

# Text of Covenant of League of Nations as Read at Paris Peace Conference by Wilson

Preamble.—In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security, the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between the nations, the firm establishment of an understanding of international law, as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for legal obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this constitution of the league of nations:

Article 1.—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals in an executive council and a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the league.

Article 2.—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters in the sphere of action of the league. Meetings of the bodies of delegates shall be held at the seat of the league or at such other place as may be found convenient and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three votes together.

Article 3.—The executive council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of four other states, members of the league. The selection of these four states shall be made by the body of delegates at such time and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other states, representatives of the United States, France, Italy and Japan shall be members of the executive council. Meetings of the council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and may be held at any place within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings. Invitations shall be sent to any power to attend a meeting of the council at which such matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at such meeting will be binding on such power unless so invited.

Article 4.—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or of the executive council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the executive council and may be decided by a majority of the states represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the executive council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 5.—The permanent secretariat of the league shall be established at (blank), which shall constitute the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required under the general direction and control of a secretary-general of the league, who shall be chosen by the executive council; the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary-general, subject to confirmation by the executive council. The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the states—members of the league—in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the permanent international bureau of the universal postal union.

Article 6.—Representatives of the high contracting parties engaged in the business of the league shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities and the buildings occupied by the league or its officials or by representatives attending the meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

Article 7.—Admission to the league of states not signatory to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as stated to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the members of the body of delegates and shall be limited fully to self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies. No state shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations in conformity with the principles set forth in this covenant and in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

Article 8.—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each state; and the executive council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The executive council also shall determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament; these limits when adopted shall not be exceeded without the permission of the executive council. The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private individuals of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections and direct the executive council to advise how the evil effects attending such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being paid to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. The high contracting parties undertake in no way to contract, from each other, the conditions of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to war purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programmes.

Article 9.—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the executive council on the execution of the provisions of article 8 and on military and naval questions generally.

Article 10.—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all states members of the league. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat of danger of such aggression, the executive council shall advise upon means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11.—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, hereby is declared a matter of concern to the league, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effective to safeguard the peace of nations. It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the executive council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12.—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they in no case will resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the executive council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or recommendations by the executive council and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the league which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendations of the executive council. In any case, under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time and the recommendation of the executive council shall be made within six months after the submission of the disputes.

Article 13.—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or differences shall arise between them which they desire to submit to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the executive council shall propose what steps best can be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14.—The executive council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice and this part shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as subject for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

Article 15.—If there should arise between states members of the league any dispute likely to lead to rupture which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the executive council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary-general, who will make such necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the secretary-general as promptly as possible copies of their cases with all the relevant papers and the executive council will publish and set forth with all the necessary facts and explanations the recommendations which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the council is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council other than the parties to the dispute the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures to give effect to its recommendations. If no such report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements of their views on the matter. It shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements of their views on the matter. It shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements of their views on the matter.

Article 16.—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under article 12 it shall thereby ipso facto be declared to have committed an act of war against the other high contracting parties of the league, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all communications between the nationals and nations of the covenant-breaking state and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not. It shall be the duty of the executive council in such cases to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed force to be used to enforce the covenants of the league. The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

Article 17.—In the event of a dispute between one state member of the league and another state which is not a member of the league or between states not members of the league, the high contracting parties agree that the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of the membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute upon such conditions as the executive council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league. Upon such invitation being given the executive council shall institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend steps to be taken as seem to be best and effectual. In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of a dispute which in the case of a state member of the league would constitute a breach of article 14, the provisions of article 14 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action, if both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purpose of such dispute, the executive council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18.—The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be entrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

Article 19.—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly owned them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the wellbeing and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and the securities for the permanence of the trust should be embodied in the constitution of the league. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, by experience and the geographical position, can best undertake the responsibility and that this tutelage should be accepted by them as mandataries on behalf of the league. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish empire have reached a stage of development that their existence as independent nations can be practically recognized subject to the rendering of advice toward development and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. Wishes of these communities must be a principal condition in the selection of the mandatory power. Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory powers must be responsible for the administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience, of religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military or naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and also will secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league. There are territories, such as South Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness

of their population and their small size or their remoteness from the center of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be administered best under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interest of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate the mandatory state shall render to the league an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the mandatory state shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties, in each case be explicitly defined by the executive council in a special act or charter. The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the league a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the league in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

Article 20.—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the league a permanent bureau of labor.

Article 21.—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the league to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states—members of the league, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

Article 22.—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league all international postal, telegraphic, telephonic and other communications established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Fundamentally they agree that all such international communications and constituted in future shall be placed under control of the league.

Article 23.—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any state-member of the league shall be forthwith registered with the secretary-general and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaties or international engagements shall be binding until so registered.

Article 24.—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by state members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable and not other international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

Article 25.—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagement inconsistent with the terms thereof, in case any of the powers signatory hereto are admitted subsequently to the league shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 26.—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the states whose representatives compose the executive council and by three-fourths of the states whose representatives compose the body of delegates.

Article 27.—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under article 12 it shall thereby ipso facto be declared to have committed an act of war against the other high contracting parties of the league, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all communications between the nationals and nations of the covenant-breaking state and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the league or not. It shall be the duty of the executive council in such cases to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed force to be used to enforce the covenants of the league. The high contracting parties agree further that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the league.

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## CHAPTER IX—Continued.

"Is it? Well, no, they didn't tell me that," admitted the visitor, "or I'd not started so late. You see, I come up on a schooner. This here lake boat ain't in my line. I'm deep-water, I am."

"So I should s'pose," said Mr. Parlow. "How'd you git up here, anyway?"

"The war," said the visitor. "The war done it. Couldn't git a good berth in any deep-water bottom. So I thought I'd try fresh-water sailin'. I tell you, matey, I been workin' as quartermaster's mate on the old Cross and Crescent line, a-scootin' 'cross to Naples from N'York—there and back—goin' on ten year."

"What did you leave your boat for?" asked the carpenter curiously.

"She was sunk. There's things happenin' over to the other side of the ocean, mate," said the injured man earnestly, "that you wouldn't believe—no, sir! The Cross and Crescent line's give up business till after the war's over, I reckon."

"You'd better not encourage him to talk any more, father," interposed Miss Amanda, coming into the room again.

"The best thing he can do for himself is to sleep for a while."

"Thank ye, ma'am," said the sailor humbly. "I'll try."

Darkness came on apace. The sky had become overcast, and there was promise of a stormy night—more snow, perhaps. But Miss Amanda would not allow Carolyn May and Prince to start for home at once.

"Watch for your uncle, Carolyn May, out of the front-room window, and be all ready to go with him when he comes along," said Miss Parlow.

When Uncle Joe came along, Carolyn May ran out and hailed him from the porch.

"Wait for me, Uncle Joe! Wait for me and Prince, please! Just let me get my mittens and Prince's harness and kiss Miss Mandy."

That last she did most soundly, and in full view of the man waiting in the white road.

"Oh, Uncle Joe, I've got just the wonderfulest story to tell you! Shall we harness Prince up again, or will you—"

"I can't wait for the dog, Carolyn May. I'm in a hurry. You oughtn't to be out in this wind, either. Get aboard your sled, now, and I'll drag you myself," Mr. Stag interrupted.

## CHAPTER X.

### A Salt-Sea Flavor.

Swiftly Joseph Stag trudged toward home, dragging Carolyn May behind him.

"Oh, dear me!" exclaimed the little girl with exultation, "we're all so excited, Uncle Joe!"

"I can see you're all of a-twitter," he returned absent-mindedly. "What's the matter?"

"Oh, you never could guess!" was Carolyn May's introduction, and forthwith, in breathless sentences, went on

"The Germans have accepted the new armistice terms, which, it is understood, provide for the continuation of the blockade during the armistice."

The German revolution last November was an artificial one and a real revolution "is still to come," Hugo Haase, independent socialist leader, declared in the German assembly Saturday.

The strike of stationary engineers which has tied up a number of Denver public schools for the last week has been settled. The strikers and the school board agreed to arbitrate their differences.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, former premier of Canada, died of paralysis at Ottawa, Ontario, Monday afternoon. He was stricken Sunday and became unconscious. His physicians announced that Sir Wilfrid sank slowly. He had been in poor health for several years.

The transport Utua is due at New York February 27 with about 1000 men of the 317th supply train, the 317th trench mortar battery and the 325th field signal battalion of the 92d (mezo) division. The troops are to be scattered to various camps for demobilization.

The 91st, or "Wild West division," has been designated for return with the latest date for embarkation set as March 1, according to word conveyed in a letter to Governor Withycombe just received from Major-General William H. Johnston, in command of the division.

Eighteen of the 56 members of the crew of the United States gunboat Scorpion, interned at Constantinople from April 11, 1917, until last November, married Turkish women and have been left behind there, according to Lieutenant-Commander Herbert S. Babbitt of Houghton, N. Y., former commander of the Scorpion.

Senate and house conferees reached an agreement Monday on the \$400,000,000 postoffice appropriation by eliminating the senate amendment providing for pneumatic tube mail service in New York City and Brooklyn and retaining the senate amendment appropriating \$200,000,000 for road construction during the next three years.

Swiftly Joseph Stag trudged Towards Home, Dragging Carolyn May Behind Him.

to tell of her discovery in the snow and about the old sailor now lying asleep on the Parlow couch.

Of course, when Carolyn May arrived at home, the story had to be told all over again to Aunt Rose Kennedy.

"A mighty plucky youngster, this Carolyn May of ours," Uncle Joe remarked. "What do you say, Aunt Rose?"

"She is, indeed, Joseph Stag," agreed the woman.

"And do tell me how my sailor man is, Miss Mandy. He got such a bump on his head!"

"Yes; the man's wound is really serious. I'm keeping him in bed. But you can go up to see him. He's talked a lot about you, Carolyn May."

The sailor lay in the warm bedroom over the kitchen.

Carolyn May prattled on gayly and soon had her "sailor man" telling all about the sea and ships, and "they that go down therein."

"For, you see," explained Carolyn May, "I'm dreadful curious about the sea. My papa and mamma were lost at sea."

"You don't say so, little miss!" exclaimed the old fellow. "Aye, aye, that's too bad."

Miss Amanda had disappeared, busy about some household matter, and the little girl and the sailor were alone together.

"Yes," Carolyn May proceeded, "it is dreadful hard to feel that it is so."

"Feel that what's so, little miss?" asked the man in bed.

"That my papa and mamma are really drowned-ed," said the little girl with quivering lips. "Some of the folks on their boat were saved. The papers said so."

"Aye, aye!" exclaimed the sailor, his brows puckered into a frown. "Aye, aye, matey! That's allus the way. Why, I was saved myself from a wreck. I was in the first officer's boat, and we in that boat was saved. There was another boat—the purser's, it was—was driftin' about all night with us. We come one time near smashin' into each other and wreckin' both boats. There was a heavy swell on."

"Yet," pursued the sailor, "come daylight, and the fog splittin', we never could find the purser's boat. She had just as good a chance as us after the steamship sunk. But there it was! We got separated from her, and we was saved, whilst the purser's boat wasn't never heard on again."

"That was dreadful!" sighed the little girl.

"Yes, little miss. And the poor passengers! Purser had twenty or more in his boat. Women mostly. But there was a sick man, too. Why, I helped lower his wife and him into the boat 'fore I was called to go with the first officer in his boat. We was the last to cast off. The purser had just as good a chance as we did."

"I guess I won't never forgit that time, little miss," went on the seaman, seeing the blue eyes fixed on his face, round with interest. "No! And I've seen some tough times, too."

"The ship was riddled. She had to stink—and it was night."

"There was a sick man I told you about, little miss. He was a wonder, that feller! Cheerful—brave—Don't often see a feller like him. Jokin' to the last, he was. He didn't want to go in the purser's boat, if there was more women or children to go."

"We told him all the women folk had left the ship. So, then, he let me lower him down into the purser's boat after his wife. And that boat had as good a chance as we had, I tell you," repeated the seaman in quite an excited manner.

"Oh, dear me!" exclaimed Carolyn May. "My papa and mamma might have been just like that," she added. "Of course, we don't know whether they got off the steamship at all."

"Aye, aye!" the sailor said. "Pretty tough on you, little miss."

Miss Amanda had come back into the room, and she stood listening to the old man's talk. She said:

"Carolyn May, I think you had better go downstairs now. We mustn't let our patient talk too much. It won't be good for him."

So Carolyn May shook hands with the old sailor and started downstairs ahead of Miss Amanda. The latter lingered a moment to ask a question.

"What was the name of the steamship you were wrecked on?" she asked. "The one you were just telling about."

"She was the Durraven—the Durraven, of the Cross and Crescent line," replied the mariner. "Didn't I tell you that before, ma'am?"

## CHAPTER XI.

### Will Wonders Never Cease?

Again it snowed all night. It was on the next day, and at noon time, when Mr. Stag was returning to the store, that a most astounding thing happened.

Mr. Stag was walking briskly toward Sunrise Cove in his big felt snow-boots, such as all men wore in that locality, and was abreast of the Parlow shop and cottage—which he always sought to avoid looking at—when he heard a door open and close.

He tried not to look that way. But his ear told him instantly that the person who had come out was Miss Amanda, rather than her father. Knowing this, how could he help darting a glance at her?

Miss Amanda stood on the porch, looking directly at him.

"Mr. Stag," she called earnestly, "I must speak to you."

Save on the Sunday when Prince had killed the blacksnake, Miss Amanda had not spoken directly to the hardware merchant in all these hungry years. It rather shocked Joseph Stag now that she should do so.

"Will you come in?" she urged him, her voice rather tremulous.

There was a moment of absolute silence.

"Bless me! Yes!" ejaculated the hardware man finally.

"I assure you, Mr. Stag," Miss Amanda said hurriedly, "it is no personal matter that causes me to stop you in this fashion."

"No, ma'am?" responded the man stiffly.