PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S MESSAGE IS READ TO THE SIXTIETH CONGRESS

This is in accordance with the request of the minority leader, Williams, but it is not to be taken as an indication that this request will be complied with in all other committees.

Both the Senate and House adjourned almost immediately after the conclusion of the reading of the message. The House adjourned until Thursday, when it is probable that it will again adjourn for the week.

Following is the full text of the meabage:

kare: To the Senate and House of Representatives: No nation has greater recourses than when the citizeness of no truthruly said that the citizeness of no truthon possess greater inon are the fundamental business condi-tions acounder than in ours at this very moment; and it is foolid, when such is the pass for people to hoard mome instead of the business of our people is conducted with bounding that is the immediate occasion of many stringency. Moreover, as a sub-function of the people is conducted with bounding that is the immediate occasion of many stringency. Moreover, as a sub-function of the people is conducted with bounding that is the immediate occasion of many stringency. Moreover, as a sub-function of the people is conducted with bounding that is the immediate occasion of many stringency and propiles at the bound of the people is conducted with bounding the people is conducted with bounds and provide and the supples at the bound of the people of any bound of the suppless of the bound of the provide of the suppless of the suppless of the bound of the people of the suppless of the suppless of the suppless of the bound of the suppless of the supplement of the suppless of the supplement of the su

In any large body of men, however, there in any large body of men, however, there are certain to be some who are dishones, and if the conditions are such that these men proper or commit (their mindeeds with) impunity, their example is a very cvir thing for the community. Where these men are business men of great signality and of temerament both unscrupulous and reckless, ad where the conditions are such that they and where the conditions are such that they act without supervision or control and at first without effective check from public opinion, they delude many innocant people into making investments or embarking in linds of bisiness that are really unsound. When the misdeeds of these successfully dishonest men are discovered, suffering process not only upon them, but upon the moogent near whem they have misled. It is a painful swakening, whenever it oc-curs: and, naturally, when it does occur these who suffer are not to forget that the ionger it was deferred the more painful it would be.

Most Corporations Honest.

<text><section-header> the full more than a supervision and control. **Most Corporations Honest.** The grave abuses in individual cases of rational management in the past represent wrongs not movely to the general public, but above all, wrongs to fair-dealing and honese corporations and men of wealth, because they excite a popular anger and distrust which from the very nature of the cases tends to include in the sweep of its rescriment good and hai allie. From the standpoint of the public I can not too extremity may that as about as the natural and proper resentment aroused by these abuses becomes indiscrim-mate and inthinking. It also becomes not defeat the very ends which those feeling it have in view. There has been plenty of dis-there will not be the silghtst let-up in the shonest work by corporations in the past. There will not be the silghtst let-up in the shonest work by corporations in the past. There will not be the silghtst let-up in the shonest down. In the natural indimination the people feel over the dishonessity it is all essential that they chould not loss their heads and get drawn into an indiscriminate induction and corporations, all people of any such wild movement good will nut or any such wild movement good will nut or the contrary, the sairest way to hybride the read is to follow the lead of either dema-

come, cannot come, and never has come on the contrary, the surest way to invit reaction is to follow the lead of either doma

Legalize Traffic Contracts.

reaction is to follow the lead of either dema-graphe or visionary in a sweeping amault upon property values and upon public confidence, which would work incalculable damage in the business world and would produce such distrust of the agritators that in the revul-sion the distrumt would extend to honest men who, in a sincere and same fushion, are trying to remedy the ovils. Index of chainers that are really unsound.
When the middeeds of these successfully dishonest men are discovered, suffering pomes not only upon them, but upon the finances and and entry the constructive course of action which this has stead.
Is a painful assakening, whenever it corrects and and electration of the law by the subscription of the during the administration of the law by the subscription of the comparison of the second tons. It is not proper to endeavor so fail is no connection with the mailroads. As to these soft law to the eight and to be eight a state of any location of the subscription as to endeavor so fail to construct the edministration of the subscription at the partment of Justice. The most vitat need is in connection with the mailroads. As to these subscription at the distress of these subscriptions at the distress of these subscriptions at the distress of these subscriptions at the subscription at the ultimate causes of distress from striving to put an end to the subscription to the subscription at the ultimate causes of labels in the subscription of the subscription of the companies to the subscription at the ultimate causes of labels in the subscription of the companies of such the transformate to passible to put an end to the subscription of the companies of such the subscription of the subscription of the companies of such the transection of the subscription of the companies of such the unservice of securities, while ample the subscription of the companies of such the transection of the companies of a count as any povernmental policies. A beginning has already been made to the companies of optimise to make a physical valuation of the subscription of the companies to the subscription of the companies of the compa commusion, wherever in its juggment it is necessary, to make a physical valuation of any railroad. As I stated in my message to the Con-gress a year ago, railroads should be given power to enter into agreements, subject to these agreements being made public in minutest detail and to the consent of the Interstate Commorce Commission being first obtained. Until the National Government assumes proper control of interstate com-mer.e. in the exercise of the authority it already possesses. It will be impossible dither to give or to get from the railroads full justice. The railroads and all other great corporations will do well to recognize that this control must come; the only question is as to what governmental hody can most wisely exercise it. The courts will deter-mine the limits within where the Pederal authority can exercise it, and there will will output the subfor such supervision by the establishment of the Bureau of Corporations. The anti-trust law should not prohibi The anti-trust haw should not promit combinations that do no injustice to the pub-lic, still less those the existence of which is on the whole of benefit to the public. But even if this feature of the law were abol-ished, there would remain as an equally obectionable feature the difficulty and delay pectionable reature the announcy and decay now incident to its enforcement. The Gov-ernment must now submit to irksome and repeated delay before obtaining a final de-chelon of the courts upon proceedings in-stituted, and even a favorable decree may mean an empty victory. Moreover, to at-tempt to control these corporations by law-suits means to impose upon both the De-partment of Justice and the courts an imposauthority can exercise ii, and there will still remain ample work within each state for the rallway commission of that state; and the National Interstate Commerce Comsible burden; it is not feasible to carry on more than a limited number of such suits. Such a law to be really effective must of and the National Interstate Commerce Com-mission will work in harmony with the several state commissions, each within its own province, to achieve the desired end. course be administered by an executive and not merely by means of lawsuits. Trusts Have Come to Stay. design should be to prevent the abuses in-cident to the creation of unhealthy and im-proper combinations, instead of waiting until Moreover, in my judgment there should be additional legislation looking to the proper control of the great business con-cerns engaged in interstate business, this be additional legislation looking to the proper control of the great business con-cerns engaged in interstate business, this control to be exercised for their own benefit and prosperity no less than for the protec-tion of investors and of the general public. As I have repeatedly said in messages to the Congress and elsewhere, experience has definitely shown not merely the unwisdom but the futility of endeavoring to put a stop to all business combinations. Modern industrial conditions are such that combi-mation is not only necessary but inevitable. It is so in the world of hubbress just as it is so in the world of business just as idde to desire to put an end to all corpora-tions, to all big combinations of capital, as to desire to put an end to all corpora-tions, to all big combinations of capital, as to desire to put an end to all corpora-tions, to all big combinations of capital, as to desire to put an end to all corpora-tions, to all big combinations of capital, as to desire to put an end to solve union allke have come to stay. Each if properly man-aged is a source of good and not cvil. Whenever in either there is evil, it should receive hearity encouragement so long as it is properly managed. It is profoundly jumoral to put or keep on the ataute books a law, nominally in the interest of public morality, that really puts a premium upon public immorality, by undertaking to forbid houst men from doing what must be done under modern business conditions, so that the law itself provides that its own infrae-tion must be the condition precedent upon public immorality by usually means the accompliablement of too little, and often the doing of positive damage. In my message to the Congress a year ago, in speaking of the anti-trust laws, I said: they are in existence and then attempting t destroy them by civil or criminal proceedings Trusts We Should Prohibit. Trusts We Should Prohibit. A combination should not be tolerated if it abuse the power acquired by combination to the public detriment. No corporation or association of any kind should be permit-ted to engage in foreign or interstate com-merce that is formed for the purpose of, or whose operations create, a monopoly or general control of the production, sale, or distribution of any one or more of the prime necessities of life or articles of gen-eral use and necessity. Such combinations are against public policy; they violate the common law, the doors of the courts are closed to those who are parties to them, and I believe the Congress can close the chainels of interstate commerce against and I believe the Congress can close the chainels of interstate commerce against them for its protection. The law should make its prohibitions and permissions as clear and definite as possible, leaving the least possible room for arbitrary action, or allegation of such action, on the part of the executive, or of divergent interpreta-tions by the courts. 'Among the points to be alimed at should be the prohibition of unhealthy competition, such as by render-ing service at an actual loss for the pur-pose of crushing out competition, the pre-vention of a corporation's making exclusive hibition of a corporation's making exclusiv-trade with itself a condition of having any trade with itself. Reasonable agreement between, or combinations of, corporations should be permitted, provided they are first submitted to and approved by some appro-<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text> Defects in Sherman Law. priste body Detects in Sherman Law. The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not in-effective, Combination of capital, like com-bination of labor, is a necessary element in our present industrial system. It is not pos-sible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not validy to try to prevent all combina-Federal Charters for Corporations

It competent to pass judgment on such a matter. **Effects of Pool Inspection.** Those who fear, from any reason, the ex-tension of Federal activity will do well to study the history not only of the Na-tional banking act but of the pure food and natably the meat inspection law was opposed so violently that its passage was delayed for a decade; yet it has worked innixed and immediate good. The meat inspection law was even more violently as-salled; and the same' men who now de-ment in seeking to oversee and control the work ings of interstate common farriers and business concerns, then asserted that we were "disordiling and rubing a great American industry." Two years have not telapsed, and already it has become evident that the great benefit the law confers upon the public is accompanied by an equal benefit to the reputable packing estabilish-ments. The latter are better of under the state out the equality marked. Incidentally, in the passage of the pure-food law the action of the various state food ing fairly commissioners showed in strik-ng a given reform. It is primarily to the order day end alter the beauty on-operation of these state common carrifers and busi-ness concerns from the begistation I advo-ing fairly commissioners showed in strik-ing fairly commissioners showed in strik-ing a given reform. It is primarily to the prime of these state commissioners that we over the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of this law; for they we one the energing of the mast he mast the subject, and then the emactment of the before law, without which the state laws on before law, which the which the state laws on the subject is no the the mast he wast hey promed the government in administering is the subject and then the emactment of the prime is and enforced the state laws on the subj

closest co-operation between the National and state governments in administering these laws.

Need of Elastic Currency.

In my measage to the Courress a year sgo I spoke as follows of the currency: I especially call your attention to the con-dition of our currency laws. The National-bank act has ably served a great purpose in aiding the enormous business development of the country, and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per of the country, and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per capita from \$21.41 to \$65.05. For several years evidence has been accumulating that additional legislation is needed. The re-currence of each crop season emphasizes the defects of the present laws. There must soon be a revision of them, because to leave them as they are means to incuir liability of husiness disaster. Since your body adjourned there has been a fluctua-tion in the interest on call money from 2 per cent to 30 per cent, and the fluctuation was even greater during the preceding six months. The Secretary of the Treasury had to step in and by wise action put a step nvite

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discussion of this question as I am informed that it will soon receive the consideration of the Supreme Court. • The Federal courts must of course, decide ultimately what are the respective spheres of state and Nation in connection with any law, state an Salional, and they must decide definitely and finally in matters affecting in-dividual officers, not only as to the rights and wrongs of labor, but as to the rights and wrongs of capital and the National Govern-ment must always see that the decision of the court is put into effect. The process of injunction is an essential adjunct of the court's doing its work well; and as preventive measures are always belter than remedial, the wise use of this process is from overy atancipoint commendable. But where it is recklessly or unnecessarily used, the abuse should be centred, above all by the very men who are properly anxious to prevent any effort to shear the courts of this processary power. The court's decision must be final; the protest is only against the continet of individual indiges in needlessly anticipating such final decision, or in the tyrannical use of what is nonlinely a temporary infunction to accomplish what is in fact a permanent decide

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of oghion as to many governmental poli-cles, but surely there can be no such dif-ferences as to the need of unfliching per-severance in the war against successful dis-

Quotes From Former Message.

In my message to the Congress on De?

If the fully of man mars the general well-If the fully of man mars the general well-being, then those who are innocent of the folly will have to pay part of the penalty incurred by these who are guilty of the folly. A panie brought on by the specula-tive folly of part of the business communi-ity would hurt the whole business com-munity; but such stoppage of welfare, though it might be severe, would not be fasting. In the long run, the one vital fac-tor in the permanent prospecty of the country is the high individual character of the average American worker, the average American citizen, no matter whether hig work be mental or manual, whether it be farmer or wage-worker, business man or protosolonal man.

which is made worked, business hard of our industrial and social system the sets of all mon are so closely inter-d that in the immense majority of a straight-dealing man, who by his may, by his highnulty and industry, lis himself, must also benefit otheiz ally, the man of great productive ca-by, who becomes the by guiding the of many other men does so by en-g them to produce more than they labor of many other men does so by en-abling them to produce more than they could produce without his guidance; and both he and they share in the benefit, which comes also to the public at large. The superficial fact that the sharing may be unequal must never bilind us to the un-derlying fact that there is this sharing, and that the benefit comes in some degree to each man concerned. Normally, the wageworker, the man of small means, and the average consumer, as well as the aver-age conditions such that the man of ex-eptional bisiness ability receives an ex-eptional bisiness ability receives an ex-

Restrain Evil, Help Good Trusts.

omething can be done by legislation t a the general prosperity; but no suc of a permanently beneficial characte of a perminently behavious character to given to the less able and itas for-e save as the results of a policy which Inure to the advantage of all industri-and officient people who act decently, this is only another way of saying that wheft which comes to the less able and construction in the state of necessity come even more to the more able and more fortunate, by therefore, the lens fortunate man is noved by ency of his more fortunate broth-r is strike at the carditions under which ave both, though unequally, pros-the result will assuredly be that while latinger may come to the one struck at, it all rish with an even heavier load the set who sirikes the blow. Taken as a shift, we must all go up or go down to-rether

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Not Bankers Alone Interested.

Not Ballice's avoid interested. I do not say that this is the right system t only advance it to emphasize my bell hat there is need for the adoption of son ystem which shall be automatic and ope to all sound banks, so as to avoid all po system which shall be automatic and open to all sound hanks, so as to avoid all pon-sibility of discrimination and favoritism. Such a plan would tend to prevent the spasms of high money speculation which now obtain in the New York market; for at present there is too much currency at cer-tain sensons of the ybar, and its accumula-tion at New York tempts hankers to lend it at low rates for speculative purposes, where-as at other times when the crops are being moved there is urgent need for a large but temporary increase in the currency supply. It must never be forgotten that this question concerns business men generally quite as much as bankers; especially is this true of stockmen, farmers and business men in the West; for at present at certain seasons of the year the difference is farmers takes be-tween the East and the West is from 6 to lo per cent, whereas in Canada the corre-sponding difference is bat 2 per cent. Any plan, must, of course, guard the interests of Western and Southern bankers as care-fully as it guards the interests of New York or Chicago bankers, and must be drawn from the standound of the farmer and the Chicago bankers, and must be drawn on the standpoints of the farmer and the rchant no less than from the standpoints the city banker and the country banker.

Cannot Prevent Folly.

Canot Prevent Foly. I again urge on the Congress the need of immediate attention to this matter. We heed a greater elesticity in our currency; provided, of course, that we recognize the even greater need of a safe and secure cur-rencey. There must always be the most rigid examination by the National authori-ties. Provision should be made for an emergency currency. The emergency issue should, of course, be made with an effective guaranty, and upon conditions carefully pre-scribed by the Government. Such emer-gency issue must be based on adequate se-curities approved by the Government, and must be issued under a heavy tax. This would permit currency being issued when the demand for it was urgent, while se-curing its retirement as the demand fell off. It is worth investigating to determine whether officers and directors of National banks should ever be allowed to loan to themselves. Trust companies should be subject to the same supervision as hanks; legislation to this effect should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the terri-tories.

for the District of Columbia and the terri-tories. Tet we must also remember that even the wiest legislation on the subject can only accomplish a certain amount. No legisla-tion can by any possibility guarantee the business community against the results of speculative folly any more than it can guarantee an individual against the results of his extravagance. When an individual mortgages his house to buy an automobile he invites dheaster; and when wealthy men, or men who pose as such, or are unscrupu-lously or foolishly eager to become such, in duige in reckless speculation—expectally it it is accompanied by dishonesty—they jeop-ardise not only their own future but the fu-ture of all their innocent fellow-clitzens, for they expose the whole business community to panic and distress.

Bemand for Tariff Revision.

The income account of the Nation is in a most satisfactory condition. For the six fiscal years ending with the first of July last, the total expenditures and revenues of the National Government, exclusive of the postal revenues and expenditures, were, in round numbers, revenues, \$3,465.000,000 and

whole or to the individuals inheriting the money by permitting the transmission in their entirety of the enormous fortunes which would be affected by such a tax; and as an incident to its function of revenue raising, such a tax would help to preserve a measureable equality of opportunity for the people of the generaions growing to manhood.

tions growing to manhood. We have not the slightest sympathy with that socialistic idea which would ity to put lazinezs, thriftlessness and incfliciency on a

par with industry, thrift and efficiency; which par with industry, thrift and efficiency; which would strive to break up not merely private property, but what is far more important, the home, the chief prop upon which our whole civilization stands. Such a theory, if ever adopted, would mean the ruin of the entire country—a ruin which would bear heaviest upon the weakent, upon these least able to shift for themselves. But proposals for leg-islation such as this herein advocated are di-rectly opposed to this class of socialistic ectly opposed to this class of socialistic sories. Our aim is to recognize what Linsoln pointed out; The fact that there are some respects in which men are obviously not equal; but also to insist that there should

be an equality of celf-respect and of mutual respect, an equality of rights before the law, and at least an approximate equality in the conditions under which each man obtains the chance to show the stuff that is in him when compared to bis fellows.

Obstacles to Enforcing Law.

Obstacles to Enforcing Law. A few years ago there was loud complaint that the law could not be invoked against wealthy offenders. There is no such com-plaint now. The course of the Department of Justice during the last few years has been nach as to make it evident that no man stands above the law, that no corporation is so wealthy that it can not be held to ac-count. The Department of Justice has been count. The Department of Justice and Justice as prompt to proceed against the wealthlest malefactor whose erims was one of greed and cunning as to proceed against the agliator who incites to brutal violence. Everything that can be done under the existing law, and

that can be done under the existing law, and with the existing state of public opinion, which so profoundly influences both the courts and juries, has been done. But the laws themselves need strengthening in more than one important point; they should be made more definite so that no honset man can be led unwittingly to break them, and so that the real wrongdoer can be readily puniabed. Moreover, there must be the public opinion back of the laws or the laws themselves will back of the laws or the laws themselves will be of no avail. At present, while the average furyman undoubtedly wishes to see the trusts juryman undoubtedly wishes to see the trusts broken up, and is quile ready to fine the corporation itself, he is very reluctant to find the facts proven beyond a reasonable doubt when it comes to sending to jail a member of the business community for in-duiging in practices which are profoundry unhealthy, but which, unfortunately, the business community has grown to recognize as well-nigh normal. Both the present com-dition of the law and the present comper of juries renders it a task of extreme diffi-ently to get at the real wrongdoer in any such case, especially by imprisonment. Yet

such case, especially by imprisonment. Yet t is from every standpoint far preferable to punish the prime offender by imprisonment rather than to fine the corporation, with the attendant damage to stockholders. The two great evils in the execution of

care and accurate when a second providing for employ-mumber. The National laws providing for employ-ers' insility on railroads engaged in inter-state commerce and for sufery appliances, as well as for diminishing the hours any employs of a railroad should be permitted to work, should all be strengthened wherever in actual practice they have shown weak-ness; they should be kept on the statute books in theroughgoing form. Bring Law Up to Date.

Bring Law Up to Date.

The constitutionality of the employers' liability act passed by the preceding Con-gress has been carried before the courts. In two jurisdictions the law has been de-clared unconstitutional, and in three jurisclared unconstitutional, and in three Jurk-dictions its constitutionality has been af-firmed. The question has been carried to the Supreme Court, the case has been heard by that tribunal, and a decision is expected at an early date. In the secant that the court should affirm the constitu-tionality of the act, I urge further legis-inition along the lines advocated in my mesmage to the preceding Congress. The practice of putting the entire burden of loss to life or finab upon the victum or the vic-tim's family is a form of social injustice in which the United States stands in unen-viable prominence.

tim's family is a form of social injustice in which the United States stands in unen-viable prominence. In both cur Federal and state legislation we have, with few exceptions, scartely gone farther than the repeal of the fellow-serv-ant principle of the old law of hiability, and in some of our states even this slight modification of a completely outgrown prin-ciple has not yet been secured. The legis-lation of the rest of the industrial world stands out in striking contrast to our backwardness in this respect. Since 1895 practically every country of Europe, to-rether with Great Britain. New Zealand, Amstraia, British Columbia, and the Cape of Good Hope has enacted legislation em-bodying in one form or another the com-plete recognition of the principle which places upon the employer the online trade risk in the various lines of industry. I urge upon the Congress the enactment of a law which will at the same time bring Federal egislation up to the standard already established by all the European countries, and which will serve as a stimulus to the various states to perfect their legislation in this regard. **Extend Eight-Heur Eaw**.

Extend Eight-Hour Law.

Extend Eight-Hour Law. The Congress should consider the exten-tionality of the prosent law has recently been called into question, and the Supreme Court has decided that the existing legisla-tion is unquestionably within the powers of the Congress. The principle of the eight-hour day should as rapidly and as far as predictable be extended to the entire work cartfad on by the Government; and the present law should be amended to embrace present wording of the act has been con-strand to exclude. The general introdue-tion of the eight-hour day should be the goal toward which we should set addition and the Government should set the ex-ample in this respect.

Investigate Labor Disputes.

Strikes and lockouts, with their attendant loss and suffering, continue to increase. For the five years olding December 31, 1965, the number of strikes was greater than those in any previous ten years and was double the number in the preceding five years. These figures indicate the increas-ing need of providing some machinery to

will not solve the problem, yet the insist-nee upon bonesty-not merely technical honesty, but homesty in purpose and spirit-is an essential element in arriving at a fight conclusion. Vice in its cruder and more archaic forms shocks everybody; but how should be just as sovere in condemna-tion of the vice which lides itself behind class or professional loyality, or which de-her that it is vice if it can escape con-representatives of the public, the high off-eight of the wourts. The public and the representatives of the public, the high off-representatives of the public and the concerned of and condemned by the popular consellation of the wise who commit the crimes known of and condemned by the popular con-elitons of our modern industrial life. If these crimes are committed by a capitalist of by a laborer, by a leading banker or manufacturer or raitroad man, or by a lead-ing in stocks, corrupting legislatures, may high in stocks, corrupting legislatures, may high in stocks, by destroying compet-torian of our modern houstrial life. If these crimes are committed by a capitalist of by a laborer, by a leading banker of manufacturer or raitroad man, or by a lead-ing in stocks, corrupting legislatures, may high in stocks, by destroying compet-ption forgery; yet it is a matter of ex-ptions for them. The business man who doing in the capitalist, are far more infa-ment of forgery; yet it is a matter of ex-ption man may colling. The members of how with the labor man who deliberately sup-tions and conteminity. The demonstrate who historianes who condone and encourage the possible for them. The business man who is a kind of wrong-deing, are no more data who has a corrupt domagnetic and agained either. The members of the second type of wrong-doing is kind of wrong-deing, are no more data wh

Farmers and Wage-Workers.

When the Department of Agriculture was ounded there was much sneering as to its sefulness. No department of the Gonesit, however, has more emphatically <text> its usefulness, and none save