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LORD GREY'S LETTER ON THE AMERICAN SITUATION

Full Text of Ambassador's Communication to the London Times -- No Objection to Increase in American Vote in League -- A Defence of the Senate -- Importance of Having America in League

LONDON, Feb. 2.—Lord Grey of Fallodon, British Ambassador to Washington, now in England, has written the following letter to the London Times:

"Sir—Nothing, it seems to me, is more desirable in international politics than a good understanding between the democracy of the United States on the one hand and the democratic Great Britain and her self-governing Dominions, and, I hope we may add Ireland, on the other. Nothing would be more disastrous than misunderstanding and estrangement.

"There are some aspects of the position in the United States with regard to the League of Nations which are not wholly understood in Britain. I am in hope that as a result of my recent stay in Washington I may be able to make the position better understood. I venture to offer the following observations. They represent only my own personal opinion; nothing more. They are given simply as those of a private individual.

"In Great Britain and the Allied Countries there are naturally impatience and disappointment at the delay of the United States in ratifying the peace treaty and the covenant of the League of Nations. It is perhaps not generally recognized here that there are also great impatience and disappointment in the United States. Nowhere is the impasse caused by the deadlock between the President and Senate, more keenly regretted than in the United States, where there is a strong, even urgent, desire on the part of public opinion to see a way out of that impasse found which will be both honorable to America and helpful to the world.

"It would be well to understand the real difficulties with which the people of the United States have been confronted. In the clear light of understanding, what seemed to be disagreeable features of the situation will assume a more favorable and intelligent aspect. Let us first get rid of one misunderstanding. No charge of bad faith or of repudiating signatures can be brought against the action of the United States. The Senate, by the American Constitution, is an independent body—an independent element in the treaty-making power. Its refusal to ratify the treaty cannot expose either itself or the country to a charge of bad faith or of repudiation, nor is it fair to represent the United States as holding up the treaty solely from motives of party politics, thereby

sacrificing the interests of other nations for this consideration.

Party Politics in United States.

"It is true that there are party politics and personal animosities in the United States. An American who saw much of England between 1890 and 1896 said that the present condition of politics in the United States reminded him of what he had observed in London when Gladstone first advocated home rule for Ireland. Party politics and the personal animosities arising out of them operate in every democratic country. They are factors varying from time to time in degree, but always more or less active, and they operate upon every public question which is at all controversial. They are, however, not the sole or even the prime cause of the difficulty in the United States about the League of Nations. Nor is it true to say that the United States is moved solely by self-interest to a disregard of higher ideals. In the United States, as in other countries, there are cross-currents and backwaters in national life and motives. It would be well, therefore, for reason both of truth and expediency, to concentrate on the real underlying causes of the Senate's reservations in ratifying the covenant of the League of Nations.

"First, there is in the United States a conservative feeling for traditional policy, and one of those traditions, consecrated by the advice of Washington, is to abstain from foreign and particularly from European entanglements. Even for nations which have been used to European alliances, the League of Nations is felt to be something of a new departure. This is still more true for the United States, which has hitherto held aloof from all outstanding alliances. The League of Nations is not merely a plunge into the unknown, but a plunge into something which its historical advice and tradition have hitherto positively disapproved. Hence this desire for some qualification and reservation. The American constitution not only makes possible, but under certain conditions inevitable, conflict between the executive and the Legislature. It would be possible, if the Covenant of the League of Nations stands for a President in some future years to commit the making power. Its refusal to ratify the treaty cannot expose either itself or the country to a charge of bad faith or of repudiation, nor is it fair to represent the United States as holding up the treaty solely from motives of party politics, thereby

daily responsible to the representative authority of the House of Commons, and where in case of conflict between the House of Commons and the Government, the latter must either immediately give way or public opinion must decide between them and assert itself by an immediate general election. But in the United States it is otherwise. The contingency is within the region of practical politics. They have reason, and, if they so desire, the right to provide against it.

"What, then, may be fairly expected from the United States in this great crisis of world policy? For crisis, indeed, it is. If the participation of the United States was enormously helpful in securing victory in the critical months of 1918, its help will be even more essential to secure stability in peace. Without the United States the present League of Nations may become little better than a League of Allies for armed self-defence against a revival of Prussian militarism, or against the military sequel to Bolshevism in Russia. Bolshevism is despotism; despotisms have a tendency to become militarism as the great French revolution proved.

Great Object to Prevent War.

"The great object of the League of Nations is to prevent war and to discourage from the beginning the growth of aggressive armaments which would lead to war. Without the United States it will have neither the overwhelming physical nor the moral force behind it that it should have. Or, if it has physical force, it will not have the same degree of moral force, for it will be predominantly a European and not a world organization, and it will be tainted with all the inter-racial jealousies of Europe.

"Without the League of Nations the old order of things may be revived, old consequences will recur, there will again be some great catastrophe of war in which the United States will find itself compelled to intervene for the same reason and at no less or even greater cost than in 1917.

"It would be a mistake to suppose that the American people are prepared or wish to withdraw their influence in world affairs. Americans differ among themselves as to whether they could or ought to have entered the war sooner than they did. It is neither necessary nor profitable for foreigners to discuss this point now. What is common to all Americans and to all foreigners who know the facts is the unselfish whole-hearted spirit to which the American nation acted when it came into the war. The immediate adoption of compulsory military service, and even more, the rationing of food and fuel in those millions and millions of households over such a vast area—not by compulsion, but by purely voluntary action in response to an appeal which had no compulsion behind it—is a remarkable and even astonishing example of national spirit and idealism. That spirit is still there. It is as much a part of the nature and possibilities of the American people as any other characteristic.

"It would be a great mistake to suppose that because the citizens of the United States wish to limit their obligations they therefore propose to themselves to play a small part in the League of Nations. If they enter the League as a willing partner with limited obligations, it may well be more fruitful than if they entered as a reluctant partner, who felt that her hand had been forced. It is by this spirit, in this hope and in this expectation that I think we should approach and are justified in approaching the consideration of the American reservations. The difficulties and dangers which Americans foresee in it will probably never arise or be felt by them when they are once in the League. In the same way the weakening and injury to the League which some of its best friends apprehended from American reservations would not be

Warns Against a Mistake.

"If the outcome of this long controversy in the Senate is to offer cooperation in the League of Nations it would be the greatest mistake to refuse that co-operation because of the conditions attached to it, and when that co-operation is accepted let it not be accepted in a spirit of pessimism. The most vital considerations are that representatives should be appointed to the council of the League of Nations by all nations when they are once in the League; that the representatives should be men who are inspired by the ideals for which we entered the war, and that the representatives should be instructed and supported in that same spirit of equity and freedom by the governments and the public opinion of the countries who are new partners in peace. There is one particular reservation which must give rise to some difficulty in Great Britain and her self-governing dominions. It is that which has reference to the six British votes in the assembly of the League

of Nations. The self-governing dominions are full members of the League. They will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualification whatever of that right. Whatever the self-governing dominions may be in theory and in the letter of the constitution, they have in effect ceased to be colonies in the old sense of the word. They are free communities, independent as regards all their own affairs, and partners in those which concern the Empire at large.

"To any provision which makes it clear that none of those British votes can be used in a dispute likely to lead to a rupture in which any part of the British Empire is involved no exception can be taken. That is the only reasonable interpretation of the covenant as it now stands. If any part of the British Empire is involved in a dispute with the United States, the latter will be unable to vote and all parts of the British Empire, precisely because they are partners, will be parties to that dispute and equally unable to vote. But as regards their rights to vote where they are not partners to the dispute, there can be no qualification, and there is a very general admission that the votes of the self-governing dominions would in most cases be found on the same side as that of the United States.

"It must not be supposed that in the United States there is any tendency to grudge the fact that Canada and the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire have votes, but any person with the smallest understanding of public affairs must realize the feeling created by the statement that the United States with several million more English-speaking citizens than there are in the whole British Empire, should have only one vote, while the British Empire has six votes.

"It may be sufficient to observe that the reservation of America does not in any way challenge the right of the self-governing dominions to exercise their votes, nor does it state that the United States will necessarily reject a decision in which those votes have been cast. It is therefore possible—I think it is even more than probable—that in practice no dispute will ever arise. Our object is to maintain the status of the self-governing dominions, not to secure a greater British than American vote, and we have no objection in principle to an increase of the American vote.

"Your obedient servant,
GREY OF FALLODON."



Just Folks

by Patsy Guest

HOW DO YOU BUY YOUR MONEY?

How do you buy your money? For money is bought and sold. And each man barter himself on earth for his silver and shining gold. And by the bargain he makes with men, the sum of his life is told.

Some buy their coins in a manly way, some buy them with honest toil; Some pay for their currency here on earth by tilling a patch of soil; Some buy it with copper and iron and steel, and some with barrels of oil.

The good man buys it from day to day by giving the best he can; He coins his strength for his children's needs and lives to a simple plan. And he keeps some time for the home he makes and some for his fellow-man.

But some men buy it with women's tears, and some with a blasted name. And some will barter the joy of life for the fortune they hope to claim; And some are so mad for the clink of gold that they buy it with deeds of shame.

How do you buy your money? For money demands its price, And some men think when they purchase coin that they mustn't be over-nice— But beware of the man who would sell you gold at a shameful sacrifice!



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A Notable Bridge Builder

Born at Houston in 1839, Sir William Arrol began to earn his living at the age of nine in a Johnstone cotton mill. Five years later he was apprenticed to a Paisley blacksmith, and when a journeyman he saw a great deal of England and Scotland. In West Scotland he found himself foreman in the boiler works of Laird & Sons at the age of 24, and ere he attained 30, he had laid the foundation of his world-famous works at Bridgeton, and set up as a bridge builder. The Caledonian Railway bridge at Bothwell was his first important contract, in the construction of which he put into execution several original ideas. Even more important was the contract for the same Company's bridge over the Clyde at the Broomielaw his mechanical drill and hydraulic rivetter proving invaluable. Soon he became the foremost bridge builder of his time. The collapse of the Tay Bridge, with heavy loss of life, gave him a unique opportunity to replace

the first frail structure with one which would stand the stoutest blast. Hard on its completion came the more gigantic task of bridging the Forth, the completion of which entitled it to rank as one of the wonders of the world. It was at the opening of the latter on March 4, 1890, that King Edward, then Prince of Wales, announced that the builder was to be knighted. Another triumph, in which also great engineering difficulties were met and overcome, was the erection of the great Tower Bridge across the Thames. He then received

orders which in the aggregate represented five years' work, one order being for the caissons in connection with the naval dockyard at Rosyth and the other for a large bridge across the river Trent. Sir William was disinclined to enter public life, but in 1895 he stood for South Ayrshire as a Unionist, and immediately gained the esteem of the House. He was married three times. On the date of his second marriage an important division was taken in the Commons and Sir William travelled from Scotland with his bride, and went to Westminster and voted. His fellow-Unionists marked his devotion to duty by presenting him with a handsome piece of silver plate. Though having no claims to scholarship, he was honoured by the Universities with the degrees of LL.D. and D.C.L., and was also elected F.R.S.E. He died at Ayr aged 74, on February 20, 1913.

Potato, fish and cabbage salads should be seasoned in advance. Orange juice, buttered toast and coffee make a thin light breakfast.

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