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UNCOMPROMISING STAND OF WILSON UNDER CRITICISM.

Senator Jones of Washington Replies To Attacks of President.

A large number of speeches have been made in the senate the last few weeks discussing the league of nations and President Wilson has come in for considerable criticism on account of the autocratic attitude he has taken. Senator W. L. Jones, of Washington, made one of the best speeches which throws considerable light on the situation. The senator said:

Two years ago the term "wolf in men", applied by the President to a few United States Senators who, in the discharge of their patriotic duty, did not do what he asked, consigned them to the gibbet of public opinion, and all but convicted them of high treason. Passing events have fully justified their position. Their number has multiplied manifold and today the terms "pygmy", "bolshhevik", "lovers of war", "haters of truth", "ignorant fumbler of English", "blind, perverted fools", "deserving of hanging on the highest gibbet", "contemptible quitters", "jaundiced-eyed zealots", "pro-German", "disloyal", "dishonest", "cowards", "traitors", "unpatriotic", and "un-American," arouse only distrust and derision. Such language sustains no great cause nor does credit to any great man. It may bring a cheer from the thoughtless crowd, but it shocks and repels the just and thoughtful citizen.

The President presents a treaty to the senate and tells us to consent to it without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t". When we hesitate he threatens us with the wrath of the people. When we do not act as promptly as he thinks we should he takes the platform and urges, if he does not order, the people to coerce us into doing what our judgment and patriotism tells us not to do. He assumes that when he speaks and acts wisdom is exhausted and further effort useless. He is due for a rude awakening. The people are beginning to resent the assumption that he knows everything, past, present and future, that he is the sole interpreter of their will and that his judgment should be accepted by all without question. An old hard-headed farmer expressed the sentiment of the ordinary citizen a few days ago when he said to me: "By gum, does the President think he knows it all? He'll find out he don't, and that the people won't accept his orders and ask their representatives to do what he tells them to do regardless of their judgment as to what should be done." Another average citizen and an old soldier writes to me as follows: "I tell you, Senator, there are a lot of us common people who believe that

all the brainy men of the Senate, with years and years of experience in state and national affairs, must know more than one man of less experience, even if he is pretty smart." And another man who served across the sea writes me as follows: "Many people opposing the President's speeches are not necessarily against a league of nations. They resent however, the autocratic method of forcing his own particular league down their throats whether they want it or not."

Spirit Of The Mob.

The open attempt of the President to coerce the Senate to act contrary to its patriotic judgment is fraught with great danger to the republic. It embodies the spirit of the mob and justifies lawlessness.

While speaking for democracy and urging that the world be made safe for democracy, he practiced an autocracy that is hardly parallel in the annals of history. He named himself peace commissioner and, contrary to all his country's traditions, went to Europe to make peace. His associates were made dummies. They acted as he ordered. His judgment was theirs whether they approve it or not. They came back confessing their ignorance and proclaiming their servility. The war was won. Germany was conquered. Our brave boys had done their work well. They were anxious to get home. Everybody wanted peace terms imposed upon Germany promptly. No negotiations were needed. The victors were expected to make their terms. Germany would have to accept them. Peace would come, and the nations would seek to recover from the awful thing they had passed through. The President would not have it so. A league of nations must be formed. A covenant must be drawn up. Everything must wait on this. All the world's differences must be adjusted. He had his way. Peace was delayed. When the covenant was drawn up opposition to it developed. To defeat this opposition he announced in New York that he would so entwine the covenant for a league of nations with the treaty with Germany that they could not be separated. Both would have to be accepted or both rejected. It was a "your money or your life" proposition. He would use business chaos, industrial uncertainty and the desire of peace and the return of our boys as a club to enforce the adoption of this covenant. This attitude was unworthy of him and of a great man. It should be resented by every loyal citizen. It was a direct assault upon the fundamentals of our government and a display of egotism unworthy of any man, much less one in his position. This very thing became his undoing. It threatens to defeat the covenant now and it enabled other nations to secure his consent to their covetous de-

sires, the violation of his lofty ideals, and left him but a shadow of his idealistic dream. Japan robbed China and forced the President to approve it to get his league. The "freedom of the seas" was abandoned and England was left undisputed "mistress of the seas" to get his league. He was compelled, so far as he could, to pledge the riches and blood of this land to protect France against attack by Germany in this and succeeding generations to get his league. When these things were done, these and other nations were willing to enter into the league, hoping still further to get of our blood to police Europe and of our treasurer to pay their debts and relieve them of their war expenses.

As Far As He Could Go.

Thus the covenant was entwined in the treaty. The President brought it home. He had gone as far as he could. It could not be ratified without the advice and consent of the Senate. He grudgingly submitted it. He did not want to give the facts about it. Information sought by the committee was withheld as long as possible or not given at all. Some has not been given to this day. The Senate was, in effect, told to ratify the treaty as it was, under threat of his displeasure. When it proceeded to discharge its patriotic duty in a deliberate way under the constitution, he threatened it with the wrath of the people and finally started upon his trip through the country to coerce it to do his will, regardless of the merits or demerits of the covenant. He has threatened, cajoled and denounced. Scarecrows have been held up to frighten the people to action. Dangers have been laughed at until one could well wonder what the league can amount to, anyway. At one place it is a might force to prevent wars, and at another it is an impotent debating society. The President meets himself in every argument as he goes from place to place and speaks from different phases of the covenant. In spite of all this, I do not question the President's sincerity, impeach his integrity or question his loyalty and Americanism. There are three facts in his life, however, that make one hesitate to follow him. These facts will furnish a most interesting psychological study in the future. He always says what the occasion seems to demand to attain his end. He can be quoted by the most confirmed reactionary or the most extreme radical to sustain any position upon any important question from the days of Washington to the present. And he has strangely been wholly consistent in according to the demands of the British Empire since he became President, from the Panama Canal tolls to the "freedom of the seas" and the open admission of the superlative supremacy of British citizenship and

sovereignty. His action in attempting to coerce a coordinate legislative branch of the government to do his will regardless of its own judgment and conviction of duty is a more dangerous assault upon democracy than any armed attack could be. I regret to say it, but it is a fact that the President by word and deed has done more to undermine orderly, peaceful representative government than any other human agency. The time has come for our people and this nation to get back to the orderly principles of government and the principles upon which the republic rests. We can not do it so long as the acts and words of those in highest positions can be used to justify those who seek to overturn law, order and liberty.

Voting as Americans.

When we voted to enter the war we voted as Americans and not as partisans. Our politics were laid aside. We have had none in the conduct of the war. Every measure deemed necessary for its successful prosecution has had our eternal support. Mistakes have been made. They were inevitable. I have no criticism at this time to offer. Republicans sought only the nation's good. They saw politics attempted by the administration in almost every measure and upon all occasions. They knew their counsel was not sought, but their votes were always given for their country's welfare.

As we entered the war as patriots, we should come out of it as Americans. Partisanship and personal bias should have no place in the consideration of this country. It is a broad American question, and should be passed upon in a purely American spirit and with an intense devotion to America welfare and American ideals regardless of party consequence. This is the spirit in which I am going to vote on it. No party has a monopoly on patriotism or Americanism. Senators on the other side of the aisle are just as patriotic and just as loyal to American interests and American ideals, and it will be a sad day for the republic when we divide along party lines on what is and what is not Americanism in our dealings with foreign countries. No matter what my personal feeling toward the President may be; no matter how strongly I may condemn his course now; no matter what epithets he may indulge in I have tried and shall try not to allow these things to influence me in determining my duty at this hour. This treaty is the act of this government, so far as he can make it so. It should not be rejected except for the most weighty reasons. The time has come for me to do my duty. The Constitution of the United States, which I have sworn to uphold and which I love and revere, make it my duty to pass upon this treaty as one of the representatives of the people. My responsibility is to them and not to the President. I am here to represent them and not him. He says he reports to the people. So do I. I am as sensible of my obligation to them as he, and I am prepared to account to them fully for whatever I may do here.

Seeking Reasons to Support Treaty. In studying this treaty I have sought to find reasons to justify my

supporting it rather than to sustain a vote against it. I know a tremendous task confronted the President. I would not seek to minimize it in the least. With his desire to promote world peace and avoid war, I am in hearty accord, as is every man who loves humanity. That he sought the peace and welfare of the United States I do not question; that he placed the United States first and above all else I have my doubts.

The main controversy about this treaty is over the covenant for a league of nations. It should not be in the treaty. Months ago the treaty with Germany should have been made and ratified. Rehabilitation here and in Europe should have been under way. Who is to blame for the delay? No one but the President. He and he alone insisted upon the two things being put together. He did it deliberately to force the adoption of the covenant and now this is used as an argument of speedy action.

The President says we must take it as it is, without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t" or it will fall and the world's heart be broken, and all sorts of direful calamities will fall upon us, including famine, pestilence, business ruin, strikes and anarchy. He says You may take what I offer you or there shall be nothing". That is the word of an autocrat, not of a democrat, there is the spirit of tyranny not liberty.

The covenant will not be rejected. It will be ratified, but it will be so ratified that the vital interests of the United States will be protected and its independence and sovereignty preserved; and in so doing the world peace and progress will be promoted even if the president's vanity shall suffer a shock. We will not be scared from doing our duty by bogies nor led into national pitfalls by fairies. We will keep what is good of this covenant and throw away a part, at least, of what is bad. When we consent to it with such changes as we think best for our country's good, it will rest with the President whether the concurrence of other countries shall be sought. He can refuse or not, as he sees fit. If the world's heart is broken, he will break it. If the world's hope of peace shall die, he will kill it. Will he dare to do it; and if so, why?

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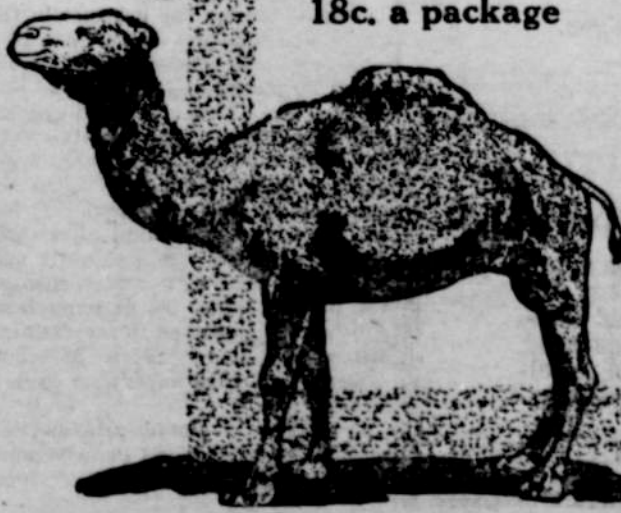
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