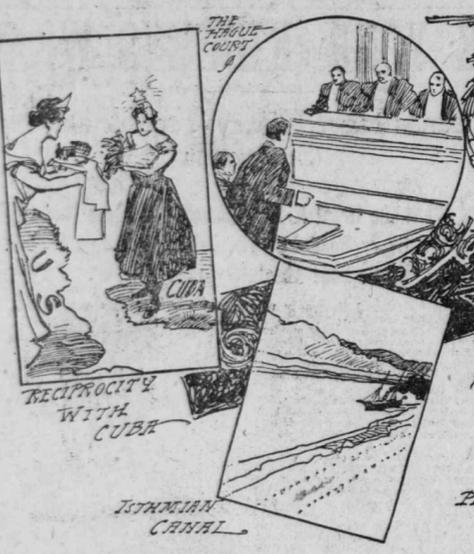


PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE TO THE NATION



Remedy for Trusts Is Plainly Found in Publicity.

Tariff Tinkering Is Not the Proper Way at Present.

ALL BUREAU, 1406 G STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON, Dec. 2.—President Roosevelt's message was read in both branches of Congress today and his recommendations referred to proper committees. The message is as appended:

We still continue in a period of unbounded prosperity. This prosperity is not the creature of law, but undoubtedly by the laws under which we work have been instrumental in creating the conditions which made it possible, and by wise 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 meet success from fortune.

FACE FUTURE WITH HOPE AND HIGH OF HEART

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 with hope 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. We are not afraid of the 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 bring them well, proved 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.

Our 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 gifts, but to the steady and patient work of our people, who have ever been favored with the best of the earth's resources.

MUST EXERT CARE NOT TO HURT INDUSTRY

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 the business to the historic truth that wise evolution is the sure safeguard against revolution.

URGES PROPER REGULATION OF GREAT TRUSTS

In my message to the present Congress I urged that the power of the government be used to regulate interstate commerce. 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 fall 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.

PRINCIPAL POINTS IN PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to Congress conveys lucidly an idea of the prosperity of the country, and touches particularly upon the necessity for the regulation of trusts and the imperative requirements of the army and navy. The President uses vigorous language against unlawful monopolies, unjust discrimination and fraudulent overcapitalization which have injured interstate trade, and recommends that Congress pass a reasonable and effective law for the regulation of combinations. A general reduction of the tariff, he believes, would not bring about the desired result. In reference to anthracite coal, the President urges that it be put on the free list. Interesting comment is made on the isthmian canal project, the progress of negotiations with Colombia, and the advantages which will accrue from the proposed waterway. The development of the navy is one of the chief desires of the President. He earnestly recommends that there should be no halt in the construction of fighting craft for the nation. Of the Philippines he says peace has been permanently restored and he is generous of praise for the achievements of the army in the Orient islands. The practical, war-preparatory system in the military service is commended, and there is strong recommendation of the establishment of a general staff. The needs of Alaska are not forgotten, and it is urged that Congress consider a revision of legislation for that Territory. The reports from the Postoffice Department are referred to as indicating the striking increase of business activity throughout the country. The giving of scientific aid to the farming population has shown good results. In the matter of the merit system in the public service President Roosevelt says much beneficial progress has been made. The message also contains recommendations for economy in the Printing Department and the preservation of historic buildings.

Commission of Business Men Should Investigate the Trade Conditions.

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 cannot 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 cannot 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 well-deserved, not a wrongdoer, provided only he does not violate 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 doing ill. Publicity can do no harm to the honest corporation; and we need not be concerned about sparing the dishonest corporation.

Must Be Handled to Subserve the Public Good.

I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which involve 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 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 proves impossible to accomplish the purpose 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. Congress has not heretofore made any appropriation for the better enforcement of the anti-trust 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 Congress would make a special appropriation for this purpose, to be expended under the direction of the Attorney General.

Country Acquires in Protective Tariff Principle

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 cannot prosper under flitting 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 sub-

REDUCTION OF TARIFFS NOT THE PROPER REMEDY

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



THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Country Acquires in Protective Tariff Principle

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 cannot 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.

Country Acquires in Protective Tariff Principle

Country acquires in protective tariff principle. It is exceedingly desirable 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 cannot prosper under flitting 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 sub-

Riches of Individuals Not Large in Comparison to Country's Resources.

One Plan Is for a Commission of Business Men.

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 unvarnished and unbiased report of this commission should be made in such a way that it 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.

Would Not Be Right to the Big Financiers

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.

All Kinds Money Should Be Made Intercangeable

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 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.

FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE IN THE CABINET

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

FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE IN THE CABINET

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Protection Alike Is Sought for Labor and Capital.

Would Check Only What Is Bad in Vast Combinations.

Congress; substantially such a bill has already passed the House.

FAIR ALIKE FOR LABOR AND FOR CAPITAL

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.

All That Is Bad Should Be Opposed.

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 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 upon his individual merits—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.

FOR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE IN THE CABINET

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