# **PRESIDENT SCORES CORPORATE ABUSES** IN SPECIAL MESSAGE

Calls for Legislation Against Ills to Which Country Is Heir.

### NOT TO BLAME FOR PANIC

Policies of Administration Are Earnestly Defended Against Critics-Document One of Most Striking State Papers of History.

Washington, Feb. 3. — President Roosevelt today sent to congress a special message, in which he vigor-ously defents the course of the ad-ministration in its correction of cor-porate abuses, and recommends legis-lation along various lines. The mes-sage, which is in many respects one of the most remarkable state papers ever submitted, follows:

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nocent stockholders who have purchased their stock in good faith. The usuai re-sult of such inflation is therefore to im-pose upon the public an unnecessary but everlasting tax, while the innocent pur-chasers of the stock are also harmed and only a few speculators are benefited. Such wrongs when once accomplished can with difficulty be undone; but they can be pre-vented with safety and with justice. When combinations of interstate railways nust obtain government sanction; when it is no longer possible for an interstate railway to issue stock or bonds, save in the manner approved by the federal gov-ernment; when that government makes sure that the proceeds of every stock and bond issue go into the improvement of the property and not the enrichment of some individual or syndicate; when, whenever it becomes material for guid-ance in the regulative action of the gov-ernment, the physical value of one of these properties is determined and made known-there will be eliminated from railroad securities that element of un-culative quality and which has contributed more. In the financial stress of the recent past. I think that the federal government

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per barrel from Bakersfield, exclusive of the switching charge. "These statements cover the movement except that they have included Stockton, which is not correct, as it is not a bay point and could not be reached as con-veniently by water. We have paid them on account of this movement \$7,239 which should be deducted from the trtal of movement shown in the attached papers. "I wish you would arrange to make up a statement, check the same, and refund to the Associated Oil company down to the basis of 25 cents per barrel from Bakersfield where they are the shippers, regardless of who is consignee, as all their fuel oil is sold delivered. Yours truly. "Shipments-Associated Oil Company, "Mr. G. A. Davidson, Auditor, "Los Angeles." Reply to Attacks. per barrel from Bakersfield, exclusive of the switching charge.

### Reply to Attacks.

"He, G. A. Davidson, Auditor, "Los Angeles." Reply to Attacks. The attacks by these great corporations on the administration's actions have been given a wide circulation throughout the country. In the newspapers and otherwise, by those writers and speakers who, com-sciously or unconsciously, act as the rep-resentatives of predatory wealth-of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wageworkers to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the pub-lic by stock jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp, whose conduct should be ab-horrent to every man of ordinarily decent conscience, and who commit the hideous wrong of teaching our young men that phenomenal business success must or-dinarily be based on dishonesty, have during the last few months made it ap-parent that they have banded together to work for a reaction. Their endeavor is to overthrow and discredit all who hon-estiy administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure if pos-sible a freedom from all restraint which will permit every unscrupulous wrongdoer to do what he wishes unchecked provided he has enough money. The only way to counteract the movement in which these men are engaged is to make clear to the past and just what they are seeking to accomplish in the present. The administration and hose who sup-fort its views are net only not engaged in an assauit on property, but are strem-uous upholders of the rights of property. Under no circumstances would we count tenace attacks upon lawabiding prop-rety, or do aught but condemn those who ous of their riches. On the contrary, our whole effort is to insist upon con-duct, and neither wealth nor property nor any other, class distinction, as being the proper standard by which to judge the area wealth we have a hearty regard for the proper standard by which to jud

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We attack only the corrupt men of wealth, who find in the purchased politician the most efficient instru-ment of corruption and in the pur-chased newspaper the most efficient defender of corruption. Our main quarrel is not with these agents and representatives of the interests. They derive their chief power from the great sinister offenders who stand behind them. They are but puppets who move as the strings are pulled. It is not the puppets, but the strong cunning men and the mighty forces working for evil behind and through the puppets, with whom we have to deal.

We seek to control law-defying wealth: in the first place to prevent its doing dire evil to the republic, and in the next place to avoid the vindictive and dreadful rad-icalism which, if left uncontrolled, it is certain in the end to arouse. Sweeping attacks upon all property, upon all men of means, without regard to whether they knell of the republic; and such attacks become inevitable if decent citizens per-mit those rich men whose lives are cor-rupt and evil to domineer in swollen pride, unchecked and unhindered, over the destinies of this country. We act in no vindictive spirit, and we are no re-specters of persons. If a labor union does wrong, we oppose it as firmly as we op-ose a corporation which does wrong; and we stand equally stoutly for the rights of the man of wealth and for the rights of the wageworker. We seek to protect the honestly accumulated and honest-iy used. We seek to stop wrongdoing, and we desire to punish the wrongdoers only so far as is necessary to achieve this end. **One Law for All.** 

### One Law for All.

There are ample material rewards for those who serve with fidelity the mammon of unrighteousness; but they are dearly paid for by the people who permit their representatives, whether in public life, in <text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

# \* RECOMMENDATIONS.

Among the most important recom-mendations of the president are the fol-

lowing: The immediate re-enactment of the

employers' liability law. The passage of an act providing com-pensation from the government for all persons injured in its service.

persons injured in its service. Regulation of the use of the injuro-tion in labor matters. Provide the Interstate Commerce commission with the means to make a physical valuation of any railroad as to which the valuation seems neces-sary sary

sary. Declaring his firm belief that the financial distress was not brought on by the actions of the administration, but by world wide causes, the presi-dent makes a strong reply to his critics in which he reiterates his faith that the government should attempt to scourge the country of sin. He does not re-treat one iota in his policy heretofore declared. As he progresses in the discussion of

declared. As he progresses in the discussion of the subject he grows more emphatic and the best passages of his message are to be found near its close.

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of great wealth has availed to save the offenders from prison.

The federal government does scourge sin; it does bid sinners fear; for it has put behind the bars with impartial severity, the powerful financier, the powerful politician, the rich land thief, the rich contractor—all, no matter how high their station, against whom criminal misdeeds can be proved. All their wealth and power cannot protect them.

But it often happens that the effort to imprison a given defendant is certain to be futile, while it is possible to fine him or to fine the corporation of which he is head; so that, in other words, the only way of punishing the wrong is br fining the corporation, unless we are content to proceed personally against the minor agents. The corporation lawyers to whom I refer and their employers are the men mainly responsible for this state of things, and their responsibility is shared with all who ingeniously oppose the passing of just and effective laws, or who fail to execute them when they have been put on the statute books. "Innocent Stockholders."

## "Innocent Stockholders."

them when they have been put on the statute books. "Innocent Stockholders." Much is said, in these attacks upon the policy of the present administration, about the rights of "innocent stockholders." That stockholder is not innocent who voluntarily purchases stock in a corpora-tion whose methods and management he knows to be corrupt; and stockholders are bound to try to secure honest manage-ment, or else are estopped from complain-ing about the proceedings the government finds necessary in order to compel the corporation to obey the law. There has been in the past grave wrong done inno-cent stockholders by overcapitalization, stock-watering, stock-jobbins. «tock-ma-nipulation. This we have sought to pre-vent, first, by exposing the thing done and punishing the offender when any existing law had been violated; second, by recom-mending the passage of laws which would make unlawful similar practices for the future. The public men, lawyers, and editors who loudly proclaim their sym-pathy for the "innocent stockholders" when a great law-defying corporation is punished, are the first to protest with frantic vehemene against all efforts by law to PK t a stop to the practices which are the real and ultimate sources of the damage alike to the stockholders and the public. The apologists of successful dis-honestry always declaim against any ef-fort to punish or prevent it, on the ground that any such effort will "unsettle bave unsettled business; and the very men raising this cry spend hundreds of housands of dollars in securing, by speech, editorial, book, or pamphlet, the defense by mis-statements of what they have done; and yet when public servants or breaking silence, lest "values be depreci-ted." They have hurt honest farm-ers; and now they clamor against the for the being tod. "The keynote of all these attacks upon the ground that it is unnatural, unwar-sment, honest workingmen, honest, farm-regentation of the business world, or the ground that it is unnatural, unwar-sment is the necessary penalty for

great as it made on behalf of the hen caught in a gambling establishment when that gambling establishment is raided by the police. If such words mean anything they mean that those whose sentiments they represent stand against the effort to bring about a moral regeneration of busi-ness which will prevent a repetition of the insurance, banking, and street rail-road scandals in New York: a repetition of the Chicago and Alton deal; a repe-tition of the combination between certain professinal politicians, certain profes-sinal labor leaders, and certain big finan-ciers, from the disgrace of which San Francisco has just been rescued; a repe-tition of the successful effort by the Standard Oil people to crush out every competitor, to overawe the common car-riers, and to establish a monopoly which the astrone so long as it permits men of such principles and such sentiments to avow and act on them with impunity.

tory where the dangerous machinery is unprotected as having the "right" freely to infe and limb. She has no alternative but to suffer want or else to expose her-sel to such dangers, and when she loses a hand or is otherwise maimed or disfig-ured for life, it is a moral wrong that the whole burden of the risk necessarily incidental to the business should be placed whole burden of the risk necessarily incidental to the business should be placed whole burden of the risk necessarily incidential to the business should be placed whole burden of the risk necessarily incidential to the business should be placed whole burden of the risk necessarily incidential to the business should be placed whole burden of the risk necessarily incidential to the summary and the shoulders, and all who profit by her work escape scot-free. This is what opponents of a just employers' Hability law advo-cate; and it is consistent that they should usually also advocate immunity for those most dangerous members of the criminal case—the criminals of great wealt. Our opponents have recently been bit-from the standard Oil company and the heavy fines on these two corporations; and yet these same critics of these two indiges exhaust themselves in denouncing the most respectful and cautious discus-sion of the official action of a judge which results in immunity to wealthy and pow-erovers us all to treat with the utmost respect the high office of judge; and our judges, as a whole, are brave and up-right men. Respect for the judges; and, as a whole, it is true now as in the past that the judges stand in character and service above all other men among their fellow servants of the public. There is all the greater need that the few who fall in his great office, who fall below down of sympathetic understanding and of courage, should have their eyes opened to a sympathetic understanding and of the needs of their countrymen.

A judge who on the bench either truckles to the mob and shrinks from sternly repressing violence and dis-order, or bows down before a corpor-ation; who fails to stand up valiantly for the rights of property on the one hand, or on the other by misuse of the process of injunction or by his attitude toward all measures for the betterment of the conditions of labor, makes the wageworker feel with bit-terness that the courts are hostile to him; or who fails to realize that all public servants in their several sta-tions must strive to stop the abuses of the criminal rich—such a man per-forms an even worse service to the body politic than the legislator or executive who goes wrong.

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Spirit Is Ethical. The opponents of the measures we champion single out now one and now another measure for especial attack, and speak as if the movement in which we are engaged was purely economic. It has a large economic side, but it is funda-mentally an ethical movement. It is not a movement to be completed in one year, or two or three years; it is a movement which must be persevered in until the spirit which lies behind it sinks deep into the heart and the consci ace of the whole people. It is always important to choose the right means to achieve our purpose, but it is even more important to keep this purpose clearly before us; and this purpose is to secure national homesty in business and politics. We do not subscribe to the cynical belief that dishonesty and unfair dealing are essen-tial to business success, and are to be condoned when the success is moderate and applauded when the success is great.

condoned when the success is moderate and applauded when the success is great. The methods by which the : Standard Oil people and those en-gaged in the other combinations : of which I have spoken above : have achieved great fortunes can only be justified by the advocacy : of a system of morality which : would also justify every form of criminality on the part of a labor union, and every form of vio-ience, corruption, and fraud, from : murder to bribery and ballot box stuffing in politics. We are trying to secure equality of op-portunity for all; and the struggle for honesit is to follow and in the struggle for honesit is to mean or of another. In the interest of the small settlers and andowners, and against the embiltered opposition of wealthy owners of huge wan-dering flocks of sheep, or of corporations destring to rob the people of coal and timber, we strive to put an end to the thet of bub and no ther take part in or refuse to try to stop such theft, we are really engaged in the same policy as when we endeavor to put a stop to rebates or to prevent the upgrowth of uncontrolled momopoles. Our effort is simply to en-force the principles of common honesty and common sense. It would indeed be ill for the country should there be any halt in our work. The laws must in the future be admin-stuffing in politics.
is stuffing in politics.
We are trying to secure equality of opportunity for all; and the strucgie for honesty is the same whether it is made in the interest of the small settlers and andowners, and arainst the embitation of the honest man who earns each day's when define forks of sheep, or of corporation of the honest may who earns each day's the thirty owners, or downers of the honest may who earns each day's the indication of wealthy owners of the years of the honest may who earns each day's the indication of wealthy owners of the years of the honest may who earns each day's the indication of wealthy owners of the years of the honest may who earns each day's the indication of the honest in all walks of life, in big things and in little things; upon just and fair dealing as between man and spire south a two but as stop to relate the wealth place by another the spirit should be the spirit should be sum of the south in the sum of the south in the wealt head fair dealing as a star sour ability permits justice where for the show and the dear fair sour ability permits justice

past six years, and it has been shown by actual experience that they can be enforced against the wealthiest corporation and the richest and most powerful manager or manipulator of that corporation, as rigor-ously and fearlessly as against the hum-blest offender. Above all, they have been enforced against the very wrongdoers and agents of wrongdoers who have for so many years gone scot free and flouted the laws with impunity, against great law-defying corporations of immense wealth, which, until within the last half dozen years, have treated themselves and have expected others to treat them as being beyond and above all possible check from iaw. It is especially necessary to secure to the representatives of the national gov-ernment full power to deal with the great corporations engaged in interstate com-merce, and above all, with the great inter-state common carriers. Our people should clearly recompize that while there are difcorporations engaged in interstate com-merce, and above all, with the great inter-state common carriers. Our people should clearly recognize that while there are dif-foculties in any course of conduct to be followed in dealing with these great cor-porations, these difficulties must be faced, and one of three courses followed. The first course is to abandon all effort to oversee and control their actions in the interest of the general public and to permit a return to the utter lack of con-trol which would obtain if they were left to the common law. I do not for one moment believe that our people would tolerate this position. The extraordinary growth of modern industrialism has ren-dered the common law, which grew up under and was adopted to deal with totally different conditions, in many respects in-adequate to deal with the new conditions. These new conditions are in the past we have shackled force. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combina-tions of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, creat new conditions, and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the state and the nation toward the rules regulat-ing the acquisition and untrammeled busi-ness use of property, in order both that property may be adequately protected, and that at the same time those who hold it may be prevented from wrong-doing. doing. The second and third courses are to have the regulation undertaken either by the nation or by the states. Of course in any event both the national government and the several state governments must do each its part, and each can do a certain amount that the other cannot do, while the only really satisfactory results must be obtained by the representatives of the national and state governments working heartly together within their respective spheres. doing. spheres. But in my judgment thoroughgoing : and satisfactory control can in the end only be obtained by the action : of the national government, for al-most all the corporations of enorm-ous wealth-that is, the corporations which it is especially desirable to control-are engaged in interstate commerce, and derive their power and their importance not from that portion of their business which is in-trastate, but from the interstate business. spheres

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more often ineffective from every stand-point, because the federal courts declars it unconstitutional. The Panic. We have just passed through twe months of acute financial stress. At any such time it is a sad fact that entirely innocent people suffer from no fault of their own; and everyone must feel the keenest sympathy for the large body of honest business men, of honest investors, of honest wageworkers, who suffer be-cause involved in a crash for which they are in no way responsible. At such a time there is a natural tendency on the part of many men to feel gloomy and frightened at the outlook; but there is no justification for this feeling. There is no nation so absolutely sure of ulti-mate success as ours. Of course we shall succeed. Ours is a nation of masterly energy, with a confident for its domain, and it feels within its veins the thrill which comes to those who know that they possess the future. We are up-held by the confident hope of ultimate triumph. The wrongs that exist are to be corrected; but they in no way justify doubt as to the final outcome, doubt as to the great nuterial prosperity of the future, or of the lotty spiritual life which is to be ould upon that, prosperity of the future, or distors future of the nation; but because of this very fact it behoove us never to swerve from our resolute pur-pose to cut out wrongdoing and upond what is right.

I do not for a moment believe that the actions of this administration have brought on business distress; so far as this is due to local and not world-wide causes and to the ac-tions of any particular individuals, it is due to the speculative folly and flagrant dishonesty of a few men of great wealth, who seek to shield themselves from the effects of their own wrongdoing by ascribing its results to the actions of those who have sought to put a stop to the wrongdoing. But if it were true that to cut out rottenness from the body politic meant a momentary check to an un-healthy seeming prosperity. I should not for one moment hesitate to put the knife to the corruption.

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...... The outcry against stopping dis-honest practices among wrongdoers who happen to be wealthy is precise-ly similar to the outcry raised against every effort for cleanliness and decency in city government, be-cause, farsooth, it will "hurt busi-ness.

The same outery is made against the department of justice for prosecuting the been made against the men who in San Francisco have prosecuted with impartial severity the wrongdoers among business men, public officials, and labor leaders alke. The principle is the same in the two cases. Just as the blackmaller and bribe giver stand on the same evil emisters and the principle is the same in the same evil emission of fortune by corrupting leg-site. The principle is the same for the same moral level with the creature who fattens on the block maney of the same moral level with the creature who fattens on the block maney of the same moral level with the creature who fattens on the block maney of the same moral is tootom the same. The wrongdoing is at bottom the same degree the and the ever the wrong doing is at bottom the same of and react with ever increasing debased of a corporation and the corrupt leador are both in the same degree the en-ther are both in the same degree the en-ther the inficience takes the blackmalling ward boss, the balabor the same work at the same web of cor-vice, the blackmalling ward boss, the balabor the same work at the same web of cor-ruption, and alt alike should be abnored balabor the same work at the same web of cor-vice, the hired bully, and mankfiler-al take work at the same web of cor-

### Hurts Right Business.

Hurts Right Busines. The "business" which is hurt by the fovement for bonesy is the kind of bus-business which it the long run, it pays the ountry to have hurt. It is the kind of ousiness which has tended to make the operation of the special pleaders for business dishon-stration for enforcing the present admin-tent of the special pleaders for business dishon-stration for enforcing the law against defield the law, also denounce it for ch-eavoring to secure sadly needed labor business to their employees. It is meet and fit that the apologists for corrupt wealth should oppose every effort to re-rivishing misfortune brought upon them yealth should oppose should upon the prospin a bare livelihood. The burden should be distributed. It is hypocritical baseness to speak of a girl who works in a tare

Theodore Roosevelt.

Atchison Globe Sights.

If a woman's shoes don't hurt her corns, she claims they are a size too

The living too often impoverish themselves to erect monuments over the dead.

Nothing will make a red headed wor an more angry than to be asked

an more angry than to be asked if she is ready. After a sick man recovers, and is again able to eat, the first thing he wants is sausage. As a rule a boy doesn't care for a rocking chair unless his sister happens to be occupying one. What has become of that article for-merly found in every kitchen, a bas-ket for holding chips. Whenever a railroad man builds be

Whenever a railroad man builds a house, people expect to hear of his ba-ing transferred to another town. Those persons who have a "piece" they want printed in the papers should have a care; a citizén who has been quite persistent in this respect of late. was lately declared insane. A thousand years after you are dead there will be the same old things to woiry about; too much rain, or not enough; financial flurries, intemperance in eating and drinking, unfaithful friends, etc. If you are able to over-come worries over the ordinary things of life, it is a sign that you have ao-quired a litle sense. If you "go to pieces" over nothing, it is a sign you have learned nothing.





They Said It Was Awful. Novelist-Did you ever write a trag-

edy? Poet—I thought it was at first, but from what the managers said I concluded it was a farce.

No matter how much a man's funeral costs, it save him a lot of money aft-erwards.