

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE

The Chief Executive Deplores the Lack of Ships, Declares That the Government Must Open the Gates of Trade and Urges Passage of the Pending Shipping Bill — Rural Credits and Safety at Sea, Self Government For Filipinos Again Recommended.

FOLLOWING is President Wilson's annual message, delivered at the beginning of the short term of the Sixty-third congress:

Gentlemen of the Congress—The session upon which you are now entering will be the closing session of the Sixty-third congress, a congress, I venture to say, which will long be remembered for the great body of thoughtful and constructive work which it has done in loyal response to the thought and needs of the country. I should like in this address to review the notable record and try to make adequate assessment of it, but no doubt we stand too near the work that has been done and are ourselves too much part of it to play the part of historians to ward it.

Moreover, our thoughts are now more of the future than of the past. While we have worked at our tasks of peace the circumstances of the whole age have been altered by war. What we have done for our own land and our own people we did with the best that was in us, whether of character or of intelligence, with sober enthusiasm and a confidence in the principles upon which we were acting which sustained us at every step of the difficult undertaking. But it is done. It has passed from our hands. It is now an established part of the legislation of the country. Its usefulness, its effects will disclose themselves in experience. What chiefly strikes us now, as we look about us during these closing days of a year which will be forever memorable in the history of the world, is that we face new tasks, have been facing them these six months, must face them in the months to come—face them without partisan feeling, like men who have forgotten everything but a common duty and the fact that we are repre-



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fully ready; neither have we the means of distribution. We are willing, but we are not fully able. We have the wish to serve and to serve greatly, generously. But we are not prepared as we should be. We are not ready to mobilize our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste.

To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best policy to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich states of the west, when we should have acted, and they are still locked up. The key is still turned upon them. The door shut fast at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the eastern states where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and omissions, even at this short session of a congress which would certainly seem to have done all the work that could reasonably be expected of it. The time and the circumstances are extraordinary, and so must our efforts be also. Fortunately two great measures, finely conceived, the one to unlock, with proper safeguards, the resources of the national domain, the other to encourage the use of the navigable waters outside that domain for the generation of power, have already passed the house of representatives and are ready for immediate consideration and action by the senate. With the deepest earnestness I urge their prompt passage. In them both we turn our backs-

No Standing Army, but a Trained Citizenry For War. "We Have Not Been Negligent of National Defense." A Powerful Navy Needed, "But Who Shall Tell Us What Sort of Navy to Build?" To Learn and Profit by the Lesson of Every Experience.

perplexed policy could we show our confidence in the principles of liberty as the source as well as the expression of life; how better could we demonstrate our own self possession and steadfastness in the courses of justice and disinterestedness than by thus going unflinchingly forward to fulfill our promise to a dependent people, who will now look more anxiously than ever to see whether we have indeed the liberality, the unselfishness, the courage, the faith we have boasted and professed? I cannot believe that the senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable labor.

But I think that you will agree with me that this does not complete the task of our duty. How are we to carry out goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have disorganized and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is hidden away in some wandering yacht club play, it would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels while we debated the items.

The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry, and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development was not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed, but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should of course build them, but in another way. Therefore I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tend to follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that the routes of trade must be actually opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.

SAYS SHIPPING BILL IS VERY IMPORTANT.

It Should Be Passed to Profit by Opened Gates of Trade.

Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session, but as yet passed by neither house. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and cannot wisely be postponed. The government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide, open them before it is altogether profitable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable, and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital and engage it in abundance, the government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the congress will be of this opinion and that both houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

The great subject of rural credits still remains to be dealt with, and it is a matter of deep regret that the difficulties of the subject have seemed to render it impossible to complete a bill for passage at this session. But it cannot be perfected yet, and therefore there are no other constructive measures the necessity for which I will at this time call your attention to, but I would be negligent of a very manifold duty were I not to call the attention of the senate to the fact that the proposed convention for safety at sea awaits its confirmation and that the limit fixed in the convention itself for its acceptance is the last day of the present month. The conference in which this convention originated was called by the United States. The representatives of the United States played a very influential part indeed in framing the provisions of the proposed convention, and those provisions are in themselves for the most part admirable. It would hardly be consistent with the part we have played in the whole matter to let it drop and go by the board as if forgotten and neglected. It was ratified in May last by the German government and in August by the parliament of Great Britain. It marks a most hopeful and decided ad-

vance in international civilization. We should show our earnest good faith in a great matter by adding our own acceptance of it.

COASTS OF ALASKA SHOULD BE SURVEYED.

Present Dangers to Navigation Ought to Be Removed by Charts.

There is another matter of which I must make special mention, if I am to discharge my conscience, lest it should escape your attention. It may seem a very small thing. It affects only a single item of appropriation. But many human lives and many great enterprises hang upon it. It is the matter of making adequate provision for the survey and charting of our coasts. It is immediately pressing and exigent in connection with the immense coast line of Alaska, a coast line greater than that of the United States themselves, though it is also very important indeed with regard to the oldest coasts of the continent.

We cannot use our great Alaskan domain, ships will not ply thither, if those coasts and their many hidden dangers are not thoroughly surveyed and charted. The work is incomplete at almost every point. Ships and lives have been lost in threatening ways supposed to be well known main channels. We have not provided adequate vessels or adequate machinery for the survey and charting. We have used old vessels that were not big enough or strong enough and which were so nearly unseaworthy that our inspectors would not have allowed private owners to send them to sea. This is a matter which, as I have said, seems small, but is in reality very great. Its importance lies only to be locked into to be appreciated.

GOVERNMENT ECONOMY IS VERY IMPERATIVE.

Urges Systematic Reorganization to Gain Greater Efficiency.

Before I close may I say a few words upon two topics much discussed out of doors upon which it is highly important that our judgments should be clear, definite and steadfast?

One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and imperative. In the appropriation we pass we are spending the money of the great people whose servants we are—not our own. We are trustees and responsible stewards in the spending. The only thing debatable and upon which we should be careful to make our thoughts and purpose clear is the kind of economy demanded of us. I assert, with the greatest confidence, that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount that government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay, that the money is being spent for objects of which they approve and that it is being applied with good business sense and management. Governments grow piecemeal both in their tasks and in the means by which those tasks are to be performed and very few governments are organized. I venture to say, as wise and experienced business men would organize them if they had a clean sheet of paper to write upon. Certainly the government of the United States is not. I think that it is generally agreed that there should be a systematic reorganization and reassembling of its parts so as to secure greater efficiency and effect considerable savings in expense. But the amount of money saved in that way would, I believe, though no doubt considerable in itself, running, it may be, into the millions, be relatively small—small, I mean, in proportion to the total necessary outlays of the government. It would be thoroughly worth effecting, as every saving would count for small.

Our duty is not altered by the scale of the saving. But my point is that the people of the United States do not wish to curtail the activities of this government. They wish, rather, to enlarge them, and with every enlargement, with the mere growth, indeed, of the country itself, there must come, of course, the inevitable increase of expense. The sort of economy we ought to practice may be effected, and ought to be effected, by a careful study and assessment of the tasks to be performed, and the money spent ought to be made to yield the best possible return in efficiency and achievement. And, like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent.

It is not expenditure but extravagance that we should fear being criticized for, not paying for the legitimate enterprises and undertakings of a great government whose people command what will benefit only a few or pour ing money out for what need not have been undertaken at all or might have been postponed or better and more economically completed and carried out. The nation is not niggardly; it is very generous. It will chide us only if we forget for whom we pay money out and whose money it is we pay. These are large and general standards, but they are not very difficult of application to particular cases.

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PRESIDENT OPPOSED TO BIG STANDING ARMY.

Speaks Plainly and Directly on Question of National Defense.

The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense. It cannot be discussed without first answering some very searching questions. Is it sound in some quarters that we are not prepared for war? What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to do that, and we can never be in time of peace

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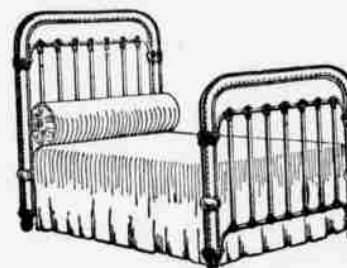
stand as lasting remembrances of this Christmastime, when we, of all the world powers, can rightly celebrate the birth of the "Prince of Peace" in peace.



Our Display of RUGS and ART SQUARES

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Until Christmas you can have any Buck's Sanitary Range or any Hoosier Kitchen Cabinet placed in your home upon the Club Terms of \$1.00 cash and \$1.00 per week. With every Buck's Sanitary Range sold during this Club we furnish FREE a complete 13 piece set of Blue and White Enamelled Cooking ware.



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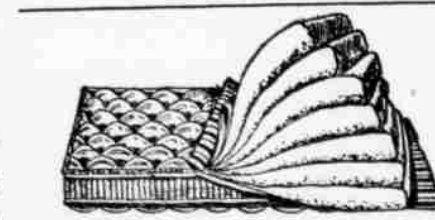
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"WE NEED SHIPS; WE HAVE NOT GOT THEM."

The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready as never before to serve itself and to serve mankind; ready with its resources, its energies, its forces of production and its means of distribution. We are not ready to mobilize our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste. To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine, and now, when we need ships, we have not got them.

representatives of a great people whose thought is not of us, but of what America owes to herself and to all mankind in such circumstances as these upon which we look amazed and anxious.

War has interrupted the means of trade not only but also the processes of production. In Europe it is destroying men and resources wholesale and upon a scale unprecedented and appalling. There is reason to fear that the time is near, if it be not already at hand, when several of the countries of Europe will find it difficult to do for their people what they have hitherto been almost easily able to do—many essential and fundamental things. At any rate, they will need our help and our manifold services as they have never needed them before and we should be ready more fit and ready than we have ever been.

AMERICA FACES NEW MARKETS FOR TRADE.

Merchant Marine Must Be Built Up to Meet Opportunity.

It is of equal consequence that the nations whose manufactures and commerce of which they are in constant need and without which their economic development fails and stands still can now get only a small part of what they formerly imported and eagerly look to us to supply their all but empty markets. This is particularly true of our own neighbors, the states, great and small, of Central and South America. Their lines of trade have hitherto run chiefly seaward, to the seas, not to our ports, but to the ports of Great Britain and of the older continent of Europe. I do not stop to inquire why or to make any comment on probable causes. What interests us just now is not the explanation, but the fact and our duty and opportunity in the presence of it. Here are markets which we must supply, and we must find the means of action. The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready as never before to serve itself and to serve mankind, ready with its resources, its energies, its forces of production and its means of distribution. It is a very practical matter, a matter of ways and means. We have the resources, but are we fully ready to use them? And, if we can make ready what we have, have we the means at hand to distribute it? We are not

GATES OF TRADE MUST BE OPENED.

The government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide, open them before it is altogether profitable to ask private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable, and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital and engage it in abundance, the government ought to withdraw.

SELF GOVERNMENT FOR FILIPINOS IS URGED.

President Says Senate Should Pass Measure Now Before Senate.

And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the senate. I mean the bill which gives a large measure of self government to the people of the Philippines. How better in this time of anxious questioning and