

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

GEN. HARRISON'S FIRST FORMAL ADDRESS TO THE COUNTRY.

He Thinks that the Naturalization Laws Are Not Stringent Enough—Civil-Service Reform Will Be Enforced—Views on Other Important Subjects.

WASHINGTON, March 4.—Following is the inaugural address delivered by Gen. Harrison:

"There is no constitutional or legal requirement that the President shall take his oath of office in the presence of the people, but there is so much apparentness in the induction to office of the Chief Executive officer of the nation that from the beginning of the Government the people, to whose service the official oath consecrates the officer, have been called to witness the solemn ceremonial.

"An oath taken in the presence of the people binds the covenants. The officer covenants to serve the liberty of the people by a faithful execution of the laws, so that they may be the unfailing defense and security of those who respect and observe them, and that neither wealth, station, nor power of combinations shall be able to evade their penalties or to wrest them from a beneficent public purpose to serve the ends of cruelty or selfishness.

"My promise is spoken; yours unspoken, but not less solemn. The people of every State have the same expectation. Surely I do not misinterpret the spirit of the nation when I assume that the whole body of the people covenant with me and with each other to-day to support and defend the Constitution and the Union of States, to yield willing obedience to all laws, and to every other citizen his equal civil and political rights. Entering thus solemnly into covenant with each other, we may reverently invoke and confidently expect the favor and help of Almighty God, that he will give to us wisdom, strength and fidelity, and to our people a spirit of fraternity and a love of righteousness and peace.

"This occasion derives peculiar interest from the fact that the Presidential term, which begins this day, is the twenty-sixth under our Constitution.

"The first inauguration of President Washington took place in New York, where Congress was then sitting, on the 4th day of April, 1789, having been deferred by reason of the delay attending the organization of Congress and the canvass of the electoral vote. The people have already worthily observed the centennials of the Declaration of Independence, of the battle of Yorktown, and of the adoption of the Constitution, and will shortly celebrate in New York the institution of the second great department of our national scheme of government. When the centennial of the institution of the judicial department, by the organization of the Supreme Court, shall have been suitably observed, as I trust it will be, our nation will have fully entered its second century.

### The Nation's Glory.

"I will not attempt to note the marvelous and, in great part, happy contrasts between our country as it steps over the threshold into its second century of organized existence under the Constitution, and that weak but wisely ordered young nation that looked undauntedly down the first century, when all its years stretched out before it.

"The people will not fail at this time to recall the incidents which accompanied the institution of government under the Constitution, or to find inspiration and guidance in the teaching and example of Washington and his great associates and hope and courage in the contrast which thirty-eight populous and prosperous States offer to the thirteen States, weak in everything except courage and love of liberty, that then and greater Atlantic seaboard. The Territories in 1790. The nation greater, with our national capital was located in the center of the country, was surrounded by well-informed persons that it would move eastward rather than westward. Yet in 1850 it was found to be near Cincinnati, and the new census about to be taken will show another stride to the westward. That which was the body has come to be only the rich fringe of the nation's robe. But our growth has not been limited to territory, population, and aggregate wealth; it has been, as it has been in each of these directions. The masses of the people are better fed, clothed and housed than their fathers were. The facilities for popular education have been vastly enlarged and more generally diffused. The virtues of courage and patriotism have given recent proof of their continued presence and increasing power in the hearts and over the lives of our people. The influences of religion have been greatly strengthened. The sweet offices of charity have been increased, and the virtue of temperance is held in higher estimation. We have not attained an ideal condition. Not all of our people are happy and prosperous; not all of them are virtuous and law-abiding. But, on the whole, the opportunities offered to the individual to secure the comforts of life are better than are found elsewhere, and largely better than they were 100 years ago.

"The smaller of a large measure of sovereignty to the states of the Union, offered by the adoption of the Constitution, was not accomplished until suggestions of reason were strongly re-enforced by the more imperative voice of experience. The diverging interests of peace speedily demanded a more perfect union. The merchant, shipmaster, and manufacturer discovered and disclosed to our statesmen and to the people that the commercial emancipation must be made in the political freedom which had been so bravely won. The commercial power of the mother country had not relaxed any of its hard and oppressive features. To hold in check the development of our commercial marine, to prevent or retard the establishment and growth of manufactures in States, and so to secure an American market for their ships and a carrying trade for their ships, was the policy of European statesmen, and was pursued with most skill and vigor. A trifling check upon Congress urged the importation of discrimination, that should encourage the production of needed things at home. The patriotic men of the people, which no longer found a field of existence in war, were energetically directed to the duty of equipping the young republic for the defense of its independence by making the people self-dependent. Societies for the promotion of home manufactures and for encouraging the use of domestic articles in the dress of the people were organized in many of the States. Retinal as the end of the century of some patriots in press in the preservation and development of domestic industries and the defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition is an incident worthy of attention.

"It is not a departure but a return, that we have witnessed. A protective policy had then its opponents. Argument was made as now that it benefits injured to particular classes or sections. The question became in any sense very timely, as to whether the institution of slavery existed in some of the States. But for this there was no reason why the cotton-producing States should not have led or walked abreast with the New England States in the production of cotton fabrics.

"There was this reason only why the States that divide with Pennsylvania the mineral treasures of the great southeastern and central regions of the country had been tardy in bringing to the smelting furnaces and to the coal and iron from their near opposing hillsides. The mill fires were lighted, the funeral pile of slavery. The emancipation proclamation was heard in the depths of the earth as well as in the sky. Men were made free and material things became our better servants. The sectional element has happily been eliminated from the tariff discussion. We have no longer States; none are excluded from achieving the best condition of pursuit among the people which brings wealth and contentment. The cotton plantation will not be less valuable when the product is spun in a country town by operatives whose necessities call for diversified crops and create a home demand for garden and agricultural products. Every new mine, furnace and factory is an extension of the productive capacity of the State more rapidly and valuable than added territory. Shall the protected and paralytic of slavery continue to hang upon the skin of progress? How long will those who rejoice that slavery no longer exists cherish or tolerate the incapacity it put upon their communities? Look hopefully to a continuation of our protective system and to the consequent development of manufacturing and mining enterprises in States hitherto wholly given to agriculture as a potent influence in the perfect union of our people. Men who make the best of their condition, and men who work in shop or field will not fail to find and to defend a community of interest. It is not quite possible that farmers and the promoters of great mining and manufacturing em-

terprises which have recently been established in the South may yet find that a free ballot of the people, without distinction of race, is needed for their defense as well as the North.

"I do not doubt that if those men in the South who now accept the tariff views of Clay and the constitutional expositions of Webster would courageously avow and defend their real convictions they would not find it difficult, by friendly instruction and co-operation, to make the black men their efficient and safe ally, not in establishing correct principles in our national administration, but in preserving for their local communities the benefits of social order and economical and honest government. At least, until the good offices of kindness and education have been fairly tried, a contrary conclusion cannot be plausibly urged. I have altogether rejected any suggestions of a special executive policy for any section of our country. It is the duty of the executive to govern and enforce, in methods and by instruments, the laws which are adopted by the Constitution; all laws enacted by Congress. These laws are general, and their administration should be uniform and equal. A citizen may not elect which he will enforce. The duty to obey and to execute embraces the Constitution in its entirety and the whole code of laws enacted under it.

### Down on Monopolies.

"The evil example of permitting individuals, corporations, or communities to nullify the laws because they cross some selfish or local interests of protected firms of longer, not to only to the nation at large, but much more to the public use this pernicious expedient to escape their just obligations or to obtain an unjust advantage over others. They will presently themselves be compelled to appeal to the law for protection, and those who would use the law as a defense must not deny that use of it to others. If our great corporations would more scrupulously observe their legal limitations and duties they would have but cause to complain of their rights or of violent interference in their operations. The community that by concert, open or secret, among its citizens denies to any portion of its members their plain rights under the law has severed the only safe bond of social order and prosperity. The evil works, from a bad center, both ways. It demoralizes those who practice it and destroys the faith of



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those who suffer in it in the efficiency of law as a safe protector. The man in whose breast that faith has been darkened is naturally a sub-set of dangerous and uncanny suggestions. Those who use unlawful methods, if moved by no higher motive than the selfishness that prompted them, may the educated and inquire what is to be the ultimate result of their course. A systematic violation of the laws thus seems to cross their convenience, what can they expect when the lesson that the convenience or supposed class interest is a sufficient cause for lawlessness has been well learned by the ignorant classes? The community where the law is the rule of conduct, and where courts, not mobs, execute its penalties, is the only attractive field for business investments and honest labor.

### The Naturalization Laws.

"Our naturalization laws should be so amended as to give in the clause giving the right of citizenship more care and searching. Our existing laws have been made in their administration in an unimpressive and often unintelligible form. We accept any man as a citizen without any knowledge of his fitness, and he assumes the duties of citizenship without any knowledge as to what they are. We should not cease to be hospitable to immigration, but we should cease to be careless as to the character of it. There are men of all races, even the best, whose coming is necessary a burthen upon our public revenue or a threat to social order. These should be identified and excluded.

### Foreign Relations.

"We have happily maintained the policy of avoiding all alliance with European states. We have been only interested spectators of their contentions in diplomacy and in war, ready to use our friendly offices to promote peace, but never obstructing our advice and never attempting unfairly to coin the distresses of other powers into commercial advantage to ourselves. We have had a just right to expect that our European policy will be an American policy of European courts. It is so sufficiently compatible with those precautions for our peace and safety which all the greatest powers habitual observe and enforce in matters affecting them that a shorter waterway between our Eastern and Western seaboards should be dominated by any European government, that we may confidently expect that such purpose will not be entertained by any friendly power.

"We shall in the future, as in the past, use every endeavor to maintain and enlarge our friendly relations with all the greatest powers, but they will not expect us to look kindly upon any project that would leave us subject to the dangers of hostile observation or environment. We have not sought to dominate or to absorb any of our weaker neighbors, but rather to aid and encourage them to establish free and stable governments, resting upon the consent of their own people.

"We have clear right to expect, therefore, that no European government will be allowed to exercise dominion over the islands of the sea, and will with infinite reluctance interfere in their personal and commercial rights.

"The necessities of our navy require convenient coaling stations and dock and harbor privileges. These and other trading privileges we will feel free to obtain by means that do not in any degree partake of coercion, however feeble the government from which we ask such concession; but, having fairly obtained them by methods and for purposes entirely consistent with the most friendly and disinterested toward all other powers our concession will be necessary to any modification or impairment of concession. We shall neither fail to respect the flag of any friendly nation or the just rights of its citizens, nor to exact a like treatment for our own. Calmness, justice, and consideration should characterize our diplomacy. The office of an intelligent or of a friendly arbitration in proper cases should be adequate to the removal of all but exceptional difficulties. By such methods we will add to our contribution to the world's peace, which no nation values more highly, and avoid the oppression which must fall upon a nation that ruthlessly breaks it.

### Presidential Appointments.

"The duty devolved by law upon the President to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint all public officers whose appointment is not otherwise provided for in the Constitution or by act of Congress has become very burdensome and some and wise and efficient discharge full of difficulty. The civil list is so large that a personal knowledge of any large number of applicants is impossible. The President, in the best of his judgment, and men who work in shop or field will not fail to find and to defend a community of interest. I have a right, I think to insist that those who

volunteer or are invited to give advice as to appointments shall exercise consideration and fidelity. A high sense of duty and an ambition to serve the public service should characterize all public officers.

"There are many ways in which the convenience and comfort of those who have business with our public officers may be promoted by thoughtful and obliging officers, and I shall expect those whom I may appoint to justify their selection by conspicuous efficiency in the discharge of their duties. Honorable party service will certainly not be esteemed in any discrimination for public office, but it will, in no case, be looked upon as a shield for official negligence, incompetency, or delinquency. It is entirely creditable to seek public office by proper methods and with proper motives, and all applicants will be treated with consideration, but I shall need and have the services of d-partments will need, time for inquiry and deliberation. Persistent importuning, however, be the best support of an applicant for office.

"The heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty connected therewith will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform of civil service.

"The ideal, or even my own ideal, I shall probably not attain. A retrospect

### Speak Kindly.

"Why not? Why should not husbands and wives, bound together as they are in the most intimate of all earthly relations, and necessarily in constant intercourse with each other, consecrate and hallow the sacred relation, and bless themselves, by always using kind words

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