

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Wilson Voices Policy of Pan-Americanism, Urges Defense Measures, Investigation of Railway Problems, Vocational Education and Requests Laws to Punish Seditious Americans and Troublesome Aliens.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 7.—President Wilson today in his annual message to Congress explained American ideas with reference to the future, spoke of the need of stronger defense in order to uphold the Monroe doctrine and touched upon internal problems. He specifically scored the un-American actions of some citizens and the activities of certain aliens and requested the enactment of laws to punish offenders. The message follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress: Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the union the war of nations on the other side of the sea, which had then only begun to disclose its portentous proportions, has extended its threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame almost every square yard of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere, has altered the whole face of international affairs, and now presents a prospect of reorganization and reconstruction such as statesmen and peoples have never been called upon to attempt before.

We had and we are studiously to do so. Not only did we have no part or interest in the policies which seem to have brought the conflict on; it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of the struggle, and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin and the breakdown throughout the world of the industries by which its populations are fed and sustained. It was manifestly the duty of the self-governing nations of this hemisphere to express, if possible, the balance of economic loss and confusion in the other, if they could do nothing more. In the day of readjustment and recuperation, we earnestly hope and believe that they can be of infinite service.

New U. S. Relationships.

In this neutrality, to which they were added not only by their separate life and their habitual detachment from the politics of Europe, but also by a clear perception of international duty, the states of America have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bind them stand together.

There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water; felt it its duty to play the part of guardian, not of conqueror; and I think that in the early days of our history was undertaken with a true and uninterested enthusiasm for the freedom of the Americas and the unalloyed self-government of her independent peoples. But it was always difficult to maintain such a policy, and the feeling of pride and self-interest of the people, who were sought to protect, and without provoking serious misconceptions of our motives, and every thoughtful man of affairs must welcome the altered circumstances of the new day in whose light the even more difficult part of guardian, not of conqueror, is not altered. We are now in the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and political liberty in America. But this purpose, which has been understood so far as it concerns ourselves. It is known not to be a selfish purpose. It is known to have in it no thought of taking advantage of any government in this hemisphere or playing its political game for our own benefit. All the governments of the world, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

Mexico and Cuba.

We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. The course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in our hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds can be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia bill of rights, which in the great days in which our country was born was everywhere amongst us accepted as the creed of free men. That doctrine is: "That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community; that of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of procuring the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government is found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal." We have unhesitatingly applied that doctrine to the case of Mexico, and now her people are reborn, and so much of which to purge itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and defend Mexico, but we will not give her, as our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

No Rivalry in Americas.

The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals, but cooperating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

This is the spirit of America. It has none of the elements of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

A very notable body of men recently met in the city of Washington, at the invitation of the younger men of the country

and as the guests of this government, whose deliberations are likely to be looked upon as marking a memorable turning point in the history of America. They were representatives of the several independent states of this hemisphere and were assembled to discuss the financial and commercial relations of the republics of the two continents which nature and political fortune have so intimately linked together. I earnestly recommend to your perusal the reports of their proceedings, and of the actions of their committees. You will get from them, I think, a fresh conception of the ease and intelligence with which the two continents may enter into practical cooperation and of what the material foundations of this hopeful partnership of interest must consist—of how we should build them and of how necessary it is that we should hasten their building.

Destiny of Americas.

There is, I venture to point out, an especial significance in now attaching to this whole matter of drawing the Americas together in bonds of honorable partnership and mutual advantage because of the economic readjustments which the world must inevitably witness within the next generation, when peace shall have at last resumed its healthful course. In the performance of these tasks, I believe the Americas to be destined to play their parts together. I am interested to fix your attention on this prospect now because unless you take it within your view and permit the full significance of it to command your thought I cannot find the right light in which to set forth the particular matter that lies at the very front of my whole thought, as I address you today. I mean national defense.

Ideals of Democracy.

No one who really comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak, can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are alien to their reasoning, or agreeable to their principles. But because we demand unalloyed development and an undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles, of right and liberty, we resent from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves practice. We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of the world, which affect only ourselves. We feel it to be our duty to be a people that tries to walk in the paths of peace and independence and right. From the time we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freedom.

Can't Depend on Farmers.

Out of such thoughts grow all our policies. We regard war merely as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression or as a means of asserting our own rights as a people against the use of force as a means of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army for peace as in times of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no more than necessary to meet any emergency which may actually and continuously be needed for the use of force which our enemies move against us. But we do not believe in a body of free citizens ready and able to take care of themselves and of the government they have set up to serve them. In our constitutions themselves we have commanded that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose to defend the seas.

Must Understand War.

But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively in a sudden summons, they must know how to use the summons, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available for the service of the government. Our military peace establishment must be able to take care of themselves and of the government they have set up to serve them. In our constitutions themselves we have commanded that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed," and our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose to defend the seas.

Why Ships Are Needed.

For it is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other's commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to go forth to sea, to trade, to buy and sell, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We cannot maintain independence on the sea. Our independence is provincial and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in the carrying of our trade, and our independence means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be tolerated. It is a situation which must not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate fleet can give, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-efficiency. If it is not to be a mere province of the world, it must be able to stand on its own feet. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and imperiled.

Proposed Army Increase.

Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own—not ships of war, but ships of peace, for the present, at least, and more; creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side of the water. They must move steadily and firmly forward to the benefit of Americans. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of mutual sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual respect between the peoples of the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created. The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for use as a private capital must ultimately be undertaken and achieved, as it has been undertaken and achieved, by every other nation that has prospered with admirably good success and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of the much to be desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of a fleet of ships which will accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop. Something must be done at once to open new and undeveloped opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the avenues of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created. The government can undertake at the beginning and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and the business has begun to prosper, the government may withdraw. It cannot omit to begin. It should take the first step, and it should take it at once. Our goods must not be piled up on our ports and stored upon sidetracks in freight cars which are daily needed on transport to any foreign quarter. We must not await the permission of foreign shipowners and foreign governments to send them. What is Proposed.

With a view to meeting these pressing necessities of our commerce and availing ourselves at the earliest possible moment

of the present unparalleled opportunity of increasing our power on the seas and of bonds of mutual interest and service, an opportunity which may never return again if we miss it now, proposals will be made to increase the number of ships to be owned and directed by the government similar to those made to the last Congress, but modified in certain particulars. I earnestly recommend these proposals to your prompt acceptance with the more confidence because every month that has elapsed since the former proposals were made has made the necessity for prompt action more and more manifestly imperative. That need was then foreseen; it is now felt and everywhere realized by those for whom that was walking out who can find no conveyance for their goods. I am not so much interested in the taking immediate action as I am in the opportunity which awaits us if we will act in this emergency. In this matter I have no other, a spirit of common counsel should prevail, and action should be an early solution of this pressing problem.

New Naval Plan.

The program which will be laid before you by the secretary of the navy is similarly conceived. It involves only a slight increase in the number of ships, but long matured plans will be carried out, not only does it make definite and explicit a program which has heretofore been only implicit, held in the minds of the officers on naval affairs and disclosed in the debates of the two houses, but nowhere formulated or formally adopted. It seems to me very clear that it will be to the advantage of the country for the Congress to adopt a comprehensive plan for putting the navy upon a final footing of strength by the end of the next five years. We have always looked to the navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense, and it is our manifest course of prudence to be strong on the seas. Year by year we have been creating a navy which now stands in the front rank of the maritime nations. We should now definitely determine how we shall complete what we have begun, and how soon. The program which I have just outlined contemplates the construction within five years of 10 battleships, six battle cruisers, 15 scout cruisers, 50 destroyers, 15 fleet submarines, 100 submersibles, four gunboats, one hospital ship, two ammunition ships, two fuel oil ships and one repair ship. It is proposed that the very clearest plan will be to first year provide for the construction of two battleships, two battle cruisers, three scout cruisers, 15 destroyers, five fleet submarines, two gunboats, one hospital ship; the second year, two battleships, one scout cruiser, 10 destroyers, four fleet submarines, 10 submersibles, one gunboat, and one fuel oil ship; the third year, two battleships, one battle cruiser, two scout cruisers, five destroyers, two fleet submarines, one gunboat, one hospital ship, one fuel oil ship, and one repair ship; the fourth year, two battleships, two battle cruisers, two scout cruisers, 10 destroyers, two fleet submarines, one gunboat, one hospital ship, one fuel oil ship, and one repair ship; the fifth year, one battle cruiser, two scout cruisers, 10 destroyers, two fleet submarines, one gunboat, one hospital ship, one fuel oil ship, and one repair ship.

More Men Needed.

The secretary of the navy is asking also for the immediate addition to the personnel of the navy of 1,000 men, 500 apprentice seamen, and 1,500 marines. This increase would be sufficient to care for the ships which are to be completed within the next five years, and to provide a number of men which must be put in training to man the ships which will be completed early in 1918. It is also necessary that the number of cadets at the naval academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least 300 in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly augmented. For engineering duties only, approved graduates of engineering colleges, and for service in the aviation corps, a certain number of men taken from civil life.

U. S. Merchant Marine.

But armies and instruments of war are only part of what has to be considered if we are to consider the supreme matter of our independence. There are other great matters which will be thrust upon our attention whether we will or not. There is the question of our independence in trade and shipping involved in this great problem of national adequacy. It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and of the safety of our commerce and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect. It is a situation which is not only a national disgrace, but also a national danger. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our command of the seas.

Problems of Revenue.

On the 15th of June, last, there was an available balance in the general fund of the treasury of \$104,170,167.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue act of 1915 should be extended beyond its present limit, the 31st of December, 1916, and that the 10 per cent duty on sugar should be suspended, will be \$778,335,578. The balance of June last and these estimated receipts, therefore, make a grand total of \$778,335,578. The total estimated disbursements for the present fiscal year, including \$25,000,000 for the Panama canal, \$10,000,000 for the relief of the Philippines, and \$50,000,000 for miscellaneous debt redemptions, will be \$753,335,578. The balance in the general fund of the treasury at the close of the present fiscal year, if continued, would produce during the two months of the fiscal year remaining after the first of July, 1917, a surplus of \$25,000,000, amounting together to \$80,000,000. If added to the revenue of the second half of the fiscal year, 1917, would yield the treasury at the close of the year an available balance of \$78,000,000.

Disloyal Americans.

I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of affection for the governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self-possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country. But it is not so. There are some men who are daily bringing upon us.

Domestic Affairs.

While we speak of the preparation of the nation to make sure of her security and her effective power, we must not fail to put the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes from the energy, the industry, the energy, their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land and the land outside our continental borders which look to us for protection, for encouragement, and for assistance in their development; from the organization and freedom and dignity of our people. The domestic questions which engaged the attention of the last Congress are more vital to the nation in this time of stress than at any other time. We are not adequately ready for any trial of our strength unless we wisely and promptly direct the force of our laws into these all-important channels. It is a matter which it seems to me we should have very much at heart is the creation of the right instrumentalities by which to mobilize our economic resources in any time of national necessity. I take it for granted that I do not need your authority to call into systematic consultation with the directing officers of the army and navy men of recognized leadership and ability from among our citizens who are thoroughly familiar, for example, with the transportation of goods, with the production and therefore competent to advise how they may be co-ordinated when the need arises, those who can suggest the best machinery to bring about the necessary cooperation among the manufacturers of the country, should it be necessary, and those who could assist in bringing the technical skill of the country to bear upon the problems of defense. I only hope that if I should find it feasible to constitute such an advisory body, that you would be willing to vote the small sum of money that would be needed to defray the expenses that would probably be necessary for the advisory body, and that you would give it the clearest possible authority to do more than discuss it in very general terms. We should be following an almost universal example of modern governments if we were to draw the revenues we need from the income taxes. By somewhat lowering the present limits of exemption for the highest incomes, and by increasing, step by step throughout the present taxation, the surtax itself, the income tax at present in effect would be sufficient to balance the books of the treasury at the end of the fiscal year 1917 without anywhere making the burden of the tax on the individual unbearable. The precise reckonings are fully and accurately set out in the report of the secretary of the treasury which will be immediately available to you. It is a tax of 1 per cent per gallon on gasoline and naphtha would yield, at the present esti-

mate, \$16,000,000; a tax of 50 cents per gallon on kerosene, \$15,000,000; a tax of 25 cents per gallon on pig iron, \$15,000,000; a tax of 50 cents per ton on fabricated iron bars, \$15,000,000; a tax of 50 cents per ton on construction of ships to be owned and directed by the government similar to those made to the last Congress, but modified in certain particulars. I earnestly recommend these proposals to your prompt acceptance with the more confidence because every month that has elapsed since the former proposals were made has made the necessity for prompt action more and more manifestly imperative. That need was then foreseen; it is now felt and everywhere realized by those for whom that was walking out who can find no conveyance for their goods. I am not so much interested in the taking immediate action as I am in the opportunity which awaits us if we will act in this emergency. In this matter I have no other, a spirit of common counsel should prevail, and action should be an early solution of this pressing problem.

Insular Problems.

There is another matter which seems to me to be very closely associated with the question of national safety and preparation for defense. That is our policy toward the Philippines and the people of Porto Rico. The sentiment of them and their attitude towards us is the result of the first conquest in the development of our duties in the world and to the extent to which we form those duties. We must be free from the unnecessary burden or embarrassment; and there is no better way to be clear of embarrassing relations with our neighbors and promote the interests of these dependent on us to the utmost. Bills for the alteration and reform of the government of the Philippines and for rendering fuller political justice to the people of Porto Rico were submitted to the Sixty-sixth Congress. They will be submitted also to the next Congress, and you are already familiar with them. But I do not urge their early adoption with the sincerest desire, and I think you would measure you could adopt which would more serviceably clear the way for the good policies which we wish to make good. It is always our right to act in enterprises of peace and good will and economic and political freedom.

Boots for Russian Troops.

By the end of October, the Jiji reports, 1,000 pairs of boots had been exported from Japan to Russia. It is further reported that a contract has been signed calling for the delivery of from 50,000 to 100,000 pairs a month until the cessation of hostilities. The contract price was not made public, but it was generally assumed to be \$25,000 to \$30,000 per pair. Japan's capacity for the manufacture of boots is such that it will probably have no difficulty in filling the order.

Assassination Poor Asset.

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New Jersey has 23 cities under commission rule.

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with the energy of those who must be their themselves to build anew. Just what these changes will be no one can certainly foresee or confidently predict. There are calculable, because no stable elements in the problem. The most we can do is make certain that we have the necessary instrumentalities of information constantly at our service so that we may be sure that we know exactly what we are dealing with when we come to act. It should be necessary to act at all. We must first certainly know what it is that we are dealing with. I may ask the privilege of addressing you more at length on this important matter a little later in your session.

Transportation Problem.

In the meantime may I make this suggestion? The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coordinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at present framed and administered have any serious defects. It might be in the solution of the problem. It is obviously a problem that lies at the very foundation of our efficiency as a people. Such an inquiry would draw out every circumstance and opinion worth considering and we need to know all sides of the matter if we mean to do anything in the field of federal legislation.

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A broadcloth in African brown duvetye deeply bordered with seal-skin. On some coats the fullness is very fetching. Naturally the older heavier woman will have this style less extreme.

LONG COAT FETCHING

