

WILSON EVASIVE ON LEAGUE QUESTIONS

Continued from First Page.

and asserted that pro-Germans in to blame for much of the opposition to his will. He came before an audience of business men at the Palace Hotel this afternoon and apologized for shanting on the ground that the Republican Administration of 1898 condoned robbery when it did not have to do so and that he condoned it because he had to do so. To employ a word that Mr. Wilson loves as much as "tragic," the word "heart," it hampered "not over." He leaves San Francisco without answering the questions that he doesn't explain how the League of Nations can detach Japan from Shantung without making it a war matter. He has avoided mentioning Korea. He hasn't said a word about mandarin. Nowhere has he left such an unimpaired people as he took leave of a night.

California is for a League of Nations, but it goes with reservations. It is not a covenant amended to protect America. Anybody who doubts that must be deaf or thoroughly Wilsonized. The whole point of view is expressed by the former Mayor of San Diego, where Mr. Wilson appears tomorrow.

"The people out here are for the treaty with reservations. They look upon the league as a contract to insure peace, but they know that the terms of a contract must be defined so clearly that there can be no quibbling by interested parties in the future. California thinks she knows the names of an interested party or two that would take every advantage of obscure members of the covenant. Why can't the treaty be amended? We want a league, but we don't want America's hands and feet tied. The country demands compromise and a speedy settlement."

American Rights First.

No one has better expressed the public feeling. California stands for a league with reservations. American rights and will at the same time make a great peace experiment possible. The correspondent of THE SUN has got the opinions of more than fifty people—rich and poor, laborer and merchant, native and foreign born—and all except half a dozen are for reservations or amendments. They simply will not follow Mr. Wilson in his attitude of making a matter of personal pride to beat down Senate opposition.

There is a side to California opinion which is diverting. Senator Johnson's popularity is probably greater than ever before, greater even than three years ago when he carried the State by 300,000 men. Mr. Hughes lost it by 3,000. People out here are so eager to see Hiram Johnson as the State's candidate for President that they want the League of Nations controversy quickly out of the way to give them a chance to get down to good old fashioned politics; so they can whip it up for Hiram. Lots of Democrats are backing him and he has the old, conservative section of the G. O. P. lined up behind him. Nothing he does seems to hurt his personal popularity.

To-night at Oakland before 12,000 persons and this afternoon in this city at the luncheon tendered him by the Associated Business Clubs, before 800 business men, Mr. Wilson emphasized an appeal calculated to reach business interest. He said that domestic problems cannot possibly be taken up until the peace of the world is settled by such covenants as can be depended upon.

"Not a single domestic problem can be solved until the treaty is ratified," he said, and with this he combined a prediction of trade exclusion calculated to disturb. He has sought to instill in the minds of the people the notion that the Senators opposing him are opposing world peace.

He hinted that a financial panic might ensue if the league doesn't go through and demands it must, and he added:

"You don't know now what it is safe to do with your money—you won't know till we have got peace."

PLEADS FOR LEAGUE AS THE KEY TO PEACE

Wilson Calls It Enterprise of Divine Mercy.

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 18.—President Wilson spoke at the men's luncheon in part as follows:

The men who do not look forward now are of no other service to the nation. The immediate need of this country and of the world is peace, not only a settled peace, but peace

upon a definite and well understood foundation, supported by such covenants as men can depend upon, supported by such purposes as will permit of a concert of action throughout all the free peoples of the world.

I don't believe that we even now stop to consider how remarkable the Peace Conference in Paris has been. It is the first great international conference which did not meet to consider the interests and advantages of the strong nations. The heart of this treaty is that it gives liberty and independence to people who never and never will have it by themselves.

You have got to take the formula of the war in order to see what was the matter. The formula of pan-Germanism was "Bromes to Bagdad." Germany was looking for the line of least resistance to establish her power, and unless, gentlemen, there is a line of absolute resistance this war will have to be fought over. You must settle the difficulties which gave occasion to the war or you must expect war again.

I am not saying that Germany was the only aggressor and intriguer, but I am saying that there was the field where lay the danger of the world in regard to peace.

Intimacies of "Big Four."

I was glad, after I inaugurated it, that I drew together the little body that I called the "Big Four." It was a very simple council of friends. The intimacies of this little room were the center of the whole Peace Conference and they were the intimacies of men who believe in some things and thought the same thoughts.

Now the peace of the world is absolutely indispensable to us and immediately indispensable to us. There is not a single domestic trouble that can be worked out in the right tempo or opportunity and in time unless we have conditions that we can depend upon.

We cannot arrange a single element of our business until we have settled peace and know whether we are going to deal with a friendly neighbor or an unfriendly world.

In an open market men's minds must be open. It has been said so often that it is a very true saying, but it remains nevertheless true that a financial panic is a mere state of mind.

But while the whole world is in doubt, I expect that the whole world is under the apprehension that is characteristic of a panic.

Power of the League.

I want to remind you how the permanent peace is at the heart of this treaty. This is not merely a treaty of peace with Germany; it is nothing less than a world settlement, and at the center of it stands this covenant for the future which we call the covenant of the League of Nations. The covenant of the League of Nations is the instrumentality for the maintenance of peace.

If any member of the league ignores the promises with regard to arbitration and discussion, what happens? An absolute isolation and boycott.

There is not, so far as I know, a single European country—and I say European because I think our own country is exceptional—which is not dependent upon some other part of the world for some of the necessities of its life.

So that what I am emphasizing is that the heart of this covenant is arbitration and discussion, and that that is the only possible basis for peace in the future.

It is a basis for something better than peace. Really civilization proceeds on the principle of understanding one another. You know how peace between those who employ labor and those who labor depends upon conference and mutual understanding. If you don't get together with the other side it will be hostility to the end.

My fellow citizens, I believe in Divine Providence. If I did not I would go crazy. If I thought the direction of the disordered affairs of this world depended upon our finite endeavor I should not know how to reason my way to sanity. But I do not believe there is any body of men, however they concert their power or their influence, that can defeat this great enterprise, which is the enterprise of divine mercy and peace and good will.

President Answers Five Direct Queries

Asserts Britain Cannot Outvote Us in League.

By the Associated Press.

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 18.—Replying in a statement to a list of questions put to him by a San Francisco League of

Nations organization, President Wilson answered as follows:

Question 1—Will you state the underlying consideration which dictated an awarding of six votes to the British empire in the assembly, and is it true that Great Britain will outvote us in the League of Nations and thereby control the league's action?

Answer—The consideration which led to assigning six votes to self-governing states, their policy in all but foreign affairs, being independent of the control of the British Government and in many respects dissimilar from it. But it is not true that the British empire can outvote us in the League of Nations and therefore control the action of the league, because in every matter except the admission of new members in the league, no action can be taken without the concurrence of a unanimous vote of the representatives of the States which are members of the council, so that in all matters of action, the affirmative vote of the United States is necessary and equivalent to a unit vote of the representatives of the several parts of the British empire. The United States of the several parts of the British empire cannot offset or overcome the vote of the United States.

Question 2—Is it true that under the League of Nations foreign countries can order the sending of American troops to foreign countries?

Answer—It is not. The right of Congress to determine such matters is in no wise impaired.

Question 3—What effect will the League of Nations have in either forwarding or hindering the final restoration of Shantung to China? What effect will the League of Nations have in preventing further spoliation of China and the abrogation of all special privileges now enjoyed in China by foreign countries?

Answer—The League of Nations will have a very powerful effect in forwarding the final restoration of Shantung to China, and no other instrumentality or action can be substituted which could bring that result about. The authority of the league will under Article X be constantly directed toward safeguarding the territorial integrity and political independence of China. It will therefore absolutely prevent the further spoliation of China, promote the restoration in China of the several privileges now enjoyed by foreign countries, and assure China of the completion of the process by which Shantung will presently be returned to her in full sovereignty. In the past there has been no tribunal which could be resorted to for any of these purposes.

Question 4—Is there anything in the League of Nations covenant or the peace treaty which directly or indirectly in any manner imposes on the United States any obligations of moral or otherwise, of the slightest character to support England in any way in case of revolt in Ireland? The only guarantee contained in the covenant is against external aggression, and those who framed the covenant were scrupulously careful in no way to interfere with what they regarded as the sacred rights of self-determination.

Answer—What effect, if any, will the League of Nations covenant have in either hindering or furthering the cause of Irish freedom?

Answer—It was not possible for the peace conference to act with regard to the self-determination of any territories except those which had belonged to the defeated empire, but in the covenant of the League of Nations it has set up for the first time in Article XI, a forum which are likely to disturb the peace of the world or the good understanding between nations upon which the peace of the world depends can be brought.

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had drawn up a treaty for the peoples "and the fortunes of children everywhere." It was for the benefit of those of future generations, he asserted, that the document had been formulated.

The "characteristic" of the treaty, asserted Mr. Wilson, was that "it given liberty to peoples who never could have won it for themselves." Had the world not already been rent by the great war, he said, the world would have been amazed that such a thing was possible. He asserted it meant the end of the dreams of every imperialistic government in the world.

For one thing, continued the President, the treaty attempted to internationalize all the great waterways of Europe. He said that in effect it proposed to "cut out" every influence of national privilege.

Discussing the labor section of the treaty, he said there would be set up a new standard of labor for the whole world, under which laborers would be regarded as human.

In that connection he mentioned the seamen's act passed by Congress a few years ago. The international labor conference to be held in Washington next month was recalled by the President, and he was cheered when he added:

"We are waiting to learn from the Senate of the United States whether we can attend it or not."

In short, said the President, the treaty provided an "organization of liberty and mercy" for the world.

Referring to Germany's temporary exclusion from the League of Nations the President said if the autocratic German Government were revived with a Hohenzollern on the throne Germany forever would be excluded from the league and from respectable society.

"The Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns are permanently out of business," added Mr. Wilson, while the crowd cheered again.

There were more cheers when he referred to the withdrawal feature of the league covenant, and said that should the United States go into the league "with a seat near the door" it would be invited to take a front seat immediately.

Turning to the arbitration and discussion features of the covenant the President said it invited all the nations to lay any grievances before the jury of humanity before going to war.

"If you think you have a friend who is a fool," he added, "encourage him to hire a hall."

Some one in the gallery shouted: "Oh, you Hiram Johnson!" and the crowd laughed and cheered.

America, foremost of all nations, said the President, declared it as one of its principles on which we entered the war that there should be no more wars.

"Why do we debate details," he asked while the crowd cheered, "when the heart of the thing is sound?"

FOOD RIOTING IN BERLIN.

Spartanans and Troops Also Clash in Brunswick.

LONDON, Sept. 18.—Despatches received here quoting Berlin newspapers of today's date tell of food riots Wednesday night in Berlin. Troops were summoned by the authorities to maintain order.

Clashes occurred at Brunswick Wednesday between Spartanans and troops, during which there was sporadic shooting in the streets of the city.

PACT DEFENDED AS TREATY OF PEOPLES

President in Oakland Says Many Are Misled.

OAKLAND, Cal., Sept. 18.—President Wilson told an audience here to-night that the people had been "singularly and I sometimes fear greatly misled" as to the contents of the peace treaty.

In an address interrupted many times by cheers he said that any man who discussed the treaty on the basis of small and technical objections would be "overwhelmed" in the end by public opinion.

For the first time during his trip the President was introduced by a woman, Dr. Aurelia H. Reinhardt, president of Mills College of Oakland.

This was the first treaty, said Mr. Wilson, whose purpose was not to serve governments, but "to serve peoples." All the peoples of the world, he asserted, at last had seen a vision of liberty and

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instant," announced Senator Lodge today to the newspaper men. "But," he continued, "there is bound to be a great amount of debate."

The Republican leaders recognize that the protraction of the debate will be used by the Administration following as the basis of accusation that the opposition to the President is using oratory for purposes of filibuster. They recognize that to the thoughtful this argument may carry some degree of force. But on the other hand the first of the returning crusaders against the unamended covenant hold staunchly to the belief that the great mass of the American people already have sensed the shortcomings of the league covenant and barefaced iniquities of such features of the treaty as the Shantung award and will tolerate all the retarding of hasty action necessary if the elimination of the outstanding faults can be accomplished.

Senator Johnson (Cal.), who recently started a tour of the West in the interest of the league opposition, has decided to cut his tour and return next week to Washington. Senator Johnson's amendment to the treaty itself, whereunder it is provided that American representation in the league shall be equal to that of any other Power or combination of Powers with its colonial possessions, framed to make equal in the councils of the league the United States and Great Britain, will be brought before the Senate immediately. Senator Johnson's vote and his voice as well are needed in the deliberations on this vital point. He will remain in Washington until this question is decided and return to his speaking tour after the vote.

There is no doubt in Senate circles that there will be a considerable defection of Democrats on the Johnson amendment. There is said to be an equivalent number of Republicans who will vote against the amendment. The vote on the amendment is bound to be exceedingly close and the debate which will precede it will be bitter in the extreme.

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Urgent Telegrams Ask His Return to Senate Chamber.

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For the young or always youthful man—Smart English model, flare skirt. Stylish in cut, restrained in pattern—a ratty, tasteful combination.

At 75¢ they will not last many days, so try on a few—but come early.

Cordially,
Wm. Morgan.

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14 Cortlandt St., 9-11 Dey St.

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