TEXT OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S SPEECH ON TREATY BEFORE THE SENATE

From Page One

le and helpful out of it, rememthe mothers and the sisters, wives and the little children at

ey were free men under arms. forgetting their ideals of duty in midst of tasks of violence. I proud to have had the privilege associated with them and of myself their leader.

But I speak now of what they aght and to the people with whom mingled with such utter simplicity, as friends who asked only to be of service. They were for all visible embodiment of America.

Beacon Light for Millions What they did made America and all that she stood for a living reality in the thoughts not only of the people of France but also of tens of millions men and women throughout all the toiling nations of a world standing everywhere in peril of its freedom and of the loss of everything it held dear, in deadly fear that its bonds were never to be loosed. Its hopes forever to be mocked and disappointed.

And the compulsion of what they stood for was upon us who represented America at the peace table. was our duty to see to it that every rision we took part in contributed. so far as we were able to influence it. quiet the fears and realize the hopes of the peoples who had been living in that shadow, the nations that had come by our assistance to their freedom.

It was our duty to do everything that it was within our power to do to make the triumph of freedom and of right a lasting triumph in the assurance of which men might everywhere live without fear.

Old entanglements of every kind stood in the way-promises which rovernments had made to one another m the days when might and right were confused and the power of the victor was without restraint. En gagements which contemplated any dispositions of territory, any extenof sovereignty that might seem to be to the interest of those who had the power to insist upon them, had entered into without thought of what the peoples concerned might wish or profit by; and these could not always be honorably brushed aside. It was not easy to graft the new order of ideas on the old, and some of the fruits of the grafting may, I fear, for a time be bitter.

Support at Peace Table

But, with very few exceptions, the men who sat with us at the peace table desired as sincerely as we did to get away from the bad influences. the illegitimate purposes, the demoralizing ambitions, the international counsels and expedients out of which the sinister designs of Germany had sprung as a natural growth.

It had been our privilege to formulate the principles which were accepted as the basis of the peace, but they had been accepted, not begause we had come in to hasten and assure victory and insisted upon them, but because they were readily acceded to as the principles to which honorable and enlightened minds every-where had been bred.

They spoke the conscience of the world as well as the conscience of America, and I am happy to pay my tribute of respect and gratitude to the able forward-looking men with whom it was my privilege to co-operate for their unfailing spirit of co-operation, their constant effort to accommodate the interests they represented to the principles we were all agreed

The difficulties, which were many

look constantly forward to other re-Inted tasks. The German colonies were to be disposed of. They had not been gov-

that were to be effected. But at first I think there was a erned: they had been exploited merely, without thought of the interfeeling among some of them that, st or even the ordinary human rights while it must be attempted, the of their inhabitants.

ings.

conference to another, that it became

evident to them that what they were seeking would be little more than

something written upon paper, to be

interpreted and applied by such meth-

ods as the chances of politics might

depend for the maintenance of peace.

which all must respect.

The Problem of Turkey

The Turkish empire, moreover, had fallen apart, as the Austro-Hun-garian had. It had never had any real unity. It had been held together only by pitiless, inhuman force, Its peoples cried aloud for release. for succor from unspeakable distress, for all that the new day of

hope seemed at last to bring within its dawn. Peoples hitherto in utter darkness were to be led out into the same light and given at last a helping hand. Undeveloped peoples and peoples

ready for recognition, but not ret make available if they did not proready to assume the full responsibillties of statehood, were to be given adequate guarantee of friendly protection, guidance and assistance And out of the execution of these great enterprises of liberty sprang opportunities to attempt what statesmen

had never found the way before to do; an opportunity to throw safeguards about the rights of racial, national and religious minorities by solemn International covenant; an opportunity to limit and regulate milltary establishments where they were most likely to be mischievous; an opportunity to effect a complete and stematic internationalization of waterways and railways which were necessary to the free economic life of more than one nation and to clear

many of the normal channels of commerce of unfair obstructions of law or of privilege; and the very welcome opportunity to secure for labor the concerted protection of definite international pledges of principle and practice.

Grave Tasks Created by War These were not tasks which the

conference looked about it to find and fidence to make arrangements in-tended to be permanent. The most went out of its way to perform. They were inseparable from the settlepractical of the conferees were at ments of peace. They were thrust last the most ready to refer to the upon it by circumstances which could not be overlooked. The war had lengue of nations the superintendence of all interests which did not admit of created them. In all quarters of the immediate determination, of all adworld old established relationships ministrative problems which were to had been disturbed or broken and require a continuing oversight affairs were at loose ends, needing to be mended or united again, but fortion had come to seem a plain could not be made what they were becounsel of necessity. They had to be set right by applying some uniform principle of

independence.

their trust.

negotiation.

Practical Statesman's Hope

What had seemed a counsel of per-

justice or enlightened expediency. And The league of nations was the practhey could not be adjusted by meretical statesman's hope of sucly prescribing in a treaty what should many of the most difficult things he be done. New states were to be set was attempting. up which could not hope to live

workable.

And it had validated itself in the through their first period of weakthought of every member of the conness without assured support by the ference as something much bigger. great nations that had consented to much greater every way, than a mere their creation and won for them their instrument for carrying out the pro-

visions of a particular treaty. Ill-governed colonies could not b It was universally recognized that put in the hands of governments which were to act as trustees for their all the peoples of the world demanded of the conference that it should create people and not as their masters if such a continuing concert of free nathere was to be no common authority tions as would make wars of aggresamong the nations to which they were sion and spoliation such as this that to be responsible in the execution of has just ended forever impossible. A cry had gone out from every home

Future international conventions in every stricken land from which with regard to the control of watersons and brothers and fathers had ways, with regard to illicit traffic of gone forth to the great sacrifice that many kinds, in arms or in deadly such a sacrifice should never again drugs, or with regard to the adjustbe exacted. ment of many varying international administrative arrangements, could

Old Policies Meant War

not be assured if the treaty were to It was manifest why it had been exacted. It had been exacted because national agency, if its execution in one untion desired dominion and other such matters was to be left to the nations had known no means of defends except armaments and alliances. operation by ordinary methods of War had lain at the heart of every arrangement of Europe-of every

ent of the world-that pr

arrangem

the central powers. The statesmen of all the belligerent countries were peace. If there was not the will or the intelligence to accomplish that agreed that such a league must be created to sustain the settlements now, there must be another and a final war and the world must be swept clean of every power that could

renew the terror. The league of nations was not merely an instrument to adjust and remedy old wrongs under a new formation of such a league was perhaps a counsel of perfection which treaty of peace; it was the only hope practical men, long experienced in the for mankind. Again and again had world of affairs, must agree to very the demon of war been cast out of cautiously and with many misgivthe house of the peoples and the house swent clean by a treaty of peace ; only Like Something Written Upon Paper to prepare a time when he would It was only as the difficult work of in again with spirits worse ter than himself. The house must now arranging an all but universal adjustment of the world's affairs advanced be given a tenant who could hold it from day to day, from one stage of against all such.

Convenient, indeed indispensable. as statesmen found the newly planned league of nations to be for the exe cution of present plans of peace and reparation, they saw it in a new aspect before their work was finished.

Dare We Disappoint World's Hope

vide a means of common counsel They saw it as the main object of which all were obliged to accept, a peace, as the only thing that common nuthority whose decisions would be recognized as decisions could complete it or make it worth while. They saw it as the hope of the world, and that hope they did not dare to disappoint.. Shall we or any other free people hesitate to accept this great duty? Dare we reject it and break the heart of the world?

of peace, so far as Germany is concerned, stands complete. The differ ences encountered were very many. or to not other international understanding upon which they were to Sometimes they seemed insuperable. It was impossible to accommodate The fact that the covenant of the the interests of so great a body of nations-interests which directly or league was the first substantive part indirectly affected almost every naof the treaty to be worked out and agreed upon, while all else was in tion in the world-without many minor compromises. The treaty, as solution, helped to make the formulation of the rest easier. The con-ference was, after all, not to be a result, is not exactly what we would have written. It is probably not what any one of the national phemeral. The concert of nations was to continue under a definite covdelegations would have written. But count which had been agreed upon results were worked out which, on the whole, hear test. I think that it will be found that the compromises and which all were convinced was They could go forward with conwhich were accepted as inevitable

principle.

as a whole, with the principles agreed upon as the basis of the peace as well as with the practical possibilities of the international situations which had to be faced and dealt with as facts.

I shall presently have occasion to lay before you a special treaty with France, whose object is the temporary protection of France from unprovoked aggression by the power with whom this treaty of pence has been negotiated

take the liberty, however, of reanother occasion.

America's Role in War

The role which America was to play in the conference seemed determined, as I have said, before my colleagues and I got to Paris-determined by the universal expectations of the nations whose representatives. drawn from all quarters of the globe, we were to deal with. It was universally recognized that America had entered the war to promote no private or peculiar interest of her own. but only as the champion of rights which she was glad to share with free men and lovers of justice everywhere

We had formulated the principles upon which the settlement was to be made-the principles upon which the armistice had been agreed to and the parleys of peace undertaken, and no ne doubted that our desire was to see the trenty of peace formulated along lines of those princip and desired nothing else.

friend of the nations, whether they refuse the moral leadership that is be rivals or associates, is no new offered us, whether we shall accept or fact. It is only the discovery of it reject the confidence of the world. by the rest of the world that is new. The war and the conference of World Role Dates From War With Spain

rivals as watchful enemies.

to give us any authority among them

for fear in receiving us as their men-

fear of us is ended also, our counsel

and association sought after and de-

our ceasing to be a world power

The only question is whether we can

oversight and direction.

peace now sitting in Paris seem to me to have answered that question. America may be said to have just reached her majority as a world power. It was almost exactly twen-Our participation in the war established our position among the naty-one years ago that the results of the war with Spain put us unexpecttions, and nothing but our own mistaken action can alter it. cilly in possession of rich islands or the other side of the world and brought Call to Duty Answered us into association with other

It was not an accident or a matter cruments in the control of the West of sudden choice that we are no Indies. It was regarded as a sinister and ominous thing by the states-men of more than one European longer isolated and devoted to a policy which has only our own interest chancellery that we should have exand advantage for its object. It was tended our power beyond the conour duty to go in. if we were indeed fines of our continental dominions. the champions of liberty and of right. Fears Proved Groundless We answered to the call of duty in a They were accustomed to think of way so spirited, so utterly without lew neighbors as a new menace, of thought of what we spent of blood or There treasure, so effective, so worthy of were persons among us at home who the admiration of true men everylooked with deep disapproval and where, so wrought out of the stuff of avowed anxiety on such extensions of all that was heroic, that the whole our national authority over distant world saw at last, in the flesh, in noislands and over peoples whom they ble action, a great ideal asserted and feared we might exploit, not serve and assist. But we have not ex-

vindicated, by a nation they had deemed material and now found to be compact of the spiritual forces that must free men of every nation from every unworthy hendage. Light Streams on Path Ahead It is thus that a new role and :

responsibility have come to this great astion that we honor and which we would all wish to lift to yet higher lovels of service and achievement. that will assure them a like friendly The stage is set, the destiny disclosed. It has come about by no plan They know that there is no ground of our conceiving but by the hand of God, who led us into this way. We tors and guides. Our isolation was cannot turn back. We can only go ended twenty years ago; and now forward, with lifted eyes and fresh-ened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our sired. There can be no question of birth. America shall, in truth, show the way. The light streams upon the path ahead, and nowhere else

ENGAGES ROOM, GETS SUITS thirty years of age, light complexioned with fair hair and a smooth face, en-New Lodger Plus Clothes Disappears gaged a furnished room at the bome of Harvey P. Gallagher. 4931 Locust street and paid one dollar to hold the

Shortly After Arrival Lodging house keepers in West Philaelphia are warned to be on the look

out for applicants for vacant rooms He came in with a suitease and left a few hours later. It is believed that he These applicants sometimes loave very uddenly carrying with them valuable will not return, for two suits valued at roperty not their own. \$35 belonging to Mr. Gallagher are also

Yesterday a strange young man about reported missing.



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And so the most practical, the most ploited them. We have been their skeptical among them, turned more friends and have sought to serve them. and more to the lengue as the au-And our dominion has been a menace thority through which international to no other nation. action was to be secured, the author-We redeemed our honor to the ut-most in our dealings with Cuba. She ity without which as they had come And so the result of the conference we it, it would be difficult to give is weak but absolutely free, and it assured effect either to this treaty s her trust in us that makes her free Weak peoples everywhere stand ready

nowhere cut to the heart of any

The work of the conference squares

Special Treaty With France

Its terms link it with this treaty. serving it for special explication on

iny in the circumstances, not often in the men. Almost without excention the men who led had caught the true and full vision of the problem of peace as an indivisible whole a olem, not of mere adjustments of interest, but of justice and right ac-

The atmosphere in which the conference worked seemed created, not by the ambitions of strong governnents, but by the hopes and aspirations of small nations and of peoples hitherto under bondage to the power that victory had shattered and de-

Two great empires had been forced into political bankruptcy, and we the receivers. Our task was not only to make peace with the Central empires and remedy the wrongs their armies had done. The Central emcen had lived in open violation of many of the very rights for which the war had been fought, dominating alien peoples over whom they had no natural right to rule, enforcing, not obedience, but veritable bondage, exploiting those who were weak for the benefit of those who were masters and overlords only by force of arms. There could be no peace until the whole order of central Europe was set right.

Creating New Nations

That meant that new nations were created-Poland, Czecho-Slo vakia, Hungary itself. No part of ancient Poland had ever in any true sense become a part of Germany, or of Austria, or of Russia.

Bohemia was allen in every thought and hope to the monarchy of which he had so long been an artificial part; and the uneasy partnership be tween Austria and Hungary had been rather of interest than of kinor sympathy.

Slavs whom Austria had onen to force into her empire on a south were kept to their obedience nothing but fear. Their hearts were with their kins-

in in the Balkans. These were all arrangements of

wer, not arrangement of natural or association. It was the tive task of those who would a peace and make it intelligently alabilish a new order, which would noon the free choice of peoples are than upon the arbitrary cority of Hapsburgs or Hohen-

ania and Slavic State fore than that, great populations and by sympathy and actual kin were also linked against will to the conglomerate Ausfungarian monarchy or to other vereignties, and it was part task of peace to make a new

ustering about Serbia. atural frontiers could be found fields or adjustment and It was opecessary to Difficulties of Divided Counsel

provide no permanent common inter-

slow and uncertain process of co-

with a state of which it was not to

form a part: properly safeguarded

plebiscites could not be provided for

where populations were at some

future date to make choice what sov-

ereignty they would live under; no

certain and uniform method of arbi-

tration could be secured for the set-

tlement of anticipated difficulties of

final decision with regard to many

matters dealt with in the treaty it-

self; the long-continued supervision

ceded the war. Restive peoples had If the Pence Conference itself was been told that fleets and to be the end of co-operative auwhich they tailed to sustain meant thority and common counsel among peace; and they now knew that they had been lied to; that fleets and the governments to which the world was looking to enforce justice and armies had been maintained to progive pledges of an enduring settlemote national ambitions and meant nent, regions like the Saar basin war. They knew that no old policy could not be out under a temporary meant anything else but force, force idministrative regime which did not -always force. involve a transfer of political sov-

And they knew that it was intolereignty and which contemplated a erable. Every true heart in the world, final determination of its political and every enlightened judgment demanded that, at whatever cost of inconnections by popular vote to be dependent action, every government taken at a distant date; no free city that took thought for its people or for like Danzig could be created which justice or for ordered freedom should was, under elaborate international lend itself to a new purpose and utguarantees, to accept exceptional terly destroy the old order of interobligations with regard to the use national politics. Statesmen might of its port and exceptional relations

see difficulties, but the people could see none and could brook no denial. A war in which they had been bled white to beat the terror that lay concealed in every balance of power must not end in a mere victory of arms and a new balance. The monster that had resorted to arms must be put in chains that could not be broken. The united power of free nations must put a stop to aggression, and the world must be given

of the task of reparation which Germany was to undertake to complete within the next generation might entirely break down: the reconsideration and revision of administrative arrangements and restrictions which the treaty prescribed, but which it was recognized might not prove of lasting advantage or entirely fair if too long enforced, would be imprac-

to esc

barre

League a Necessity

ticable.

promise governments were making to one another about the way in which labor was to be dealt with by law not only but in fact as well would remain a mere humane thesis if there was to be no common tri-bunal of opinion and judgment to which liberal statesmen could resort for the influences which alone might secure their redemption.

A league of free nations had become a practical necessity.

Examine the treaty of peace and you will find that everywhere through out its manifold provisions its framers have felt obliged to turn to the league of nations as an indispensable instrumentality for the maintenance of the new order it has been their

purpose to set up in the world-the world of civilized men. That there should be a league of nations to steady the counsels and

maintain the peaceful understand-ings of the world to make not treaties alone, but the accepted principles of international law as well, the actual rule of conduct among the governments of the world had been

of the agreements accepted from first as the basis of peace with

We were welcomed as disinterested armies friends. We were resorted to as arbiters in many a difficult matter. It vas recognized that our material aid would be indispensable in the days to come, when industry and credit would have to be brought back to their normal operation again and communities beaten to the ground assisted to their feet once more ; and it was taken for granted, I am proud to say, that would play the helpful friend in these things as in all others without prejudice or favor.

We were generously accepted as the unaffected champions of what was right. It was a very responsihie role to play; but I am happy to report that the fine group of Americans who helped with their expert advice in each part of the varied settlements sought in every transaction to justify the high confidence reposed in them

And that confidence, it seems to me, is the measure of our opportunity and of our duty in the days to come, in which the new hope of the peoples of the world is to be fulfilled or disappointed. The fact that America is the

serts.'

ride in her daughter's success and

cake

little

re the

so much better. "I simply will not; Finally father summed up the have mother cooking in this heat," situation : declared Susan. "Mother," he said. "I'm going to

"What'll become of the swee hock your pride and add several ears to your life. You do no more moking this summer; let Susan pretooth of the family if I stop? mother responded, looking at th five young faces aroun and the fast disappearing apple pie Mother was hurt a little, but "I'll show you at dinuer to-night. Susan finished her luncheon silently

ellef from a duty that became more and went to ercame that. "Seven packages of National Bis-"Where did you learh the trick ?" cuit Company Zu Zu Ginger Snaps please, and a jar of marshmal ather asked Susan.

the girl replied. d times to be hunlow whip," she ord mother, we're g eat in half an Mother When a growing boy grabs a ng into handful of ZU ZU Ginger Snaps, have no fear. For what could be better for any boy or girl than healthfulginger and

molasses and sugar and flour, perfectly blended and perfectly baked? NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY



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