"Let us state the facts with brutal frankness. England and France are engaged in a war. Every nation, entered into before the conference at Paris, before the end of the war, to go to war, to have what she gets in this treaty in the Province of Shantung. They can not in honor withdraw from that promise. They can not consent to a peace treaty which does not contain those provisions with the three, and the Russian army, and which, therefore, will stand behind Japan, and if we are not signatory to the treaty and not parties, she will get all that Germany had in Shantung, more than she will get the promises which she has to stand the only war before she gets away from her is by going to war with Japan and Great Britain and France. Does that look like a workable proposition? Is that doing China a service? Whereas, if we do accept this treaty, we are members of the league of nations, China is a member of the league, and Japan is a member of the league, and under the terms of the treaty, if they get that power from China, it might be possible to serve China. That is the only possible way in the circumstances to serve China.

Therefore we can not rewrite this treaty. We must take it or leave it, and gentlemen, after all the rest of the world has signed it, will it be difficult to make any other kind of treaty. As I took the liberty of saying the other night, it is a case of 'put up or shut up.' The world can not breathe in the atmosphere of negotiations. The world can not deal with nations who say, 'We won't play!' The world can not have anything to do with an unsatisfactory treaty. We will take care of ourselves.' Is it possible, my fellow citizens—is it possible, for the sinister thing has been suggested to me—that there is a group of individuals in this country who have not been satisfied with an unfavorable treaty. Are we going to substitute for Pan-Germans, Pan-Italians, Pan-Europeanism? The thing is inconceivable. It is hideous. No man dare propose that in plain words to any American audience anywhere. The heart of this people is pure. The heart of this people it true. The love of liberty. It loves liberty. It would rather have liberty and justice than wealth and power. It is the great idealistic force of history, and the idealism of America is what has made conquest of the spirits of men.

While I was in Paris men of every race, from every quarter of the globe, sought interviews with us in order to tell us how absolutely they believed in America and how all their thoughts, all their hopes, all their hope of political salvation, reached out toward America and the heart of Interior within me. I said to some of the simpler sort among them, "I pray you that you will not expect the impossible. America can not do all the things that you are expecting her to do. The most that I can promise you is that I will do everything we can.' And we are going to redeem that promise, not because I made it, but because when I made it I spoke the purpose and heart of the United States. If I felt that I personally in any way stood in the way of this settlement, I would be glad to die that it might be consummated, because I have a vision, my fellow citizens, that this thing should by some mishap not be accomplished there would rest forever upon the fair name of these people, that stain which could never be effaced, which would be intolerable to every lover of America, inconceivable to any man who knew the duty of America and was ready with stout heart to do it.

I said just now at the opening that I was happy to forget on a campaign like this what party I belonged to. I hope that you will not think that I am recalling what party I belonged to. I say how proud I have been to stand alongside of Senator Hiram Johnson in this fight. I would be just as glad to stand by Senator Nelson as by any other of my fellow citizens. I am a bit of an old partisan, a bit of a political reformer whom I wanted to make the president to say I want to be the brother and comrade and co-worker of every kind of man who will for this great cause. It heartens me when I find, as I found in the States of New York and New Jersey, and there, that there are more Republicans on the committees that would meet me than Democrats. That may be in proportion to the population, but nevertheless I judge from what I see of these gentlemen that they would be a force that would be a force for formidable speculations and that I can take for granted, because of what I see in my dealings with them, that they do represent some of the permanence and abiding influences of great communities like this.

Why, the heart of America beats in these great prairies and on these hillsides. Sometimes in Washington you seem very far from the heart of America. But there are people in Washington are not loud voices that anybody cares to listen to, and I am refreshing to get out among the great body of men's fellow citizens and feel the touch of hand and the contact of shoulder and the impulse of mass movement which is going to make spiritual conquest of the world.

The President of the United States, Sioux Falls, S. Dak., September 8, 1919.

Gov. Norbeck, my fellow citizens, I must admit that every time I face a great audience of American citizens on this trip I am filled with a feeling of peculiar solemnity because I believe, my fellow countrymen, that we have come to one of the turning points in the history of the world, and what I am an observer for this great country is that, as on other great occasions when mankind's fortunes are in a nice position and balance, America may have the distinction to lead the way.

"In order to enable you to realize some part of what is in my thought tonight, I am going to ask you to turn your thoughts back to the tragedy through which we have just passed. A little incident as we came along the train to-day brought very close home to me the things that have been happening. A quiet little lady came up with a little crowd at a way station to shake hands with me, and she had no sooner taken hand than she turned away and burst into tears. I asked a question that was the matter, and she said she had meant to speak to me of her son who was dead in France, but that the words would not come to lips. All over this country, my fellow citizens, there are women who have given up their youth and their sons who have given up their husbands, young women who have given up their sweethearts, to die on the other side of the sea for a great cause which was not the peculiar cause of America but the cause of mankind and civilization itself. It is to repeat what the people on the other side of the water said about those boys. They told us that they did not look like any of the other soldiers, that they did not seem to be merely soldiers, that they seemed to be young and gay, and there was something in their eyes that they had never seen in the eyes of any other citizen. That is the feeling that I had so often seen on former journeys across the sea. Going over in the steerage, bright-eyed men who had been permeated with the atmosphere of free America; coming back, and the immigrants coming from the old countries, dull-eyed men, tired-looking men, discouraged-looking men. They were all of them going both ways, men who had come from across the sea, but going out they were going with the look of America in their eyes to visit the old people at home; coming back they had the fatigue of Europe in their eyes and had the feeling that penetrates every American, that there is a great future, that a man can handle his own fortunes, that he is his right to place in the world, and that no man that he does not choose is his master. And they said people saw in the eyes of the American boys that carried their arms and went to sea. There was America in every one of those lively eyes, and America was not looking merely at the fields of France, was not seeking to defeat Germany; she was seeking to defeat everything that Germany's action means in a nice position and balance, and to see to it that there never happened such a thing again.

I want to remind you, my fellow countrymen, that no war was any accident. That war did not just happen. There was not some sudden occasion which brought on a configuration. On the contrary, Germany had been preparing for several years for that war generations. Germany had been preparing every resource, perfecting every skill, developing every invention, which would enable her to master the Europe of 1914 and after mastering the European world, to dominate the rest of the world. Everybody had been looking on. Everybody had known. For example, it was known in every war office in Europe, and in the War Department at Washington, that the Germans not only had a vast supply of great guns but also that they had ammunition enough for every one of those guns to exhaust the gun. Yet we were all living in a fool's paradise. We thought Germany meant what she said—that she was armed for defense; that she would never want of force against the rest of her fellow men. Why, my friends, the next time an event occurred that made that an occasion and an excuse. Before they started it, Serbia had yielded to practically every demand they made of her, and they would not let the rest of the world know that Serbia had yielded, because they did not want to miss the occasion to start the war. They were afraid that other nations..."
would prepare. They were afraid that they had given too much indication of what they were going to do and they did not want to wait. What immediately happened when the other four powers of Europe learned of what was going on, was that from every other foreign power they learned that Germany was disarming and in which all the other nations of the world agreed to go to war without first of all having done one or other of the conditions of the peace settlement being submitted the question in dispute to arbitration, in which case it would be decided by the verdict, or, if they did not care to submit it to arbitration, bringing it the league of nations; so they did it only six months for the discussion; that they will publish all the facts to the world; and that not until three months after the expiration of the six months will the Germany disarm. America did not of course begin that we are making a fundamental change. You have either got to the German system, of which Germany was the perfect flower, or you have got to be a substitute for the old, and when certain of our fellow citizens take up a notion that we do not want to go into any combination at all but want to take care of ourselves, so I have to say to us that is that exactly the German position. Germany through the mouth of her Emperor—Germany through the mouth of her orators, Germany through the pens of her writers and all his works—said, here we stand, ready to take care of ourselves. We will not enter into the heart of Germany, and not armed for self-defense and no nation dare interfere with our rights. That, it appears, is the American program in the eyes of the world. And I want to tell you that within the last two weeks the pro-German feeling was sounding his death knell again. It is again heartened. It again has air in lungs. It again says, 'Ah, now we see a chance when America andGermany will stand outside this league and take care of themselves.' Not take care of themselves as pawns. If Germany had not mean to intimate that, but where America will play the same role of Germany and Germany under old order which brought them a thousand of bloody sweat, that great agony in which the whole world seemed to enter in the throes of a crisis, when for a long time we did not know whether civilization was going to survive or not. And do not believe, my fellow countrymen, that we can be saved now. There were passions let loose upon the field of the world, that war which have not grown quiet yet, which will not grow quiet for a longer of every element of disorder, every element of chaos, is holding the breast of every hand from a council of nations to hold the order of the world, until we can make the final arrangements of justice and of peace. The treaty of peace with Germany is very much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. The part of it takes a good many words, because there are a great many technical details to be arranged, but that is not the heart of the treaty. The heart of the treaty is that it does the injustice that Germany did; that it not only ended the peace between the nations, but that is not the heart of the treaty. The heart of the treaty is that it does the injustice that Germany did; that it not only ended the peace between the nations, but that it ends the future of the world. I think that those of us who have been present will have an advance conception of conditions of labor in some of the most important matters; I think that those who are to attend the meeting of the representatives of the world, that will not only end the peace between the nations, but that it ends the future of the world. I think that those of us who have been present will have an advance conception of conditions of labor in some of the most important matters; I think that those who are to attend the meeting of the representatives of the world, that it ends the future of the world. I think that those of us who have been present will have an advance conception of conditions of labor in some of the most important matters; I think that those who are to attend the meeting of the representatives of the world, that it ends the future of the world. I think that those of us who have been present will have an advance conception of conditions of labor in some of the most important matters; I think that those who are to attend the meeting of the representatives of the world, that it ends the future of the world.
of the world were redeemed from intolerable tyranny! Here comes—aah, how I wish I were going to be in Washington on Tuesday! But I believe it—that is, that of the First Division; those men, along with their comrades, to whom the eyes of all Europe turn! All Europe took heart when they saw that brilliant flag unfurled on French soil.

I believe that the thing that is being sung so much now of the blind Frenchman wishing to know if the Americans have come, bidding his son watch at the window. 'Look, my lad, what are they carrying? What are the colors? Are they red stripes upon their blue? Is there the heaving of the corner? Is that piece of heaven full of stars? Ah, the Americans have come! Thank God, the Americans have come!' That is what we have at our hearts, my fellow citizens, and in their muskets, or the sword, over the mantelpiece. And if I could bid you, you as a lady, who said to me, without the glimmer of a tear in her eye, 'I have had the honor of losing a son upon the field of France.' I have had the honor, not the pain. I have had the distinction of losing a son upon the field of honor.' It is that field of honor that we are going to redeem. We are not going to redeem it with blood any more, but we are going to make out of the counsels of the people of the world counsels of peace and of Justice and of honor.

THE PRESIDENT BEFORE STATE LEGISLATURE, ST. PAUL, MINN., SEPTEMBER 19.

"Mr. Speaker, your excellency, gentlemen of the legislature, ladies and gentlemen, I esteem it an unusual privilege to stand in this place to-day and to address the members of this great body, because the errand upon which I have left Washington is so important and is so one of the great objects of the life of the world. Yet I am conscious, standing in this presence, that perhaps the most appropriate things I could allude to are those which affect us immediately. I know that you have been active because of the special price you have of those objects you have achieved, and I rejoice with you in the adoption of the suffrage amendment. Another of the objects, I understand, is to consider the high cost of living, and the high cost of living is one of the things which the great depression of the industry, the depression of the cost of living, that is the depression of all the processes which are retarding distribution and the supply which is going to meet the demand.

"Not only that, but we have got to realize that we are face to face with a new governmental center in the United States. It centers elsewhere, but which we share with the other countries of the world. That is the relation between capital and labor, between those who employ and those who are employed, and we might as well sit up straight and look facts in the face and see that men of the world are not satisfied with their relations with their employers. Of course, I do not mean to say that there is universal dissatisfaction, because here, there, and everywhere, in many cases somewhere, there are very satisfactory relations, but I am now speaking of the general relationship which exists between capital and labor. Everywhere there is dissatisfaction, with it much more acute on the other side of the water than here, and that is the chief thing that has brought about for mankind can be brought about by what we do in this country, because, as a matter of fact, if I may refer for a moment to the treaty of peace, there is a part of that treaty which says an international commission shall be appointed to inquire into the conditions of labor. It is a splendid instrument locked up in that great document. I have called it frequently the Magna Charta of labor, for it is that, and the standards set up, for it is that, and the standards are stated for labor so far as they could be adopted in a general conference. The point I wish to make is that the world is looking to America to set the standards with regard to the conditions of labor and the relations between labor and capital, and it is looking to us because we have been more progressive than other nations in those matters, though sometimes we have moved very slowly and with undue caution. As a result of our progressiveness the ruling influences among our working men are conservative in the sense that they see that it is not in the interest of labor to break up civilization, and progressive in the sense that they see that a constructive program has to be adopted. By a progressive, I do not mean a man is not progressive. It may be that a man who knows where he is going when he moves. A man who has got a workable program is the only progressive, because if you have not got a workable program, you can not make it good and you can not progress. Very well, then, we have got to have a constructive program with regard to labor, and the minute we get it we will relieve the strain all over the world, because the world will accept our standards and follow our example, and the United States is the country that ought to know how to manage—the law of supply and demand. It depends upon manufacture and distribution. It depends upon all the normal processes of the industrial and commercial world. It depends upon international credit. It depends upon shipping.

It depends upon the multiplication of transportation facilities. Our railroads at this moment are not adequate to carry the commerce of this country. Every here and there they run through a little check for every transportation system at Pittsburgh—where everything is congested and you are squeezing a great commerce through a little aperture. The transportation facilities at the ports are not adequate. The problem grows the more you think of the more demanding it is. Our minds to us is an international problem, first of all—to set the commerce of the world going again and the manufactures of the world going again. And we have got to do that largely. Then we have got to make it that our own production and our own methods of finance and our own commerce are quickened in every way that is possible. And then we, sitting in legislatures like this and in the Congress of the United States, have to see to it, and in the Colonies—"
spected. You can not establish freedom, my fellow citizens, without force, and the only force you can substitute for an armed mankind is the concerted force of the combined action of mankind through the instrumentality of all the governments of the world. This is the only conceivable system that you can substitute for the old order of things which brought the calamity of this war upon us and would assuredly bring the calamity of another upon our country unless we know our choice is between the league of nations and Germanism. I have told you what I mean by Germanism—taking care of yourselves, being armed and ready, having a chip on your shoulder, thinking of nothing but your own rights and never thinking of the rights of anyone else, thinking only of how we can do to the world to make that American might be asserted and forgetting that American might ought never to be used against the weak, ought never to be used in an unjust cause, ought never to be used for aggression; it ought not to be used with the heart of humanity beating behind it.

"Sometimes people call me an idealist. Well, that is the way I know I am an American. America, my fellow citizens—I do not say it in the engagement of any other great power. America is the only idealistic Nation in the world. When I speak practical judgments about business affairs, I can only guess whether I am speaking the voice of America or not, but when I speak the ideal purpose of history, I know that I am speaking the voice of America, because I have saturated myself since I was a boy in the records of that spirit, and everywhere in them there is this authentic tone of the love of justice and the service of humanity. And I hope that any unthinking people should not take the leading part in this new enterprise of concerted power, the world would experience one of those reversals of sentiment, one of those penetrating chills of reaction, which would be a smashing deprecation for all mankind. Mankind has no other place to turn. It is the hope of all nations all over the world that America will do this great thing. Yet I find some gentlemen so nervous about doing right. If I say at any moment any other great power does not think America is the only idealistic Nation in the world, I will get out of any other great power, but I want to be with the heart of humanity beating behind it."

If we see facts coming our way, it is just as well to get out of the way. Always take this attitude, my friends, toward facts: Always try to see them coming first, so that they will not catch you unawares. Fact, as you know it, is neither the smallest to the greatest. Human beings can get together by discussion, and it is the business of civilization to get together by discussion and not by fighting. That is civilization. The only moral force is a great deal more powerful than physical. Government the sentiments of mankind, and try to understand mankind. Govern their fears, govern their hopes, determine their fortunes, get them together in concerted masses, and the whole thing sways like a team. Once get them suspecting one another, once you understand a man, it is easy to do pieces to pieces. We are trying to make a society instead of a set of barbarians out of the governments of the world. I sometimes think, when I wake in the night, of all the weeks that are wasted and fail to do anything during the two or three weary years of this awful war, and I seem to hear the cry, the inarticulate cry of millions all over the world, millions of them on the other side of the sea and thousands of them on the other side of the earth, and I am saying, why do you not send peace to the world? Why do you not go and make peace?"

"America can stay out, but I want to call you to witness that the peace of the world can not be established without America. It is not necessary to reverse the proposition: The peace and good will of the world are necessary to America. Disproper the world, center its suspicion upon you, make it feel that you are hot and jealous rivals of the other nations, and do you think you are going to do as much business with them as you would otherwise do? I do not like to put the thing on that plane, my fellow countrymen, but if you want to you can do. If you want to put it on the low plane of how much money you can make, then you may. You may say things that are hard and the world may not like it. You may say things that are hard and the world may not like it. America is going to be taken. No action that is against her policy or against her will can be taken, unless her judgment is rendered in some case where she is one of the disputants, but, my fellow citizen, if she is one of the disputants, then you are in trouble any how. If the war that they are trying to avert is here we are. I do not see that she is any more benefited by being out of the league than in it. On the contrary, if she is in the league, she has left her in good offices of other friendly States to see that some accommodation is reached."

"And she is doing exactly what she has done already. Some gentlemen forget that we already have nearly 30 treaties with the leading nations of the world. Yes; and to do the very thing that we are trying to do, to take in us, to discuss everything, whereas the league gives 8 months. The American choice would be 12. We promise not to fight without first talking. I want to call a great many here witness to this circumstance; and I want to tell you that you that you are not wrong. What is the certain way to have difficulty between capital and labor? It is to refuse to sit down in the same room and talk it over. I can not understand why one man or set of men should be more willing to discuss a given problem between the other set of men, unless they know to begin with that they are wrong. I am very averse from discussing anything when I know I have got the wrong end, but when I think I have got either the right end, or the other end, I am perfectly willing to discuss it. There is an old saying accredited to a rather cynical politician of what I hope I may regard as the older school, who said to his son, 'John, do not bothering your head about any other man, and if you see a crook in another man, hear me denying anything, you may be sure it is so.' The only thing we are afraid of, the only thing we dudge, is the truth."

"A friend of mine made a very piquant remark to me the other day. He said, 'Did you ever see a family that hung its son's yardstick or ledger or spade up over the mantelpiece?' But how many of you have seen such and such a man hung up? We are not hung up? A music is a barbarous thing. The spade and the yardstick and the ledger are the symbols of peace and of steady business; why not hang them up? Because they do not represent self-sacrifice. They do not glorify you. They do not dignify you in the same sense that the music does, because when you took that music at the call of your country you risked everything and knew you could not get anything. The most that you could do was to come back alive, but after you came back, you thought a crock was in. Why, you were in five years France! That boy served his country and served a great cause! That boy risked everything to see that the weak peoples