So great a company as this tempts he to make a speech (laughter and applause), 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.

#### Traces Origin of War

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. the other side of the sea.

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 unconsciouable demands for the weak and helpless kingdom of Serbia, not with a view of bringing about an acquirescence in of bringing about an acquiescence in hose demands, but with a view to bringing about a conflict in which heir purposes, quite separate from the purposes connected with these demands, could be achieved.

Inter so son as these demands

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 governments 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 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 demands 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. The governments at Vienna and Berlin did not dare to admit time for discussion.

Re Points Overlooked .

I am calling these circumstances, my five citizens, becaused want to out to you what apparently has ped the attention of some of the fities of the league of nations, that the heart 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 circummembers of it: that in no circum-stances will they go to war without first having either submitted the quesfirst having either submitted the ques-tion to arbitration—in which case they agree to abide by the result, or, having submitted the question to dis-cussion 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 anunder 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 ocomes acute. If there had been nine days of

discussion Germany would not have gene to war. If there had been nin-days within which to bring to bear the opinion of the world, the judg-ment of mankind upon the purposes of these governments, they never would have dared to execute those pur-

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 currents with all the nations with whom we associated ourselves that we would bring about such a kind of settlement and such a consort of the purpose of nations that wars like this could not again occur.

Fought to Kill German Aims If this war has to be fought over examp, then all our high ideals and purposes 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 Ger-

war to beat all purposes such as the many entertained.

We are presently, my fellow countrymen, to have the very great pleasure of welcoming on this side of the sea the queen and king of the Religians [applause], and I, for one, am perfectly sure that we are going to make it clear to them that we have not resulting the violation of Relegium. 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

was taken away, and those parts of the machinery that they could not take away were destroyed by experts who knew how to destroy.

Belgium was a very successful competitor of Germany in some lines of manufacture, and the German armies were sent there to see to it that competition was put a stop to. Their purpose was to crush the inde-pendent action of that little kingdom —pot merely to use it as a gateway through which to attack France. And when they got into France they not brough 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, but of commission, so that it will be decade or more before France can upply herself with coal from her ac managed sources.

tomed sources. Article X Covenant's Peak Tau have thand a great deal about Article X of the covenant of the ague of nations. Article X speaks he conscience of the world. Article is the article which goes to the eart of this whole bad business, for the article says that the members of his isague—and that is intended to all the great nations of the world

#### FOUR TREATY RESERVATIONS ADOPTED BY SENATE COMMITTEE

Washington, Sept. 5 .- The text of the resolution of ratification, embracing the exercations to the treaty adopted yesterday by the Senate committee on foreign relations, follows:

Resolved (two-thirds of the senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of a treaty of peace with Germany signed by the plenipotentiaries of the twentyseven Allied and associated powers at Versailles on June 28, 1919, with the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of such ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part of and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at least three of the four principal Allied and associated powers, to wit: Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan:

First. The United States reserves to itself the unconditional right to withdraw from the league of nations upon the notice provided in Article I of said treaty of peace with Germany.

Second. That the United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country, or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the league or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the league or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the interpal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII, Part 1, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

Third. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the council or of the assembly of the league of nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other

Fourth. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the assembly or the council of the league of nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said league of nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany. stead 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. Every one 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

And so, when you read the cove-nant, read the treaty with it.

I have no doubt that in this audi-cace there are many men who come from that ancient stock of Polnud, for example, men in whose blood there is the warmth of old affections con-nected with that hetrayed and rained

nected 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 guaranters it to her.

Opponents Ignorant of Treaty

this treaty and this covenant they only amaze me by their inability to under-

Treaty Above All Parties

"I am making this journey as an American, and as a champion of the

rights which America believes in, and I need not tell you that as compared with the importance of America, the importance of the Democratic party and

things that we were deciding.

Hearing for All Nations

nation drawing attention to it or not

In other words, at present we have to mind our own business. Under the covenant of the league of nations we can mind other recopie's business, and anything that affects the peace of the

world, whether we are parties to it or not, can by our delegates, be brought to the attention of mankind.

not defend non-tees it to her.

protect the weak.

engage to resist and to preserve against all external aggression the total integrity and political independence of the nutions 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 independence and choice by articles of that sort. Every man who makes a choice to respect 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.

We engage, in the first sentence of Article X, to respect and preserve from external aggression the terrifrom external aggression the terri-torial integrity and the existing po-litical 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 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 on the part of the Congress of the United States to vote the use of force. But there could be no advice of the council on any such subject without 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 home, and that what we united in advising we could be certain that our copie would desire to do.

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? Only after it is evident that every other resource has failed. And It want to call your attention to the central machinery of the league of nations. If any member of that league, or any nation not a member, refuses to submit the question at issue, either to arbitration or to discussion by the council, there ensues automatically, by the engagements of this covenant, an absolute economic boycott. 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 enter it and no one of its citizens will be allowed to leave it. It will be hermetically scaled by the united action of the most powerful nations in the world, and if this economic boycot bears with unequal weight, the members of the league agree to support one another and to relieve one will be no trade with that nation by port one another and to relieve one another in any exceptional disad-vantages that may arise out of it.

Boycott Certain Remedy

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 as well. And I want you to realize that 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.

It is a terrible remedy. It does not cost a life outside the nation boycotted, but it brings a pressure upon that nation which, in my judgment, no modern pation could resist.

I dare say that some of those ideas 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 in-

in the world which cannot, henceforth, get a hearing at that forum. And you know, my fellow citizens, what a hearing will mean, if the cause of those people is just. The one thing which those who have reason to dread, have most reason to dread, is publicity and discussion; because if you are challenged to give a reason why you are doing a wrong thing it has to be an exceedingly good reason, and if you give a bad reason you confess judgment and the opinion of mankind goes against Secret Treaties Everywhere

There is another thing in this covenant, which was one of a number of difficulties that we encountered at Paris. I need not tell you that at every turn in these discussions we came across some secret treaty, some understanding that had never been made public before, some understanding that embarrassed the whole settlement.

I think it will not be improper for me to refer to one of these matters. When we came to the settlement of the Shantung question, with regard to China, we found that Great Britain to China, we found that Great Britain and France were under specific treaty obligations to Japan that she should get exactly what she got in the treaty with fermany; and the most that we could do—I nean the most that the United States could do—was to urge upon the representatives of Japan the very fatal policy that was involved in such a settlement, and obtain from her the promise, which she gave, that she would not take advantage of those portions of the treaty. tage of those portions of the treaty, but would return without qualifica-tion the sovereignty which Germany had enjoyed in Shantung province to the republic of China.

We have had repeated assurances we have and repeated assurances since then that Japan intends to ful-fill those promises in absolute good faith. But my present point is that there stood at the very gate of that settlement a secret treaty between Japan and two of the great powers engaged in this war on our side. We could not ask them to disregard these promises. This war had been fought, in part, because of the refusal to observe the tidelity which is involved in a promise, in a failure to regard the sacredness of treaties. And this covenant of the lengue of nations provides that no secret treaty shall have any validity.

Central Covenant of Peace

When you look at the covenant f the league of nations thus, in the large, you wonder why it is a bogy to anybody; you wonder what in-fluences have made gentlemen afraid of it; you wonder why it is not of vious to everybody as H is to tho-who study it with disintereste who study it with disinterested thought, that this is the central and essential covenant of the whole peace.

You would think, to hear some men discuss this covenant, that it is an arrangement for sending men throad again just as soon as possible. It is the only conceivable arrangement which will prevent our sending our men abroad again, very soon.
(Applause.) And, if I may use a very common expression. I would, say. "If it is not to be this arrangement, what arrangement do you suggest to secure the peace of the world? It is a case of put up or shut up.

Opposition is not going to save the world; negations are not going to construct the policies of mankind. A great plan is the only thing that can defeat a great plan. The only triumphant ideas in this world are ideas that are organized, for the only thing that counts an organized program is a better program.

Expects Ratification Soon Faperts Ratheration 300n

If this is not the way to secure peace. I beg that the way may be pointed out. If we must reject this way, then I beg that, before I am sent to ask Germany to make a new kind of peace with us, I should be given specific instructions as to what kind of peace it is to be.

If the gentleman who don't like

Opponents Ignorant of Treaty
"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 language as I
understand it. If they have really read
this treaty and this covenant they only If the gentlemen who don't like what was done in Paris think that they can do something better. I beg that they will hold their convention soon and do it now. They cannot, in conscience, or good faith, deprive us of this great work of

deprive as of this great work of peace without substituting some other that is better.

And so, my fellow citizens, I look forward, with profound gratification, to the time which I believe will not now much longer be delayed when the American people can say to their fellows in all parts of the stand what is plainly expressed. So that my errand upon this journey is not to argue these matters, but to reto the real issues which are, "And one of the things that I have to their fellows in all parts of the world. "We are the friends of lib-"And one of the things that I have most at heart in this report to my fellow citizens is that they should forget what party I belong to, and what party they belong to. I am making this journey as a Democrat, but I am spelling it with a little "d" and I don't want anybody to remember, so far as this errand is concerned, that it is ever spelled with a big "D." erry: we have joined with the rest of mankind in securing the guarantees of liberty; we stand here with you, the eternal champion of what is right, and may find keep us in the covenant that we have found."

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Parties, my fellow citizens, are intended to embody in action different policies of government. They are not, when properly used, intended to traverse the principles which underlie government and the principles which underlie the government of the United States have been familiar to us ever since we were children. THEORY INSTRUMENTAL VOCAL Students' Symphony Orchestras give exportunity for ensemble playing, and frequent racticals offer sulendid experience in consert work. Mason and Hamlin For prospectus address: WARLING LEWIS MURPHY, Maun's Director, 1647 Spruce St. (Main School) Branches at: 5132 Spruce St., W. Phila. Branches at: 5132 Spruce St., W. Phila.

were children.
"I want you to notice another interesting point that has never been HYPERION SCHOOL OF MUSIC Opens Sept. 8. Vecas, Violite, Piano. Orkun. Franklin E. Crasses, 71r 1714 Chestmit St. 57 E. Penn St. Gts dilated upon in connection with the league of nations. I am now trending upon delicate ground and I must express myself with caution. JACKSON VOICE CULTURE

# express myself with caution. "There were a good many delegations that visited Paris wanting to be heard by the Peace Conference, who had real causes to present, and which ought to be presented to the view of the world. But we had to point out to them that they did not have a unfortunately to come with Where Shall happen, unfortunately, to come with in the area of settlement; that their questions were not questions which were necessarily drawn into the I Send My Child Hearing for All Nations I, therefore, want to call your attention, if you will turn it up when you go home, to Article XI, following Article X, of the covenant of the league of mations. That Article XI, let me say, is the favorite article in the treaty, so far as I am concerned. It says that every matter which is likely to affect the peace of the world is every-body's business and that it shall be the friendly right of any nation to call attention in the league to anything that is likely to affect the peace of the world, or the good understanding between nations upon which the peace of the world, or the good understanding between nations upon which the peace of the world depends, whether that matter immediately concerns the nation drawing attention to it or not. to School?

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