

# THE OCALA BANNER.

The paper "Of the People, for the People and by the People."

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DOLLAR A YEAR.

## PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

### His Recommendations to the Congress on Many Subjects

### PROBLEM OF RECIPROCITY

### While Favoring the Principle, He Opposes Any General Tariff Change.

### THE TREATMENT OF TRUSTS.

### He Deems Publicity the Only Sure Remedy That Can Now Be Evoked.

**Reduction of Tariff Duties on Cuban Imports Into This Country Especially Advocated—Construction of Irrigation Works by the National Government Urged—Importance of Building the Isthmian Canal and the Pacific Cable—Monroe Doctrine Should Be Cardinal Feature of All American—The Philippine Problem. Re-enactment of Chinese Exclusion Act Advised—Remedial Action Urged For Our Merchant Marine—Preservation of Forests.**

To the Senate and House of Representatives—

The Congress assembled this year under the shadow of a great calamity. On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American exposition at Buffalo and died in that city on the 14th 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 by 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 public 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 heaviest 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 makeup 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.

**The Object of the Blow.**  
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 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 one of the strongest champions of the wage-worker as 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 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 noth-

ing 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 outstretched 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.

**A Glorious Death.**  
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 unflinching 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 has died, 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 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 as any man 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 a social order, "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 malfactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of "social discontent" than picking pockets or wife beating.

**Anarchy and Anarchists.**  
The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is a more dangerous 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 workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity. His rageous in its impudent falsity. His 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 anarchy is triumphant, his triumph will last for but one 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 to be a state to do justice to him or to his. He is a malfactor 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 noble names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or group 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 actions are essentially seditious and treasonable.

**Should Keep Anarchists Out.**  
I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the common safety of 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 in the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime, and the law should insure 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 co-operation or by law is the occasion 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 far blacker infamy 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 no matter 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 presi-

dent's life became great, it would mean that the union was more and more coming 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 anarchy should ever become a serious menace to our 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.

**Business Conditions.**  
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 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 remedial legislation. All this is true. And yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being overcapitalization 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 the United States 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 combinations of capital in the United States are doing great things 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 detriment of the public, and as such the men 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 our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

**Publicity Needed.**  
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 the 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 the law for their right to exist, and their 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 now do business in many states, and are 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.

**Would Frame a Federal Law.**  
When the constitution was adopted, at the end of the eighteenth century, no human wisdom could foretell the sweeping

**Interests of All Endangered.**  
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 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 accuracy, known as "trusts" appeal especially to 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 imposition 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 remedial legislation.

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The Jeweler

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.

**Chinese Exclusion.**  
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 today 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 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 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.

**Labor.**  
The most vital problem with which this (Continued on 10th page.)

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