

The Rutherfordton Tribune.

VOL. I. NO. 43.

RUTHERFORDTON, N. C. THURSDAY DECEMBER 5, 1891.

\$1.00 A YEAR.

THE MESSAGE

What the President Says
on Important Subjects.

TRUSTS AND RECIPROCITY

How He Would Deal With
These Problems.

He Declares Publicly at Present
the Only Sure Remedy Against
Evils of Combinations—While
Opposing Any General Tariff Change,
He Upholds the Principle of Reciprocity—Advocates Reduction of
Duty on Cuban Imports into This
Country—Insists on Maintaining the
International Coast and the Pacific
Trade Unhindered—The Philippines and
Other Insular Questions.

Washington, Dec. 3.—The president
in his annual message to congress says:

The Congress assembled this year under the shadow of a great calamity, on the 1st 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 numbered, and the last record 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 somber 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 President Garfield to the recalcitrant vanity of a disappointed office seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who often in all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty. If it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws and who are as yet to the upright exponent of a free people's will as to the tyrannical and treacherous despot.

Anarchy and Treachery.—The 17th instant coincides with a eulogy of Mr. McKinley, then turns to the outside of himself, denouncing his deserts and perjuries. He says:

I earnestly recommend to the Congress that it give full consideration to the evils of the world's commerce in so far as they affect this country of amercians 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 destroy the members of King Humboldt's party 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 do. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought with these institutions.

Publicity the First Essential.—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. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be removed by our inspection, and safe-guarded by our institutions, and therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

A Substitute for Federal Control.—The federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the president or any man who by the constitution or by law is in line of succession for the presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccess-ful attempt should be proportioned to the gravity of the offense.

Anarchy is a curse manifest the whole human race, and all mankind should be equalized against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, the peace and that form of manhood known as the slave trade.

The president next considers business conditions which he finds highly satisfactory. He continues:

The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face at the beginning of the twentieth with very serious social problems. The old laws and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind they are no longer sufficient.

Trade Combinations.—The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison faster than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual and especially of very large corporate fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff nor to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wageworker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business is to no small extent by the person himself talented

only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise of the type which benefits all mankind can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

Reasons For Caution.

The president adds that there are many reasons for caution in dealing with corporations. He says:

The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition.

Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to subdue ignorance 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, on the whole and in the long run, we shall go up or down together.

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. 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 man who demands the impossible or the undeniably sacrifice as the allies of the forces with whom we are nominally at war, for they former those who would endeavor to put out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply these evils.

How to Correct the Evils.

All this is true, and yet it is also true that these are real and grave evils, one of the chief being overcompetition because of its many harmful consequences, and a residue and general effect must be made to correct these evils.

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 to meet our citizens' national needs, but must be conditioned upon the fact that the duties must be not so reduced below the point that there is no difference between the labor cost here and abroad. The well-being of the wage-earner is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic regulation or taxation can only be determined after publicity has been obtained by process of law and in the course of administration. The first requisite is knowledge, fact and complete—knowledge which may be made public to the world.

Artificial bodies, such as corporations and joint stock or other associations, depending upon any statutory law for their existence or 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 this, and no state has any exclusive interest in 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.

Amend Constitution If Necessary.

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. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be removed by our inspection, and safe-guarded by our institutions, and therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Insular Questions.

In this case of this preview of the proper protection necessary to our industrial well-being at home, the principle of reciprocity must command our entire support. The phenomenal growth of our export trade emphasizes the urgency of the need for wider markets and for a liberal policy in dealing with foreign nations. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be removed by our inspection, and safe-guarded by our institutions, and therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Subject for Federal Control.—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. Whatever is merely petty and vexatious in the way of trade restrictions should be removed by our inspection, and safe-guarded by our institutions, and therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.

Trade Combinations.

The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the congress. It is disgraceful to us as a nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships. To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products and would provide an auxiliary force for the navy. The work for their own countries just as railroads work for their financial points. Shipping lines are established in the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of practical as well as commercial benefit. Fram every standpoint it is unwise for the

United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American sailing ships.

Labor.—The president declares that he regards it necessary to rescind the Chinese exclusion law. In regard to labor he says that the government should provide in its contracts that all wages should be done under "fair" conditions and that all night work should be forbidden for women and children as well as excessive overtime. He continues:

A present American shipping is up to certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the foreign steamship lines, at a cost of twice that of ours, are sailing faster, and in all our ships, sailing vessels of slow speed and mail carriers of high speed, have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than the cost of building Chinese sailing vessels. The wages paid American sailors and crewmen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries, and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals. Our government should take such action as will reasonably fit our ships for the service. Finally, there must also be restored to the ocean.

Manufacture.

The passage of the act establishing gold as the standard money has, it is declared, been shown to be timely and judicious. The president adds:

In many respects the national banking law furnishes sufficient liberty for the proper exercise of the banking function, but there seems to be need of better safeguards against the dangerous influence of commercial crises and financial panics. Moreover, the currency of the country should be made responsive to the demands of our domestic trade and commerce.

The president deems that the time has come for additional legislation for the Philippines. He says:

It is necessary that the congress should pass laws by which the resources of the islands can be developed, so that franchises for limited terms of years can be granted to companies doing business in them and every encouragement given to them by the incoming of business men of every kind. It is urgently necessary to enact suitable laws dealing with general transportation, mining, building, currency, implements and the use and ownership of the lands and timber. These laws will give free play to individual enterprise, and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the wisdom of our desire to aid them.

Navigation.

The president continues by tracing the connection between the harbors and the water supply. He says:

The greatest natural resource of the Philippines, to be continued and restored, is the streams in and around the islands. By reclaiming the streams in dried and rocky areas, when they are cleared, they prevent the soil from washing away, and so protect the streams from filling up with silt. These laws will give free play to individual enterprise, and the commercial development which will surely follow will afford to the people of the islands the best proofs of the wisdom of our desire to aid them.

The Coast and the Tides.

One of your services must naturally turn to the erging need of a cable to Hawaii and the Philippines, to be continued and restored, and to be kept in repair, so that they may be used to their full capacity.

The president then turns to the

construction of a government cable to connect the islands with each other. He says:

It is necessary that the congress should be enabled to lay the cables for the communication of the islands with each other. The president adds:

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