### TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S FIRST ADDRESS ON TOUR ON PEACE TREATY have to cross the seas again, and I is to speak at 7:80, hewever, were not By regulation of labor conditions the world over and by similar provisions like speech and his train will depart

and by which the reparation shall arijusted to Germany's ability to am astonished at some of the

and the truth is that they are de by persons who have not read treaty or who, if they have read have not comprehended its mean-

Germany Must Pay to Limit There is a method of adjustment in the treaty by which the reparation hall not be pressed beyond the point which Germany can pay, but she will pressed to the utmost point that can pay, which is just, which is

would be intelerable if the been anything else, for, my fel-citizens, this treaty is not meant ly to end this single war: it is ant as a notice to every govern-at who in the future will attempt thing, that mankind will unite affict the same punishment.

There is no national triumph ught to be recorded in this treaty. There is no glory sought for any particular nation. The thought of the nen collected around that table was of their people, of the suffering that they had gone through, of the ngs losses they had incurred, that great throbbing heart which was so do-pressed, so forlorn, so sad in every memory that it had had of the five ragical years, my fellow country

#### U. S. Fought for Mankind

Let us never forget the purpose the high purpose, the disinterested purpose with which America lent its

Arongth, not for its own glory, but for the advance of munkind. And as I said, this treaty was not intended merely to end this war; it was intended to prevent any similar

I wonder if some of the opponent of the league of nations have forgot-ten the promises we made our people before we went to that peace table? We had taken by processes of law We had taken by processes of law the flower of our youth from every countryside, from every household, and we told those mothers and fathers and sisters and wives and sweethearts that we were taking those men to fight a war which would end business of that sort, and if we do not end it. If we do not do the best that human concert of action can do to end it. concert of action can do to end it, we are of all men the most unfaithful-the most unfaithful to the loving hearts who suffered in this war; the ost unfaithful to those households bowed in grief, yet lifted with the feeling that the lad laid down his life

## for a great thing, among other things in order that other lads might not have to do the same things

League to End War Justly That is what the league of nation is for, to end this war justly, it is not merely to serve notice governments which would could 3.04 plate the same things which Germany contemplated, that they will do it at their peril, but also concerting the combination of power which will prove to them that they will do it at

their peril. It is idle to say the world will not, but it is persuasive to say the world is combined against you and will remain combined against any who attempt the same things that you

The league of nations is the only thing that can prevent the recurrence of this dreadful catastrophe and re-

deem our promises. The character of the league is based upon the experience of this

Tery war. I did not meet a single public man who did not admit three things, that Germany would not have gone into this war if she had thought Great Britain was going into it and that she most certainly would never have gone into this war if she had dreamed America was going into it, and they have all admitted that a police be-forehand that the greatest powers of the world would combine to prevent of thing would have prethis sort

#### vented it absolutely League Only Hope

When gentiemen tell you, there-fore, that the league of nations is intended for some other purpose than

#### the heart of great peoples, great peoples who had always been sup-pressed and always been used, who had always been the tools in the Wilson Boosted for New Term: 'Oh, No,' He Replies

hands of governments-generally of alien governments-not their own. And the makers of the treaty knew On Board President Wilson's that if these wrongs were not re Special Train, Sept. 4 .- (By A. P.) moved, there could be no peace in the world, because, after all, my fellow citizens, war comes from the seed of wrong, and not from the seed of right. -While the President's train was at Dennison, Ohio, a man in the crowd reminded the President that Denni-This treaty is an attempt to right the history of Europe, and in my humble judgment it is a measurable son had voted against him in the last

success.

I say "measurable." my fellow

Austrian Pact More "Intricate

And there are many such lines awn in this treaty, and to be drawn

in the Austrian treaty, where per-haps there are more lines of that sort

Germany and Poland—there wasn't any Poland strictly sneaking—the line being the German people and the

Polish people. There were districts like the upper part of Silesin or rather the enstern part of Silesin which is galled "I pper Silesia," he-cause it is mountainous, and the

her part is not. High Silesia is chiefly Pollsh, and

thigh Silesia is draw a line to rep-

when we came to draw a line to rep-resent Poland, it was necessary to include High Silesia, if we were really going to play fair and make Poland up of the Polish peoples wherever we found them in sufficiently close

other places. We said: Very well, then, we will be that live there decide.

let the people that live there decide. We will have a referendum within a certain length of time after the war, under the supervision of an interna-

tional commission, which will have

interferes with the elections. We will have an absolutely free vote and High

Silesia shall go either to Germany or to Poland as the people in High Silesia prefer.

Populace Will Choose

cases where we provided for a refer-endum, or a plebiscite, as they choose

that this treaty is shot through with

the American principle of the choice

Of course at times it went further than we could make a practical policy

All Races in America

And that illustrates many other

ufficient armed force behind

neighborhood to one another.

presidential election, but would be for him in 1920. "Oh, no," replied the President, laughing and shrugging his shoul-

"I wish you success on your trip, an elderly grey-bearded man said to Mr. Wilson. "It means a great deal to me. I lost two boys in the war and have only one left. I am looking to you to prevent future wars so he won't have to go."

are Shavs on this side and Italians on that; there are this people here and that people there. It can't be done. You have to approximate the line. You have to come to it, as near to it as you can, and then trust the process of history to redistribute, it may be, the people who are on the wrong side of the line. into the great Balkan peninsula had again and again tried to assert their nationality and their independence and had as often been crushed, not by the immediate power they were righting, but by the combined power of Enter-

of Europe. The old alliances, the old balances of power, were meant to see to it that no little nation asserted its rights to the disturbance of the pence of Europe and every time an assertion of rights was attempted they were uppressed by combined influence and orce, and this trenty tears away all

that and says these people have a right to live their own lives under the governments which they them-selves choose to set up. Fought for World Freedom

That is the American principle and was glad to fight for it, and when strategic considerations were urged said-not I alone-but it was matter of common coursel th matter of common coursel that strategic consideration were not in

our thought, that we are not now arranging for future wars but are giving people which belonged to them. My fellow citizens, I do not think there is any man alive who has a more tender sympathy for the great people of Italy than I have, and a people of faily that i have, now when he had to consider some of the claims of Italy on the Adriatic me-cause strategically from the polar of view of future wars. Italy needed a military footboild on the other side of the Adriatic method with the there wars.

the Adviatic, but her people due to live there except in little spots. It was a Slavie people, and I had to say to my Italian friends that everywhere else in this treaty we have given territory to the people who lived on it, and I do not think that

is for the advantage of linky, and am sure it is not for the advantage of the world, to give Italy territors here other people live Sees League as Italy's Protector

I felt the force of the argument for I felt the force of the argument, for what they wanted, and it was the old argument that had always prevailed, namely, that they needed it from a millitary point of view, and I have no doubt that if there is no league of nations they will need it from a military point of view, but if there is a league of nations they will not league of untions they will not eed it from a military point of view. If there is no league of nations the military point of view will prevail every instance and peace will be rought into contempt, but if there is of nations Italy need not lengue fear the fact that the shores on the ther side of the Adriatic tower abe er lower sandy shores on her side the sen, because there will

threatening guns there and the na-tions of the world will have con-sented not merely to see that the Slavic peoples have their rights but of, because various peoples were keen upon getting back portions of their populations which were separated from them by many miles of terri-tory, and we couldn't spot over with the Italian people have their rights as well. I would rather have everybody

iny side than be armed to the teeth, and every settlement that is right, every settlement that is based upon the principles I have alluded to is a safe settlement because the sympathy of mankind will be behind it.

#### Voices Pride in Ancestry

York than in any Italian city. But I believe—I hope—that the Italians in New York city are as Some gentlemen have feared with glad to stay there as we are to have them. I would not have you suppose that I am intimating that my Itales entered any claim

New York city.

shall live under

of the governed.

#### Harrisburg Gateman Bars Serenade for President

Harrisburg, Sept. 4 .- Pennsylva in postmasters, in convention here took a band to the Pennsylvania Railroad station to screnade President Wilson as he went through But the railroad administration's orders are that nobody without tick ets is allowed through the gates, and no amount of persuasion could in duce the gateman to let the party enter the train shed.

citizens, because you will realize the difficulty of this. Here are two neigh-So the President went west withdifficulty of this. Here are two neigh-boring peoples. The one people have not stopped at a sharp line and the settlements of the other people, or their migrations, begun at that sharp line; they have intermingled. There are regions where you can't draw a national line and say: There are Shave on this side and Italians on that, there are this people here out the serenade, and the postmas ers are indignant at the railroad administration.

incidentally, of course, the remunera ion of labor The labor shall be remunerated in

proportion, of course, to the main-tenance of the standard of living, which is proper for the man who is expected to give his whole brain and intelligence and energy to a particu-lar task lar task. I hear very little said about this

I hear very little said about this Magna Charfa of labor which is em-bodied in this. It forecasts the day which ought to have come long ago, when statesmen will realize that no nation is fortunate which is not happy, and that no nation can be happy whose people are not con-tented, contented in their industry. than in the German treaty. When we came to draw the line between the Polish people and the German people, not the line between contented in their lives and fortunat in the circumstances of their lives. If I were to state what seems

to be the central idea of this treaty, it would be this: It is al-most a discovery in international conentions-"that nations do not con sist of their government, but consist

of their people." That is a rudimentary idea: seems to go without saying to us in America, but, my fellow citizens, it was never the leading idea in any other international congress that ever heard of; that is to say, any international congress made up of the representatives of government.

#### No Annexation Whatever

But it wasn't perfectly clear that Upper—that High Silesia wanted to be part of Poland. At any rate there were Germans in High Silesia who said that it did not, and therefore we did there what we did in many other unlocated. They were always thinking of na tional policy, of national advantages, of the rivalries of trade, of the ad-yantages of territorial conquest. There is nothing of that in this treaty

You will notice that even the ter ritories which are taken away from Germany, like her colonies, are not given to anybody. There isn't a single act of annexation in this treaty. But territories inhabited by pro-ple not yet able to govern themselves either because of economic or other circumstances or the stage of their levelopment, are put under the care of powers, who are to accept them as trustees—trustees responsible in the forum of the world, at the bar of the cague of nations, and the terms upor which they are to exercise their trus teeship are outlined.

They are not to use those people by way of profit and to fight their wars for them; they are not to per-mit any form of slavery among them to call it; and are going to leave it to the people themselves, as we should have done, what government they or enforced labor. They are to see to it that there are human conditions of labor with regard, not only to the women and children, but the men, It is none of my prerogatives to allot peoples to this government and the other. It is nobody's right to co that allotting, except the people themselves, and I want to testify

They are to establish no fortifica tions; they are to regulate the liquor and the opium traffic; they are to see to-it, in other words, that the lives of the people whose care they assume -not sovereignty over whom they assume, but whose care they assume -are kept clean and safe and holy.

There again the principle of the treaty comes out, that the object of the arrangement is the welfare of the who live there, and not the

tory, and we contain I shot over with little pieces of separated states. 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, be-cause there are more Hullians in New dvantages of government. It goes beyond that, and it seeks to gather under the common super-vision of the lengue of nations the va-rious instrumentalities by which the world has been trying to check the cause there are more Italians in New will that were in some places de-basing men, like the opium traffic-like the traffic-for it was a trafficin men, women and children; like the traffic in other dangerous drugs; like the traffic in arms among uncivilized neonle, who could use ar only for beopie, who could use arms only for their detriment: for sanitation: for the work of the Red Cross. Why, those clauses, my fellow cit-izens, draw the hearts of the world into league—draw the noble impulses of the world-together and make a noem of them We, of all peoples in the world, my fellow-citizens, ought to be able to understand the questions of this treaty and without anybody explaining poem of them.

check the things that were wrong, and this treaty seeks something like In drawing the humane endeavors

In drawing the humane endenvors together, it makes a mirror of the fine passions of the world, of its philantrophic passions, and of its passion of pity, of this passion of human sympathy, of this passion of human friendliness and helpfulness, for there is such a passion. It is the passion that has lifted us along the slow read of civilization : it is the

slow read of civilization; it is the passion that has made ordered gov-ernment possible; it is the passion that has made justice, and established the thing in some happy part of the world the world. That is the treaty. Did you ever hear of it before? Did you ever know what was in this treaty? Did anybody before ever tell you what the treaty was intended to do? I beg, my fellow citizens, that you and the rest of those Americans with whom we are happy to be associated

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 in-terpretation of those who made it and know what the intentions were in

citizens, about the selfishness and the selfish ambitions of other govern-ments, 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 purpose that I have outlined were their purpose.

Differed as to Method

We differed as to the method, very often ; we had discussions as to the details, but we never had any serious lisenssion as to the principle, while we all acknowledge that principles might perhaps in detail have been better really, we are all

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

to whom I have annued, because what happened to us was that we got mes-sages from our people; we were there under instructions, whether they were written down or not, and we didn't come home without fulfilling those instructions. If I could not have brought back as kind of treaty 1 brought back 1 sever would have come back, because I would have been an unfaithful ser ant and you would have had the tight 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 of the great peo-ples who were associated together in the war against Germany Not Debating Treaty

I solid at the opening of this in-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 freaty. It speaks for itself if you will let it.

That is the reason I believe in it.

will let it. The arguments directed against are directed against it with a radical misunderstanding of the instrument itself. Therefore, I am not going the debate the treaty. I am right to expond it and I am going, cight 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 them lead this nation away from the high purposes with which this war was inaugurated and fought.

#### For Welfare of People

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 necepted men in khaki will not have to cross the seas

great struggle which brought incomparable consummation of hopes of mankind. this of the

### Wilson "Reports" to Fellow Citizens time).

**Continued** From Page One crowds somewhat reduced on account of the street car strike, but the Presi-Italy, he said, was the America." dent was cheered heartily as he pro-Italy, the President continued, had ceeded, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson and his party. proposal in her request for Fiume. Though there were only scattered o'clock the President received an ova-Italian settlements there, he declared, tion. The audience sang "Dixie" and Italy wanted Fiume for strategic and then burst forth a cheer that rang On arriving at the ball at 11:30 military purposes. If there were a league of nations, he asserted, Italy, through the hall. Indianapolis, Ind., Sept. 4 .- (By A.

"I'd rather have everybody on my side," he continued, "then be armed to the teeth." tour of the United States.

To Right Europe's Wrongs "This treaty is an attempt to right and the weather forecast was "partly he wrongs of Europe," said the Pres- cloudy" for tonight. Arrangements for

He used the word "measurable " he dded, because racial lines were not always distinct and could not be drawn with absolute precision on a map. This was why, he said, some of the boundary lines were left to be decided later by the people themselves. The treaty he declared, was "shot through

The treaty also contains, the Presi labor." which would set up an international labor organization. This or recting

The President appealed to his hearers to exert their influence for accept ance of the treats.

Predicts Victory for Treaty "When this trenty is accepted." he said. "the men in khaki will never

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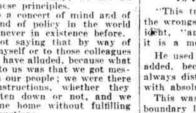
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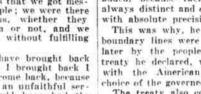
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not.

I say "when it is accepted," for it will be accepted. I have never enter-taized 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 those to regulate the opium trade and extend the Red Cross, Mr. Wilson said, the treaty "draws the noble impulses of the world together and makes a team of them." great deal about the selfishness of other nations, but that there really was a

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 Liniced States, and they are 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 knew their trust was justified, but I begrudge 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 nich will be glad to remem-ber that they had some part in the great struggle which brought this back a kind of treaty that I did bring back. I never would have come back." As the President was leaving the hall eral times, "Mr. Wilson, how about Shantung?" The President apparently did not hear him

To greet him on his arrival were

## "That." he said, "was the American presented to the conference contrary

would not need that foothold. P.)-President Wilson is due to arrive here at 6 o'clock this evening for the second address on his ten-thousand-mile

Rain began falling here this morning

ident. "and, in my humble opinion, it is a measurable success." the four-mile parade to the state fair grounds coliscum, where the President

O

BLANK BOOKS

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Pound and

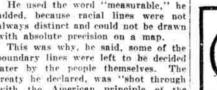
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with the American principle of the choice of the governed." dent continued, "a magna cherta of

ganization, he said, would hold its first Washington in October "whether the trenty is ratified by them

intended for some other purpose t this, merely reply this to them, we do not do this thing we have dected the central covenant that we ande to our people," and there will be no statesman of any country who can thereafter promise his people any

elevation from the perils of war. The passions of this world are not dead; the rivalries of this world have not cooled; they have been rendered than ever. harness that is to unite na

tions is more necessary now than it ever was before and unless there is sureness of combined action be wrong is attempted, wrong will e attempted just as soon as the most ambitious nations can recover from the financial stress of this war.

#### Would Redeem Weaker Nations

Now, look, what else is in the eaty. This treaty is unique in the story of mankind because the center of it is the redemption of weak na-tions. There never was a congress of nations before that considered the rights of those who could not en orce their rights. There never was a congress of na

one before that did not seek to af-at some balance of power brought oout by means of serving the strength and interest of the strongest powers

and interest of the strongest powers concerned, whereas this treaty builds in nations that never could have won their freedom in any other way. It builds them up by gift, by larges, not by obligation: builds them up be-cause of the conviction of the men who wrote the treaty that the rights of people transcend the rights of gov-ernments, because of the conviction of the men who wrote that treaty that no men who wrote that treaty that he fertile source of war is wrong; hat the Austro-Hungarian empire. or example, was held together by nilitary force and consisted of peo-des who did not want to live to-rether; who did not have the spirit nationality towards each constantly chaffed at the bonds held them.

that held them. Hungary, though a willing partner of Austria, was willing to be her narther because she could share Austria's strength for accomplishing Austria's strength for accomplishing her own ambitions, and her own am-bitions were to hold under the Jugo-Staric peoples that lie to the south of her? Bohemia, an unhappy partner —a partner by duress, flowing in all her yeins the strongest national im-pulse that was to be found anywhere in Europe, and, north of that, piti-ful Poland, a great nation divided up smong the great powers of Europe, torn asunder—kinship disregarded, natureal ties treated with contempt and an obligatory division among inversigns imposed upon her, a part of her given to Russia, a part of her town to Germany, and great bod'es at Pollan people never permitted to the normal intercourse with binsmen for fear that that fine of the heart should assert it-ich binds families together.

#### Crushed by European Concern

Poland could never have won her adependence. Bohemin never could rest broken away from the Austro-ungarian combination. The Slavic coplea to the south running down

regard to the league of pations that we will be obliged to do things we don't want to do. If the treaty were wrong that might be so, but if the treaty is right we will wish to preserve right. I think I know the heart of this great people whom I, for the time being, have the high honor to represent, better than some other men that I hear talk.

f they

I have been bred and am proud b have been bred in the old Revolutionary stock which set this govern-

them to us: for we are made up out of all the peoples of the world. I dare say that in this audience there ment up, when America was set u as a friend of mankind, and I knowdate say that in this audience there are representatives of virtually all the peoples dealt with in this treaty. You don't have to have me explain national ambitions to you. National aspirations—you have been brought up on them; you learned of them since you were children, and it is those untional aspirations which we wought to realize to give an output do not-that America has never lost that vision or that purpose But I haven't the slightest fea that arms will be necessary if the purpose is there. If I know that my adversary is armed and I am not. I do not press the controversy, and sought to realize, to give an outlet if any nation entertains selfish purin this great treaty.

#### Labor Meeting Next Month

But we do much more than that

There is to there in assembly which represents the inter is of laboring men throughout the ordel, not their political interests. There is nothing political about it. It is the in-terests of men concerning the condi-tions of their labor, concerning the character of labor which women shall

engage in, the character of labor which children shall be permitted to engage in; the hours of labor, and,

41

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poses set against the principles es-tablished in this treaty, and is told by the rest of the world that it must withdraw its claims, it will not press The heart of this treaty, then, my

But we do much more than that. This treaty contains, among other things, a Magna Charta of labor— a thing unheard of until this in-teresting year of grace. There is a whole section of the treaty devoted to arrangements, by which the in-terests of those who labor with their hands all over the world—whether The heart of this treaty, then, my fellow elizens, is not even that it punishes Germany—that is a fem-porary thing—it is that it rectifies the age-long wrong which character-izes the history of Europe. they be men or women or children-Treaty Making Was Big Job

they be men or women or children-are all of them to be safeguarded. And next month there is to meet the first assembly under this section of the league—and let me tell you, it' will meet, whether the treaty is rati-fied by that time or not. There is to meet an assembly which represents the inter is of hebrium There were some of us who wished that the scope of the treaty would reach some other age long wrong. It was a big job, and I don't say that we wished that it were bigger, but there were other wrongs elsewhere than in Europe, and of the same kind, which no doubt ought to be righted, and some day will be righted, but which we could not draw into the treaty, because we could deal only with the countries whom the war had

with the countries whom the war had engulfed and affected. But so far as the scope of our treaty went, we rectified the wrongs which have been the fruitful source of coefficient forces.

of conflict in Europe. Have you ever reflected, my fellow countrymen, on the real source of revolutions? Men don't start revolutions in a sudden passion. Do you remember what Thomas Carlyle said about the French revolution? He was speaking of the so-called Hundred Days terror which reigned not only in Paris, but throughout France, in the days of the French Revolution. and he remainded his readers that back of that Hundred Days of terror lay several hundred years of agony and of wrong. The French people had been deeply

and consistently wronged by their government, robbed their human government, robbed their human rights disregarded, and the slow agony of those hundreds of years had after a while gathered into a hot agony that could not be suppressed. Revolutions don't spring up over night; revolutions gather through the ages; revolutions come from the long suppression of the human spirits; revolutions come because men know that they have rights and that they are disregarded.

Aim to Avoid Revolutions And when we think of the future o world in connection with this the treaty, we must remember that one of the chief efforts of those who made the treaty was to remove that anger from

#### **Passions Govern the World**

I used to be told that this was an age in which mind was monarch; and my comment was that if that were true, then mind 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 fine passions should be in a majority, so that they could control the face of passion, so that they could



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Mr. Wilson said he had heard a

'We were there under instructions.

said the President, "and we didn't dare

structions. If I couldn' thave brought

Chinaman in the gallery called sev-

**Crowds** Cheer President

and city officials, President Wilson was

driven through the city to Memorial

Hall immediately upon his arrival here

at 11 o'clock (12 noon Philadelphia

Escorted by a battalion of state troops

come home without fulfilling those in-

oncert of feeling at Versailles.

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