

# The President's Congressional Message

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based on a real community of interest and participation in control. There is now in fact a real community of interest between capital and labor, but it has never been made evident in action. It can be made operative and manifest only in a new organization of industry. The genius of our businessmen and the sound practical sense of our workers can certainly work such a partnership out when once they realize exactly what it is that they seek and sincerely adopt a common purpose with regard to it.

**Legislation An Aid**

"Labor legislation lies, of course, chiefly with the states; but the new spirit and method of organization which must be effected are not to be brought about by legislation so much as by the common counsel and voluntary co-operation of capitalists, manager and workman. Legislation can go only a very little way in commanding what shall be done. The organization of industry is a matter of co-operation and industrial initiative and of perhaps Federal legislation can help more than state legislation could.

"The object of all reform in this

essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every directly affecting their welfare or the part they are to play in industry. Some positive legislation is practical. The Congress has already shown the way to one reform which should be world wide, by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard day in every field of labor over which you can exercise control. It has sought to find the way to prevent child labor, and will, I hope and believe, presently find it. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding life and health in dangerous industries. It can now help in the difficult task of giving a new form and spirit to industrial organization by coordinating the several agencies of conciliation and adjustment which have been brought into existence by the difficulties and mistakes of the past. The present management of industry and by netting up and developing new Federal agencies of advice and information which may serve as a clearing house for the best experiments and the best thought on this great matter, upon which every thinking man must be

are levied upon articles sold at retail are largely evaded by the readjustment of retail prices. On the other hand I should assume that it is expedient to maintain a considerable range of indirect taxes and the fact that alcoholic liquors will presently no longer afford a source of revenue by taxation, makes it the more necessary that the field should be carefully restudied in order that equivalent sources of revenue may be found which it will be legitimate and not burdensome, to draw upon. But you have at hand in the Treasury Department many experts who can advise you upon the matters much better than I can. I can only suggest the lines of a permanent and workable system, and the placing of the taxes where they will least hamper the life of the people.

**Sees Foreign Market**

"There is, fortunately, no occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties. No serious danger of foreign competition now threatens American industries. Our country has emerged from the war less disturbed and less weakened than any of the European countries which are competitors in manufacture. Their industrial establishments have been subjected to greater strain than ours, their labor force to a more serious disorganization and this is clearly not the time to seek an organized advantage. The work of reconstruction I am afraid, will tax the capacity and resources of the United States for years to come. So far as their being any danger or need of accentuated foreign competition, it is likely that the conditions of the next few years will greatly facilitate the marketing of American manufactures abroad. Least of all should we depart from the policy adopted in the tariff act of 1913 of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials

needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies.

**Tariff Revision**

"Nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system that need prompt attention. The experiences of war have made it plain that in some cases too great reliance on foreign supply is dangerous, and that in determining certain parts of our tariff policy domestic considerations must be borne in mind which are political as well as economic. Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dye stuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance, and the close relation between the manufacture of dyestuffs, on the one hand and of explosives and poisonous gases on the other, moreover has given the industry an exceptional significance and value. Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the program of international disarmament, it will nevertheless, be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well equipped chemical plants. German chemical industry with which we will be brought into competition was and may well be again a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind.

**Protection Needed**

"The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations, in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws as they now stand provide no weapon of retaliation in case other governments should enact legislation

unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries. Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility and that it may have to be met by counter legislation. This subject, has fortunately been exhaustively investigated by the United States tariff commission. A recent report of that commission has shown very clearly that we lack and that we ought to have the instruments necessary for the assurance of equal and equitable treatment. The attention of Congress has been called to this matter on past occasions and the past measures which are now recommended by the tariff commission are substantially the same that have been suggested by previous administrations. I recommend that this phase of the tariff question receive the early attention of the Congress.

**Supports Suffrage**

"Will you not permit me, turning from these matters, to speak once more and very earnestly of the proposed amendment to the Constitution which would extend the suffrage to women and which passed the House of Representatives at the last session of the Congress. It seems to me that every consideration of justice and of public advantage calls for the immediate adoption of that amendment and its submission forthwith to the legislatures of the several States. Throughout all the world this long delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for in the United States longer, I believe, than anywhere else, the necessity for it and the immense advantage to the national life, has been urged and debated, by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast cour-

age to be so much beforehand with the common conviction; and I, for the covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in the great reform.

"The telegraph and telephone lines will of course be returned to their owners so soon as the retransfer can be effected without administrative confusion, so soon, that is, as the change can be made with least possible inconvenience to the public and to the owners themselves. The railroads will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year; if I were in immediate contact with the administrative questions which must govern the retransfer of the telegraph and telephone lines, I could name the exact date for their return also. Until I am in direct contact with the practical questions involved I can only suggest that in the case of the telegraphs and telephones, as in the case of the railways, it is clearly desirable in the public interest that some legislation should be considered which may tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and co-ordinated system, which will afford those who use them as complete and certain means of communication with all parts of the country as has so long been afforded by the postal system of the government, and at rates as uniform and intelligible. Expert advice is, of course, available in this very practicable matter, the public interest is manifest. Neither the telegraph nor the telephone service of the country can be said to be in any sense a national system. There are many confusions and inconsistencies of rates. The scientific means by which communication by such instrumentalities could be rendered more thorough and satisfactory has not been made full use of. An exhaustive study of the whole question of electrical communication and of the means by which the central authority of the nation can be used to unify and improve it, if undertaken, by the appropriate committees of the Congress would certainly result indirectly, even if not directly, in a great public benefit.

"The demobilization of the military

forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions. I therefore recommend that the act approved November 21, 1918, entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purpose of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products" and for other purposes" be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

"I sincerely trust that I shall very soon be at my post in Washington again to report on the matters which made my presence at the peace table apparently imperative, and to put myself at the service of the Congress in every matter of administration or counsel that may seem to demand executive action or advice.

(Signed) "WOODROW WILSON,"  
"20 May, 1919."

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**Business After War**

"Familiar and very stimulating conditions await our commerce and industrial enterprise in the immediate future. Unusual opportunities will presently present themselves to our merchants and producers in foreign markets and large fields for profitable investment will be opened to our free capital. But it is not only that that I am thinking; it is not chiefly that that I am thinking. Many great industries prostrated by the war wait to be rehabilitated, in many parts of the world where the world is lacking in brains or willing hands or organizing capacity or experienced skill, but machinery and raw materials and capital are very much needed and are welcome. Our great shipyards, new and old, will be so opened to the use of the world that they will prove immensely serviceable to every maritime people in restoring, much more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible the tonnage wantonly destroyed in the war. I have only to suggest that there are any points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation and make it easy for American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends rather than as dreaded antagonists. America has a great and honorable service to perform in bringing the commercial and industrial undertakings of the world back to their old scope and swing again, and putting a solid structure of credit under them. All our legislation should be friendly to such plans and purposes.

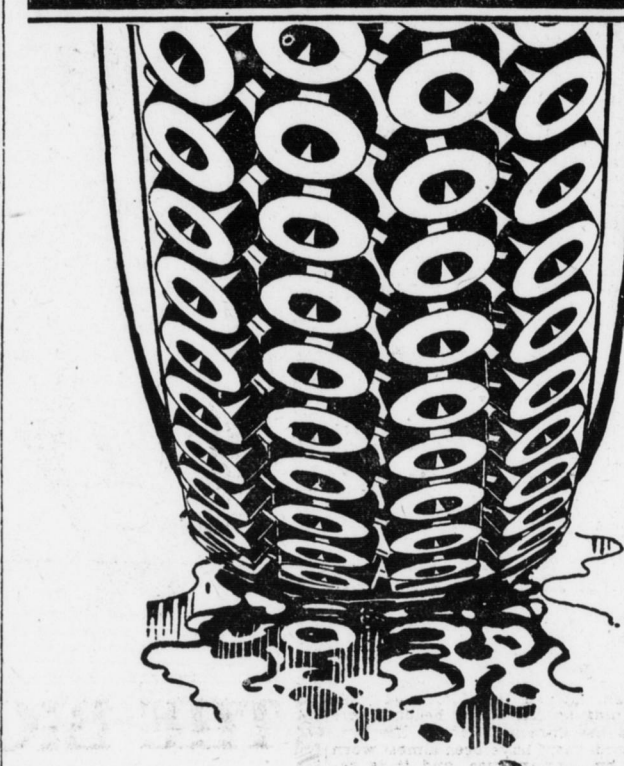
**Revised Taxes**

"And credit and enterprise alike will be quickened by timely and helpful legislation with regard to taxation. I hope that the Congress will find it possible to undertake an early reconsideration of Federal taxes, in order to make our system of taxation more simple and easy of administration and the taxes themselves as little burdensome as possible. The taxes now in force can be made and yet suffice to support the government and meet all its obligations. The figures to which those obligations have arisen are very great indeed, but they are not so great as they seem, not so great as the immense sums we have had to borrow added to raise by taxation, would seem to indicate; for a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned the governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our taxpayers.

"The main thing we shall have to care for is that our taxation shall rest as lightly as possible on the productive resources of the country, that its rate shall be stable and that it shall be constant in its revenue yielding power. We have found the main sources from which it must be drawn. I take it for granted that its mainstays will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax and the estate tax. All these can so be adjusted to yield constant and adequate returns and yet not constitute a too onerous burden on the taxpayers. A revision of the income tax has already been provided for by the act of 1918, but I think you will find that further changes can be made to advantage both in the recommendations of tax and in the method of its collection. Excess profits tax need not long be maintained at the rates which were necessary while the enormous expenses of the war had to be borne; but it should be made the basis of a permanent system which will reach undue profits without discouraging the enterprise and activity of our business men. The tax on inheritances ought, no doubt, to be reconsidered in its various forms, to the fiscal systems of the several states, but it certainly ought to remain a permanent part of the fiscal system of the Federal government also.

**Tax Burdens**

"Many of the minor taxes provided for in the revenue legislation of 1917 and 1918, though no doubt have been necessary by the pressing necessities of the war time, can hardly find sufficient justification under the easier circumstances of peace and can now happily be got rid of. Among these, I hope you will agree, are the excises upon various manufacturers and the taxes upon retail sales. They are unequal in the incidence on different industries and on different individuals. Their collection is difficult and expensive. Those which



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30 x 3½	21.20	26.85	3.15
32 x 3½	24.95	38.35	3.45
31 x 4	33.35		4.70
32 x 4	33.95	48.70	4.75
33 x 4	35.85	50.05	4.90
34 x 4	36.50	51.35	5.05
32 x 4½	47.20	54.90	6.10
33 x 4½	49.10	56.35	6.20
34 x 4½	49.50	57.85	6.30
35 x 4½	51.50	59.20	6.35
36 x 4½	52.05	60.70	6.50
33 x 5	60.30	68.55	7.25
35 x 5	63.45	71.90	7.60
36 x 5	64.65		7.70
37 x 5	66.75	75.20	7.90

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