the Filipino who follows the path of the insurrecto and the ladrone.

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

The time has come when there should be additional 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 mischief is proverbial, and the opportunity to do remunerative work is one of the surest preventatives 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 incoming of business men of every kind.

Not to permit this is to do a 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, homesteads, and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to industrial enterprise; and the commercial development which will surely follow will accord to the people of the islands the best proofs of the sincerity of our desire to aid them.

I call your attention most earnestly to the crying need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued 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 considerations.

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

No single great material work which remains to be undertaken 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 important 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 maintenance 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 be laid before the Senate, and if approved the Congress can then proceed to give effect to the advantages it secures us by providing for the building of the canal.

The true end of every great and free people should be self-respecting peace; and this Nation most earnestly desires sincere and cordial friendship with all others. Over the entire world, of recent years, wars between the great civilized powers have become less and less frequent. Wars with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples come in an entirely different category, being merely a most regrettable but necessary 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 are realizing the wicked folly of war and are attaining that condition of just and intelligent regard for the rights 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 our statement of the Monroe Doctrine as compatible with the purposes and aims of the conference.

The Monroe Doctrine should be the cardinal feature 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 considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." In other words, the Monroe Doctrine is a declaration that there must be no territorial aggrandizement 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 smaller 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 power.

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 hail 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.

The work of upbuilding the Navy must be steadily continued. No 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 Puerto 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 no 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 be 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 insuring 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 com-

mercially, and to guarantee the safety of the American 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 derision 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 craven 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 war ships that have been regularly built and in the officers and men who 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 period our Navy consisted of a collection of antiquated wooden ships, already almost as out of place against modern war vessels as the galleys of Alcibiades and Hamilcar—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 parties, 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 men 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 who 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 wage-workers 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 Santiago, 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 hammering 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 I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Navy. But there is something we need even more than additional ships, and this is additional officers and men. To provide battle ships and cruisers and then lay them up, with the expectation of leaving them unmanned until they are needed in actual war, would be worse than folly; it would be a crime against the Nation.

To send any war ship against a competent enemy unless those aboard it have been trained by years of actual sea service, including incessant gunnery practice, would be to invite not merely disaster, but the bitterest shame and humiliation. Four thousand additional seamen and one thousand additional marines should be provided; and an increase in the officers 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 war ship 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 should be kept as much as possible on blue water, for it is there only they can learn their duties as they should be learned. The big vessels should be manoeuvred 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 im-

portant to have our Navy of adequate size, but it is even more important that ship for ship it should equal in efficiency any navy in the world. 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 long at anchor. The resulting wear upon engines and hulls must be endured; a battle ship worn out in long training of officers and men is well 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 battle ships 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 exalt 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 official and then the general recognition of our altered conditions as a Nation and of the true meaning of a great war fleet, which meaning is, 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 seagoing peace establishment, and offer material to be drawn on 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 "opulent, aggressive, and unarmed."

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 as officers and enlisted men compose this Army, are, we have good reason to believe, at least as efficient as those of any other army in the entire world. It is our duty to see that their training is of a kind 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 act together with effect. 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 special training applied to men of exceptional physique and morale. But nowadays the most valuable fighting man and the most difficult to perfect is the rifleman who is also a skillful and daring rider.

The proportion of our cavalry regiments has wisely been increased. The American cavalryman, trained to manoeuvre and fight with equal facility 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 grade of 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 retirements 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 tenfold worse where 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 in the Army, as in the Navy, should be greatly reduced. What is needed is proved 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 manoeuvres 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 regulars, and if possible also a division of national guardsmen, once a year. These exercises might take the form of field manoeuvres; 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 some other 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 Navy. 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 proba-

bly on the whole a more formidable fighting man than the regular of any other army. Every consideration should be shown him, and in return 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 prime reforms, all of them of literally inestimable 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 overestimate the improvement in the efficiency of our Army which these three reforms are making, and have in part already effected.

The reorganization provided for by the act has been substantially accomplished. The improved conditions in the Philippines have enabled the War Department materially to reduce the military charge upon our revenue and to arrange the number of soldiers so as to bring this number much nearer to the minimum than to the maximum limit established by law. There is, however, need of supplementary legislation. Thorough military education must be provided, and in addition to the regulars the advantages of this education should be given to the officers of the National Guard and others in civil life who desire intelligently to fit themselves for possible military duty. The officers should be given the chance to perfect themselves by study in the higher branches of this art. At West Point the education should be of the kind most apt to turn out men who are good in actual field service; too much stress should not be laid on mathematics, nor should proficiency therein be held to establish the right of entry to a *corps d'élite*. The typical American officer of the best kind need not be a good mathematician; but he must be able to master himself, to control others, and to show boldness and fertility of resource in every emergency.

Action should be taken in reference to the militia and to the raising of volunteer forces. Our 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 law under 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 Puerto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.

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 soldiery 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.

The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as 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 extend 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 rigidly in our insular possessions. Not an office should be filled in the Philippines or Puerto 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, heed 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 Puerto Rico is that he reflect honor on his country by the way in which he makes that country's rule a benefit to the peoples 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 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 just 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 unaffected by 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.

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. We 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 permission to Indians to lease their allotments. The effort should be steadily to make the Indian work like any other man on his own ground. The marriage law 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 need of higher education among the Indians is very, very limited. On the reservations care should be taken to try to suit the 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.

I bespeak the most cordial support from the Congress and the people for the St. Louis Exposition to commemorate the One Hundredth An-

niversary of the Louisiana Purchase. This purchase was the greatest instance of expansion in our history. It definitely decided that we were to become a great continental republic, by far the foremost power 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 session of the Congress. I heartily commend this 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. Both from the industrial and the artistic 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—for 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, in ac-

cordance 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 useful, 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 on the Western Hemisphere, and certain to increase 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.

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 statistic, economic, and social science.

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 compels constantly increasing outlay, 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 \$11,411,779 in 1897 to \$3,923,727 in 1901. 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 6,009, practically all established within three years, and there are 6,000 applications awaiting action. It is expected that the number in operation at the close of the current fiscal year will reach 8,600. The mail will then be daily carried to the doors of 5,700,000 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 intrenched 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 of all the mail, it paid for the last fiscal year only \$4,294,445 of the aggregate postal revenue of \$111,631,193. 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 the 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 Post-Office 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.

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 antiforeign 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, Mr. William Woodville Rockhill, 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 grounds 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.

Provisions have been made for insuring the future safety of the foreign representatives in Peking by setting aside for their exclusive use a quarter of the city which the powers can make defensible and in which they can if necessary maintain permanent military guards; by dismantling the military works between the capital and the sea; and by allowing the temporary maintenance of foreign military posts along this line. An edict has been issued by the Emperor of China prohibiting for two years the importation of arms and ammunition into China. China has agreed to pay adequate indemnities to the states, societies, and individuals for the losses sustained by them and for the expenses of the military expeditions sent by the various powers to protect life and restore order.

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, the centers of foreign trade in central and 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 for *ad valorem* duties, and an expert has been sent abroad on the part of the United States to assist in this work. A list of articles to remain free of duty, including flour, cereals, and rice, gold and silver coin and bullion, has also been agreed upon in the settlement.

During these troubles our Government has unswervingly advocated moderation, and has materially aided in bringing about an adjustment which tends to enhance the welfare of China and to lead to a more bene-

ficial intercourse between the Empire and the modern world; while in the critical period of revolt and massacre we did our full share in safeguarding life and property, restoring order, and vindicating the national interest and honor. It behooves us to continue in these paths, doing what lies in our power to foster feelings of good will, and leaving no effort untried to work out the great policy of full and fair intercourse between China and the nations, on a footing of equal rights and advantages to all. We advocate the "open door" with all that it implies; not merely the procurement of enlarged commercial opportunities on the coasts, but access to the interior by the waterways with which China has been so extraordinarily favored. Only by bringing the people of China into peaceful and friendly community of trade with all the peoples of the earth can the work now auspiciously begun be carried to fruition. In the attainment of this purpose we necessarily claim parity of treatment, under the conventions, throughout the Empire for our trade and our citizens with those of all other powers.

We view with lively interest and keen hopes of beneficial results the proceedings of the Pan-American Congress, convoked at the invitation of Mexico, and now sitting at the Mexican capital. The delegates of the United States are under the most liberal instructions to co-operate with their colleagues in all matters promising advantage to the great family of American commonwealths, as well in their relations among themselves as in their domestic advancement and in their intercourse with the world at large.

My predecessor communicated to the Congress the fact that the Weil and La Abra awards against Mexico have been adjudged by the highest courts of our country to have been obtained through fraud and perjury on the part of the claimants, and that in accordance with the acts of the Congress the money remaining in the hands of the Secretary of State on these awards has been returned to Mexico. A considerable portion of the money received from Mexico on these awards had been paid by this Government to the claimants before the decision of the courts was rendered. My judgment is that the Congress should return to Mexico an amount equal to the sums thus already paid to the claimants.

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 shall be such as to continue unbroken these international relations of mutual respect and good will.

SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE.

WHITE HOUSE, December 2, 1902.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

We still continue in a period of unbounded prosperity. This prosperity is not the creature of law, but undoubtedly the laws under which we work have been instrumental in creating the conditions which made it possible, and by unwise legislation it would be easy enough to destroy it. There will undoubtedly be periods of depression. The wave will recede; but the tide will advance. This Nation is seated on a continent flanked by two great oceans. It is composed of men the descendants of pioneers, or, in a sense, pioneers themselves; of men winnowed out from among the nations of the Old World by the energy, boldness, and love of adventure found in their own eager hearts. Such a Nation, so placed, will surely wrest success from fortune.

As a people we have played a large part in the world, and we are bent upon making our future even larger than the past. In particular, the events of the last four years have definitely decided that, for woe or for weal, our place must be great among the nations. We may either fail greatly or succeed greatly; but we can not avoid the endeavor from which either great failure or great success must come. Even if we would, we can not play a small part. If we should try, all that would follow would be that we should play a large part ignobly and shamefully.

But our people, the sons of the men of the Civil War, the sons of the men who had iron in their blood, rejoice in the present and face the future high of heart and resolute of will. Ours is not the creed of the weakling and the coward; ours is the gospel of hope and of

triumphant endeavor. We do not shrink from the struggle before us. There are many problems for us to face at the outset of the twentieth century—grave problems abroad and still graver at home; but we know that we can solve them and solve them well, provided only that we bring to the solution the qualities of head and heart which were shown by the men who, in the days of Washington, founded this Government, and, in the days of Lincoln, preserved it.

No country has ever occupied a higher plane of material well-being than ours at the present moment. This well-being is due to no sudden or accidental causes, but to the play of the economic forces in this country for over a century; to our laws, our sustained and continuous policies; above all, to the high individual average of our citizenship. Great fortunes have been won by those who have taken the lead in this phenomenal industrial development, and most of these fortunes have been won not by doing evil, but as an incident to action which has benefited the community as a whole. Never before has material well-being been so widely diffused among our people. Great fortunes have been accumulated, and yet in the aggregate these fortunes are small indeed when compared to the wealth of the people as a whole. The plain people are better off than they have ever been before. The insurance companies, which are practically mutual benefit societies—especially helpful to men of moderate means—represent accumulations of capital which are among the largest in this country. There are more deposits in the savings banks, more owners of farms, more well-paid wage-workers in this country now than ever before in our history. Of course, when the conditions have favored the growth of so much that was good, they have also favored somewhat the growth of what was evil. It is eminently necessary that we should endeavor to cut out this evil, but let us keep a due sense of proportion; let us not in fixing our gaze upon the lesser evil forget the greater good. The evils are real and some of them are menacing, but they are the outgrowth, not of misery or decadence, but of prosperity—of the progress of our gigantic industrial development. This industrial development must not be checked, but side by side with it should go such progressive regulation as will diminish the evils. We should fail in our duty if we did not try to remedy the evils, but we shall succeed only if we proceed patiently, with practical common sense as well as resolution, separating the good from the bad and holding on to the former while endeavoring to get rid of the latter.

In my Message to the present Congress at its first session I discussed at length the question of the regulation of those big corporations commonly doing an interstate business, often with some tendency to monopoly, which are popularly known as trusts. The experience of

the past year has emphasized, in my opinion, the desirability of the steps I then proposed. A fundamental requisite of social efficiency is a high standard of individual energy and excellence; but this is in no wise inconsistent with power to act in combination for aims which can not so well be achieved by the individual acting alone. A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property; but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the misuse of these powers. Corporations, and especially combinations of corporations, should be managed under public regulation. Experience has shown that under our system of government the necessary supervision can not be obtained by State action. It must therefore be achieved by national action. Our aim is not to do away with corporations; on the contrary, these big aggregations are an inevitable development of modern industrialism, and the effort to destroy them would be futile unless accomplished in ways that would work the utmost mischief to the entire body politic. We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we fix clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in them. We are not hostile to them; we are merely determined that they shall be so handled as to subserve the public good. We draw the line against misconduct, not against wealth. The capitalist who, alone or in conjunction with his fellows, performs some great industrial feat by which he wins money is a welldoer, not a wrongdoer, provided only he works in proper and legitimate lines. We wish to favor such a man when he does well. We wish to supervise and control his actions only to prevent him from doing ill. Publicity can do no harm to the honest corporation; and we need not be over tender about sparing the dishonest corporation.

In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are, or may become, injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of turning the wage-worker idle in the streets and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows. Insistence upon the impossible means delay in achieving the possible, exactly as, on the other hand, the stubborn defense alike of what is good and what is bad in the existing system, the resolute effort to obstruct any attempt at betterment, betrays blindness to the historic truth that wise evolution is the sure safeguard against revolution.

No more important subject can come before the Congress than this of the regulation of interstate business. This country can not afford to sit supine on the plea that under our peculiar system of government we are helpless in the presence of the new conditions, and unable to grapple with them or to cut out whatever of evil has arisen in connection with them. The power of the Congress to regulate interstate commerce is an absolute and unqualified grant, and without limitations other than those prescribed by the Constitution. The Congress has constitutional authority to make all laws necessary and proper for executing this power, and I am satisfied that this power has not been exhausted by any legislation now on the statute books. It is evident, therefore, that evils restrictive of commercial freedom and entailing restraint upon national commerce fall within the regulative power of the Congress, and that a wise and reasonable law would be a necessary and proper exercise of Congressional authority to the end that such evils should be eradicated.

I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent overcapitalization, and other evils in trust organizations and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade can be prevented under the power of the Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States" through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein.

I earnestly recommend this subject to the consideration of the Congress with a view to the passage of a law reasonable in its provisions and effective in its operations, upon which the questions can be finally adjudicated that now raise doubts as to the necessity of constitutional amendment. If it prove impossible to accomplish the purposes above set forth by such a law, then, assuredly, we should not shrink from amending the Constitution so as to secure beyond peradventure the power sought.

The Congress has not heretofore made any appropriation for the better enforcement of the antitrust law as it now stands. Very much has been done by the Department of Justice in securing the enforcement of this law, but much more could be done if the Congress would make a special appropriation for this purpose, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney-General.

One proposition advocated has been the reduction of the tariff as a means of reaching the evils of the trusts which fall within the category I have described. Not merely would this be wholly ineffective, but the diversion of our efforts in such a direction would mean the abandonment of all intelligent attempt to do away with these evils. Many of the largest corporations, many of those which should certainly be included in any proper scheme of regulation, would not be affected

in the slightest degree by a change in the tariff, save as such change interfered with the general prosperity of the country. The only relation of the tariff to big corporations as a whole is that the tariff makes manufactures profitable, and the tariff remedy proposed would be in effect simply to make manufactures unprofitable. To remove the tariff as a punitive measure directed against trusts would inevitably result in ruin to the weaker competitors who are struggling against them. Our aim should be not by unwise tariff changes to give foreign products the advantage over domestic products, but by proper regulation to give domestic competition a fair chance; and this end can not be reached by any tariff changes which would affect unfavorably all domestic competitors, good and bad alike. The question of regulation of the trusts stands apart from the question of tariff revision.

Stability of economic policy must always be the prime economic need of this country. This stability should not be fossilization. The country has acquiesced in the wisdom of the protective-tariff principle. It is exceedingly undesirable that this system should be destroyed or that there should be violent and radical changes therein. Our past experience shows that great prosperity in this country has always come under a protective tariff; and that the country can not prosper under fitful tariff changes at short intervals. Moreover, if the tariff laws as a whole work well, and if business has prospered under them and is prospering, it is better to endure for a time slight inconveniences and inequalities in some schedules than to upset business by too quick and too radical changes. It is most earnestly to be wished that we could treat the tariff from the standpoint solely of our business needs. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that partisanship may be entirely excluded from consideration of the subject, but at least it can be made secondary to the business interests of the country—that is, to the interests of our people as a whole. Unquestionably these business interests will best be served if together with fixity of principle as regards the tariff we combine a system which will permit us from time to time to make the necessary reapplication of the principle to the shifting national needs. We must take scrupulous care that the reapplication shall be made in such a way that it will not amount to a dislocation of our system, the mere threat of which (not to speak of the performance) would produce paralysis in the business energies of the community. The first consideration in making these changes would, of course, be to preserve the principle which underlies our whole tariff system—that is, the principle of putting American business interests at least on a full equality with interests abroad, and of always allowing a sufficient rate of duty to more than cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-worker, like the well-being of the tiller of the soil, should be treated as an essential

in shaping our whole economic policy. There must never be any change which will jeopardize the standard of comfort, the standard of wages of the American wage-worker.

One way in which the readjustment sought can be reached is by reciprocity treaties. It is greatly to be desired that such treaties may be adopted. They can be used to widen our markets and to give a greater field for the activities of our producers on the one hand, and on the other hand to secure in practical shape the lowering of duties when they are no longer needed for protection among our own people, or when the minimum of damage done may be disregarded for the sake of the maximum of good accomplished. If it prove impossible to ratify the pending treaties, and if there seem to be no warrant for the endeavor to execute others, or to amend the pending treaties so that they can be ratified, then the same end—to secure reciprocity—should be met by direct legislation.

Wherever the tariff conditions are such that a needed change can not with advantage be made by the application of the reciprocity idea, then it can be made outright by a lowering of duties on a given product. If possible, such change should be made only after the fullest consideration by practical experts, who should approach the subject from a business standpoint, having in view both the particular interests affected and the commercial well-being of the people as a whole. The machinery for providing such careful investigation can readily be supplied. The executive department has already at its disposal methods of collecting facts and figures; and if the Congress desires additional consideration to that which will be given the subject by its own committees, then a commission of business experts can be appointed whose duty it should be to recommend action by the Congress after a deliberate and scientific examination of the various schedules as they are affected by the changed and changing conditions. The unhurried and unbiased report of this commission would show what changes should be made in the various schedules, and how far these changes could go without also changing the great prosperity which this country is now enjoying, or upsetting its fixed economic policy.

The cases in which the tariff can produce a monopoly are so few as to constitute an inconsiderable factor in the question; but of course if in any case it be found that a given rate of duty does promote a monopoly which works ill, no protectionist would object to such reduction of the duty as would equalize competition.

In my judgment, the tariff on anthracite coal should be removed, and anthracite put actually, where it now is nominally, on the free list. This would have no effect at all save in crises; but in crises it might be of service to the people.

Interest rates are a potent factor in business activity, and in order

that these rates may be equalized to meet the varying needs of the seasons and of widely separated communities, and to prevent the recurrence of financial stringencies which injuriously affect legitimate business, it is necessary that there should be an element of elasticity in our monetary system. Banks are the natural servants of commerce, and upon them should be placed, as far as practicable, the burden of furnishing and maintaining a circulation adequate to supply the needs of our diversified industries and of our domestic and foreign commerce; and the issue of this should be so regulated that a sufficient supply should be always available for the business interests of the country.

It would be both unwise and unnecessary at this time to attempt to reconstruct our financial system, which has been the growth of a century; but some additional legislation is, I think, desirable. The mere outline of any plan sufficiently comprehensive to meet these requirements would transgress the appropriate limits of this communication. It is suggested, however, that all future legislation on the subject should be with the view of encouraging the use of such instrumentalities as will automatically supply every legitimate demand of productive industries and of commerce, not only in the amount, but in the character of circulation; and of making all kinds of money interchangeable, and, at the will of the holder, convertible into the established gold standard.

I again call your attention to the need of passing a proper immigration law, covering the points outlined in my Message to you at the first session of the present Congress; substantially such a bill has already passed the House.

How to secure fair treatment alike for labor and for capital, how to hold in check the unscrupulous man, whether employer or employee, without weakening individual initiative, without hampering and cramping the industrial development of the country, is a problem fraught with great difficulties and one which it is of the highest importance to solve on lines of sanity and far-sighted common sense as well as of devotion to the right. This is an era of federation and combination. Exactly as business men find they must often work through corporations, and as it is a constant tendency of these corporations to grow larger, so it is often necessary for laboring men to work in federations, and these have become important factors of modern industrial life. Both kinds of federation, capitalistic and labor, can do much good, and as a necessary corollary they can both do evil. Opposition to each kind of organization should take the form of opposition to whatever is bad in the conduct of any given corporation or union—not of attacks upon corporations as such nor upon unions as such; for some of the most far-reaching beneficent work for our people has been accom-

plished through both corporations and unions. Each must refrain from arbitrary or tyrannous interference with the rights of others. Organized capital and organized labor alike should remember that in the long run the interest of each must be brought into harmony with the interest of the general public; and the conduct of each must conform to the fundamental rules of obedience to the law, of individual freedom, and of justice and fair dealing toward all. Each should remember that in addition to power it must strive after the realization of healthy, lofty, and generous ideals. Every employer, every wage-worker, must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others. It is of the highest importance that employer and employee alike should endeavor to appreciate each the viewpoint of the other and the sure disaster that will come upon both in the long run if either grows to take as habitual an attitude of sour hostility and distrust toward the other. Few people deserve better of the country than those representatives both of capital and labor—and there are many such—who work continually to bring about a good understanding of this kind, based upon wisdom and upon broad and kindly sympathy between employers and employed. Above all, we need to remember that any kind of class animosity in the political world is, if possible, even more wicked, even more destructive to national welfare, than sectional, race, or religious animosity. We can get good government only upon condition that we keep true to the principles upon which this Nation was founded, and judge each man not as a part of a class, but upon his individual merits. All that we have a right to ask of any man, rich or poor, whatever his creed, his occupation, his birthplace, or his residence, is that he shall act well and honorably by his neighbor and by his country. We are neither for the rich man as such nor for the poor man as such; we are for the upright man, rich or poor. So far as the constitutional powers of the National Government touch these matters of general and vital moment to the Nation, they should be exercised in conformity with the principles above set forth.

It is earnestly hoped that a secretary of commerce may be created, with a seat in the Cabinet. The rapid multiplication of questions affecting labor and capital, the growth and complexity of the organizations through which both labor and capital now find expression, the steady tendency toward the employment of capital in huge corporations, and the wonderful strides of this country toward leadership in the international business world justify an urgent demand for the creation of such a position. Substantially all the leading commercial bodies in this country have united in requesting its creation. It is desirable that some such measure as that which has already passed the Senate be enacted into law. The creation of such a department would in itself

be an advance toward dealing with and exercising supervision over the whole subject of the great corporations doing an interstate business; and with this end in view, the Congress should endow the department with large powers, which could be increased as experience might show the need.

I hope soon to submit to the Senate a reciprocity treaty with Cuba. On May 20 last the United States kept its promise to the island by formally vacating Cuban soil and turning Cuba over to those whom her own people had chosen as the first officials of the new Republic.

Cuba lies at our doors, and whatever affects her for good or for ill affects us also. So much have our people felt this that in the Platt amendment we definitely took the ground that Cuba must hereafter have closer political relations with us than with any other power. Thus in a sense Cuba has become a part of our international political system. This makes it necessary that in return she should be given some of the benefits of becoming part of our economic system. It is, from our own standpoint, a short-sighted and mischievous policy to fail to recognize this need. Moreover, it is unworthy of a mighty and generous nation, itself the greatest and most successful republic in history, to refuse to stretch out a helping hand to a young and weak sister republic just entering upon its career of independence. We should always fearlessly insist upon our rights in the face of the strong, and we should with ungrudging hand do our generous duty by the weak. I urge the adoption of reciprocity with Cuba not only because it is eminently for our own interests to control the Cuban market and by every means to foster our supremacy in the tropical lands and waters south of us, but also because we, of the giant republic of the north, should make all our sister nations of the American Continent feel that whenever they will permit it we desire to show ourselves disinterestedly and effectively their friend.

A convention with Great Britain has been concluded, which will be at once laid before the Senate for ratification, providing for reciprocal trade arrangements between the United States and Newfoundland on substantially the lines of the convention formerly negotiated by the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine. I believe reciprocal trade relations will be greatly to the advantage of both countries.

As civilization grows warfare becomes less and less the normal condition of foreign relations. The last century has seen a marked diminution of wars between civilized powers; wars with uncivilized powers are largely mere matters of international police duty, essential for the welfare of the world. Wherever possible, arbitration or some similar method should be employed in lieu of war to settle difficulties between civilized nations, although as yet the world has not progressed sufficiently to render it possible, or necessarily desirable, to invoke arbitra-

tion in every case. The formation of the international tribunal which sits at The Hague is an event of good omen from which great consequences for the welfare of all mankind may flow. It is far better, where possible, to invoke such a permanent tribunal than to create special arbitrators for a given purpose.

It is a matter of sincere congratulation to our country that the United States and Mexico should have been the first to use the good offices of The Hague Court. This was done last summer with most satisfactory results in the case of a claim at issue between us and our sister Republic. It is earnestly to be hoped that this first case will serve as a precedent for others, in which not only the United States but foreign nations may take advantage of the machinery already in existence at The Hague.

I commend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the Hawaiian fire claims, which were the subject of careful investigation during the last session.

The Congress has wisely provided that we shall build at once an isthmian canal, if possible at Panama. The Attorney-General reports that we can undoubtedly acquire good title from the French Panama Canal Company. Negotiations are now pending with Colombia to secure her assent to our building the canal. This canal will be one of the greatest engineering feats of the twentieth century; a greater engineering feat than has yet been accomplished during the history of mankind. The work should be carried out as a continuing policy without regard to change of Administration; and it should be begun under circumstances which will make it a matter of pride for all Administrations to continue the policy.

The canal will be of great benefit to America, and of importance to all the world. It will be of advantage to us industrially and also as improving our military position. It will be of advantage to the countries of tropical America. It is earnestly to be hoped that all of these countries will do as some of them have already done with signal success, and will invite to their shores commerce and improve their material conditions by recognizing that stability and order are the prerequisites of successful development. No independent nation in America need have the slightest fear of aggression from the United States. It behoves each one to maintain order within its own borders and to discharge its just obligations to foreigners. When this is done, they can rest assured that, be they strong or weak, they have nothing to dread from outside interference. More and more the increasing interdependence and complexity of international political and economic relations render it incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world.

During the fall of 1901 a communication was addressed to the Sec-

retary of State, asking whether permission would be granted by the President to a corporation to lay a cable from a point on the California coast to the Philippine Islands by way of Hawaii. A statement of conditions or terms upon which such corporation would undertake to lay and operate a cable was volunteered.

Inasmuch as the Congress was shortly to convene, and Pacific-cable legislation had been the subject of consideration by the Congress for several years, it seemed to me wise to defer action upon the application until the Congress had first an opportunity to act. The Congress adjourned without taking any action, leaving the matter in exactly the same condition in which it stood when the Congress convened.

Meanwhile it appears that the Commercial Pacific Cable Company had promptly proceeded with preparations for laying its cable. It also made application to the President for access to and use of soundings taken by the U. S. S. *Nero*, for the purpose of discovering a practicable route for a trans-Pacific cable, the company urging that with access to these soundings it could complete its cable much sooner than if it were required to take soundings upon its own account. Pending consideration of this subject, it appeared important and desirable to attach certain conditions to the permission to examine and use the soundings, if it should be granted.

In consequence of this solicitation of the cable company, certain conditions were formulated, upon which the President was willing to allow access to these soundings and to consent to the landing and laying of the cable, subject to any alterations or additions thereto imposed by the Congress. This was deemed proper, especially as it was clear that a cable connection of some kind with China, a foreign country, was a part of the company's plan. This course was, moreover, in accordance with a line of precedents, including President Grant's action in the case of the first French cable, explained to the Congress in his Annual Message of December, 1875, and the instance occurring in 1879 of the second French cable from Brest to St. Pierre, with a branch to Cape Cod.

These conditions prescribed, among other things, a maximum rate for commercial messages and that the company should construct a line from the Philippine Islands to China, there being at present, as is well known, a British line from Manila to Hongkong.

The representatives of the cable company kept these conditions long under consideration, continuing, in the meantime, to prepare for laying the cable. They have, however, at length acceded to them, and an all-American line between our Pacific coast and the Chinese Empire, by way of Honolulu and the Philippine Islands, is thus pro-

vided for, and is expected within a few months to be ready for business.

Among the conditions is one reserving the power of the Congress to modify or repeal any or all of them. A copy of the conditions is herewith transmitted.

Of Porto Rico it is only necessary to say that the prosperity of the island and the wisdom with which it has been governed have been such as to make it serve as an example of all that is best in insular administration.

On July 4 last, on the one hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of the declaration of our independence, peace and amnesty were promulgated in the Philippine Islands. Some trouble has since from time to time threatened with the Mohammedan Moros, but with the late insurrectionary Filipinos the war has entirely ceased. Civil government has now been introduced. Not only does each Filipino enjoy such rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as he has never before known during the recorded history of the islands, but the people taken as a whole now enjoy a measure of self-government greater than that granted to any other Orientals by any foreign power and greater than that enjoyed by any other Orientals under their own governments, save the Japanese alone. We have not gone too far in granting these rights of liberty and self-government; but we have certainly gone to the limit that in the interests of the Philippine people themselves it was wise or just to go. To hurry matters, to go faster than we are now going, would entail calamity on the people of the islands. No policy ever entered into by the American people has vindicated itself in more signal manner than the policy of holding the Philippines. The triumph of our arms, above all the triumph of our laws and principles, has come sooner than we had any right to expect. Too much praise can not be given to the Army for what it has done in the Philippines both in warfare and from an administrative standpoint in preparing the way for civil government; and similar credit belongs to the civil authorities for the way in which they have planted the seeds of self-government in the ground thus made ready for them. The courage, the unflinching endurance, the high soldierly efficiency, and the general kind-heartedness and humanity of our troops have been strikingly manifested. There now remain only some fifteen thousand troops in the islands. All told, over one hundred thousand have been sent there. Of course, there have been individual instances of wrongdoing among them. They warred under fearful difficulties of climate and surroundings; and under the strain of the terrible provocations which they continually received from their foes, occasional instances of cruel retaliation occurred. Every effort has been made to prevent such cruelties, and finally these efforts have been com-

pletely successful. Every effort has also been made to detect and punish the wrongdoers. After making all allowance for these misdeeds, it remains true that few indeed have been the instances in which war has been waged by a civilized power against semicivilized or barbarous forces where there has been so little wrongdoing by the victors as in the Philippine Islands. On the other hand, the amount of difficult, important, and beneficent work which has been done is well-nigh incalculable.

Taking the work of the Army and the civil authorities together, it may be questioned whether anywhere else in modern times the world has seen a better example of real constructive statesmanship than our people have given in the Philippine Islands. High praise should also be given those Filipinos, in the aggregate very numerous, who have accepted the new conditions and joined with our representatives to work with hearty good will for the welfare of the islands.

The Army has been reduced to the minimum allowed by law. It is very small for the size of the Nation, and most certainly should be kept at the highest point of efficiency. The senior officers are given scant chance under ordinary conditions to exercise commands commensurate with their rank, under circumstances which would fit them to do their duty in time of actual war. A system of maneuvering our Army in bodies of some little size has been begun and should be steadily continued. Without such maneuvers it is folly to expect that in the event of hostilities with any serious foe even a small army corps could be handled to advantage. Both our officers and enlisted men are such that we can take hearty pride in them. No better material can be found. But they must be thoroughly trained, both as individuals and in the mass. The marksmanship of the men must receive special attention. In the circumstances of modern warfare the man must act far more on his own individual responsibility than ever before, and the high individual efficiency of the unit is of the utmost importance. Formerly this unit was the regiment; it is now not the regiment, not even the troop or company; it is the individual soldier. Every effort must be made to develop every workmanlike and soldierly quality in both the officer and the enlisted man.

I urgently call your attention to the need of passing a bill providing for a general staff and for the reorganization of the supply departments on the lines of the bill proposed by the Secretary of War last year. When the young officers enter the Army from West Point they probably stand above their compeers in any other military service. Every effort should be made, by training, by reward of merit, by scrutiny into their careers and capacity, to keep them of the same high relative excellence throughout their careers.

The measure providing for the reorganization of the militia system

and for securing the highest efficiency in the National Guard, which has already passed the House, should receive prompt attention and action. It is of great importance that the relation of the National Guard to the militia and volunteer forces of the United States should be defined, and that in place of our present obsolete laws a practical and efficient system should be adopted.

Provision should be made to enable the Secretary of War to keep cavalry and artillery horses, worn-out in long performance of duty. Such horses fetch but a trifle when sold; and rather than turn them out to the misery awaiting them when thus disposed of, it would be better to employ them at light work around the posts, and when necessary to put them painlessly to death.

For the first time in our history naval maneuvers on a large scale are being held under the immediate command of the Admiral of the Navy. Constantly increasing attention is being paid to the gunnery of the Navy, but it is yet far from what it should be. I earnestly urge that the increase asked for by the Secretary of the Navy in the appropriation for improving the marksmanship be granted. In battle the only shots that count are the shots that hit. It is necessary to provide ample funds for practice with the great guns in time of peace. These funds must provide not only for the purchase of projectiles, but for allowances for prizes to encourage the gun crews, and especially the gun pointers, and for perfecting an intelligent system under which alone it is possible to get good practice.

There should be no halt in the work of building up the Navy, providing every year additional fighting craft. We are a very rich country, vast in extent of territory and great in population; a country, moreover, which has an Army diminutive indeed when compared with that of any other first-class power. We have deliberately made our own certain foreign policies which demand the possession of a first-class navy. The isthmian canal will greatly increase the efficiency of our Navy if the Navy is of sufficient size; but if we have an inadequate navy, then the building of the canal would be merely giving a hostage to any power of superior strength. The Monroe Doctrine should be treated as the cardinal feature of American foreign policy; but it would be worse than idle to assert it unless we intended to back it up, and it can be backed up only by a thoroughly good navy. A good navy is not a provocative of war. It is the surest guaranty of peace.

Each individual unit of our Navy should be the most efficient of its kind as regards both material and personnel that is to be found in the world. I call your special attention to the need of providing for the manning of the ships. Serious trouble threatens us if we can not do better than we are now doing as regards securing the services of a

sufficient number of the highest type of sailormen, of sea mechanics. The veteran seamen of our war ships are of as high a type as can be found in any navy which rides the waters of the world; they are unsurpassed in daring, in resolution, in readiness, in thorough knowledge of their profession. They deserve every consideration that can be shown them. But there are not enough of them. It is no more possible to improvise a crew than it is possible to improvise a war ship. To build the finest ship, with the deadliest battery, and to send it afloat with a raw crew, no matter how brave they were individually, would be to insure disaster if a foe of average capacity were encountered. Neither ships nor men can be improvised when war has begun.

We need a thousand additional officers in order to properly man the ships now provided for and under construction. The classes at the Naval School at Annapolis should be greatly enlarged. At the same time that we thus add the officers where we need them, we should facilitate the retirement of those at the head of the list whose usefulness has become impaired. Promotion must be fostered if the service is to be kept efficient.

The lamentable scarcity of officers, and the large number of recruits and of unskilled men necessarily put aboard the new vessels as they have been commissioned, has thrown upon our officers, and especially on the lieutenants and junior grades, unusual labor and fatigue and has gravely strained their powers of endurance. Nor is there sign of any immediate let-up in this strain. It must continue for some time longer, until more officers are graduated from Annapolis, and until the recruits become trained and skillful in their duties. In these difficulties incident upon the development of our war fleet the conduct of all our officers has been creditable to the service, and the lieutenants and junior grades in particular have displayed an ability and a steadfast cheerfulness which entitles them to the ungrudging thanks of all who realize the disheartening trials and fatigues to which they are of necessity subjected.

There is not a cloud on the horizon at present. There seems not the slightest chance of trouble with a foreign power. We most earnestly hope that this state of things may continue; and the way to insure its continuance is to provide for a thoroughly efficient navy. The refusal to maintain such a navy would invite trouble, and if trouble came would insure disaster. Fatuous self-complacency or vanity, or short-sightedness in refusing to prepare for danger, is both foolish and wicked in such a nation as ours; and past experience has shown that such fatuity in refusing to recognize or prepare for any crisis in advance is usually succeeded by a mad panic of hysterical fear once the crisis has actually arrived.

The striking increase in the revenues of the Post-Office Department

shows clearly the prosperity of our people and the increasing activity of the business of the country.

The receipts of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30 last amounted to \$121,848,047.26, an increase of \$10,216,853.87 over the preceding year, the largest increase known in the history of the postal service. The magnitude of this increase will best appear from the fact that the entire postal receipts for the year 1860 amounted to but \$8,518,067.

Rural free-delivery service is no longer in the experimental stage; it has become a fixed policy. The results following its introduction have fully justified the Congress in the large appropriations made for its establishment and extension. The average yearly increase in post-office receipts in the rural districts of the country is about two per cent. We are now able, by actual results, to show that where rural free-delivery service has been established to such an extent as to enable us to make comparisons the yearly increase has been upward of ten per cent.

On November 1, 1902, 11,650 rural free-delivery routes had been established and were in operation, covering about one-third of the territory of the United States available for rural free-delivery service. There are now awaiting the action of the Department petitions and applications for the establishment of 10,748 additional routes. This shows conclusively the want which the establishment of the service has met and the need of further extending it as rapidly as possible. It is justified both by the financial results and by the practical benefits to our rural population; it brings the men who live on the soil into close relations with the active business world; it keeps the farmer in daily touch with the markets; it is a potential educational force; it enhances the value of farm property, makes farm life far pleasanter and less isolated, and will do much to check the undesirable current from country to city.

It is to be hoped that the Congress will make liberal appropriations for the continuance of the service already established and for its further extension.

Few subjects of more importance have been taken up by the Congress in recent years than the inauguration of the system of nationally-aided irrigation for the arid regions of the far West. A good beginning therein has been made. Now that this policy of national irrigation has been adopted, the need of thorough and scientific forest protection will grow more rapidly than ever throughout the public-land States.

Legislation should be provided for the protection of the game, and the wild creatures generally, on the forest reserves. The senseless slaughter of game, which can by judicious protection be permanently

preserved on our national reserves for the people as a whole, should be stopped at once. It is, for instance, a serious count against our national good sense to permit the present practice of butchering off such a stately and beautiful creature as the elk for its antlers or tusks.

So far as they are available for agriculture, and to whatever extent they may be reclaimed under the national irrigation law, the remaining public lands should be held rigidly for the home builder, the settler who lives on his land, and for no one else. In their actual use the desert-land law, the timber and stone law, and the commutation clause of the homestead law have been so perverted from the intention with which they were enacted as to permit the acquisition of large areas of the public domain for other than actual settlers and the consequent prevention of settlement. Moreover, the approaching exhaustion of the public ranges has of late led to much discussion as to the best manner of using these public lands in the West which are suitable chiefly or only for grazing. The sound and steady development of the West depends upon the building up of homes therein. Much of our prosperity as a nation has been due to the operation of the homestead law. On the other hand, we should recognize the fact that in the grazing region the man who corresponds to the homesteader may be unable to settle permanently if only allowed to use the same amount of pasture land that his brother, the homesteader, is allowed to use of arable land. One hundred and sixty acres of fairly rich and well-watered soil, or a much smaller amount of irrigated land, may keep a family in plenty, whereas no one could get a living from one hundred and sixty acres of dry pasture land capable of supporting at the outside only one head of cattle to every ten acres. In the past great tracts of the public domain have been fenced in by persons having no title thereto, in direct defiance of the law forbidding the maintenance or construction of any such unlawful inclosure of public land. For various reasons there has been little interference with such inclosures in the past, but ample notice has now been given the trespassers, and all the resources at the command of the Government will hereafter be used to put a stop to such trespassing.

In view of the capital importance of these matters, I commend them to the earnest consideration of the Congress, and if the Congress finds difficulty in dealing with them from lack of thorough knowledge of the subject, I recommend that provision be made for a commission of experts specially to investigate and report upon the complicated questions involved.

I especially urge upon the Congress the need of wise legislation for Alaska. It is not to our credit as a nation that Alaska, which has been ours for thirty-five years, should still have as poor a system of laws as is the case. No country has a more valuable possession—

in mineral wealth, in fisheries, furs, forests, and also in land available for certain kinds of farming and stockgrowing. It is a territory of great size and varied resources, well fitted to support a large permanent population. Alaska needs a good land law and such provisions for homesteads and pre-emptions as will encourage permanent settlement. We should shape legislation with a view not to the exploiting and abandoning of the territory, but to the building up of homes therein. The land laws should be liberal in type, so as to hold out inducements to the actual settler whom we most desire to see take possession of the country. The forests of Alaska should be protected, and, as a secondary but still important matter, the game also, and at the same time it is imperative that the settlers should be allowed to cut timber, under proper regulations, for their own use. Laws should be enacted to protect the Alaskan salmon fisheries against the greed which would destroy them. They should be preserved as a permanent industry and food supply. Their management and control should be turned over to the Commission of Fish and Fisheries. Alaska should have a Delegate in the Congress. It would be well if a Congressional committee could visit Alaska and investigate its needs on the ground.

In dealing with the Indians our aim should be their ultimate absorption into the body of our people. But in many cases this absorption must and should be very slow. In portions of the Indian Territory the mixture of blood has gone on at the same time with progress in wealth and education, so that there are plenty of men with varying degrees of purity of Indian blood who are absolutely indistinguishable in point of social, political, and economic ability from their white associates. There are other tribes which have as yet made no perceptible advance toward such equality. To try to force such tribes too fast is to prevent their going forward at all. Moreover, the tribes live under widely different conditions. Where a tribe has made considerable advance and lives on fertile farming soil it is possible to allot the members lands in severalty much as is the case with white settlers. There are other tribes where such a course is not desirable. On the arid prairie lands the effort should be to induce the Indians to lead pastoral rather than agricultural lives, and to permit them to settle in villages rather than to force them into isolation.

The large Indian schools situated remote from any Indian reservation do a special and peculiar work of great importance. But, excellent though these are, an immense amount of additional work must be done on the reservations themselves among the old, and above all among the young, Indians.

The first and most important step toward the absorption of the Indian is to teach him to earn his living; yet it is not necessarily to be assumed that in each community all Indians must become either

tillers of the soil or stock raisers. Their industries may properly be diversified, and those who show special desire or adaptability for industrial or even commercial pursuits should be encouraged so far as practicable to follow out each his own bent.

Every effort should be made to develop the Indian along the lines of natural aptitude, and to encourage the existing native industries peculiar to certain tribes, such as the various kinds of basket weaving, canoe building, smith work, and blanket work. Above all, the Indian boys and girls should be given confident command of colloquial English, and should ordinarily be prepared for a vigorous struggle with the conditions under which their people live, rather than for immediate absorption into some more highly developed community.

The officials who represent the Government in dealing with the Indians work under hard conditions, and also under conditions which render it easy to do wrong and very difficult to detect wrong. Consequently they should be amply paid on the one hand, and on the other hand a particularly high standard of conduct should be demanded from them, and where misconduct can be proved the punishment should be exemplary.

In no department of governmental work in recent years has there been greater success than in that of giving scientific aid to the farming population, thereby showing them how most efficiently to help themselves. There is no need of insisting upon its importance, for the welfare of the farmer is fundamentally necessary to the welfare of the Republic as a whole. In addition to such work as quarantine against animal and vegetable plagues, and warring against them when here introduced, much efficient help has been rendered to the farmer by the introduction of new plants specially fitted for cultivation under the peculiar conditions existing in different portions of the country. New cereals have been established in the semi-arid West. For instance, the practicability of producing the best types of macaroni wheats in regions of an annual rainfall of only ten inches or thereabouts has been conclusively demonstrated. Through the introduction of new rices in Louisiana and Texas the production of rice in this country has been made to about equal the home demand. In the Southwest the possibility of regrassing overstocked range lands has been demonstrated; in the North many new forage crops have been introduced, while in the East it has been shown that some of our choicest fruits can be stored and shipped in such a way as to find a profitable market abroad.

I again recommend to the favorable consideration of the Congress the plans of the Smithsonian Institution for making the Museum under its charge worthy of the Nation, and for preserving at the National Capital not only records of the vanishing races of men but

of the animals of this continent which, like the buffalo, will soon become extinct unless specimens from which their representatives may be renewed are sought in their native regions and maintained there in safety.

The District of Columbia is the only part of our territory in which the National Government exercises local or municipal functions, and where in consequence the Government has a free hand in reference to certain types of social and economic legislation which must be essentially local or municipal in their character. The Government should see to it, for instance, that the hygienic and sanitary legislation affecting Washington is of a high character. The evils of slum dwellings, whether in the shape of crowded and congested tenement-house districts or of the back-alley type, should never be permitted to grow up in Washington. The city should be a model in every respect for all the cities of the country. The charitable and correctional systems of the District should receive consideration at the hands of the Congress to the end that they may embody the results of the most advanced thought in these fields. Moreover, while Washington is not a great industrial city, there is some industrialism here, and our labor legislation, while it would not be important in itself, might be made a model for the rest of the Nation. We should pass, for instance, a wise employer's-liability act for the District of Columbia, and we need such an act in our navy-yards. Railroad companies in the District ought to be required by law to block their frogs.

The safety-appliance law, for the better protection of the lives and limbs of railway employees, which was passed in 1893, went into full effect on August 1, 1901. It has resulted in averting thousands of casualties. Experience shows, however, the necessity of additional legislation to perfect this law. A bill to provide for this passed the Senate at the last session. It is to be hoped that some such measure may now be enacted into law.

There is a growing tendency to provide for the publication of masses of documents for which there is no public demand and for the printing of which there is no real necessity. Large numbers of volumes are turned out by the Government printing presses for which there is no justification. Nothing should be printed by any of the Departments unless it contains something of permanent value, and the Congress could with advantage cut down very materially on all the printing which it has now become customary to provide. The excessive cost of Government printing is a strong argument against the position of those who are inclined on abstract grounds to advocate the Government's doing any work which can with propriety be left in private hands.

Gratifying progress has been made during the year in the extension

of the merit system of making appointments in the Government service. It should be extended by law to the District of Columbia. It is much to be desired that our consular system be established by law on a basis providing for appointment and promotion only in consequence of proved fitness.

Through a wise provision of the Congress at its last session the White House, which had become disfigured by incongruous additions and changes, has now been restored to what it was planned to be by Washington. In making the restorations the utmost care has been exercised to come as near as possible to the early plans and to supplement these plans by a careful study of such buildings as that of the University of Virginia, which was built by Jefferson. The White House is the property of the Nation, and so far as is compatible with living therein it should be kept as it originally was, for the same reasons that we keep Mount Vernon as it originally was. The stately simplicity of its architecture is an expression of the character of the period in which it was built, and is in accord with the purposes it was designed to serve. It is a good thing to preserve such buildings as historic monuments which keep alive our sense of continuity with the Nation's past.

The reports of the several Executive Departments are submitted to the Congress with this communication.

THIRD ANNUAL MESSAGE.

WHITE HOUSE, December 7, 1903.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The country is to be congratulated on the amount of substantial achievement which has marked the past year both as regards our foreign and as regards our domestic policy.

With a nation as with a man the most important things are those of the household, and therefore the country is especially to be congratulated on what has been accomplished in the direction of providing for the exercise of supervision over the great corporations and combinations of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The Congress has created the Department of Commerce and Labor, including the Bureau of Corporations, with for the first time authority to secure proper publicity of such proceedings of these great corporations as the public has the right to know. It has provided for the expediting of suits for the enforcement of the Federal anti-trust law; and by another law it has secured equal treatment to all producers in the trans-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Dan
McBroom*

Date: January 11, 1990

FOR: Dave Demarest

FROM: GOVERNOR JOHN H. SUNUNU

- ☐ Action
- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Let's Talk
- ☒ FYI

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



National Association
of Manufacturers

JERRY J. JASINOWSKI
President

January 8, 1990

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It was good of you, and for me a privilege, for the National Association of Manufacturers to be consulted on your State of the Union planning.

I have enclosed some brief statements that I hope are helpful. The first page strikes themes we think important and could stand alone; the second follows with more specific elaboration of issues which might amplify the themes; the last articulates NAM's priorities for the 1990s.

Clearly, the state of the union is good. Just as clearly, the state of the world is more hopeful now than at any time in recent memory. As the brief passages enclosed suggest, America has opened the world to our ideas about freedom and democracy through our persistence in promoting them. We have also demonstrated that our market systems and manufacturing industries have the strength and flexibility to adapt to the changes that are sweeping the globe.

We can, with equal persistence, open the world further to our own goods and to our own ideas about commerce and economics. We are now entering a decade when economic power and competitiveness will be the prime determinants of our success and our national security. We must help define this new global environment by enhancing our own economic strength. More than anything else, Mr. President, this will require your setting higher standards of quality and excellence in those key areas that shape our ability to compete.

In any way we can, American manufacturing will support you in such an undertaking, first and foremost by doing what we can do best -- producing quality products at competitive prices.

Best regards,

1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Suite 1500-North Lobby
Washington, DC 20004-1703
(202) 637-3106
Fax: (202) 637-3182

We live in rare times -- privileged, it seems, to see long-held hopes being fulfilled. That peoples around the world would cast off totalitarian chains and assert their rights as free men and free women to determine their own lives and destinies has long been our hope as Americans.

Now, nightly, we see it happening.

We live in rare times as well because of the opportunity for us, in America, to solve many of our most persistent problems. Building on a solid foundation laid in the 1980s -- almost eight straight years of economic growth -- we can spark innovation, continued growth and the job creation that goes with it.

We can fan that spark with:

Technology -- we need to stimulate higher levels of research and development and greater investment in the equipment and facilities that comprise the tools of modern research.

Capital -- we need to encourage saving and investment in ways that can focus family savers on the future and investors on the longer-term. Lowering capital gains tax rates overall, but on a scale that taxes longer-held investments less and shorter-term investments more, is a necessary step.

Quality -- we also need to stress quality in all we do -- in our products, in our workforce, in our health care system and in the way we run government.

Trade -- we must also move aggressively to expand our share of world trade. Clearly, this means opening foreign markets and vigorous government action against unfair trade practices; it also means eliminating unnecessary export disincentives in U.S. policy.

As we have persisted in promoting the export of American ideas, and found them increasingly accepted despite the barriers erected by other countries -- so must we now promote the export of American goods. Our ideas were accepted, finally, because they proved to be the best. It can be the same for our goods.

For too many years now, and understandably, our national security has been defined by our military capability. Always, though, our economic power has underlain that strength. I can see a future when this economic power will be the primary definition of our strength; when it will be the prime guarantor of our national security.

But there is much to do:

-- As always, our workforce comes first. Today's American workers are good workers; we must give them better training. Their children are the workers of tomorrow; we must give them better education, with more emphasis on basic skills, the sciences, math and engineering.

-- We must make the marketplace work better through meaningful reform of product liability laws and anti-trust reform to allow joint manufacturing operations by U.S. companies. We also need to redouble our efforts at regulatory reform to unshackle the entrepreneurial forces in our economy, especially those of small business. I will soon designate a senior official in the White House office to see that is done.

-- Technology has always been our competitive edge; we need to hone it, with more rational tax treatment for research and development. This means making the R&D tax credit permanent and maintaining essential R&D funding.

-- Staying competitive in the world can't be done on the cheap; it's capital intensive so we need fiscal and monetary policy that can lower interest rates, keep exchange rates competitive and, over time, bring deficits down to free capital for productive use. Any savings in defense should be dedicated to deficit reduction; we need policies that foster a long-term investment outlook.

-- Incentives to encourage investing for the future are essential, including creation of a new tax-free savings account, a permanent cut in the capital gains tax and a start on phased elimination of the double taxation of corporate dividends. The capital gains reduction should reward investors who hold assets for the long term.

-- Competition and quality improvements are the key to domestic challenges as well. Increasing access to health care and lowering its costs, both matters of urgent necessity, probably admit of no single, simple solution. Instead of looking for one, we need to stimulate competition among providers to inspire innovations that can improve quality and cut costs.

-- We can continue progress on the environment as surely as we can continue economic growth; they are not incompatible. Sound science, flexibility in implementation and reasonable regulatory policies preserve progress on both.

-- Our ability to trade in world markets will be a critical component of U.S. economic strength and security as we enter the 21st Century. We should establish a national goal of achieving a trade surplus by the middle of this decade. To do this, we must do a better job of promoting our exports, including strengthening our trade finance system and eliminating unnecessary impediments to U.S. exports.



QUALITY MANUFACTURING—THE KEY TO GLOBAL COMPETITIVENESS IN THE 1990s

Manufacturing is the prime source of America's economic power. It is the wellspring of individual living standards and wealth, and the foundation of our collective national security. To keep the nation growing stronger economically, U.S. companies must continue to strive to be world class manufacturers in the decade ahead. To do so, they must focus relentlessly on making products of the highest quality at the most competitive price, and on marketing such products aggressively throughout the world.

In addition to what manufacturers can do, government and society as a whole also must join in a cooperative effort to enhance the quality of the environment for manufacturing so that we can be competitive worldwide. Each proposed law or regulation should undergo a competitive litmus test, to determine whether it contributes to, or detracts from, U.S. global competitiveness. And each of us individually—whether as managers, employees, or investors—must direct more of our attention, resources and creativity to improving long-term economic performance, and less to short-term gains.

In this context, we believe the following policies are crucial to achieving quality manufacturing, and thus global competitiveness, in the 1990s:

Building a Quality Workforce. A well-educated workforce can be one of our most important competitive resources. We therefore must significantly upgrade the U.S. educational system to turn out graduates who are better suited to the modern workplace. We need many more fully-trained scientists and engineers, as well as more emphasis on science and engineering at all points in the education process. To deal with rapid changes and dislocations in the workplace, existing workers must be provided with adequate training and retraining assistance.

Making the Marketplace Work. We need to unleash the dynamic entrepreneurial forces in the nation's economy, in particular those of small manufacturers, a potent source of new ideas and new jobs. To do so, we must systematically implement changes that stimulate rather than suppress risk-taking by investors and entrepreneurs. Desirable stimulative approaches include lowering capital gains taxes and eliminating double taxation of corporate dividends. One of the most urgently needed actions in the area of removing disincentives to innovative manufacturing risk-taking is reform of the product liability tort system.

Winning in the Global Arena. In battling for increased market share both here and abroad, U.S. manufacturers must install manufacturing processes that make high-quality, competitively-priced products and further must implement aggressive marketing strategies to sell those products. Recognizing, however, that the actions of other governments markedly affect the outcome of global competition, the U.S. government must help level the playing field wherever it can. It must seek to open foreign markets to U.S. exports while protecting U.S. firms from unfair trade practices, through vigorous enforcement of U.S. trade laws and hard bargaining in trade negotiations. An exchange rate that reflects competitive fundamentals is also crucially important. U.S. policies that act as export disincentives should be modified to eliminate the disincentive.

(more)

Sharpening our Technological Edge. Constant innovation is essential to success. The quest for quality manufacturing and competitiveness requires solid commitment by U.S. firms to ever-increasing levels of research and development. Government should provide positive encouragement for cooperative generic R&D efforts and streamline its procedures to permit more timely commercialization of technological breakthroughs. Also needed is a stable tax policy that stimulates higher levels of R&D and increased investment in the equipment and facilities constituting the nation's research infrastructure.

Capital Competitiveness. Installing the advanced manufacturing technologies needed to make high-quality, competitive products will require enormous amounts of reasonably-priced capital. The U.S. tax system needs further overhaul to reduce its anti-capital, pro-consumption bias and provide better treatment for both business investment and personal savings. Government must adopt fiscal and monetary policies that cause interest rates to come down without reigniting inflation. We also must find ways to reduce volatility in financial markets and to foster a long-term investment outlook by curbing incentives for nonproductive corporate restructurings and takeovers.

Quality Health Care at Competitive Prices. The skyrocketing cost of health care benefits is a major impediment to manufacturing competitiveness. We must find ways to raise the quality of the care being delivered while moderating its cost. A key element is improved access to information, enabling both employers and employees to make more informed buying decisions, and stimulating the kind of competition among providers that improves quality and cuts costs. Medical malpractice reform is also needed. Access for those now uninsured is an important goal but one that should be phased in gradually as the quality and effectiveness of the health care system are upgraded.

Positive Responses to Environmental Challenges. We must continue to improve the quality of our environment, but for U.S. businesses to stay competitive we must permit flexible, cost-effective responses and ensure access to dependable, reasonably-priced energy. We must maximize the value we get from the resources expended in this effort by minimizing amounts wasted on administrative detail and litigation. Governments should not impose costly regulations on the basis of inconclusive data, but should act only on the basis of reliable scientific research. Moreover, our government must recognize that global problems cannot be solved unilaterally—such solutions require multilateral agreement and cooperation. Industry should develop technologies based on positive approaches, such as pollution prevention and waste minimization.

Discipline in Public Finance. To provide the economic environment needed for a thriving manufacturing sector, government must rely less on deficit financing, which keeps interest rates too high and diverts capital from more productive uses. The federal deficit must be gradually reduced, with primary emphasis on restraining the growth of spending rather than on increasing taxes. Shifting government costs to business through the mandated benefits subterfuge is no less anticompetitive than a tax increase and likewise should be avoided. Both entitlement reform and budget process reform are critical to the success of the deficit reduction effort. Any savings from phasing down defense outlays should be used to reduce deficits, not transferred to other spending programs.