

# Full Text of President's Speech at Cleveland; Warning of Great Dangers Confronting Nation

CLEVELAND, O., Jan. 29.—President Wilson's address follows:

"The times are such, gentlemen, that it is necessary that we should take counsel together for them. In the fact, two-thirds of the world are at war. It is not merely a European struggle; nations in the orient have become involved, as well as nations in the west, and everywhere there seems to be creeping even upon the nations disengaged the spirit and the threat of war. All the world outside of America is on fire. Do you wonder that men's imaginations take color from this situation? Do you wonder that there is a great reaction against war? Do you wonder that the passion for peace grows stronger as the spectacle grows more tremendous and more overwhelming?"

"And do you wonder on the other hand, that men's sympathies become deeply engaged on the one side or the other? For no such things are happening. This is a struggle which will determine the history of the world, I dare say, for more than a century to come."

**The One Great Neutral.**

"And in the meantime we, the people of the United States, are the one great disengaged power, the one neutral power, finding it a little difficult to be neutral, because, like men everywhere else, we are human; we have the deep sympathies that are as easily stirred as the sympathies of any other people. We have interests which we are being drawn slowly into the maelstrom of this tremendous upheaval."

"It is very difficult for us to hold off and look with cool judgment upon such tremendous matters. And yet we have held off. It has not been easy for the government at Washington to avoid the entanglements which seem to beset us on every side. It has needed a great deal of watchfulness, and an unremitting patience to do so, but all the while no American could fail to be aware that America could wish to become engaged, that she wished to be apart, not because she was afraid of the issues of the struggle but because she thought her duties to be the duties of peace and of separate action. And all the while the nations themselves that were engaged seemed to be looking to us for some sort of action, not hostile in character but sympathetic in character."

**Called on to Intervene.**

"In 1914, a single thing has occurred in Europe which has in any degree shocked these millions of mankind that the government of the United States had not been asked upon by the one side or the other to protect and intervene with its moral influence, if not with its physical force. It is as if we were the great arbiter before whom this stupendous drama is being played out and we are asked to comment upon the turns and twists of the plot. And not only are we the audience and challenged to be the umpire, so far as the opinion of the world is concerned, but all the while our own life touches the matters at many points of vital contact."

"The United States is trying to keep up the processes of peaceful commerce while all the world is at war and while all the world is in need of the essential things which the United States produces, as yet by an oversight, for which it is difficult to forgive ourselves, we did not provide ourselves when there was proper peace and opportunity with a mercantile marine, by means of which we could conduct the commerce of the world without interference of the motives of other nations which might be engaged in controversy not our own."

**Warning Nations Have Trade.**

"And so the carrying trade of the world is for the most part in the hands of the nations now embroiled in this great struggle. Americans have gone to all quarters of the world, Americans are serving the business of the world in every part of it, and everyone of these men in business affairs is our ward and we must see to his rights and that they are respected. Do you not see how all the sensitive places of our life touch these great disturbances? Now, in the midst of that, what is it that we are called on to do as a nation? I suppose that from the first America has had one peculiar and particular mission in the world. Other nations have grown rich, my fellow citizens; other nations have been as powerful as we in material resources in comparison with the other nations of the world; other nations have built up empires and exercised dominion. We are not peculiar in any of these things, but we are peculiar in this: That from the first we have dedicated our force to the service of justice and righteousness and peace."

**Our Chief Interest.**

"We have said, 'Our chief interest is not in the rights of property, but in the rights of man; our chief interest is in the rights of man that they might be free, that they might enjoy their lives unmolested so long as they observe the just rules of the game; that they might deal with their fellowmen with their heads erect, the subjects and servants of no man, but the servants only of the principles upon which their lives rested.' And America has done more than care for her own people and think of her own fortunes in these great matters. It has said ever since the time of President Monroe that it was the champion of freedom and the separate sovereignty of peoples throughout the western hemisphere. It is trustee for those ideals and it is pledged, deeply and permanently pledged, to keep those promises."

"It is not only, therefore, that it is its part in keeping this configuration from spreading to the people of the United States; it must also keep this configuration from spreading on this side of the sea."

**Can Never Draw Back.**

"These are matters in which our very life and our whole pride are embodied and rooted, and we can never draw back from them. And I, my fellow citizens, because of the extraordinary office with which you have entrusted me, must, whether I will or not, be your responsible spokesman in these great matters. It is my duty, therefore, when impressions are deeply borne in upon me with regard to the national welfare to speak to you with the utmost frankness about them; and that is the errand upon which I have come away from Washington."

"For my own part, I am sorry that these things fall within the year of a national political campaign. They ought to have nothing whatever to do with politics. The man who brings partisan feeling into these matters and seeks partisan advantage by means of them is unworthy of your confidence. I am sorry that upon the eve of a campaign we should be obliged to discuss these things for fear they might run over into the campaign and seem to constitute part of it. Let's forget that this is a year of national elections. That is neither here nor there. The thing to do now is for all men of all parties to think along the same lines and to do the same things

## Outstanding Sentences in President's Speech

"We should be prepared not for war or anything that smacks of aggression, but for defense."

"As your responsible servant, I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant."

"So far, we have held difficulty at arm's length by patience, and I hope we will continue to do so."

"I see no immediate danger, but you must be ready if trouble comes."

"What I am pleading for is the great spirit of patriotism that marked the revolution."

"I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the correct character of the country with tremendous might and effectiveness whenever we are called on to act in the field of the world's affairs."

"The issue lies with the young men and the employers of the country."

and forget every difference that may have divided them.

"And what ought they to do? Well, in the first place, they ought to tell the truth. There have been some extraordinary exaggerations both of the military weakness and the military strength of this country. Some men tell you that we have no means of defense, and others tell you that we have sufficient means of defense, and neither statement is true."

"Take, for example, the matter of our coast defenses. It is obvious to every man that they are of the most vital importance to the country. Such coast defenses as we have are strong and admirable, but we have not got coast defenses in enough places. Their quality is admirable but their quantity is insufficient. The military officers of the country have not been negligent, they have sought adequate appropriations from congress and in most instances have obtained them so far as we saw the work in hand that it was necessary to do. And the work that they have done in the use of these appropriations has been admirable and skillful work. Do not let anybody deceive you into supposing that the army of the United States, so far as it has had opportunity, is in any degree unworthy of your confidence."

**America Not Afraid.**

"America is not afraid of anybody. I know that I express your feeling and the feeling of all our fellow citizens when I say that the only thing I am afraid of is not being ready to perform my duty. I am afraid of the danger of shame; I am afraid of the danger of inadequacy; I am afraid of the danger of not being able to express the great character of this country with tremendous might and effectiveness whenever we are called upon to act in the field of the world's affairs for it is character we are going to express, not power merely."

"The United States is not in love with the aggressive use of power. It despises aggressive use of power. There is not a foot of territory belonging to any other nation which this nation covets or desires. There is not a privilege which we ourselves enjoy which we would dream of denying any other nation in the world. If there is one thing that the American people love and believe in more than another, it is peace, and all the handsome things that belong to peace."

"I hope that you will bear me out in saying that I have proved that I am a partisan of peace; and I would be ashamed to be belligerent and impatient when the fortunes of my whole country and the happiness of all my fellowmen were involved. But I know that peace is not always within the choice of the nation, and I want to remind—and remind you very solemnly—of the double obligation you have laid upon me. I know you have laid it upon me, because I am constantly reminded of it in conversation, by letter, in editorials, by means of every voice that writes me out of the body of the nation. You have laid upon me this double obligation: 'We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of this war, but we are relying upon you,

**The American Navy.**

"And the navy of the United States? You have been told that it is the second in strength in the world. I am sorry to say that experts do not agree with those who tell you that. Looking by its actual strength, I believe it to be one of the most efficient navies in the world; but its strength ranks fourth, not second. And you must reckon with the fact that it is necessary that that should be our first arm of defense, and you ought to insist that everything should be done that it is possible to do to bring that navy up to an adequate standard of strength and efficiency."

"Where we are lacking more, perhaps, is in land and in the number of men who are ready to fight. Not the number of fighting men, but the number of men who are ready to fight. Some men are born trouble-makers, some men have trouble thrust upon them and other men acquire trouble."

"I think I belong to the second class. But the characteristic desire of America is not that we should have a great body of men whose chief business is to fight, but a great body of men who know how to fight and are ready to fight when anything that is dear to the nation is threatened. You might have what we have, millions of men who had never handled arms of war, who had never material for shot and powder if you put them in the field, and America would be ashamed of the inefficiency of calling such men to defend the nation."

**Want Volunteers in Training.**

"What we want is to associate in training with the army of the United States, men who will volunteer for a sufficient length of time every year to get the rudimentary acquaintance with arms, the rudimentary skill in handling them, the rudimentary acquaintance with camp life, the rudimentary acquaintance with military drill and discipline, and we ought to see to it that we have men of that sort in sufficient number to constitute an initial nucleus when we need an army for the defense of the country."

"I have heard it stated that there are probably several million men in this country who have received a sufficient amount of military drill either here or in the countries in which they were born and from which they have come to us. Perhaps there are; nobody knows, because there is no means of counting them, but if there are so many, they are not obliged to come at our call. We do not know who they are. That is not military preparation. Military preparation consists in the existence of such a body of men known to the federal authorities, organized provisionally by the federal authorities and subject by their own choice and will to the immediate call of the federal authority."

**Variety of Discipline.**

"We have no such body of men in the United States except the National Guard. Now, I have a very great respect for the National Guard. I have been associated with one section of that guard in one of the great states of the union, and I know the character of the officers and the quality of the men, and I would trust them both for skill and efficiency; but the whole National Guard of the United States falls short of 100,000 men. It is characterized by a very great variety of discipline and efficiency, as between state and state and it is by the constitution itself put under the authority of more than two score state executives. The president of the United States has not the right to call on these men except in the case of actual invasion. And, therefore, no matter how skillful they are, no matter how ready they are, they are not the instruments for immediate national use."

"I believe that the congress of the United States ought to do, and that it will do, a great deal more for the national guard than it ever has done, and everything ought to be done to make a model military arm, but that is not the arm that we are interested in. We are interested in knowing that there are men all over the United States prepared, equipped and ready to go out at the call of the national government upon the shortest possible notice. You will ask me, why do you say the shortest possible notice? Because, gentlemen, let me tell you very

solemnly you can't afford to postpone this thing. I do not know what a single day may bring forth."

**Beset with Dangers.**

"I do not wish to leave you with the impression that I am thinking of some particular danger. I merely want to leave you with this solemn impression that I know that we are daily treading amidst the most intricate dangers, and that the dangers that we are treading amongst are not of our making and are not under our control; and that no man in the United States knows what a single week or a single day or a single hour may bring forth. These are solemn things to say to you, but I would be unworthy of my office if I did not come out and tell you with absolute frankness just exactly what I understand the situation to be."

"I do not wish to hurry the congress of the United States. These things are too important to be put through without very thorough sifting and debate and I am not in the least jealous of any of the searching processes of discussion. That is what free people are for, to understand what they are about and to do what they wish to do only if they understand what they are about. But it is impossible to discuss the details of plans in great bodies, unorganized bodies of men, like this audience, for example. All that I can do in this presence is to tell you what I know of the necessities of the case, and to ask you to stand back of the executive authorities of the United States in urging upon those who make our laws as early and effective action as possible."

Mr. President, to keep the honor of the nation unstained."

**What the Message Is.**

"Do you not see that a time may come when it is impossible to do both of these things? Do you not see that if I am to guard the honor of the nation, I am not going to do anything to stain the honor of our own country. I am protecting it against things that I can not control, the action of others. And where the action of others may bring us, I can not foretell. You may count upon my heart and resolution to keep you out of the war, but you must be ready if it is necessary that I should maintain your honor. That is the only thing a real man loves about himself."

"Some men who are not real men love other things about themselves, but the real man believes that his honor is dearer than his life; and a nation is merely all of us put together, and the nation's honor is dearer than the nation's comfort and the nation's peace and the nation's life itself. So that we must know what we have thrown in the balance; we must know the infinite issues which are impending every day of the year, and when we go to bed at night and when we rise in the morning, and at every interval of the rush of business we must remind ourselves that we are part of a great body politic in which are vested some of the highest hopes of the human race."

**Champion of Humanity.**

"Why is every nation turns to us with the instinctive feeling that if anything touches humanity, it touches us? Because it knows that ever since we were born as a nation we have undertaken to be the champions of humanity and of the rights of men. Without that ideal there would be nothing that would distinguish America from its predecessors in the history of nations. Why is it that men that love liberty have crowded to these shores? Why is it that we greet them as they enter the great harbor at New York, with that majestic Statue of Liberty holding up a torch whose visionary beams are supposed to spread abroad over the waters of the world, and to say to all men, 'Come to America, where mankind is free and where we love all the works of righteousness and peace?'"

**Four Men Indicted For Robbery of Bank**

CHICAGO, Jan. 29.—Four men accused of robbing the Washington Park National bank of \$15,000, were indicted yesterday on six counts, after Eddie Mack, confessed leader of the quintet of robbers, had told the grand jury of the story of the robbery. Mack, himself, was not indicted. The state's attorney said he would not prosecute, "if he kept his promise to leave the country after testifying in the trials of the indicted men."

Mack, the state's attorney said, had made allegations that fifteen Chicago policemen had protected criminals, and that criminals had been imported into Chicago from New York to discredit the police department heads. The allegations, said the state's attorney, were being investigated.

The four indicted men were all said to have come from New York. They are Alex Brodie, Harry Kramer, Charles Kramer and Harry Fein.

**After Ed Konetchy.**

The New York Giants and Chicago White Sox are after First Baseman Ed Konetchy of the Pittsburgh Rebels.

**Will Trade Jennings.**

If the Washington club cannot use Elnor Morley, they think that club will transfer him to New York.

**Ship Sunk by Storm.**

BUENOS AIRES, Jan. 29.—The American ship Rhine has arrived here with eighteen survivors of an American vessel sunk in the Atlantic near the equator by a storm.

## CONTINENTAL ARMY PLAN IS DISCUSSED

Scheme Faces Serious Opposition in Military Committees of Congress.

### ADDED NAVY STRENGTH URGED

WASHINGTON, Jan. 30.—While President Wilson is carrying to the country his appeal for adequate national defense, one of the vital elements of the program he has recommended to congress, the continental army, faces serious opposition in both the senate and house military committees.

Such an army, described by Secretary Garrison, as embodying the most attractive scheme that could be devised to give a national test of the problem of training an adequate number of federal volunteers in peace times, would be expected to provide 400,000 men of the total of approximately 1,000,000 which the entire plan is calculated to make available.

**Likely to Be Written Into Bill.**

Present indications are that the continental army proposal in some form will be written into the army increase bill being prepared by the senate military committee, though that measure will be devoted mainly to a special reorganization of the regular army on the basis of approximately 23,000 men with the colors, increasing Secretary Garrison's proposals in that respect by nearly 100,000 men.

Senator Chamberlain, chairman of the senate military committee, said tonight he was confident his committee would turn out without great delay a well rounded bill providing for all the elements of a national army of 1,000,000 or more men. He thought proposals for compulsory service or universal training in the schools would be presented as separate bills, as few advocates of the universal service system had been able to satisfy themselves that either congress or the country was prepared for such a radical change in policy.

**Will Try to Add Rider.**

Some members of the house military committee are expected to make vigorous efforts to couple government production of war materials with any army increase program that may be recommended. Just what form this proposal will take is unsettled, but its advocates are acting on the theory that some such provision is advisable to meet the war scare and armament movements for selfish reasons.

So far as the navy is concerned, there has been little on which to judge the feeling of the house committee, but it seems evident that a considerably increased building program for 1917 will be favored. In general discussions of members of both houses, the prevailing opinion seems to be that Secretary Daniel's five-year program finally will be through and possibly be augmented in some particulars.

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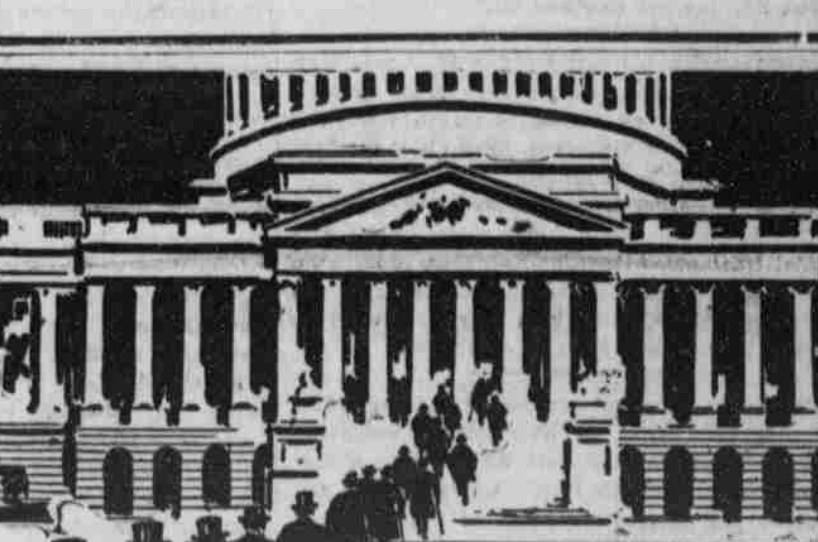
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