

WILSON OUTLINES ARMY POLICY.

Takes up Necessity of Reserve Force in His First Appeal For National Defense.

Says That America Will Always Be A Lover of Peace, But That Honor and Character Must be Vindicated at All Times, Does Not Fear Militarism—Has Changed Since His Message to Congress Fourteen Months Ago on Preparedness and Tariff Commission—Defends His Mexican Policy, Pointing out Position of United States.

New York, Jan. 27.—President Wilson tonight began his personal appeal to the country for preparedness for national defense. He gave warning that plans for the readjustment of the army must be carried out without delay and solemnly declared he could not predict that the outlook for the United States would be as bright tomorrow as today. Speaking at a banquet of the Railway Business Association and the Motion Picture Board of Trade, he sounded the keynote of addresses that he will deliver during the next ten days in the Middle West.

Mr. Wilson was in a fighting mood. In a speech early in the day he declared he always accepted an invitation to fight. Tonight he told the railroad men he was an advocate of peace and had struggled to keep the United States at peace, but he considered the liberty and honor of the nation even more than peace.

"We to any man who plays marionette or who seeks to make party politics or personal ambition take precedence over candor, honor and unselfish, unpartisan service!" said the president in speaking of his defense plan before the railroad men. He declared that the country expects action; this is a year of accounting, and the accounting must be definite on the part of parties and on part of every individual who wishes to enjoy the public confidence.

"For my part, I hope every man in public life will get what is coming to him," said Mr. Wilson amid laughter and applause.

The president at both banquets and all during his day's visit to New York was greeted with enthusiasm. On his ride between the hotels where the banquets were held tonight he was escorted by a band and the Ninth company of coast artillery of the New York National Guard. Thousands of persons packed the streets and cheered him as he went by.

In his speech before nearly 1,500 business men at the railway banquet he cast aside almost entirely the text of the address that he had previously prepared.

The president admitted that in a message to the last congress he had not pressing. He declared that he learned something in the mean time. He cited his recent support of a tariff commission as another instance of a change on his part.

Mr. Wilson spoke of men of high character who were clouding the preparedness issue. He declared they were provincial. He vigorously defended his Mexican policy. He asserted that to invade Mexico would mean the losing of the confidence of the rest of the Western hemisphere. He cited the case of Cuba as an instance of good done by the United States.

"If we are drawn into the maelstrom which now surges in Europe," the president declared, "we shall not be permitted to do the high things we would prefer."

The president defended the continental army plan drawn up by Secretary Garrison and said that he did not care about the details of any plan as long as 500,000 trained men were provided as reserves under the federal government. He advocated strengthening the National Guard, but said the constitution itself put the guard under the States. He added that the United States will not turn in the direction of militarism.

Outlining why the United States should be prepared, Mr. Wilson said: "We must protect our rights as a nation and the rights of our citizens in America and outside of it, as the consensus of civilized people has defined them; must endure the unembarrassed realization of our political development within our own borders and must protect the peace and political autonomy of the Americas." He added that a national defense means the protection of the country from invasion and also the prevention of flank assault upon "the things which we believe to underlie our life."

Industrial preparedness, with the military training of students in industrial schools, was proposed by the president. He left consideration of navy plans for later addresses.

Business men who formerly relied on protective measures in their dealings with foreign powers were criticized by Mr. Wilson. He said American business men should be able to

hold their own against the world. In his address before the Railway Business association banquet President Wilson said he considered it a privilege "to be permitted to lay before you some things to which we ought to give our most careful and deliberate consideration."

"The questions, it seems to me," he said, "which most demands clarification just now is the question to which your toastmaster has referred—the question of preparation for national defense."

"I say that it stands in need of clarification because, singularly enough, it has been deeply clouded by passion and prejudice. It is very singular that a question the elements of which are so simple and so obvious should have been so beclouded by the discussion of men of high motive, men of purpose as handsome as any of us may claim, and yet apparently incapable of divesting themselves of that sort of provincialism which consists in thinking the contents of their own minds to be the contents of the mind of the world. For, gentlemen, while America is a very great nation, while America contains all the elements of fine force and accomplishment, America does not constitute the major part of the world."

"We live in a world which we did not make, which we can not alter. . . It would be a hopeless piece of provincialism to suppose that because we think differently from the rest of the world we are at liberty to assume that the rest of the world will permit us to enjoy that thought without disturbance."

"It is a surprising circumstance also that men should allow partisan feeling of personal ambition to creep into the discussion of this fundamental thing. How can Americans differ about the safety of America?"

"And I, for my part, am ambitious that America should do a greater and more difficult thing than the great nations on the other side of the water have done. In all the belligerent countries men, without distinction of party, have drawn together to accomplish a successful prosecution of the war. Is it not a more difficult and a more desirable thing that all Americans should put partisan prepossession aside?"

"Only the other day the leader of the Republican minority in the house of representatives delivered a speech that showed that he was ready, and I take it for granted that the men behind him were ready to forget party lines in order that all men may act with a common mind and pulse for the service of the country. And I want upon this first public occasion to pay my tribute of respect and obligation to him."

"I find it hard indeed to approach this subject without deep emotion, gentlemen, because, when we speak of America and the things that are to be conserved in her, does it not call a wonderful picture into your mind? America is young still. Think of the great treasures of youth and energy and ideal purposes still to be drawn from the deep resources from which this nation has always drawn its light. . . ."

"Think of the position into which America has been drawn almost in spite of herself, by the circumstances of the present day. She is forced, whether she will or not, in the days immediately ahead of us, to furnish the world with its chief economic guidance and assistance."

"It is very fine to remember what ideals will be back of that assistance. Economic assistance in itself is not necessarily handsome. It is a legitimate thing to make money. Money brings with it power which may be well or ill employed. And it should be the pride of America always to employ her money to the highest purpose. And yet, if we are drawn into the maelstrom that now surges across the water and swirls even in the Western region of the world, we shall not be permitted to keep a free hand to do the high things that we intend to do. And it is necessary that we should examine ourselves and so order ourselves that we can make certain that the tasks imposed upon us will be performed, and well performed."

"America has been reluctant to match her wits with the rest of the world. When I face a body of men like this, it is almost incredible to remember that only yesterday they were afraid to put their wits into free

competition with the world. The best brains in the world afraid to match brains with the rest of the world! We have preferred to stand behind protecting devices. And now, we are thrust out to do, on a scale never dreamed of in recent generations in America, the business of the world. We can no longer be a provincial nation."

"Let no man dare to say if he would speak the truth that the question of preparation for national defense is a question of war or peace. If there is one passion more deep-seated in the hearts of our fellow countrymen than another it is the passion for peace. . . . There is no desire on the part of any thoughtful and conscientious American to take one foot of territory from any nation in the world. And I myself share to the bottom of my heart that profound love for peace. I have sought to maintain peace against very great, and sometimes very unfair odds, and I am ready, at any time, to use every power that is in me to prevent such a catastrophe as war coming upon this country."

"So that it is not permissible for any man to say with anxiety that the defense of the nation has the least tinge in it of desire for power which can be used to bring on war. But, gentlemen, there is something that the Americans love better than, they love peace. They love the principles upon which their political life is founded."

"They are ready at any time to fight for the vindication of their character and their honor. They will at no time seek a contest, but they will at no time cravenly avoid it. Because if there is one thing that the country ought to fight for and that every nation ought to fight for, it is the integrity of its own convictions. We can not surrender our convictions. I would rather surrender territory than surrender ideals. And because we hold certain ideals we have thought it was right we should hold them for others as well as for ourselves."

"America had been willing to fight for the liberty of others as well as for its own liberty. The world sneered when we set out for the liberation of Cuba, but the world does not sneer any longer. . . ."

"And, whether by one process or another, we have made ourselves in some sort the champions of free government and national sovereignty in both continents of this hemisphere. So that there are certain obligations, which every American knows, that we have undertaken. The first and primary obligation is the maintenance of the integrity of our own sovereignty. . . . There is also the maintenance of our liberty to develop our political institutions without hindrance, and last of all, there is the determination and the obligation to stand as the strong brother of all those in this hemisphere who will maintain the same principles."

"May I venture to insert here a parenthesis? Have any of you thought of this? We have slowly, very slowly indeed, begun to win the confidence of the other states of the American hemisphere. If we should go into Mexico do you know what would happen. All the sympathy of the rest of America would look across the water and not northward to the great republic which we profess to represent."

"And do you not see the consequences that would ensue in every international relationship? Have the gentlemen who have rushed down to Washington to insist that we should go into Mexico reflected upon the politics of the world? Nobody seriously supposes, gentlemen, that the United States needs to fear any invasion of its own territory. What America has to fear, if she has anything to fear, are flank movements upon her regnant position in the Western hemisphere. Are we going to open the gates or are we going to close them? For they are the gates to the hearts of our American friends to the south of us and the gates to the ports within their spirits and you have won the only sort of leadership and the only sort of safety that America covets. . . . But, gentlemen, we must find means to do the things which are suitable to the time and suitable to our own ideals. Perhaps when you learned that I was expecting to address you on the subject of preparedness you recalled the address which I made congress something more than a year ago, in which I said that this question of military preparedness was not a pressing question. But more than a year has gone by since then, and I would be ashamed if I had not learned something in 14 months. The minute I stop changing my mind, as president, with the change of all the circumstances in the world I will be a back number."

"There is another thing about which I have changed my mind. A year ago I was not in favor of a tariff board, and I will tell you why: Because then the only purpose of a tariff board was to keep alive an unprofitable controversy."

"But the circumstances of the present time are these: There is going on

in the world, under our eyes, an economic revolution. No man understands that revolution. . . . And members of congress are too busy, their duties are too distracting to make it possible within a sufficiently short space of time for them to master the change that is coming. . . .

"But that is another parenthesis. What I am trying to impress upon you now is that I can not tell you what the international relations of this country will be tomorrow, and I use the word literally."

"America will never be the aggressor; America will always seek, to the last point at which her honor is involved, to avoid the things which disturb the peace of the world. But America does not control the circumstances of the world and we must be sure that we are faithful servants of those things which we love and are ready to defend them against every contingency. . . . It goes without saying that one thing this country never will endure is a system that can be called militarism. But militarism consists in preparing a great machine whose only use is for war. . . . And I do not believe that the creation of such an instrument is an insurance of peace."

"America is always going to use her army in two ways. She is going to use it for the purpose of peace and she is going to use it as a nucleus for expansion into those things which she does believe in, namely the preparation of her citizens to take care of themselves."

"There are two sides to the question of preparation. There is not merely the military side, there is the industrial side. We ought to have in this country a great system of industrial and vocational educational training under the guidance of and with federal aid, in which a very large percentage of the youth of this country will be given training in the skillful use and application of the principles of science in manufacture and business."

"But, gentlemen, you can not create such a system rapidly. It has got to be built up. And there is something to be done in the meantime. We must see to it that that a sufficient body of citizens is given the kind of training which will make them efficient for call into the field in case of necessity. . . . Think of asking men, who can be easily drawn, to come into the field, crude, ignorant, inexperienced, and merely furnish the stuff for camp fever and bullets. . . . And so it seems to me that it is our manifest duty to have a proper citizen reserve."

"I am not forgetting our National Guard. . . . As governor of New Jersey I was brought into association with what I am too glad to believe was one of the most efficient portions of the National Guard of the United States. I learned to admire the men, to respect the officers, and to believe that arm of our national defense should be built up and encouraged to the utmost. But you know that under the constitution of the United States it is under the direction of more than two score States and that it is not permitted for the national government to direct its development and organization, and that only upon occasion of actual invasion has the president of the United States the right to ask those men to leave their respective States. I for my part am afraid that there is no way in which that force can be made a direct resource as a national reserve under national authority."

"What we need is a body of men trained in association with units of the army, a body of men organized under the direction of the national authorities, subject to the immediate calls to arms of the national authority and yet not drawn from the peaceful pursuits which have made America great and must keep her great."

"I am not a partisan of any one plan. . . . But what I am for, and what every American ought to insist upon, is a body of at least a half million trained citizens who will serve under conditions of danger as an immediately available national reserve."

"I am not saying anything about the navy because I don't want to go to sea. I want to stick to the one theme tonight because for some reason there is not the same controversy about the navy there is about the army. The navy is obvious and easily understood. The army apparently is very difficult to comprehend and understand. We have a traditional prejudice against armies which makes us stop thinking the minute we begin talking about them and we suppose that there can not be an American system in this instance, but that it must be the European system and that is what I, for one, am trying to divest my own mind of. The navy is so obvious an instrument of national defense that I believe that with the differences of opinion about detail it is not going to be difficult to carry out a proper and reasonable programme for the increase of the navy."

"But that is another story and you know I have to give a good many speeches in the near future, and I must save something for subsequent

days. My theme tonight is national defense on land. I do not want to leave upon your minds the impression that I have any anxiety as to the outcome, for have not the slightest."

"There is only one way that parties and individuals win the confidence of this nation and that is to do the things that ought to be done. The facts are going to speak for themselves, and speak louder than anybody who controverts them."

"No political party, no group of men, can ever disappoint America. This is a year of political accounting and the Americans in politics are rather expert accountants."

"No man is going to hide behind any excuses. The goods must be delivered and the confidence will not be enjoyed; and for my part I hope every man in public life will get what is coming to him."

"But if this is true, gentlemen, it is because of the things that lie down at the very roots of our life. America refuses to be deceived about the things which most concern her, national honor, national safety. All have confidence in everything that she represents."

"It is a solemn time when men must examine not only their purposes but their hearts, when men must purge themselves of individual ambition, when men must see to it that they are ready for the utmost self-sacrifice in the interest of the common welfare. Let no man dare be a marplot. Let no man bring partisan passion into these great things. Let men honestly debate the facts and courageously act upon them and then there will come that day when the world will say: 'This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary ideas, now speaks

with the great volume of the heart's accord and that great heart of America has behind it the moral force of righteousness and the hope and the liberty of mankind.'"

President Wilson was busy from the time he arrived early this morning until he left at midnight for a brief period in Washington before departing for the Middle West to speak for preparedness. In addition to attending two banquets tonight, the president spoke twice during the day, shook hands with a group of suffragists and took two automobile rides.

Insistence that the American people love peace, but must be treated justly and must harmonize international racial and religious differences marked his address at noon before a conference of 1,500 New York clergymen of all denominations. He declared that peace is inconsistent with the violation of principle and the loss of respect. The president did not repeat his now famous phrase "too proud to fight," but asserted belligerently that "I always accept, perhaps by some impulse of my native blood, the invitation to a fight." He added that he hoped he always fought in "kindly fashion" that he did not "traduce his antagonists," and that he fought with the intention of converting them.

During the morning the president repeated his opposition to action by the federal government on the woman suffrage question when speaking to a delegation of 200 members of the Congressional Union of Woman Suffrage who called at his hotel and would not leave until he saw them. He reiterated his position that he would help the cause in individual States whenever he could.

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