

Wilson's Speech At Columbus For the Treaty

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people who live there and not the advantages of the government. It goes beyond that, and it seeks to gather under the common supervision of the league of nations the various instrumentalities by which the world has been trying to check the evils that were in some places debasing man, like the opium traffic, like the traffic for it was a traffic—of men, women and children; like the traffic in other dangerous drugs; like the traffic in arms among uneducated people, who could use arms only for their detriment; for sanitation; why those clauses, my fellow citizens, draw the hearts of the world into league; draw the noble impulses of the world together and make a poem of them.

Treaty Seeks to Check Things That Are Wrong

"I used to be told that this was an age in which man was monarch; and my comment was that if that were true then man was one of those modern monarchs that reigns and does not govern; but as a matter of fact we were governed by a great representative assembly made up of the human passions, and that the best we could manage was that the high and low passions should be in a mastery, so that they could control the face of passion; so that they could check the things that were wrong; and this treaty seeks something like that.

"In drawing the humane endeavors together, it makes a mirror of the fine passions of the world, of its philanthropic passions, and of its passion of human friendliness and helpfulness, for there is such a passion. It is the passion that has lifted us along the slow road of civilization; it is the passion that has made ordered government possible; it is the passion that has made justice and established the thing in some happy part of the world.

"That is the treaty. Did you ever hear of it before? Did you ever know before what was in this treaty? Did anybody before ever tell you what the treaty was intended to do?"

Begs All Americans To Read Treaty Text

"I beg my fellow citizens, that you read the text of these Americans with whom we are happy to be associated all over this broad land, will read the treaty themselves—or if they won't take time to do that—for it is a technical document that is hard to read; that they will accept the interpretation of those who made it and know what the intentions were in the making of it.

"I hear a great deal, my fellow citizens, about the selfishness and the selfish ambitions of other governments, but I would not be doing justice to the gifted men with whom I was associated on the other side of the water if I didn't testify that the purposes that I have outlined were their purposes.

"We differed as to the method, very

often; we had discussions as to the details, but we never had any serious discussion as to the principle. And while we all acknowledge that the principles might perhaps in detail have been better, really we are all back of those principles.

"There is a concert of mind and of purpose and of policy in the world that was never in existence before. I am not saying that by way of credit to myself, or to those colleagues to whom I have alluded, because what happened to us was that we got messages from our people; we were there under instructions, whether they were written down or not, as we didn't dare come home without fulfilling those instructions.

Defends Kind of Treaty He Obtained

"If I could not have brought back the kind of treaty I brought back I never would have come back, because I would have been an unfaithful servant and you would have had the right to condemn me in any way that you chose to use, so that I testify that this is an American treaty, not only, but it is a treaty that expresses the heart of the people—the great people who were associated together in the war against Germany.

"I said at the opening of this formal address, my fellow citizens, that I had come to make a report to you. I want to add to that a little bit. I have not come to debate the treaty. It speaks for itself if you will let it. The arguments directed against it are directed against it with a radical misunderstanding of the instrument itself. Therefore, I am not going anywhere to debate the treaty. I am going to expound it and I am going, right here now today, to urge you in every vocal method that you can use, to assert the spirit of the American people in support of it. Don't let men pull it down. Don't let them misrepresent it; don't let them lead this nation away from the high purposes with which this war was inaugurated and fought.

Felt He Has Made Good on the Job

"As I came through that line of youngsters in khaki a few minutes ago, I felt that I could salute it because I had done the job in the way I promised them I would do it, and when this treaty is accepted, men in khaki will not have to cross the seas again.

"That is the reason I believe in it. I say 'when it is accepted,' for it will be accepted. I have never entertained a moment's doubt of that and the only thing I have been impatient of has been the delay. It is not a dangerous delay except for the temper of the peoples scattered throughout the world, who are waiting.

"Do you realize, my fellow citizens, that the whole world is waiting on America? The only country in the world that is trusted at this moment is the United States and they are waiting to see whether their trust is justified or not.

"That has been the ground of my impatience. I know their trust was justified, but I burredge the time that certain gentlemen oblige us to take in telling them so. We shall tell them so in a voice as authentic as any voice in history, and in the years to come men will be glad to remember that they had some part in the great struggle which brought this uncomparable consummation of the hopes of mankind."

did not dare to discuss the demands on Serbia or the purpose which they had in view.

"It is universally admitted on the other side of the water that if they had gone into international conference on the Austrian demands the war never would have been begun.

There was an insistent demand from London, for example, by the British Foreign Minister, that the Cabinets of Europe should be given time to confer with the governments at Vienna and Berlin. The governments at Vienna and Berlin did not dare to admit time for discussion.

Germany Wouldn't Have Made War

If There Had Been 9 Days Discussion

"I am recalling these circumstances, my fellow citizens, because I want to point out to you what apparently has escaped the attention of some of the critics of the league of nations does not lie in any of the portions which have been discussed in public debate. The great bulk of the provisions of that covenant contained these engagements and promises on the part of the states which undertook to become members of it; that in no circumstances will they go to war without first having either submitted the question to arbitration—in which case they agree to abide by the result—or, having submitted the question to discussion by the council of the league of nations, in which case they will allow six months for the discussion and engage not to go to war until three months after the council has announced its opinion upon the subject under dispute.

"So that the heart of the covenant of the league is that the nations solemnly covenant not to go to war for nine months after a controversy becomes acute.

"If there had been nine days of discussion Germany would not have gone to war. If there had been nine days within which to bring to bear the opinion of the world, the judgment of mankind upon the purposes of these governments, they never would have dared to execute those purposes.

Pledged to Prevent All Similar Conflicts

"So that what it is important for us to remember is that when we sent those boys in khaki across the sea we promised them, we promised the world, that we would not conclude this conflict with a mere treaty of peace. We entered into solemn engagements with all the nations with whom we associated ourselves that we would bring about such a kind of settlement and such a concert of the purpose of nations that wars like this could not again occur.

"If this war has to be fought over again then all our high ideals and purpose have been disappointed, for we did not go into this war merely to beat Germany. We went into this war to beat all purposes such as Germany entertained.

"We are presently, my fellow countrymen, to have a very great pleasure of welcoming on this side of the sea the Queen and King of Belgium. And I, for one, am perfectly sure that we are going to make it clear to them that we have not forgotten the violation of Belgium; that we have not forgotten the intolerable wrongs which were put upon that suffering people. I have seen their devastated country. Where it was not actually laid in ruins every factory was gutted of its contents; all the machinery by which it would be possible for men to go to work again was taken away, and those parts of the machinery that they could not take away were destroyed by experts who knew how to destroy them.

Germany Aimed to Stop Belgian Trade Competition

"Belgium was a very successful

"There Is Not One Note of Surrender of The Independent Judgment of the U. S."

"There is in that covenant not one note of surrender of the independent judgment of the government of the United States, but an expression of it, because that independent judgment would have to join with the judgment of the rest.

But when is that judgment going to be expressed, my fellow citizens?

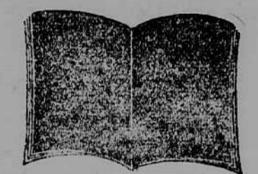
competitor of Germany in some lines of manufacture, and the German armies were sent there to see to it that that competition was put a stop to. Their purpose was to crush the independent action of that little kingdom—not merely to use it as a gateway through which to attack France—and when they got into France they not only fought the armies of France, but they put the coal mines of France out of commission, so that it will be a decade or more before France can supply herself with coal from her accustomed sources.

"You have heard a great deal about Article X of the covenant of the league of nations. Article X speaks the conscience of the world. Article X is the article which goes to the heart of this whole bad business, for that article says that the members of this league—and that is intended to be all the great nations of the world—engage to resist and to prevent against all external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the nations concerned. That promise is necessary in order to prevent this sort of war recurring, and we are absolutely discredited if we fought this war and then neglect the essential safeguard against it.

"You have heard it said, my fellow citizens, that we are robbed of some degree of our sovereign, independent man who makes a choice to respect choice by articles of that sort. Every the rights of his neighbors deprives himself of absolute sovereignty, but he does it by promising never to do wrong, and I cannot, for one, see anything that robs me of any inherent right that I ought to retain when I promise that I will do right.

Explains League Plans To Preserve the Peace

"We engage, in the first sentence of Article X, to respect and preserve from external aggression the territorial integrity and the existing political independence not only of the other member states but of all states, and if any member of the league of nations disregards that promise, then what happens? The council of the league advises what should be done to enforce the respect for that covenant on the part of the nation attempting to violate it. And there is no compulsion upon us to take that advice, except the compulsion of our good conscience and judgment. So that it is perfectly evident that if, in the judgment of the people of the United States, the council adjudged wrong, and that this was not an occasion for the use of force, there would be no necessity on the part of the Congress of the United States there could be no advice of the council on any such subject without unanimous vote, and the unanimous vote would include our own. And if we accepted the advice we would be accepting our own advice. For I need not tell you that the representatives of the government of the United States would not vote without instructions from their government at home, and that what we united in advising we could be certain that our people would desire to do.



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Have you ever wondered how a big magazine is gotten out on time each month? If you have ever visited the Butterick Building where The Delineator is printed, you would know what floors of presses it requires. If The Delineator were printed on one press only, running 8 hours a day, 300 working days a year, it would take 4 years, 1 month, 29 days to print a single edition. Yet 12 editions annually go out on time to a million anticipating homes. Are the goods you manufacture described in

The Delineator The Magazine In One Million Homes

by the engagements of this covenant, an absolute economic boycott. There will be no trade with that nation by any member of the league there will be no interchange of communication by post or telegraph; there will be no travel to or from that nation; its borders will be closed; no citizen of any other state will be allowed to

Wilson Told Italians They 'Might Claim N. Y.'

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Sept. 4.—President Wilson, in his speech here today, revealed what he told the Italian peace delegates because of some of their territorial claims at the Versailles Conference. President Wilson said: "I even had to remind my Italian colleagues that if they were going to claim every place where there was a large Italian population, we would have to cede New York to them, because there are more Italians in New York than in an Italian city."

"But I believe—I hope—that the Italians in New York City are as glad to stay there as we are to have them. I would not have you suppose that I am intimating that my Italian colleagues entered any claim for New York City."

Economic Measures Also Helped Win War

"And I want you to realize that this war was won not only by the armies of the world, but it was won by economic means as well. Without the economic means the war would have been much longer continued. What happened was that Germany was shut off from the economic resources of the rest of the globe, and she could not stand it; and a nation that is boycotted is a nation that is in sight of surrender. Apply this economic, peaceful, silent, deadly remedy, and there will be no need for force.

"None Can Withstand A Boycott Pressure"

"It is a terrible remedy. It does not cost a life outside the nation boycotted, but it brings a pressure on that nation which, in my judgment, no modern nation could resist. I dare say that some of those ideas are new to you, because, while it is true, as I said this forenoon in Columbus, that apparently nobody has taken the pains to say what is

in the covenant of the league of nations, they have discussed three—chiefly three—out of twenty-six articles, and the other articles contain this heart of the matter—that instead of war there shall be arbitration; instead of war there shall be discussion; instead of war there shall be the closure of intercourse; that instead of war there shall be the irresistible pressure of the opinion of all mankind.

"I need not tell you that I speak with knowledge in this matter—knowledge of the purpose of the men with whom the men representing America were associated at the peace table. Everyone I consulted with came there with the same idea, that wars had arisen in the past because the strong had taken advantage of the weak, and that the only way to stop war was to band ourselves together to protect the weak.

"And so, when you read the covenant, read the treaty with it. "I have no doubt that in this audience there are many men who come from that ancient stock of Poland, for example, men in whose blood there is the warmth of old affections connected with that betrayed and ruined country; men whose memories run back to insufferable wrongs endured by those living in that country; and I call them to witness that Poland never could have won unity and independence by herself. These gentlemen sitting at Paris presented Poland with a unity she could not have won, and an independence which she cannot defend, unless the world guarantees it to her.

Would Point Out Ignorance of Foes

"I am arguing this thing with you, my fellow citizens, as if I had any

doubt of what the verdict of the American people would be. I haven't the slightest doubt. I just wanted to have the pleasure of pointing out to you how absolutely ignorant of the treaty, and of the covenant, some of the men are who have been opposing. If they do read the English language they do not understand the English

(Continued on next page)

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The Speech at Indianapolis

The text of President Wilson's speech at Indianapolis follows:

"My Fellow Citizens: So great a company as this tempts me to make a speech, and yet I want to say to you in all seriousness and soberness that I have not come here to make a speech in the ordinary sense of that term.

"I have come upon a very sober errand, indeed. I have come to report to you upon the work which the representatives of the United States attempted to do at the conference of peace on the other side of the sea, because I realize, my fellow citizens, that my colleagues and I, in the task we attempted over there, were your servants. We went there with a distinct errand, which it was our duty to perform in the spirit which you have displayed in the prosecution of the war and in conceiving the purposes and objects of that war.

"I was in the City of Columbus this afternoon, where I was endeavoring to explain to a body of our fellow citizens there just what it was that the treaty of peace contained, for I must frankly admit that in most of the speeches that I have heard in debate upon the treaty of peace it would be impossible to form a definite conception of what that instrument means.

"I want to recall to you, for the purposes of this evening, the circumstances of the war and the purposes for which our men spent their lives on the other side of the sea.

Germany Used Serbia As a Cause for War

"You will remember that a prince of the house of Austria was slain in one of the cities of Serbia. Serbia was one of the small kingdoms of Europe. She had no strength which any of the great powers needed to fear. As we see the war now, Germany and those who conspired with her made a pretext of that assassination in order to make unconscionable demands for the weak and helpless kingdom of Serbia, not with a view of bringing about an acquiescence in those demands, but with a view to bringing about a conflict in which their purposes, quite separate from the purposes connected with these demands, could be achieved.

"Just so soon as these demands were made, other nations of Europe sent telegraphic messages to their representatives at Vienna and Berlin, urging them to ask the govern-

ments of Vienna and Berlin to enter into discussion of these matters.

"I was recalling, my fellow citizens, the circumstances which began the terrible conflict that has just been concluded.

"So soon as the unconscionable demands of Austria were made on Serbia, the other governments of Europe sent telegraphic messages to Berlin and Vienna asking that the matter be brought into a conference. And the significant circumstance of the beginning of this war is that the Austrian and German governments

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