







WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WOODROW WILSON

HIS LIFE AND WORK

A complete story of the life of Woodrow Wilson, Teacher, Historian, Philosopher, and Statesman, including his great speeches, letters and messages —also a complete account of the World Peace Conference.

By

WILLIAM DUNSEATH EATON

WIDELY KNOWN WAR WRITER, SPECIAL WAR CORRESPONDENT, AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF CANADA IN THE WAR; FORMER EDITOR OF CHICAGO HERALD

and

HARRY C. READ

AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR IN FIVE VOLUMES, AND WAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE CHICAGO JOURNAL

Profusely Illustrated

1919

E 2
E 2

Copyright, 1919, by
C. E. THOMAS



JUN 30 1919

© 536421

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface	21

CHAPTER I

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

Thomas Woodrow Wilson is born in Staunton, Va.—
He is the son of a clergyman—His ancestry—His life
as a boy—His playmates—His school days—Off to
college—He first goes to Davidson College—Later to
Princeton—Becomes a student of law and politics—
His interest in international events..... 23

CHAPTER II

THE LAWYER AND PROFESSOR

He enters the practice of law—Rennick & Wilson—
The failure of the venture—Woodrow Wilson be-
comes an author—He meets Ellen Louise Axson—
His courtship—He returns to college—Is offered a
professorship on publication of his book—He accepts
the offer of Bryn Mawr College—His marriage to
Miss Axson—Is made a professor at Wesleyan Uni-
versity—The return to Princeton University—Presi-
dent of his Alma Mater—He institutes many needed
reforms 31

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

PAGE

The political situation in New Jersey—Reform is sweeping the country—Woodrow Wilson is chosen by the Democratic boss as a candidate—A mistake by the boss—Doctor Wilson opposes Boss Smith for Senator—He is nominated as candidate for Governor—The election—The fight on Smith—The new governor breaks up the machines—The rage of the politicians—New Jersey is given the best primary law in the country—The presidency looms up..... 46

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE

The Democratic Convention of 1912—The wildest in the history of the party—Governor Wilson nominated after days of deliberation—The entire party united behind him—President Taft and Colonel Roosevelt his opponents—His speech of acceptance.. 60

CHAPTER V

WOODROW WILSON ELECTED PRESIDENT

The spectacular campaign—The Democratic landslide—Wilson elected President—His inauguration—The celebration in Washington—The inaugural address 71

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER VI

A FEARLESS PRESIDENT

	PAGE
The new President wastes no time—He chooses his cabinet—He reverts to an ancient precedent and addresses congress in person—Revision of the tariff—The Underwood Bill—President Wilson seeks the desires of the people—The Federal Reserve Banks—The President publishes a new book.....	83

CHAPTER VII

THE MEXICAN QUESTION

Revolution in Mexico becomes anarchy—Huerta seizes the government—President Wilson sends John Lind, former governor of Minnesota, to Mexico City—His instructions—The insolent reply to his questions—He returns to the United States—President Wilson addresses congress on the problem—Outlines his plan	99
--	----

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

President Wilson delivers his first message in person—He tells of the state of the Union—A description of the situation in Mexico—Promises an attack on “Big Business”	115
--	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER IX

THE DESTRUCTION OF MONOPOLY

PAGE

President Wilson attacks monopolies in congress—He declares that they must be removed—Asks for anti-trust legislation—His demand resulted in the Clayton Anti-trust bill and the Federal Trade Commission act—The Panama Canal dispute—The President asks for repeal of the tolls clause—Congress repeals the offensive portion of the law—The death of the President's wife—The funeral..... 126

CHAPTER X

THE WORLD WAR

President Wilson distressed by the conflict—He calls the attention of the belligerents to the Declaration of London—The replies are cordial—The President prepares to insist on American rights—The famous Neutrality Proclamation—American revenue demoralized by the war—President Wilson addresses congress and asks for additional revenue..... 143

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA'S RIGHTS

The United States enters a new phase—President Wilson realizes the new trade possibilities—His address to the United States Chamber of Commerce—German threats against neutral shipping—President Wilson's protest—Great Britain's use of the American flag—The President insists on America's rights—Lays down principles to govern all belligerents—His stern reply to Great Britain..... 173

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XII

THE SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA

PAGE

The fiendish plot—How it was hatched—German agents active in America—The sinister advertisement—Prominent Americans aboard—The false message—The ship attacked by submarines—Americans lose their lives—The world aghast—Rejoicing in Germany—President Wilson sends the first note—The reply unsatisfactory—William Jennings Bryan resigns from the cabinet—The President refuses to allow passage of resolutions warning Americans to “stay at home”—The nation backs the President... 190

CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY CALLED TO ACCOUNT

President Wilson's second note on the Lusitania—German reply unsatisfactory—President Wilson sends sharp note—Tells Germany repetition will be considered as “deliberately unfriendly”—Germany recedes from position—The President's second romance—His engagement is announced—His marriage and honeymoon..... 208

CHAPTER XIV

THE INTERNATIONAL LAWYER

Great Britain's methods denounced by the President—He argues the question on a basis of international law—Quotes many authorities in a note addressed to the Mistress of the Seas—His claim recognized—The President emerges victorious from the controversy.. 225

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XV

THE THIRD MESSAGE

	PAGE
The President asks congress to increase the armed forces of the United States—He dwells at length on the Mexican question—His opinion of the Philippines—Demands a strong navy.....	237

CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENT WILSON ON PREPAREDNESS

“America First”—The President declares his thorough Americanism—“If any man wants a scrap . . . I am his man”—Urges the Associated Press to avoid false rumors—His address at the Manhattan Club in New York—The Preparedness Campaign—His speech in Pittsburgh—Villa attacks Columbus, N. M.—American troops sent in pursuit—Carranza aroused—The fight at Carrizal—The National Guard mobilized—Carranza backs down.....	264
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII

SUBMARINE WARFARE RESUMED

The sinking of the Sussex—President Wilson threatens to break relations with Germany—The act disavowed—He informs congress of his action—The controversy closed—A diplomatic victory for the President	290
--	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EIGHT-HOUR LAW

	PAGE
President Wilson urges the adoption of the Eight-Hour Railroad Law—He champions the cause of the workingmen—Is opposed by the employers—Defeats their designs—The law is passed.....	305

CHAPTER XIX

PRESIDENT WILSON RENOMINATED

The issues at stake in 1916—The Democratic platform—President Wilson insists that Americanism be made an issue—He is opposed by Charles Evans Hughes—Nominated by acclamation—His speech of acceptance—Says he will uphold American rights on the sea	318
---	-----

CHAPTER XX

PRESIDENT WILSON RE-ELECTED

The campaign—One of the most bitter in history—Many issues at stake—The voters bewildered—Many say nothing—President Wilson speaks at Abraham Lincoln's birthplace—He also addresses the Woman Suffrage Convention—Promises new reforms in business legislation—Attacks Wall Street—The election—President Wilson victorious.....	342
---	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOURTH MESSAGE

	PAGE
President Wilson urges many vital changes in the Preparedness programme—Advocates the passage of a Corrupt Practices Act—Congratulates congress on the work performed.....	363

CHAPTER XXII

THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PROPOSAL

The President suggests peace negotiations to the warring powers—Germany accepts the offer with conditions—The Allies refuse—President Wilson states his views in congress—They are widely discussed—He emphasizes self-determination of peoples—He vetoes the Literacy Bill.....	375
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY SEVERED

The Germans announce unrestricted submarine warfare—The President hands Von Bernstorff his passports—He goes before congress and declares diplomatic relations with Germany have been severed—Accuses the German Government of faithlessness—He next demands permission to arm merchant ships—They are armed—His inaugural address.....	394
---	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXIV

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

	PAGE
The President asks congress to accept the German defi—Asks for Selective Service legislation—War is declared—“Make the World Safe for Democracy”— No quarrel with the German people—The pledge of life and fortune—The President’s proclamation— Billions for defense.....	410

CHAPTER XXV

THE APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

President Wilson issues a message to the people— Pleads for unity of purpose—The nation united—The Selective Draft—The whole nation goes to war— Food control—President Wilson sends a message to the Russian people—He denounces disloyalty and warns the country against German agents.....	430
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI

THE VOICE OF THE ALLIES

Pope Benedict asks for war aims of the belligerents— The Allies look to President Wilson to announce their views—The fifth annual message—The President asks for war on Austria—Congress declares war....	444
--	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

PAGE

President Wilson states the war aims of the Allies—
He enunciates his famous "Fourteen Points"—The
reply of Von Hertling—His address repeated by
Czernin—President Wilson again attacks the Ger-
man war aims..... 464

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CHALLENGE OF FORCE

President Wilson accepts the Challenge of Force—
He declares that the war must be brought to a vic-
torious finish—Demands the views of the German
people 484

CHAPTER XXIX

NO PEACE BY COMPROMISE

The President rejects the overtures of the Central
Empires for a debate—Announces that terms have
been stated—Refuses to consider other terms—De-
nounces the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest
—Speaks for the Allies..... 495

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXX

THE ENEMY WHINES FOR PEACE

PAGE

The German Empire and the Kaiser ask for peace—Attempt to ignore the “Fourteen Points”—The President asks if the chancellor represents the German people or the Imperial government—The Germans dodge the issue—President Wilson demands unconditional surrender—He refers the Germans to Marshal Foch—The Austrians surrender—The Germans appeal to Foch for an armistice..... 508

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ARMISTICE

The President reads the terms of armistice to congress—Germany is militarily defeated—The demands of the Allies—Germans ordered to retreat to east of the Rhine—Forced to surrender munitions of war—The war comes to an end..... 525

CHAPTER XXXII

THE VICTORY MESSAGE

President Wilson's Sixth Presidential Message—Tells the story of the victory—The American army—How the entire country won the war—Reduction in expenditures—Declares his intention to attend the peace conference—Gives many reasons—Prepares for departure 537

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

	PAGE
The President the dominating figure of the conference—The most notable gathering of statesmen in history—The League of Nations Committee—The Committee of the Big Four—The League of Nations Covenant—President Wilson's first draft.....	557.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DEMANDS OF THE VICTORS

The price of peace—The United States asks nothing—The British demands—France—Italy—Belgium—Japan—The Balkan states—A heavy price—Many questions of international importance—Herbert Hoover, world food administrator, feeds Germany..	577
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXV

LLOYD GEORGE DEFENDS PRESIDENT WILSON

Lloyd George returns to England—He addresses parliament—Answers his critics—Arraigns Northcliffe for attacks on the President—Tells of the difficulties at the peace conference—Discusses the Russian situation—Tells why allied troops are fighting in Russia..	591
--	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ITALIAN EMBROGLIO

PAGE

Italy demands Fiume—President Wilson opposes Premier Orlando—The demand is based on the Treaty of London—President Wilson declares he is not a party to the London agreement—The clause of the treaty in question—Orlando threatens to quit—The Germans accept an invitation to attend the conference—Japanese diplomacy—Italy deserts the conference 614

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The revised covenant of the League of Nations—Provision made for withdrawal of nations—Geneva named as the seat of the league—Provision for reduction of armaments—Monroe Doctrine is made an integral part—The mandatory clause—The Bureau of Labor—The nations participating..... 640

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PRESIDENT WILSON SPEAKS

He enters a motion for the adoption of the covenant—Explains the changes—The President nominates Sir James Eric Drummond for secretary general—His motion is passed—The covenant accepted by the nations 660

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE GERMAN EMISSARIES

PAGE

The German delegates arrive in Versailles—The Germans in the occupied territory attempt to celebrate—They are stopped by American military police—Orlando returns to Rome and explains Italy's stand—President Wilson issues a statement on the Italian question—Declares his friendship for Italy..... 675

CHAPTER XL

JAPANESE AIMS ATTAINED

The Chinese aims defeated—Japan obtains possession of the Shantung peninsula—President Wilson betrayed by Great Britain and France—Diplomatic notes exposing Japanese deceit—The Germans present their credentials—Helplessness of the German nation 684

CHAPTER XLI

THE GERMANS RECEIVE THE PEACE TREATY

Premier Clemenceau hands the document to the Germans—His address—The reply of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau 699

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XLII

THE PEACE TREATY

	PAGE
Official summary of the treaty—The League of Nations is made part of the treaty—German territory ceded to France—Poland recognized.....	706

CHAPTER XLIII

THE PEACE TREATY (Continued)

Reparations provided—Germany forced to pay damages for lives of submarine victims—The indemnity—The Rhine bridges go to France—The Kiel canal opened to the world—Germany to be occupied by the allied army for fifteen years.....	729
--	-----

CHAPTER XLIV

GERMANY CRUSHED

The German people stunned by the peace terms—A week of mourning ordered by the Berlin government—Total indemnity is estimated at \$450,000,000,000—The reaction leads to an indignant outburst—Maximilian Harden tells Germany to sign or accept worse conditions later—The first protest from the German delegation on the peace treaty—President Wilson directs the reply—The President decides to remain in Paris—Brockdorff-Rantzau proceeds to Berlin and announces on his return that he will sign.	748
---	-----

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER XLV

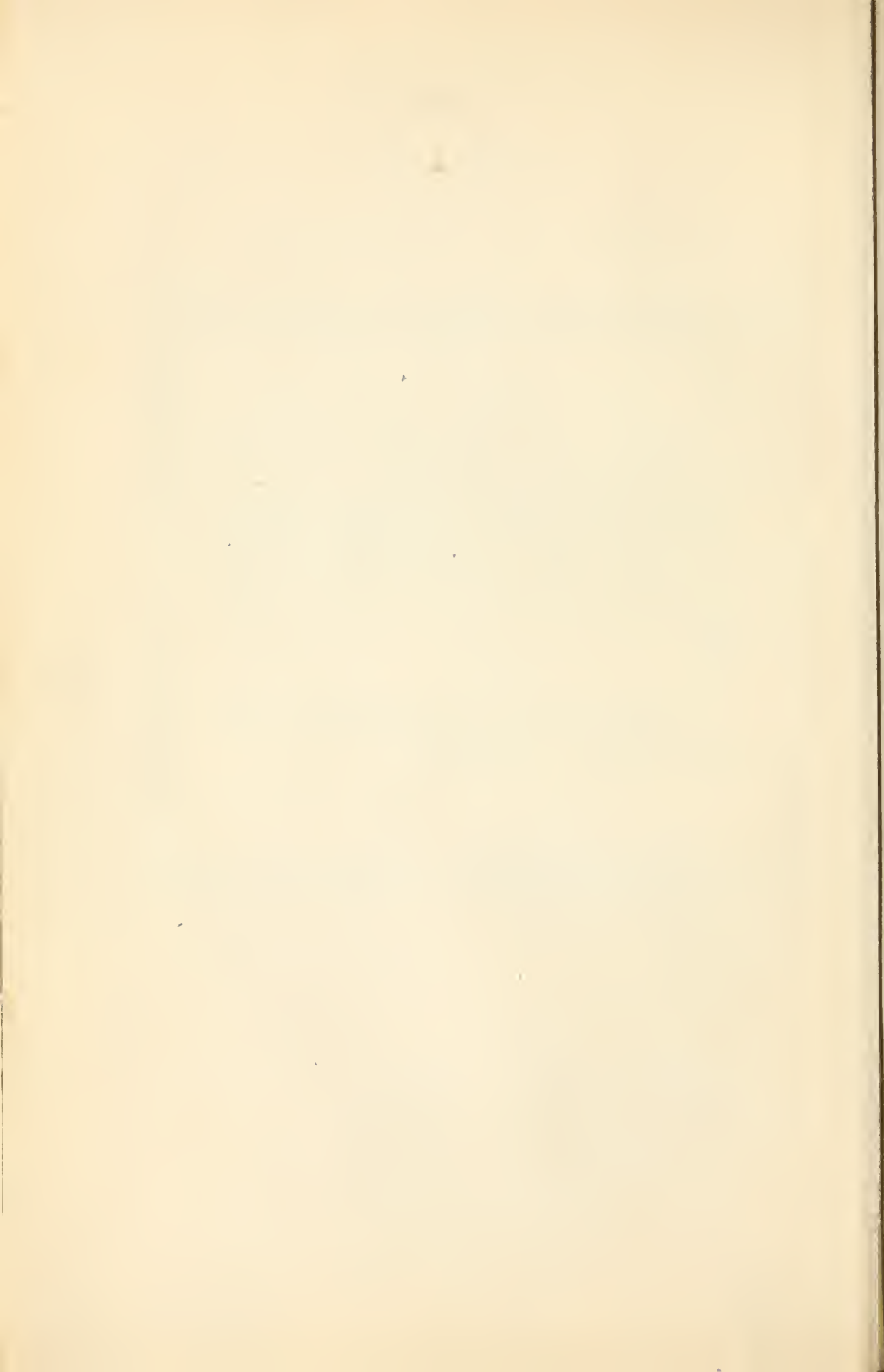
THE PRESIDENT CALLS CONGRESS

	PAGE
Congress meets in special session—The President's message—The question of labor—Foreign trade field—Revision of taxes—Tariff problems—Protection of the dye industry—Safeguards for the United States—The President's recommendation of woman suffrage—The telephone and railroad problem—He urges the repeal of the prohibition law—He continues his work with the peace conference—The Germans seek to evade responsibility—They are pinned down to the facts—Brockdorff-Rantzau asks for more time—His request is granted.....	756

TO CRITICS OF PRESIDENT WILSON

Ye safe and formal men, who with unfevered hands weigh in nice scales the motives of the great, how can ye know what ye have never tried?

—And so the Nile is fretted by the reeds
it roots not up.—“Richelieu.”



PREFACE

While President Wilson became the leading figure in world affairs when this country entered the war, and exercised influence amounting to positive authority in extremely difficult international readjustments throughout the interval between the armistice and the signing of peace, he has yet to be understood for what he is and what he has done. For that reason this history of his career is timely and necessary.

It presents him as an individual and a statesman actuated by one unswerving purpose—a determination to promote and perfect a genuine government by the people, a government democratic in the pure, inclusive meaning of that word.

Any American familiar with the operation of party politics behind the open acts of our government knows that up to the time Mr. Wilson became Governor of New Jersey the whole system was directed by “machines”—a euphemism for barter and spoils. That state was an extreme example of spoliative political organization. To his masterful leadership as Governor, New Jersey owes its liberation from political cattle herding; and the nation the now cardinal primary law, under which political initiative rests with the voters themselves under provisions that make corruption at the source of things an impossibility.

If he had done no more than this he would have earned a place high up among the great; but it was only the first

WOODROW WILSON

of a long line of acts by which the nation has been brought forward from the musty conditions of fifty preceding years into clear air and healthful public life. He is a sanitarian of governments, a figure distinct among the apostles of real liberty. His patriotism is passionate; but his reasoning is clear, though cold—and very broad, very alert and comprehensive, as all the nations know.

The pages here following show him in impartial light. Not all of his countrymen agree with him in all things. No man of high ideals so steadily upheld can escape criticism, but no man is less disturbed thereby. He has taken the torch of truth from the hands of the Fathers, and holds, and will pass it on, more luminant than it was—even as Lincoln did, and Washington before him. This history of his life and acts should reinspire everyone whose fortunate lot it is to be an American citizen; for it shows them one of themselves, as plain, as unaffected as any, standing to the world as one of the foremost men that ever lived in the tides of time.

WOODROW WILSON

CHAPTER I

HIS BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth president of the United States, was born December 28th, 1856, in Staunton, Va.

He was the son of Reverend Joseph Ruggles Wilson, an ordained minister of the Presbyterian church, and Janet Woodrow Wilson, to whom Reverend Wilson had been married on June 7th, 1849. Mrs. Wilson was born in Carlisle, England.

The Wilson family had been one of pioneers and their early history dated back to the time when James Wilson, an Irish emigrant boy, landed at the port of New York, shortly before the end of the eighteenth century, seeking a place in the new world.

James Wilson proceeded to Philadelphia, where he entered the employ of William Duane, a newspaper publisher. There it was he learned to set type by the old hand method and there he met Anne Adams, a young Irish girl who had come over on the same ship with him. They were married and remained in Philadelphia until after the war of 1812, when they moved to Pittsburgh, which was then on the frontiers. The next journey was to Ohio, where James Wilson located in the town of Steubenville and began to publish a newspaper called the Western Herald.

The venture was successful and the pioneer journal-

ist taught the entire business to his seven sons, who became expert at the trade. The paper grew and waxed prosperous, so that James Wilson came to be addressed as Judge Wilson by his friends, while his enemies feared his sharp and caustic comments published in the columns of the *Western Herald*.

Among these political enemies was Samuel Medary, who, according to Judge Wilson, was too prominent in the public limelight. On one occasion, while speaking from a public platform, Medary's friends chanced to boast of the fact that he was born in Ohio. The following day this notice was published in the *Western Herald*:

"Sammedary's friends claim for him the merit of having been born in Ohio. So was my dog Towser."

It seemed paradoxical some years later when Medary was governor of Ohio that Henry Wilson, a son of the publisher, should woo and win the governor's daughter.

It is the youngest son of Judge Wilson in whom history is deeply interested. He was born in Steubenville, Ohio, on February 28th, 1822, and learned the publishing business from the ground up like his brothers. To him was given, however, the mark of student and his father encouraged him in his thirst for knowledge. He attended the academy in Steubenville and later went to Jefferson College, where he graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1844. After a few years as instructor at Mercer Academy, he entered the Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pa., finishing his course with two years more at the Steubenville Academy and a year at Princeton University. It was at Steubenville, the city of his birth, that he met Janet Woodrow. They were married two weeks after his ordination and settled in Staunton, Va., when he received a call to the pastorate of the church there.

Woodrow Wilson was baptised Thomas Woodrow and was known as Tommy for many years. In 1858, when he was two years old, his parents moved to Augusta, Ga.,

when Reverend Wilson was called to the pastorate of a larger church. It was the First Presbyterian church of Augusta and still stands. The superintendent of the Sunday School was James W. Bones, who later married Marion Wilson, a sister of Reverend Wilson.

The family was firmly installed in Augusta when rumors of the Civil War came sweeping down from the north. Of those days the president now has little recollection. He recalls but two incidents: the first when he heard a man shouting, "Lincoln is elected and now we will have war," and the second when he saw a detachment of men recruited for the Confederate Army as they passed through Augusta.

Little Tommy Wilson was a leader of his playmates. He was an interested spectator when the first horse car rolled through the streets of Augusta and soon cultivated friendships with the drivers, who used to take him aboard for two or three round trips. It was the lore of these drivers that inspired in him the love of horses and brought him to the point where he could ride like an Indian. One of his riding companions was Pleasant Stovall, in later years editor of the Savannah Press. The inhabitants of Augusta would turn and smile at the barefooted boys riding through town on the big black buggy horse of Reverend Wilson.

It was this friendship between Tommy Wilson and Pleasant Stovall that brought about the formation of the "Lightfoot Club," an organization formed for playing baseball with other boys in Augusta. In the winter months, activities were turned to debates and studies of parliamentary proceedings. This was the first manifestation of the love for politics that was to mark Tommy Wilson's later life.

One of Tommy's favorite play spots was at the home of James Bones, some distance out of town in what was then known as the "Sand Hills." Jessie Woodrow Bones, his daughter, was an inveterate tomboy and liked nothing

better than to see the old black horse approaching with Tommy Wilson and Pleasant Stovall on his back. To her it meant a delightful day playing the beautiful maiden captured by the Indians and rescued by the dashing disciples of Leather Stocking. Other games in which the three took interest were ambuscades of the little darkies who would pass through a nearby ravine on their way to the stores. A bloodcurdling warwhoop would ring out and the victims would flee in terror followed by the toy arrows of the "savages." At other times, little Jessie would have to play the part of the tortured trapper and submit to being burned at the stake.

Tommy Wilson made friends right and left. He became a favorite with the Federal soldiers who occupied the arsenal near the Bones' residence soon after the war and was not dissuaded from continuing the acquaintance by being told that they belonged to the hated and feared Yankee army which had threatened the existence of the south. Tommy and Jessie seriously considered converting the Yankees into Presbyterians on the assumption that there was little difference between Yankee and heathen.

Reverend Wilson was most careful of his son's education. Rather than send him to the primitive schools in Augusta he was kept home until he was nine years old. That did not necessarily mean that the youngster was without instruction, as his father schooled him in the rudiments of learning and taught him the love of literature which distinguished his later days as president of one of the leading American universities.

When his father was reasonably sure that schooling would not affect the free and healthy development of his son's mind he was sent to the school of Professor Joseph T. Derry, who maintained a private institution in Augusta.

The school was held in an old building, which also housed the town livery stable for a time, but Professor Derry soon sought more commodious quarters in a cotton

warehouse. While Tommy and his friends were at liberty from the class room they played hide and seek among the bales of cotton.

For the greater part Tommy still relied on his father for his education. Trained as he had been in the newspaper business, Reverend Wilson was a master of English, and it was to him that the future President owed his literary ability. In this manner Tommy Wilson passed the rest of his school days and found himself prepared for college far sooner than the average youth of the times. In 1870 Reverend Wilson was called to assume the pastorate of the largest church in the capital of South Carolina.

Thomas Woodrow Wilson left the family home in Columbia, S. C., at the age of seventeen to enter his first college course. Reverend Wilson had been debating the question in his mind for some time and Davidson College, in Mecklenburg County, S. C., was chosen as the institution for Tommy.

It was in the fall of 1873, shortly after the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war, and the mind of the young student was attracted to international politics by the career of Bismarck, who then was standing out as the guiding spirit of German destinies.

Davidson College was a staunch Presbyterian school. It had carried out the stern doctrines of the church for many years and at that time was known throughout the south. The living was rather primitive, as the times had not been prosperous owing to the reaction necessarily following the civil war. The town itself was only a small village having but one general store which catered to the tastes of the students. It was here that Tommy Wilson and his boon companions purchased the crackers and cheese for their nightly feasts.

It might be mentioned at this point that several of his classmates later achieved distinction in life. Among them was R. B. Glenn, who afterward became governor of North Carolina.

Tommy's days of study were interspersed with athletic hours to which he gave a desultory interest. On one occasion the captain of the baseball team, irritated at Tommy's apparent lack of interest, stated that "he would be a good player if he wasn't so damn lazy." His favorite form of recreation was walking. He seldom took companions on these jaunts and explained his action by saying that he used the time to think.

Soon after his arrival in Davidson he earned a nickname that followed him through the year. It seems that the class in rhetoric was discussing the manner in which the Normans changed Saxon words to suit their convenience and the professor turned suddenly to Tommy Wilson.

"What is calves' meat when it is served at table?" he asked.

"Mutton," was the prompt reply.

He was "Monsieur Mouton" to his classmates from that time on.

Just before the time came for examinations, Tommy Wilson fell sick and was forced to return to the paternal mansion in Wilmington, N. C., where his father had accepted the pastorate of the Presbyterian church. The young student remained there through the winter of 1874 and 1875 and it was then determined that he should return to Princeton University to resume his studies. He hailed the announcement with delight and began preparing for the entrance examinations. So it was that in September, 1875, Tommy Wilson boarded a train for the historic university.

There he soon became the popular leader of his class, among whom were Robert Bridges, later one of the editors of Scribner's Magazine; Mahlon Pitney, afterward a Judge in the United States Supreme Court; Edward W. Sheldon, president of the United States Trust Company in after years; and Reverend A. S. Halsey, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Tommy Wilson was able to assume leadership in a group of men like these because of his early training in literature, received at his father's knee in the days that followed the civil war. He passed most of his spare moments in the university library, where he could satisfy in part the insatiable demand of his mind for knowledge.

It was on one of these literary quests that he happened across a stray file of the Gentleman's Magazine in which a serial was running under the caption of "Men and Manner in Parliament." It was then his life ambition was fixed and he proceeded to apply his mind to the study of politics. He had many examples from which to seek inspiration and application. Disraeli, the British intellectual giant; Gladstone, and John Bright were his favorites. The incident of Disraeli's first day in parliament always remained in his mind. He liked to read over and over the words of the famous statesman to the members of the house who laughed at his first oratorical attempt: "You laugh at me now but the day is coming when you will listen." He followed the career of Disraeli up to the time when that statesman dictated the policies of Continental Europe.

The influence of this independent course of study led Tommy Wilson to drop his first name and announce to his friends that he would be known as Woodrow Wilson from that time on. The change was accepted and today the average man, woman and child in the United States could not tell offhand what the president's other name is.

Woodrow now entered upon the second phase of his career. He formed a resolution to fit himself for public life and the course of study he had mapped out for himself outside of the classroom showed his determination to succeed. He was receiving a cut and dried education in the classroom, but it must be said that his independent course had a far greater influence on his after life. He was not a particularly bright student in the classroom. He threw away two opportunities to win prizes when he learned

that he would have to study Ben Jonson and two plays of Shakespeare to compete for the English Literary Prize, and that he would have to defend "Protection" in a debate on "Free Trade versus Protection" to enter the lists for the Lynde Debate. He was a staunch advocate of free trade from the time he entered Princeton.

As the years of his life at college went past, Woodrow Wilson continued to manifest the same interest in government. He published a criticism of the cabinet form of government in the *International Review* in August, 1879, which attracted considerable attention. In this article he advocated free and open debate in the sessions of congress and decried hidden conference.

On his graduation from Princeton he proceeded to the Law School of the University of Virginia and continued his study of politics and law. All his attention once given to his favorite subjects, he rapidly forged to the head of his class and became one of the most popular students in the university. He was initiated into the Phi Kappa Psi fraternity on October 25th, 1879.

One of his favorite forms of recreation while at the University of Virginia was singing in the university glee club and in the chapel choir. The choir was under the direction of Duncan Emmett, later one of the most prominent practising physicians in New York City. The glee club made many excursions through the nearby country singing and playing. Woodrow Wilson always was a member of the party. He had a fine tenor voice and was in great demand for impromptu quartettes in the dormitories at night.

He also organized a debating society while at the law school. His love of politics was so marked by this time that he inevitably chose the ideals of one of the world's leading statesmen when it was his turn to choose a subject.

In 1880, just before the Christmas holidays, Wilson was forced to leave school because of ill health. He remained at home the following year, reading and studying.

CHAPTER II

THE LAWYER AND PROFESSOR.

On a pleasant day in May, 1882, pedestrians in Marietta street, in Atlanta, Ga., were startled to observe a sign swinging from the second floor of the building at No. 48. It was a wooden sign on which was inscribed the modest legend

RENICK & WILSON

Inquiry on the part of these same pedestrians might have brought out that Renick and Wilson indicated a law firm composed of Edward Ireland Renick and Woodrow Wilson, two youthful followers of Blackstone. But there was no inquiry. The population of Atlanta appeared to have the utmost confidence in the lawyers who had been established for some time and the venture failed.

Woodrow Wilson had come to Atlanta to enter public life through the practice of law. He met Renick, who like himself was a stranger in the city, at the boarding house of Mrs. Boylston. The two formed the law partnership with Renick's name appearing first, for he was the older.

Eighteen months of struggling convinced Lawyer Wilson that his was a hopeless task unless he could make enough money to sustain life while he was seeking distinction in the courts of Atlanta. While waiting for the law business to develop he had been engaged in writing his first important book—Congressional Government—in which he took keen enjoyment and still pursued his old favorite study of politics.

For the first time in his life, Romance now began to play a part. It will be recalled how he played Indian with little Janet Woodrow Bones. His sojourn in Atlanta gave

him the opportunity to renew the acquaintance as the Bones family was living in Rome, Ga., a short distance from Atlanta. It was on a visit to the Bones' home that he met Miss Ellen Louise Axson. It was not their first meeting, to be accurate, as he was introduced to her when she was a baby in long dresses and he a boy of seven.

There was an apparent loss of interest in law and politics during the ensuing weeks as Miss Axson came more and more into the thoughts of the young student. He formed his determination to persist until he had won the lady's promise to be his, and a scant eleven meetings took place before the all important question was asked and Miss Axson said "Yes."

All thoughts of practicing law in Atlanta were abandoned at once by the young lawyer. He immediately returned north and entered upon a two year course at Johns Hopkins University, where he specialized in history and political economy. He also attended lectures given by Professor Richard T. Ely, famous economist, who had returned from Europe a short time before. While abroad Professor Ely had studied French and German socialism and it was this subject that claimed Woodrow Wilson's deep interest.

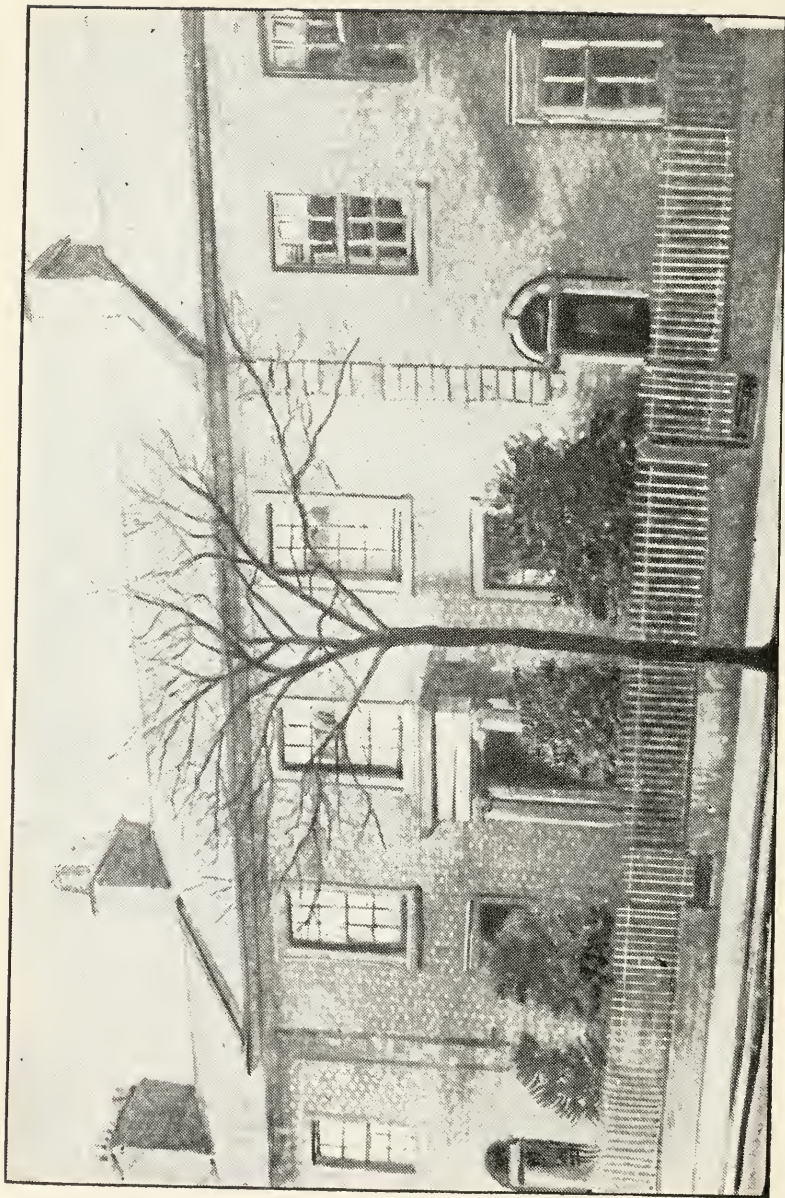
Johns Hopkins University never had been an institution for any but serious minded students and the usual frivolities of college life were missing. The spare moments were passed in research of the most serious kind and Wilson found that he could pass uninterrupted hours in the library which, for that day, was very complete.

At Johns Hopkins, Wilson had the advantage of the best associations. Among the members of his class were Albert Shaw, E. R. L. Gould, John Franklin Jameson, the historian; Arthur Yaeger, later president of Georgetown College, Kentucky, and many others who became distinguished as leading citizens.

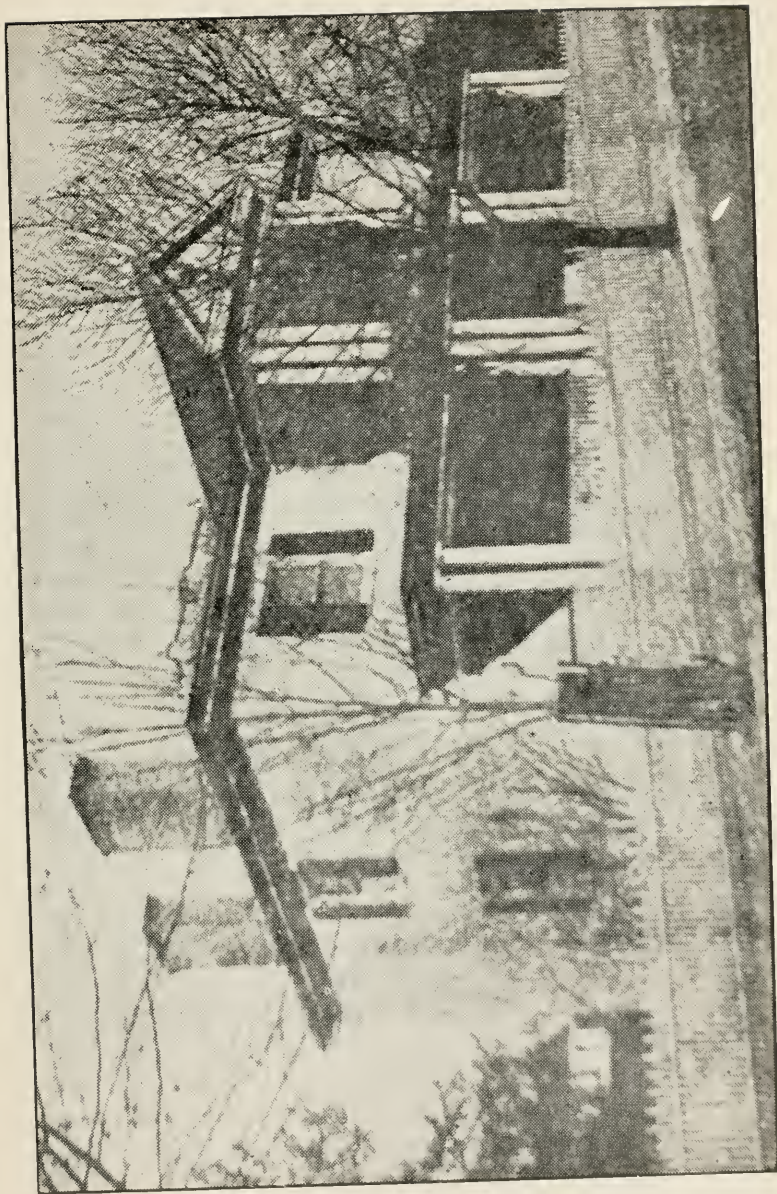
Noting the lack of recreational facilities at Johns Hopkins, Wilson led a movement to found a glee club similar



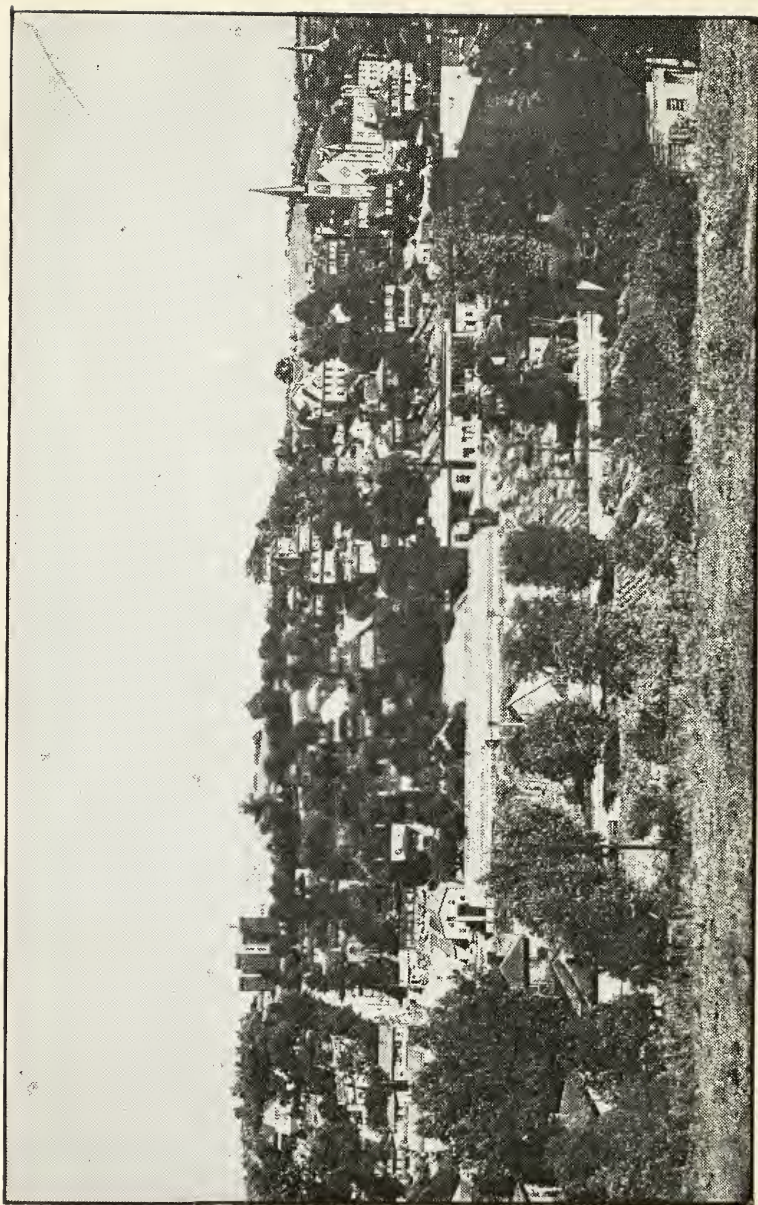
PRESIDENT WILSON.
PRESIDING GENIUS WHO GUIDED THE DESTINIES OF THE
ENTIRE WORLD.



House in England where President Wilson's mother was born.



BIRTHPLACE OF WOODROW WILSON, STAUNTON, VA.



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF STAUNTON, VA., BIRTHPLACE OF WOODROW WILSON.

to the one at the University of Virginia. He succeeded in his efforts and, with the co-operation of Professor Charles S. Morris, instructor in Latin and Greek, the club came into existence. Professor Morris consented to act as president of the organization and invited the club members to meet at his residence one night a month. A concert to which admission was charged was held in the assembly hall and was voted a great success.

Wilson was now working for his degree of Doctor of Philosophy and continued his writing during spare moments. The treasured manuscript on "Congressional Government" had been brought from Atlanta and the student continued to add to it as his latest ideas developed. At the same time he completed an article on Adam Smith entitled "An Old Master," which attracted universal attention and gained fame for the author. It was seized upon by students of politics as a basis for new theories and later was published in several magazines.

The book was not finished until the first months of 1885, when it was given to the world. Its full title was, "Congressional Government; A Study of Government by Committee, by Woodrow Wilson." It was read by politicians in Washington and in the little country towns where politics revolved around the cracker barrel in the general store. For the first time the government of the United States was described as something existing in the concrete. The popular idea had relied too much on the constitution and the legal code. The people were shown how the government worked, not the manner in which it was supposed to operate.

Educational authorities were not slow in appreciating the worth of the book. Its publication was followed by many offers from universities and colleges throughout the country offering the young author chairs as professor of history and political economy. After some slight hesitation, due to the many offers, Wilson chose that of Bryn Mawr, in the suburbs of Philadelphia. The book was sub-

mitted to the authorities of Johns Hopkins University as a thesis for his degree of Ph. D. and he proceeded to Bryn Mawr to occupy the chair offered him.

While Wilson had been studying and writing at Johns Hopkins University, Miss Axson was in New York pursuing her course in art. Upon receipt of the notice of his success, she abandoned the course and proceeded to Bryn Mawr, where they were married on June 24th, 1885. There he leased the pretty little cottage which had been the parsonage of the Baptist church on the Gulf road and a new chapter of life began.

Professor Wilson did not desert his studies when he embarked on his new career. If anything, he continued his researches to a greater extent than ever before because he was now engaged in the practice of his two main ideas—government and politics. He was constantly in his study and many were the phases of political government he presented to the somewhat bewildered minds of the young ladies who made up his classes. Beside his duties as professor of political economy he taught ancient history and the history of the Renaissance.

The next seventeen years of Professor Wilson's life were passed as an instructor in various universities. First of these was Bryn Mawr, where he applied the principles of government and politics which he had elected to make his life work. The college was opened in 1885 immediately before he accepted the chair of political economy and history.

He worked hard to make his lectures interesting, and many of those he delivered were declared by other members of the faculty to be gems of literary thought, apart from their value on the subjects he was teaching. His vacations were passed in the south, where practically all his friends lived and where he could visit again the scenes of his boyhood. His first and second daughters were born south of the Mason-Dixon line.

A year after Professor Wilson accepted the offer of

the faculty of Bryn Mawr, he was given his degree of Ph. D. by Johns Hopkins University, which had not hesitated to accept his book, "Congressional Government," as a thesis. He was pleased with the distinction and devoted himself more than ever to the study of government. Two years later he was given a lectureship at Johns Hopkins and journeyed to Baltimore every week.

He remained at Bryn Mawr until 1888, when a call came from the faculty at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., to occupy the chair of history and political economy. The distinction was too great for the professor to ignore, and it was with considerable mutual regret that he bade farewell to his many friends in the quaint Pennsylvania town. Accompanied by his family he journeyed to Middletown, where he at once entered upon his new duties.

His courses were popular with the faculty and student body from the first day. It was the first time New England educational circles had been treated to anything but the old established forms of education, and the professor's courses soon became the center of interest in the university. His fame spread through the neighboring states and many were the invitations he received to lecture on various subjects. He had retained his lectureship in Johns Hopkins University and by special arrangement crowded twenty-five lectures into the brief space of a month when he was on a vacation from Wesleyan.

Soon after his arrival in the New England town, Professor Wilson was made a member of the athletic committee and took a keen interest in the various sports allowed by the faculty. His addresses to the students on the proper athletic spirit to be observed won their admiration. This was particularly true when they found he had an intimate knowledge of college athletics that was far removed from the nature of the subjects in which he was instructing.

"You must go into the game to win, not to keep the

score down," he would say to a team. "You never will meet with success until you make up your minds to fight your hardest and not be satisfied with merely making a good showing."

His social obligations became pressing and Mrs. Wilson found that her home was the most popular in Middletown. Thither flocked the most cultured people of the town and distinguished visitors were invariably turned over to Professor Wilson. It might be said that they departed with the feeling of having met a man who was making himself felt in the world.

His second book was published while he was at Middletown. It was entitled "The State," which was along the same line as its predecessor. It involved a vast expense of time and labor and attracted wide attention.

Professor Wilson now began to study active politics. He was keenly aware of the evils existing in government as it was. He knew the plan did not operate as it was supposed to and passed long hours trying to evolve something different. He decried the existence of the professional politician and his influence in political circles.

The whole educational world was interested in his theories, but he received no encouragement from the politicians, who believed him a visionary and a dreamer.

Wesleyan University could not long claim a man of such ability. In 1890 the call came for him to occupy the chair of law and politics at Princeton University, his Alma Mater, and it was of too great moment for him to ignore. So it happened that fifteen years after he began his college career, he returned to the old collegiate town as an instructor.

His methods soon won him distinction, and the faculty was surprised and pleased to learn that class attendance records were broken by the many who took Professor Wilson's courses.

Princeton University had been standing still for several years. This is no reflection on the president at that

time, Francis Landley Patton, who had done his best to advance the interests of the school. The trouble was with the fathers of the students. Most of them sent their sons to college to learn the same things they had learned, in the same old way and by the same old tedious methods.

The task was too much for Doctor Patton, who was a brilliant scholar but without ability to recognize the signs of the times. A younger man was needed, and the choice fell on Professor Woodrow Wilson. It was 1902, practically in the dawn of the new century, and progress was rapid.

It was the first real opportunity Doctor Wilson was offered to place in practice his ideas of government. He was not unopposed in his ideals, for the fathers of the students looked upon his innovations with a disapproval they made no attempt to conceal.

Princeton had aristocratic leanings from the day it came into existence. It had been known as a "rich man's school." It was famous as the most attractive university in the country. Its presidents had been chosen from among the most prominent divines in the history of the land and Doctor Wilson was the first layman to occupy the seat of president.

He was not hasty or abrupt in his revision of the system. He had never been an advocate of radicalism and passed much time in studying conditions. Two phases of college life to come in for immediate attention, however, were discipline and the scholarship requirements, which had become lax through the years. The first final examination saw many students dropped for failing to meet the necessary standards. There was an immediate protest over his action, but he countered the verbal attacks with the reply that no partiality would be shown a student because of his father's standing in the community. All were to be treated alike regardless of their social "pull."

His efforts met with results from that time on. No longer did the fashionable sons of rich parents proceed

to Princeton and cavort over the campus on a four year vacation after the strain of high school years. It took time, of course, for the new president to silence the objections, but they died out with the passing of the idlers to other circles of activity, and the new students accepted the regulations as laid down by the president.

The next move of Doctor Wilson was to appoint a committee of revision on the course of study. He also issued an announcement that he wanted the sons to be educated differently than the fathers. One can imagine the uproar this created, but he remained firm and declared further that the world had progressed since the fathers were boys and new ideals and thoughts were coming to the front.

It was the first attempt to bring the students under one form of discipline that applied to all without fear or favor. It was the beginning of the "department system" that has made Princeton famous throughout the land and has turned out hundreds of students specialized in their professions instead of with a general but vague idea of the thousand unrelated subjects which formerly stood for "education."

Another departure from the established custom instituted by the new educator was the foundation of the preceptorial system. He declared that there were not sufficient safeguards placed over the students while they were away from the classroom. They were free to do as they pleased, and even though they desired direction and interest from the faculty, it was not forthcoming. Such conditions were intolerable, according to Doctor Wilson. He abolished formal recitations and brought the students into close touch with the instructors, who were young men for the greater part. Once the personal element was introduced, the efficiency of the institution increased.

All these changes were not accomplished without the expenditure of money. The preceptorial system meant

an expense of \$100,000 a year alone. Part of this was raised by subscriptions from the alumni and constituted the only evil of the system. The donors were given grounds for their arguments and assumed a certain amount of control over the policies of the university. The balance of the money was raised by subscriptions of the students themselves.

Thus it was that a new Princeton University came into being. When Doctor Wilson took charge, students of education could see nothing but decay ahead of the old system. They were astonished at the progress made within a few years by the new leader. Princeton was now a progressive, constructive institution ranking with the best of the new universities in the middle west, which had threatened to leave it far behind in the struggle for knowledge.

Five years after Doctor Wilson took charge he announced that the university was to carry its influence into the homes of the students as the culmination of the preceptorial plan. Again was the attention of the alumni invited to the perpetual fight the president was making in the name of progress. He felt the necessity of looking into the living conditions of students on the ground that a healthy, sanitary life for the body would lead to a sound mind.

He accordingly ordered plans drawn for a number of dormitories over which the university authorities would have complete jurisdiction. These were for the housing of such students who wanted to live economically and in the college atmosphere. The younger professors offered to occupy such quarters in the dormitories as would be assigned to them by the president for the sake of the companionship which would bring them into close touch with the student body.

It was a direct blow at the aristocratic element that persisted in the "club system" in a place where democracy should have reigned supreme. Only four hundred

students from the university could obtain membership in these clubs and the others were forced to remain outside because of the prohibitive prices of membership. It was certain that this engendered a bitter feeling on the part of the unfortunate outsiders.

A circular descriptive of Doctor Wilson's plan was sent to the clubs just before Commencement, 1907, when they were crowded with the wealthy alumni who were members in their younger days. The roar of indignation that went up caused the timid board of trustees to veto the "dormitory plan," much to Doctor Wilson's disgust. An attack also was made on the preceptorial system, but in spite of the objections it continued in vogue.

Doctor Wilson was charged by the insurgents with being a Socialist and a bigot. His reply was that the clubs stood in the way of higher education and must be removed if progress was to be made. He continued to address the alumni on all occasions and refused to make the fight a personal issue. He pleaded for the betterment of the university, but his opponents remained obdurate and the dormitory plan was finally abandoned. He remained steadfast on the preceptorial plan, however, and refused to consider its withdrawal.

This altercation was no sooner settled than the question of a graduate college for Princeton University came up. It had been under discussion for some time, but the return of Professor West, who had been sent to Europe to study the graduate college system, resulted in an agitation for the addition.

A bequest of \$250,000 was left by the will of Mrs. J. A. Thompson to begin the work. A further gift of \$500,000 was offered by William C. Proctor, of Cincinnati, on condition the faculty raise a like amount and that Mr. Proctor be allowed to choose the site of the new building.

Doctor Wilson felt that the plans presented by Professor West were too elaborate for the amount of money forthcoming. He also was opposed to allowing Mr. Proc-

tor to choose the site, feeling that the matter was one for the board of trustees to decide. He stated his views at a meeting of the trustees and they coincided with him. Mr. Proctor promptly withdrew his offer.

This raised a storm of protest which Doctor Wilson ignored. He had the good of the university at heart and declined to allow the mistaken, though well-intentioned, criticism to move him from his position.

Then Isaac C. Wyman died, leaving \$3,000,000 for the sole purpose of building a graduate college at Princeton. The last remonstrances of Doctor Wilson were swept away in the jubilation that followed and the graduate college became an assured fact.

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

The nomination of Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., LL. D., for governor of the populous state of New Jersey was a mistake. But it was a mistake that worked to the inestimable advantage of people who were politician-ridden in the full sense of the word and cursed with the worst of American evils—a two-party machine.

The man who made the error was James Smith, Jr., former United States senator from New Jersey, who had been so rewarded for his activity in delivering the vote of the New Jersey delegation to Grover Cleveland in 1892. The Democratic party was his personal property, free from taxation, and supposedly storm proof. His right hand man was James R. Nugent, an exponent of the old political theory that "might makes right." Of his other assistants little need be said except that they were at the bid and call of the directing head, James Smith, Jr. They were never allowed to forget that.

In addition to the political machines, the corporation interests played a great part in the government of New Jersey. Among these was the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. The people of New Jersey had as little to say in the government of their home state as they had in that of California.

The Republican organization was almost as malodorous as the Democratic. It was led by the notorious "Board of Guardians" composed of former Governors Franklin Murphy and Edward C. Stokes; Senators John Dryden and John Kean; and David P. Baird. These five were fairly representative of the Republican corporation interests.

Smith did not limit his activities to the direction of the Democratic machine. Some of his close intimate friends were connected with the Republicans and it was openly charged, though never proved, that both party machines were retroactive; they worked for either party at the discretion of Smith or the "Board of Guardians."

Reform was sweeping the country in 1910. It was felt in New Jersey to a great extent, but the politicians were ensconced behind their apparently impregnable walls and considered the question with serious minds. It was plain that they could be starved out in time. The solution was a decision to change tactics.

Woodrow Wilson's popularity had been growing steadily throughout the state and Smith was quick to seize its importance. He never stopped to consider that the learned college president would be anything but wax in his supple fingers or that he could extract promises sufficient to bind the prospective favorite to him and his principles. That was where he made his mistake.

All through the early summer of 1910, Smith spread the propaganda through the newspapers that supported his machine. It was easy for him to see that he had "picked a winner." He accordingly made overtures to Doctor Wilson.

The college president was wary in committing himself to a definite acceptance. He weighed the proposition carefully in an effort to ascertain the motives that prompted the unexpected support of the Democratic machine. It was apparent to him that Smith would not lend his support without a return of substantial privilege in case the campaign was successful.

When the delegation from the Smith headquarters called on him, he asked the questions. They were forced to answer.

"Is Mr. Smith seeking the United States senatorship?" he asked bluntly.

Absolutely not, the delegation replied. He would

never think of such a thing. He was interested in "good government" and felt that Doctor Wilson would be the best governor New Jersey ever had.

"I should have to oppose him if he ran for the nomination," said Doctor Wilson. "He represents to me everything that is repugnant in politics. He is the direct antithesis of my convictions."

They redoubled their assurances and urged him to accept. He agreed on the condition that he was not to support any candidate at the dictation of the machine or make any secret promises in return for their support.

Speaking of the matter afterward, Doctor Wilson said:

"They asked my permission to nominate me and I could not understand why. It seemed to me a most astonishing thing that they should go outside the machine organization to choose a candidate and especially a man who made it clear that he was not to be bound to their programme in any way. It was very puzzling. I asked impertinent questions of some of the delegation. They would not give me a satisfactory explanation but acceded to my terms. I thought for a time they had abandoned the idea of spoils politics."

Doctor Wilson was asked formally on July 12th, 1910, to accept the Democratic nomination for governor. The only question raised was whether he would stand by the leaders of the organization as such. Doctor Wilson replied that he was in favor of party politics so long as they were kept uncontaminated.

Three days later he issued a statement declaring he would accept the nomination in case he could be convinced that a majority of the Democratic voters would signify their willingness. The result was a sensation. Voters throughout the state greeted the announcement with enthusiasm. Although there was doubt expressed in certain quarters that the professor candidate was being made

a tool by the Democratic machine, the feeling at large was that he would be the best champion the people could have.

Doctor Wilson was not unopposed in his candidacy. Three other Democrats entered the contest. They were Frank S. Katzenbach, George S. Silzer and H. Otto Wittpen. Wittpen was mayor of Jersey City and a personal enemy of Robert Davis, one of Smith's leading henchmen. All three were well represented at the convention which was called to order at Trenton on September 15th, 1910.

Woodrow Wilson was nominated on the first ballot.

The speed with which the convention proceeded to business was so unexpected that it was necessary for Doctor Wilson to leave his study in Princeton and hasten to Trenton. Entering the hall, he mounted the platform and delivered a speech that fairly swept his late opponents and his supporters off their feet. It was a masterpiece of eloquence. He said:

"I feel the responsibility of the occasion. Responsibility is proportionate to opportunity. It is a great opportunity to serve the state and the nation. I did not seek this nomination, I have made no pledge and have given no promises. If elected I am left absolutely free to serve you with all singleness of purpose. It is a new era when these things can be said, and in connection with this I feel that the dominant idea of the moment is the responsibility of deserving. I will have to serve the state very well in order to deserve the honor of being at its head. * * *

"Our platform is sound, satisfactory, and explicit. The explicitness of the pledges in it is a great test of its sincerity. By it we will win the confidence of the people. If we keep the confidence, we can keep it only by performance.

"Above all the issues there are three which demand our particular attention: first, the business-like and economical administration of the business of the state;

second, equalization of taxes; and third, control of corporations. There are other important questions, like the matter of a corrupt-practices act, liability of employers, and conservation, but the three I have mentioned will dominate these.

“We must have a public service commission, with the amplest powers to oversee and regulate public service corporations—not powers to advise but powers to control.

“States are primarily the instruments of controlling the corporations and not the federal government. It is my strong hope that New Jersey will lead the way in reform; moreover, the State can find out whether it has been creating corporations to elude the law.

“Did you ever experience the elation of a great hope, that you desire to do right because it is right and without thought of doing it for your own interest? At that period your thoughts are unselfish.

“This is particularly a day of unselfish purposes for Democracy. The country has been universally misled and the people have begun to believe that there is something radically wrong. And now we should make this era of hope one of realization through the Democratic party.

“The time when you can play politics and fool the American people has gone by. It is a case of put up or shut up. We must show the people that we are not looking for offices but for results. * * *

“Maine is a word that has stirred many feelings. They had a Democratic governor named Plaisted and waited until his son grew up to get another. In the meantime they had been learning by experience the need of getting the second one.

“We have come to a new era, just as when the founders of this government established a new era in the history of the world when they founded this government. We have got to reconstruct a new economic society, and

in doing this we will have to govern political methods directly. In doing this we will be doing something as great as did our forefathers.

“America has one special distinction. It is not that she has wealth and resources. Many a nation which had wealth rotted away before America was born. It is that America was born with an ideal—freedom for its people.”

Woodrow Wilson was elected governor of New Jersey in the fall election of 1910 by a plurality of 49,000. His predecessor had been elected four years prior by a plurality of 7,000. It was a sweeping victory for the student of politics and government. On the same day, 73,000 Democrats signified that their choice for United States senator would be James E. Martine. James Smith, Jr., was not on the ticket but announced his candidacy at once.

The Governor-elect was swept into a controversy with the Democratic boss the day following the election.

“The primary is a joke,” said Smith.

“It is far from being a joke with me,” was the reply of Governor Wilson. “The way to prevent it from being a joke is to take it seriously. The question as to who is going to represent the state of New Jersey in the United States senate is of little moment beside the question of whether the people of New Jersey are going to be allowed the legal right to pick their candidates by popular election.”

True to the promise made before he had accepted the nomination, Governor Wilson notified Smith that he would oppose his campaign for senator to the utmost of his power. He tried to induce Smith to withdraw without undergoing the humiliation of defeat, but the Democratic leader was obdurate.

“Will you confine your opposition to the mere announcement that you do not favor my candidacy?” asked Smith.

“That is not my method,” replied the governor. “I

will oppose you with every honorable means within my power. I mean what I say.

“Unless I hear from you within two days that you have abandoned your ambition, I will announce my opposition.”

Smith departed and waited three days. He then asked Governor Wilson to grant him additional time, but, true to his word, the governor had issued a signed statement to the newspapers which appeared at once and called the attention of the people to what he termed the “absolute unfitness” of Smith as a United States senator.

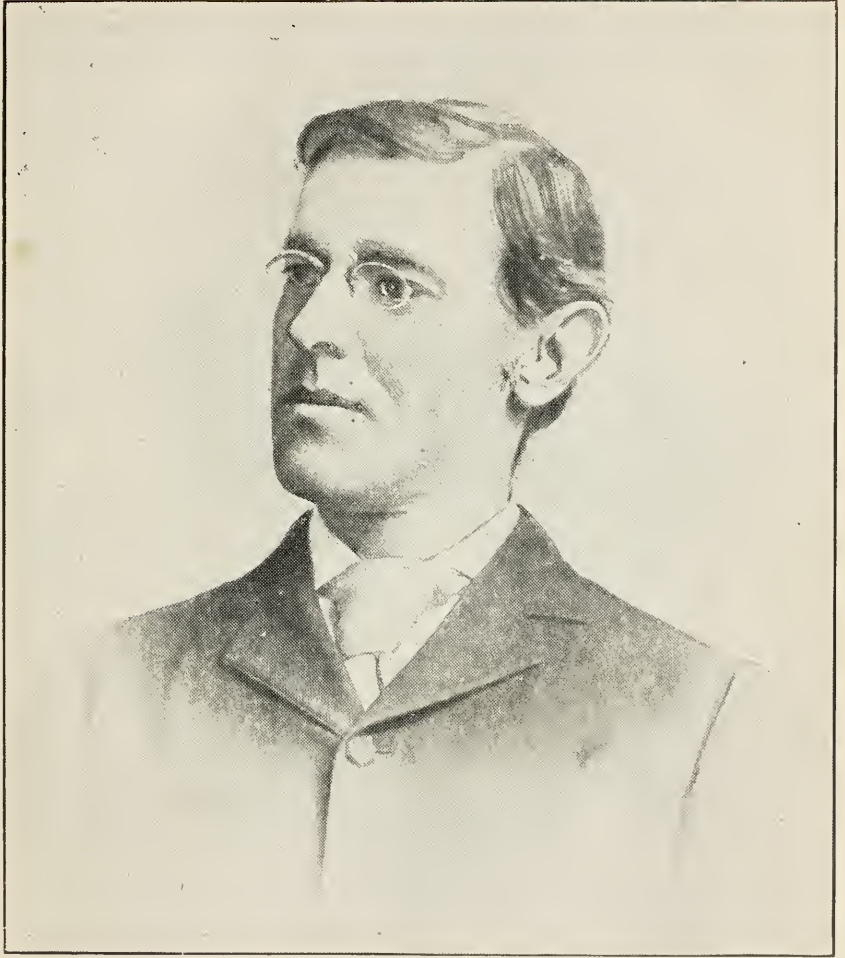
The fight was one of the most bitter in the history of New Jersey. The governor did not content himself with handing statements to newspaper men. He climbed into the political arena and addressed meetings of voters in every city in the state. The result was that thousands of his hearers notified their representatives in the state legislature that Smith must not be elected and they were obeyed. Martine was made United States senator by a vote of forty to four. The machine was wrecked.

In speaking of the result Governor Wilson said:

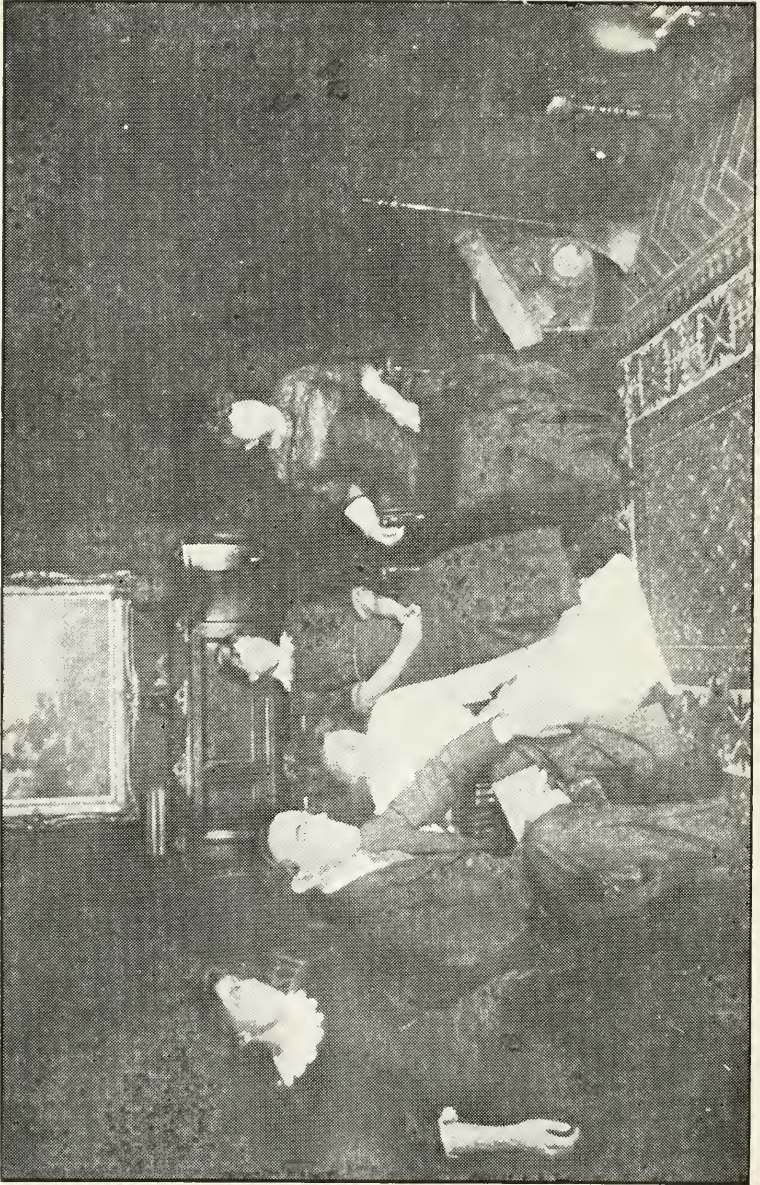
“They did not believe I meant what I said and I believed they meant what they said.”

Governor Wilson took up the active duties of his office soon after the close of the Martine-Smith contest. His first attention was given to the promise embodied in his speech accepting the nomination and he announced to the voters that he meant to stand by his pledges. He made it clear that he was desirous of the support of the people when he said:

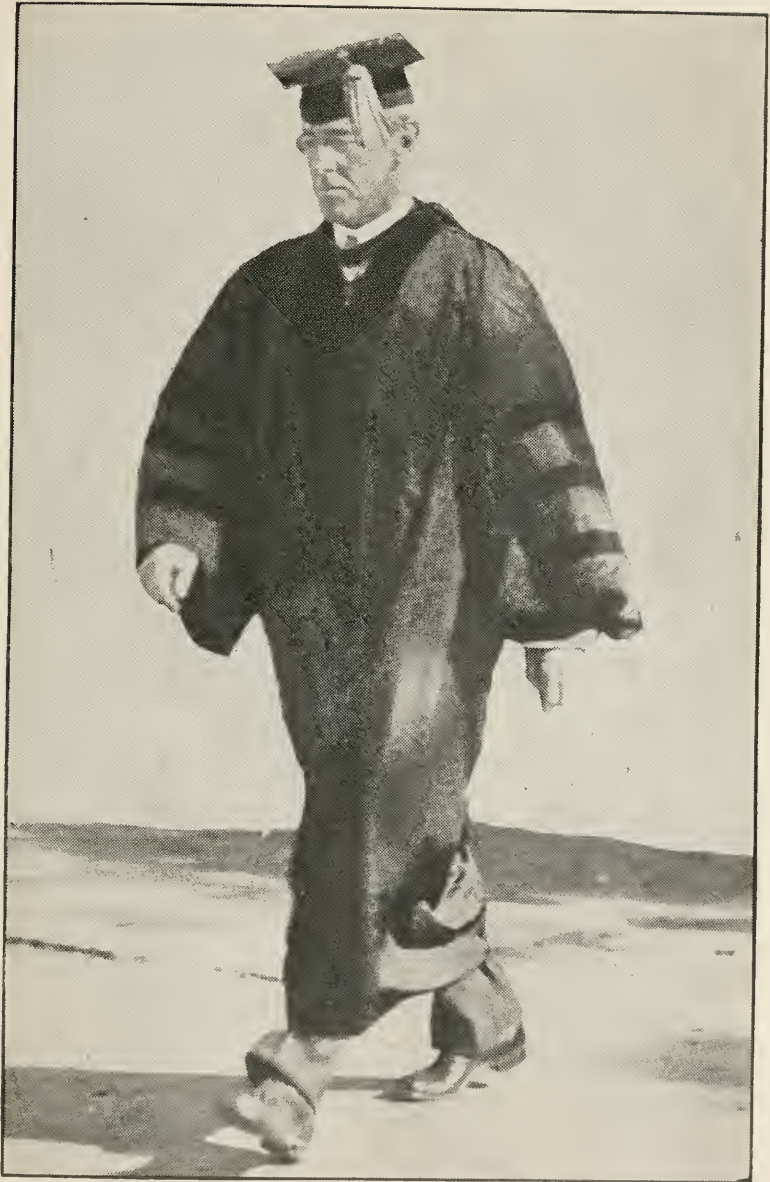
“It is not the foolish ardor of too sanguine or too radical reform that I urge upon you, but merely the tasks that are evident and pressing, the things we have knowledge and guidance enough to do; and to do with confidence and energy. I merely point out the present business of progress and serviceable government, the next stage on



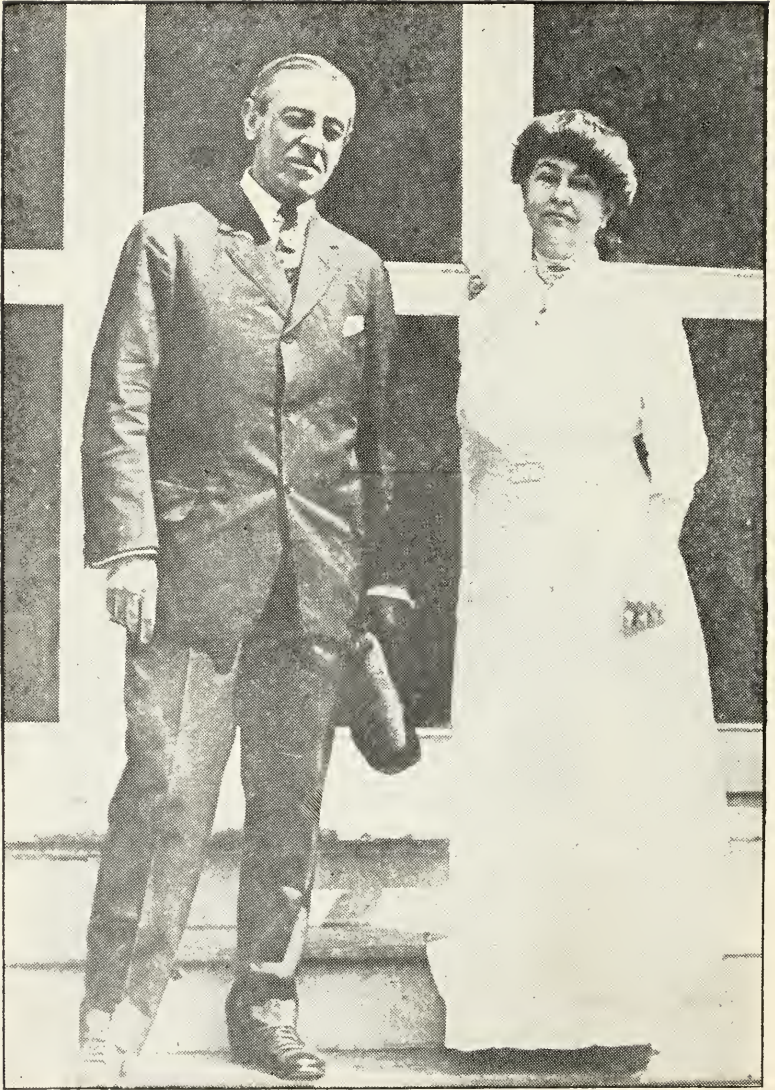
WOODROW WILSON, Ph. D., Litt. D., L.L.D., PRESIDENT
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.



WOODROW WILSON WITH HIS FAMILY



Woodrow Wilson in the Robes of a College Professor.



The President and his wife, mother of his three daughters.

the journey of duty. The path is as inviting as it is plain. Shall we hesitate to tread it? I look forward with genuine pleasure to the prospect of being your comrade upon it."

Governor Wilson was opposed to the rigid observance of the three branches of government laid down in the constitution—the executive, legislative and judicial. Up to his tenure of office the state of New Jersey had been governed according to these three tenets in a manner that never had been intended by the framers of the constitution. In short, the governors, legislators and judges had pursued their own paths regardless of the others and the condition of affairs indicated too plainly there had been no co-operation.

The friends of good government had drawn consolation from the defeat administered the machine forces in the election of Senator Martine but there was a foreboding of evil in the machinations of the faction led by James Nugent, who, it will be remembered, was Smith's right hand man. It was known that Nugent was organizing an opposition composed of Republicans and Democrats, members of the old machines which had failed to defeat the governor in a fair and square contest.

Governor Wilson met the situation by at once suggesting legislation to abolish for all time the boss system of partisan politics. There was universal horror at the proposed sacrilege. The governor, however, failed to be moved by the excitement and continued his course. He held conferences with Republican and Democratic representatives and senators without regard for their political affiliations, thereby violating another political precedent in New Jersey.

When the legislature convened on January 10th, 1911, one of the first measures to come up for consideration was the Geran Bill, which contained all the governor's desired legislation for direct primary elections. It was of such revolutionary character that the legislature listened to

the first reading with a smile and the bill was sent to committee.

The measure contemplated turning over to the people all political organizations and provided for the direct nomination by primary election of all public officials from dog catcher to president, speaking broadly. All candidates were to receive the indorsement of the people before their names were placed on the ballot. In cases where conventions would be held for the purpose of naming leading candidates, the state or county representatives were to receive instructions from the voters through the primary as to the manner in which their votes should be cast. It meant the elimination of the corporation interest in state politics, in short, it meant government by the people.

Nugent was leader of the opposition to defeat the measure. Owing to the majority of Republicans in the state senate, he was reasonably sure that the measure could be defeated there. He was not satisfied with that surety though, and chose to provoke a fight in the hope that the house of representatives would be swung to his side of the fence and a crushing defeat administered to the governor.

The committee to which the bill had been referred had hardly gone into session when a request was received from Governor Wilson that he be invited to attend the meeting. It was another violation of precedent, but the committee could hardly refuse to admit the highest executive in the state and so the invitation was sent forth. Governor Wilson arrived immediately afterward and discussion was begun on the proposed primary law.

Governor Wilson first convinced the assembled legislators that he was following his constitutional duty in recommending certain legislation. Then he began to talk on the Geran Bill.

For three solid hours he discussed the bill from every angle. He answered innumerable questions concerning it and ended by convincing the committee that it was a de-

sirable piece of legislation from the people's point of view. When he had silenced every criticism he appealed to the committee to work with him for the reorganization of the Democratic party in New Jersey. To the unbounded astonishment of Smith and Nugent, the committee urged passage of the measure.

The two immediately took steps to hold a Republican caucus, but so many of the Republicans were convinced by the governor's stand that the attempt failed dismally.

Nugent then attempted to bring about the defeat of the measure in the senate, but the bill went to the governor for signature with a third more votes than it needed. In this manner New Jersey was given the best primary law in the union.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE.

In the spring of 1912, few persons believed that Woodrow Wilson would stand a chance to obtain the Democratic nomination for president of the United States. Champ Clark of Missouri, speaker of the house of representatives, had been making great strides in the popular imagination and it was believed by the average man on the street that he would be returned as the nominee at the convention in Baltimore.

In spite of the astonishing run Clark was making, it was conceded that the convention would be the scene of a free for all fight.

The Democratic party was face to face with this feature of the situation in selecting its candidate—that none of the men who had been before the voters in the several primaries had awakened any popular enthusiasm.

It was believed at the beginning of the campaign that Governor Wilson would appeal to the imagination of the people. He had not done so, as shown by the results in Illinois, California and elsewhere. Gov. Harmon of Ohio made no impression whatever upon the country. Representative Underwood had strength in the south. The surprise was found in Clark, who had obtained delegates at points where it was not believed he had a chance and had decisively beaten Wilson in most of the states where they had been opposed.

It was the general understanding in Washington, that Clark was used as a stalking horse to beat Wilson. There is no doubt this was the original intention of those behind him, and some of his supporters, who had not pro-

posed that he be taken seriously, were becoming alarmed at the strength he had shown.

Others who had this same purpose in view were convinced Clark could be nominated and elected, and they gave him whole-hearted aid. Clark claimed he had 364½ delegates, of whom many were not conceded to him by Governor Wilson, his most serious rival. It was impossible, however, for the speaker to have the two-thirds majority required to assure the nomination.

It was probable Clark would appear as the strongest candidate on the first ballot, but the vote would be fruitless, and others would have to be taken. If the speaker could hold his forces together, he would be able at least to dictate who should be the nominee, but there were many delegates for him who announced their intention to support Wilson after they obeyed their initial instructions.

The opposition to Governor Wilson was so strong, however, that it was expected to withdraw a number of delegates from the New Jersey candidate, sufficient to offset any additions he might obtain from others.

Underwood had a great deal of strength with the conservatives, and especially the business men, and they would prefer either him or Harmon. The latter hoped to get definitely into the running by securing a tremendous majority in Ohio. His hopes failed of realization, he was considered definitely out of the race.

The popularity of Col. Roosevelt was shown to be so great that the Democratic leaders began to realize that if they were to win in November, they must have a standard bearer who would appeal to the people. The primary results proved disappointing in showing there was no such Democrat before the public, unless it was Governor Wilson. This aspect of the situation caused a great deal of talk as to the advisability of renominating William Jennings Bryan. The Nebraskan, however, as shown by his attitude in Iowa, refused to permit the selection of delegates instructed to vote for him.

In the months that followed the tide of popular opinion ebbed and flowed, sometimes in favor of Governor Wilson and at other times for Clark. The delegates began gathering for the convention in Baltimore early in June and on June 25th the chairman's gavel descended, calling the body to order.

It was one of the wildest and noisiest in the history of Democratic politics. With Roosevelt looming on the horizon as the possible Republican choice, the Democratic leaders were worried. For several days the balloting proceeded with Clark a favorite. It was not until July 1st that the delegates began to desert the speaker and support Governor Wilson. Their action precipitated a deadlock that lasted all day and far into the afternoon of July 2nd.

The night session was a bitter struggle, with no signs of weakening by any of the contestants. It was at this critical moment that Governor Wilson was deserted by William Jennings Bryan, who threw his strength to the support of Governor Kern of Indiana. The Clark leaders were irritated at Bryan's attitude throughout the whole convention and considered denouncing him on the floor, but none would listen to the suggestion. The delegates were tired and wished to return to their homes.

On the following day the general feeling was that Governor Wilson would be nominated and the convention brought to a close. It was a true forecast.

The New York delegates were still in caucus when the convention met. The information that came from the caucus room was that the New York vote of ninety would continue to be cast for Clark. The vote in the caucus showed: for Clark, 78; for Wilson 10; for Underwood, 2.

At noon Chairman James directed the calling of the roll for the forty-third time. The hall was quiet when Illinois was reached. When Roger C. Sullivan announced 18 votes for Clark; 40 for Wilson, there was great cheering. Chairman James pounded the table with his gavel

and finally quieted the uproar. "Illinois, under the unit rule, cast 58 votes for Wilson," he announced, and another cheer greeted the shift. This gave Wilson a clear gain of 50 votes in Illinois. The New Jersey governor continued to gain. In Iowa he added $1\frac{1}{2}$ to his total vote.

New York announced its vote for Clark. There was cheering as the Clark vote of 16 in West Virginia went over to Wilson. In Wisconsin Wilson gained one more. The totals on the forty-third ballot were: Wilson, 602; Clark, 329; Underwood, $98\frac{1}{2}$; Harmon, 28; Foss 27; Kern, 1; Bryan 1. This gave Wilson a gain of 108 and Clark a loss of 101. Underwood lost $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Once more the call of the roll began. It was the forty-fourth ballot and Wilson gained one in Arizona. Colorado climbed aboard the "band wagon," giving Wilson a gain of nine. This made the vote 10 to 2 for Wilson. One of the two was Mrs. Anna B. Pitzer, sister-in-law of Speaker Clark. In the totals, Wilson's vote was 629, a gain of 27, compared with the forty-third ballot. Clark dropped from 329 to 306. Underwood had 99 votes and Foss 27.

Although Governor Wilson made slight gains early in the forty-fifth ballot, there were no serious breaks in the dwindling Clark ranks. New York's 90 again went to Clark, and hope of a nomination on this ballot was lost. Wilson advanced from 629 to 633. Clark remained at 306.

The end came when, at the beginning of the forty-sixth ballot, Senator Bankhead of Alabama, manager for the Underwood forces, mounted the platform, and withdrew his candidate.

"Mr. Underwood entered this contest hoping that he might secure the nomination from this convention," Senator Bankhead said, "but I desire to say for him that his first and greatest hope was that, through this movement, he might be able to eliminate and eradicate for all time every remaining vestige of factional feeling in this country.

“Mr. Underwood today would willingly and anxiously forego this nomination if he had succeeded, and if the country has concluded the Mason and Dixon line has been trampled out and this is once more a united country. We have demonstrated here my friends, in my judgment, that that sectional feeling no longer exists.

“The liberal support that Mr. Underwood has had from the East satisfies us that if an opportunity were offered to nominate this splendid man they are ready and would hasten to his aid.

“He and his friends everywhere stand ready to give the nominee of this convention their hearty support. He has stood upon every platform that has been written since 1896. He will stand upon any platform that this convention may write. I would not undertake, knowing him as I do, to say that all of its planks—and I don’t know what they are—would meet his judgment, but he is a Democrat and stands for the success of his party.” A Delegate: “Vice President?” Senator Bankhead: “Vice President? No!” (Applause.)

“No friend of the Democratic party would dare suggest to take that man from his present position,” he continued, “if they cannot elevate him to the highest office in the land. Vice president! Anybody can sit in the Vice Presidential chair. It is a kind of an ornament only. Even I, human as I am, could sit in that chair and say ‘The gentleman from New York moves to adjourn,’ and that is all.

“This great Democrat, the Democracy’s best asset; this great Democrat who has made it possible for the Democratic party to win in the next contest, will stay where he is and perform the duties that he has been performing without complaint.

“I withdraw his name from before the convention, and he authorizes me to release from their obligations all the friends who have been instructed to vote for him, which they have so loyally done so long as his name was

before the convention. His friends are at liberty to vote for whom they please."

Senator Stone of Missouri asked that the unanimous consent be given that the roll call be vacated, and that he be given unanimous consent to make a statement. Consent was given.

"I desire, following the statement of Senator Bankhead," said Senator Stone, "to say that, speaking for Mr. Clark, I will release, if release be necessary, any obligation to him imposed upon any delegation in this convention. The delegates who have stood by him so loyally will be remembered by him and his friends with devoted affection. I would not have a delegation here stand for another ballot under a sense of obligation to him; I would have them act as they now think best."

Chairman James then announced that Mayor Fitzgerald of Boston asked unanimous consent to vacate the roll call, Mayor Fitzgerald announced the withdrawal of Foss' name and said his state would vote for Wilson. The roll call was further vacated and J. J. Fitzgerald of New York was given consent to make a statement. He said:

"In the hope that this convention may adjourn without bitterness, without hard feelings, without rancor, and that we may effect the success of the candidates of this convention, in order to demonstrate, no matter how hard we may strive for the mastery of our honest opinion, we are willing to acquiesce in what manifestly appears to be the overwhelming desire of this convention;

"I move, as a member of the New York delegation, anxious that the electoral vote of New York should be in the Democratic column, that the roll call be dispensed with, and the nomination of Wilson be made by acclamation."

When Mr. Fitzgerald concluded, the weary delegates stood on their chairs and shouted. The Missouri and New York members alone sat unmoved throughout the demonstration.

Wilson adherents dashed about the hall, shaking hands, hugging each other, and dancing with glee. The aisles were jammed, and the sergeants-at-arms and the police fought in vain to quiet the throng. It took fifteen minutes for them to restore order.

Finally, Chairman James announced that the plan proposed by representative Fitzgerald to nominate by acclamation could be carried only by unanimous consent. Senator Reed of Missouri took the platform to object to this scheme.

“Without the slightest desire to express any sentiment or rancor, I object because Missouri wants to be recorded on this ballot for Champ Clark,” he said. The Clark forces cheered.

The regular order was demanded, and the forty-sixth and final roll call of the states was begun. After it was finished, the nomination of Wilson was made unanimous.

The convention adjourned sine die at 2 a. m. July 3, 1912.

The early morning session was devoted to the nomination of a vice presidential candidate. Governor Marshall's nomination was contested principally by Governor John Burke of North Dakota. Marshall won the place by acclamation following the second ballot after Governor Burke and Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon had been withdrawn as candidates.

Even the news that he was Democracy's nominee could not stir Governor Wilson into an emotional stampede. He received word of the nomination over the telephone from Baltimore, went up-stairs to notify Mrs. Wilson that a projected trip to Europe would have to be abandoned and on coming down again, made this statement: “The honor is as great as can come to any man by the nomination of a party, especially in the circumstances, and I hope I appreciate its true value, but just at this moment I feel the tremendous responsibility it involves even more than I feel the honor. I hope with all

my heart that the party will never have reason to regret it."

The news was received in a spirit of solemnity. There were no cheers, no exclamations, no shouts. Even the soldiers on the rifle range near by ceased fire, and it was some time before the first demonstration commenced. The telegraph wires were clogged within ten minutes after the nomination was announced with more than a thousand personal messages to Governor Wilson.

Mrs. Wilson's one expressed regret was that Georgia, her native state, had not come to her husband's cause earlier in the battle. Governor Wilson's genial smile before he became the nominee was inspired by the support of Virginia, the state of his birth.

"That is fine," he said, "to feel my own native state coming over to me."

Informal receptions and reading of the thousands of personal messages occupied the governor's time until he retired.

In the Wilson home when the nomination was announced were seven persons, Governor Wilson himself, his wife, three daughters, Miss Hester Hasford, author of a biography of Governor Wilson, and with her Miss Mary Hoyt of Baltimore, a cousin of Mrs. Wilson.

He received the news over the phone through some unknown person; he came out of the library into the main reception room of his home. His face was marked by characteristic expression of solemnity and strain under perfect control.

He looked about for members of the family, but they had gone out one by one out of sheer strain, speechless, to their rooms. The governor went upstairs, came down with Mrs. Wilson on his arm, almost a suspicion of a tear in his eye, but Mrs. Wilson was smiling. A group of reporters who had planned to rush in, came in very quietly with hats in hands and throats choked.

Mrs. Wilson was very much pleased and told things

to the reporters that they had not guessed. She said Governor Wilson had abandoned hope last Friday and had planned a trip to Europe. He almost surrendered when Clark's column passed a point of majority; he wrote to Col. W. F. McCombs, releasing all the delegates, but no one would accept release.

After the nomination was made, a deluge of callers started to the cottage. They streamed by every road and pathway to the "Little White House," swarmed over the lawn, climbed on the porch and all over. Between applause, they called him "Woodrow," "Governor" and "Wilson," but most addressed him as "the next President of the United States."

Miss Jessie Wilson opened the campaign by pinning buttons on callers.

Governor Wilson sent the following telegram to Governor Marshall of Indianapolis:

"Sincere congratulations. I shall look forward with pleasure to my associations with you."

"Governor Marshall bears the highest reputation both as an executive and as a Democrat, and I feel honored by having him as a running mate," said the Governor. "He is, I am happy to say, a valued personal friend of mine as well as a fellow Democrat."

The following week Governor Wilson issued his formal acceptance of the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. In it he mentioned the issues that were at stake and summarized the events that made necessary a victory for the Democratic party. He said:

"We stand in the presence of an awakened Nation, impatient of partisan makebelieve. The public man who does not realize the fact and feel its stimulation must be singularly unsusceptible to the influences that stir in every quarter about him. The Nation has awakened to a sense of neglected ideals and neglected duties; to a consciousness that the rank and file of her people find life very hard to sustain, that her young men find opportunity embar-

rassed, and that her older men find business difficult to renew and maintain because of circumstances of privilege and private advantage which have interlaced their subtle threads throughout almost every part of the framework of our present law. She has awakened to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and has wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind; and to the conviction that she stands confronted with an occasion for constructive statesmanship such as has not arisen since the great days in which her Government was set up.

“It is hard to sum up the great task, but apparently this is the sum of the matter: There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts, and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the various uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great commercial and industrial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service, not our own. The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace, and in contentment. In the performance of this second duty we are face to face with questions of conservation and of development, questions of forests and water powers and mines and waterways, of the building of an adequate merchant marine, and the opening of every highway and facility and the setting up of every safeguard needed by a great, industrious, expanding nation.

“These are all great matters on which everybody should be heard. We have got into trouble in recent years chiefly because these large things, which ought to have

been handled by taking counsel with as large a number of people as possible, because they touched every interest and the life of every class and region, have in fact been too often handled in private conference. They have been settled by very small, and often deliberately exclusive, groups of men who undertook to speak for the whole nation, or rather for themselves in the terms of the whole nation—very honestly it may be true, but very ignorantly sometimes, and very shortsightedly, too—a poor substitute for genuine common counsel. No group of directors, economic or political, can speak for a people. They have neither the point of view nor the knowledge. Our difficulty is not that wicked and designing men have plotted against us, but that our common affairs have been determined upon too narrow a view, and by too private an initiative. Our task is now to effect a great readjustment and get the forces of the whole people more into play. We need no revolution; we need no excited change; we need only a new point of view and a new method and spirit of counsel.

“No man can be just who is not free, and no man who has to show favor ought to undertake the solemn responsibility of government, in any rank or post whatever, least of all in the supreme post of President of the United States.

“To be free is not necessarily to be wise. But wisdom comes with counsel, with the frank and free conference of untrammelled men united in the common interest. Should I be entrusted with the great office of President, I would seek counsel wherever it could be had upon free terms. I know the temper of the great convention which nominated me; I know the temper of the country which lay back of that convention and spoke through it. I heed with deep thankfulness the message you bring me from it. I feel that I am surrounded by men whose principles and ambitions are those of true servants of the people. I thank God, and will take courage.”

CHAPTER V

WOODROW WILSON ELECTED PRESIDENT.

The Presidential campaign of 1912 was one of the most spectacular in the history of the country. The Democrats refrained from muck raking while the two Republican factions flew at each other hammer and tongs. The entire country seethed with factionalism and many Republicans, disgusted with the tactics employed by their champions, swung over to the Democratic side and announced themselves for Governor Wilson.

Both Republican factions did not hesitate to cast aspersions on the man they chose to call the "school-master candidate," but their efforts came to naught. The people were too well acquainted with Governor Wilson's career as a writer and a speaker. He was known to the country as a student of government and his firm stand in the fight against machine politics in New Jersey brought him before the people as a champion of direct popular government.

The Democratic party stood united behind its candidates. The men who had opposed Governor Wilson on the floor of the convention took the stump in all parts of the country and urged his election. Among them were Governor Kern of Indiana, William Jennings Bryan, Senator Underwood, Speaker Champ Clark and a host of others. One thing was apparent: there was no split in the Democratic party.

Election day fell on November 4th, 1912, and the country was on edge awaiting the outcome. It is certain the election will be long remembered by the people.

From the beginning of the counting of the votes it was apparent that the Democratic party had won an over-

whelming victory. The first returns received came from Boston, where a lone precinct gave Roosevelt and Johnson a substantial lead. Later returns deprived this return of any significance. Then came New York, reports giving Governor Wilson a constantly growing plurality. Other states quickly took their position in the Wilson column, one here and there failing to do so and giving their electoral votes to Roosevelt. Occasionally votes from the smaller Republican states gave indications of a Taft preference.

But there was no possibility of doubting at any time that Wilson and Marshall had been selected by the American people as their next President and Vice-President. In short, it was a day of victory for the Democrats, a day of satisfaction for the Progressives, a day of gloom for the Republicans. Governor Wilson, from the first returns, apparently carried every big state except Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Washington and Pennsylvania, which were swept by Roosevelt.

Governor Wilson's election was so big as almost to stagger the imagination. He was swept into office by one of the largest electoral votes ever received by a candidate. His popular vote also was tremendous. As the latest returns indicated, he carried all the middle Atlantic states, except Pennsylvania; the "Solid South" and many western states in which it was believed Roosevelt had the best chance. He drew a large vote in New York, Roosevelt's native state, and California, the home of Governor Johnson.

Mr. Wilson unquestionably appealed to the voters by his career, his record and his personality. His appearance on the stump won him much support, and the way in which he explained the policy he proposed to enforce and his independence of Murphy, head of Tammany Hall; his defeat of Smith, the New Jersey politician; and his general independence of bosses, all favorably impressed the voters.

The later count of the electoral vote told the story. Out of the forty-eight states, Governor Wilson carried forty. California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington went for Roosevelt. Only two states, Utah and Vermont, declared for Taft. The total electoral vote and 531 of which 435 were cast for Governor Wilson.

There was unrestrained joy over the news of the election. The president-elect took care not to be carried away by the flood of sentiment and at once directed his energies to outlining his procedure in the months between the election and the inauguration. The Sixty-second Congress was completing its labors and the work of the Pujo committee, which had been appointed to investigate business conditions, was creating daily sensations through the press. It was declared that the business outlook was bad and all eyes were turned to the new President. The demand for an expression of his opinion became so insistent that he issued a statement, while on a visit to Staunton, Va., in which he said:

“We are learning again that the service of humanity is the best business of mankind, and that the business of mankind must be set forward by the government which mankind sets up, in order that justice may be done and mercy not forgotten. All the world, I say, is turning now, as never before, to this conception of the elevation of humanity, not of the preferred few, not of those who can by superior wit or unusual opportunity struggle to the top, no matter whom they trample under feet, but of men who cannot struggle to the top and who must, therefore, be looked to by the forces of society, for they have no single force by which they can serve themselves.

“There must be heart in a government and in the policies of the government. And men must look to it, that they do unto others as they would have others do unto them. This has long been the theme of the discourses

of Christian ministers, but it has not come to be part of the bounden duties of Ministers of State.

This is the solemnity that comes upon a man when he knows that he is about to be clothed with the responsibilities of a great office, in which will center part of the example which America shall set to the world itself. Do you suppose that that gives a man a very light hearted Christmas? I could pick out some gentlemen, not confined to one state—gentlemen likely to be associated with the government of the United States—who have not yet had it dawned upon their intelligence what it is that Government is set up to do. There are men who will have to be mastered in order that they shall be made instruments of justice and mercy.

“The word that stands at the center of what has to be done is a very interesting word indeed. It has hitherto been supposed to be a word of charity, a word of philanthropy, a word which has to do with the operations of the human heart, rather than with the operations of the human mind. I mean the word ‘service.’ The one thing that the business men of the United States are now discovering, some of them for themselves, and some of them by suggestion, is that they are not going to be allowed to make any money except for a quid pro quo, that they must render a service or get nothing, and that in the regulation of business the government, that is to say, the moral judgment of the majority must determine whether what they are doing is a service or not a service, and that everything in business and politics is going to be reduced to the standard. ‘Are you giving anything to society when you want to take anything out of society?’ is the question to put to them.”

A short time later, while on a visit to Chicago, the president-elect addressed a meeting of business men on the same subject and made it clear that he was opposed to government by corporations. In this manner he passed

the days preceding his inauguration which took place in Washington, D. C., on March 4th, 1913.

A crowd of about 300,000 persons was on hand between the Capitol and the disbanding point at Washington Circle, a mile and a half west of the Capitol and a few blocks beyond the White House.

As it started later than any previous inaugural parade and was a record-breaker in size, darkness had begun to fall by the time the first thousands of civic and semi-military sections that followed the military and naval divisions had reached the reviewing stand.

There were picked soldiers and sailors from the chief of staff of the army down. Picturesque Indian chiefs, led by Julius Harburge of the Sioux nation, and Chief Hollow Horn Bear, clacked by on their ponies like the grand first part of Colonel W. F. Cody's Educational Exhibition. And there were the glories of the Annapolis and West Point cadets corps swinging by. There were blocks and blocks of olive drab, glinting metal guns and batteries of field artillery.

The howling Princeton students did not merge from the blackness of night into the glow of the Court of Honor spotlights until almost 7 o'clock, with the president and vice-president and their families waiting to see this particular band of patriots explode into view under the leadership of the Honorable Paul Myers, better known as "Fat" Myers.

It may be stated that the particular point of the parade route occupied by the Princeton students never was apathetic—not while the Hon. "Fat" Myers, the Hon. Lambkin Heiniger (just Lamb if you know him intimately), the Hon. "Skinny" Handy and the song and cheer leader of the student delegation from President Wilson's old college, the Hon. Raleigh Warner, even better known in academic circles, of course, as "Truly" Warner—were on the job.

The arrival of General Sulzer of New York in front

of the reviewing stand in the act of being a horseman, was one of the big events of the afternoon. Governors doffed their hats occasionally and the governor of New York waved his broad-brimmed sombrero from the moment the expectant throngs caught sight of him looming above the marchers far to the east, until he had faded in the gathering gloom of the west.

Among those present were: General Miles in his gold lace glory, who, crossing to the eastern end of the president's review stand, among the early arrivals, had the entire Court of Honor to himself. Former Governor David R. Francis of Missouri and George Young Bauchle entered the court simultaneously. Senator Pezet, minister from Peru; Mr. and Mrs. Perry Belmont; Mr. Honorable Jonkheer J. London, minister from the Netherlands. William Jennings Bryan, Justice Charles E. Hughes and Mrs. Hughes, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Senator Tillman, and many others of note, arrived soon afterward.

The great stand across the way from the president's big stand by this time was filled and it held 35,000 men and women. The seats stretching away on the president's stand itself were all occupied.

These two stands were called the Monticello stands because their wide columns rimmed above with white trellis work were copied from the porticos of the house that Thomas Jefferson planned and Mrs. Martin W. Littleton discovered.

President and Mrs. Wilson appeared at the rail of the reviewing stand. Next came Vice-President Marshall. The president and vice-president both carried their hats and bowed repeatedly in answer to the cheers that greeted them.

At the edge of the stand President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall stood a step in advance of the women of the party, who remained seated except when something

so extraordinary as the Honorable "Fat" Myers from Princeton, the Indian chiefs, Tammany, Governor Sulzer or the West Point or Annapolis cadets went past.

Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Marshall sat to the left slightly back of the president and vice-president. The three Misses Wilson sat or stood back of Mrs. Wilson and ranged behind the president's daughters were the president's sister, Mrs. Addie Howe, and the "White House Baby," tiny Josephine Cothran, aged 14 months.

The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Edward D. White of the United States Supreme Court. It was a solemn moment when the president-elect raised his right hand and swore to uphold the constitution and rights of the United States.

When the ceremony was finished, President Wilson turned to the throng and delivered his inauguration address. It follows:

"There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The Senate about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

"It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their

aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

“We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident.

“But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Gov-

ernment went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

“At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been “Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself,” while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

“We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standard we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

“We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the

Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

“Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may be put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

“These are some of the things we ought to do, and

not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguarding of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whither they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

“And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

“This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? who

dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!"

CHAPTER VI

A FEARLESS PRESIDENT.

President Wilson wasted no time in placing in practice the ideas he had formulated during a lifetime study of scientific government. One of his first announcements was that he would not be bothered with office seekers, and the statement was couched in such terms that everybody knew he meant exactly what he said.

The President used the utmost discretion in appointing his cabinet. There was considerable speculation until the final announcement was made. The officers were William Jennings Bryan, Secretary of State; William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; L. M. Garrison, Secretary of War; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; A. S. Burleson, Postmaster General; J. C. McReynolds, Attorney General; and D. F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture. President Wilson showed by his choice that he had applied his knowledge of men in the picking of the cabinet officers rather than rely on the political service the old line politicians had done him.

He had been an exponent of free trade since he took up the study of political economy while a college student and, having formulated his plans, called a special session of Congress to listen to his views. In doing so he reverted to an old precedent, established by George Washington and John Adams. They had delivered their messages directly to Congress, instead of merely sending the written copy for the clerk of the House to read. President Wilson proposed to get on familiar terms with the country's law-makers.

The special session met on April 8, 1913, a month

after the inauguration. The eyes of the country were on the President, as general industrial unrest was threatening. The galleries of the House were crowded when the President made his appearance. When he reached the platform, immediately in back of the clerk, Speaker Clark announced:

“Senators and Representatives, I have the distinguished honor of presenting the President of the United States.”

There was prolonged applause from the floor and the galleries, while the President acknowledged the ovation with a smile. When the tumult died away, he began his address:

“Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, gentlemen of the Congress, I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that the President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the Government hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to co-operate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience, I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another.

“I have called the Congress together in extraordinary session because a duty was laid upon the party now in power, at the recent elections, which it ought to perform promptly, in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible, and in order, also, that the business interests of the country may not be kept too long in suspense as to what the fiscal changes are to be, to which they will be required to adjust themselves. It is clear to the whole country that the tariff duties must be altered. They must be changed to meet the radical alteration in the conditions of our economic life which the country has witnessed within the last generation. While the whole face and method of our

industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition, the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began, or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is today. Our task is to square them with the actual facts. The sooner that is done the sooner we shall escape from suffering from the facts and the sooner our men of business will be free to thrive by the law of nature—the nature of free business—instead of by the law of legislation and artificial arrangement.

“We have seen tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far, indeed, from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based. We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of ‘protecting’ the industries of the country and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the Government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously, we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

“It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably can not, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.

“It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown up amongst us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it. We must make changes in our fiscal laws, in our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down. In dealing with the tariff the method by which this may be done will be a matter of judgment exercised item by item. To some not accustomed to the excitement and responsibilities of greater freedom our methods may in some respects and at some points seem heroic, but remedies may be heroic and yet be remedies. It is our business to make sure that they are genuine remedies. Our object is clear. If our motive is above just challenge and only an occasional error of judgment is chargeable against us, we shall be fortunate.

“We are called upon to render the country a great

service in more matters than one. Our responsibility should be met and our methods should be thorough, as thorough as moderate and well considered, based upon the facts as they are, and not worked out as if we were beginners. We are to deal with the facts of our own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts. It is best, indeed it is necessary, to begin with the tariff. I will urge nothing upon you now at the opening of your session which can obscure that first object or divert our energies from that clearly defined duty. At a later time I may take the liberty of calling your attention to reforms which should press close upon the heels of the tariff changes, if not accompany them, of which the chief is the reform of our banking and currency laws; but just now I refrain. For the present, I put these matters on one side and think only of this one thing—of the changes in our fiscal system which may best serve to open once more the free channels of prosperity to a great people whom we would serve to the utmost and throughout both rank and file.”

When the President finished the applause that broke out through the entire house bore testimony to the spirit in which the message had been received.

The Congress was given its task and went to work at once. The measure providing for revision of the tariff had been drawn up by Senator Underwood between the inauguration and the first session of congress so that it was in form to present to the senate on the same day. Its main features were the famous Schedule K of the tariff and the Income Tax regulations under the sixteenth amendment to the constitution. Other presidents had urged this latter piece of legislation in vain. Congress had repeatedly failed to pass it.

It suffices to say here that the measure was made law, with some minor changes, and President Wilson signed it the following October.

There were many outside influences, however, that

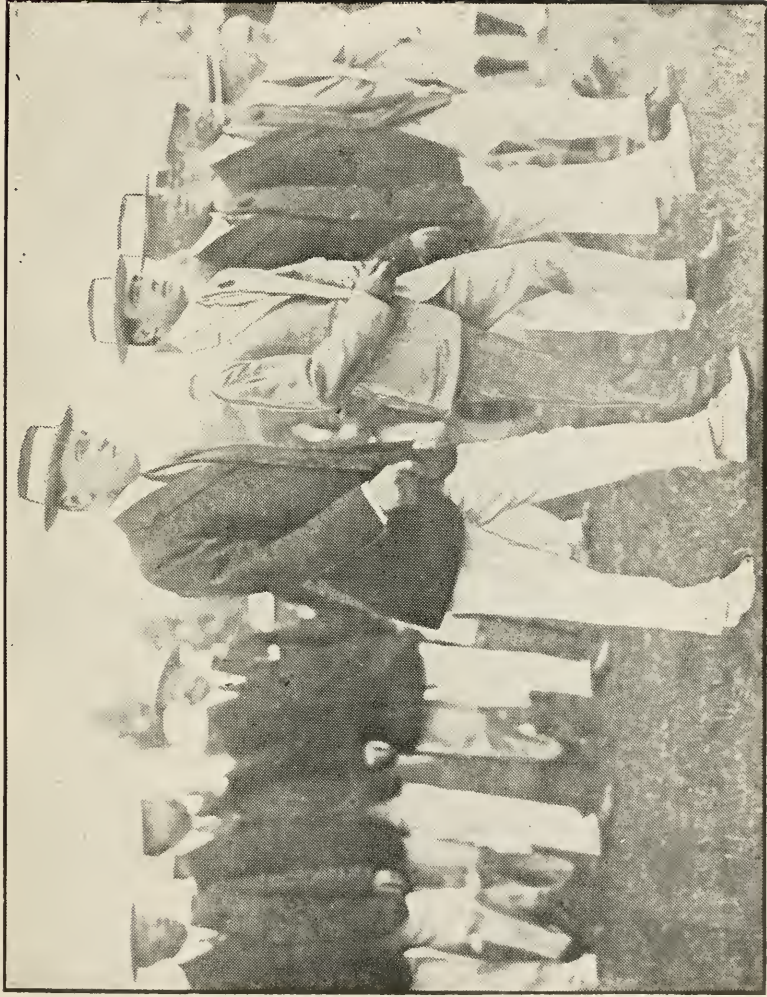
attempted to obstruct the bill through a lobby created for the purpose. It was the work of other political bosses who failed to take warning by the fate of those who attempted to influence Woodrow Wilson when he was governor of New Jersey. Prominent Democrats were mixed up in the plot and they led the president to declare that he was the servant of the American people, not of the Democratic party.

The situation steadily grew worse with attacks on the Underwood measure becoming more frequent and bold, until on May 26th, President Wilson issued a denunciation of the lobby. He said:

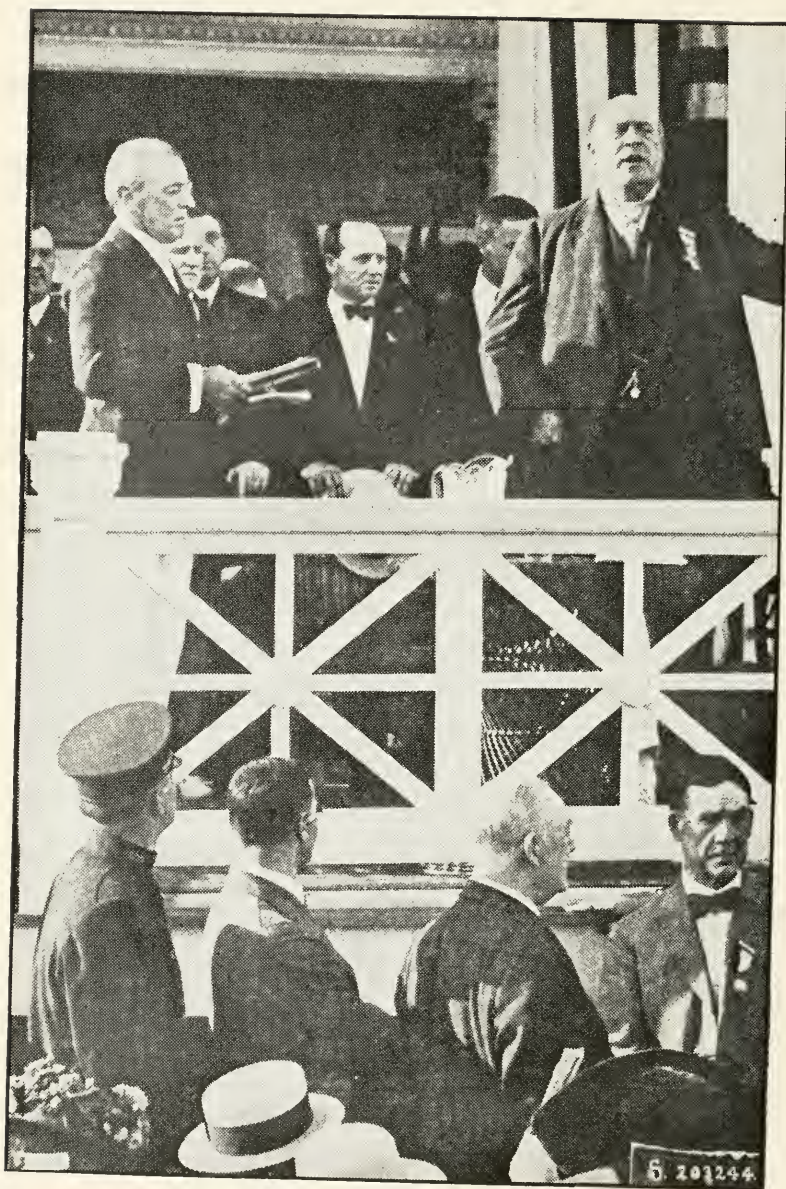
“I think that the public ought to know the extraordinary exertions being made by the lobby in Washington to gain recognition for certain alterations of the Tariff bill. Washington has seldom seen so numerous, so industrious or so insidious a lobby. The newspapers are being filled with paid advertisements calculated to mislead the judgment of public men not only, but also the public opinion of the country itself. There is every evidence that money without limit is being spent to sustain this lobby and to create an appearance of a pressure of opinion antagonistic to some of the chief items of the Tariff bill.

“It is of serious interest to the country that the people at large should have no lobby and be voiceless in these matters, while great bodies of astute men seek to create an artificial opinion and to overcome the interests of the public for their private profit. It is thoroughly worth the while of the people of this country to take knowledge of this matter. Only public opinion can check and destroy it.

“The Government in all its branches ought to be relieved from this intolerable burden and this constant interruption to the calm progress of debate. I know that in this I am speaking for the members of the two



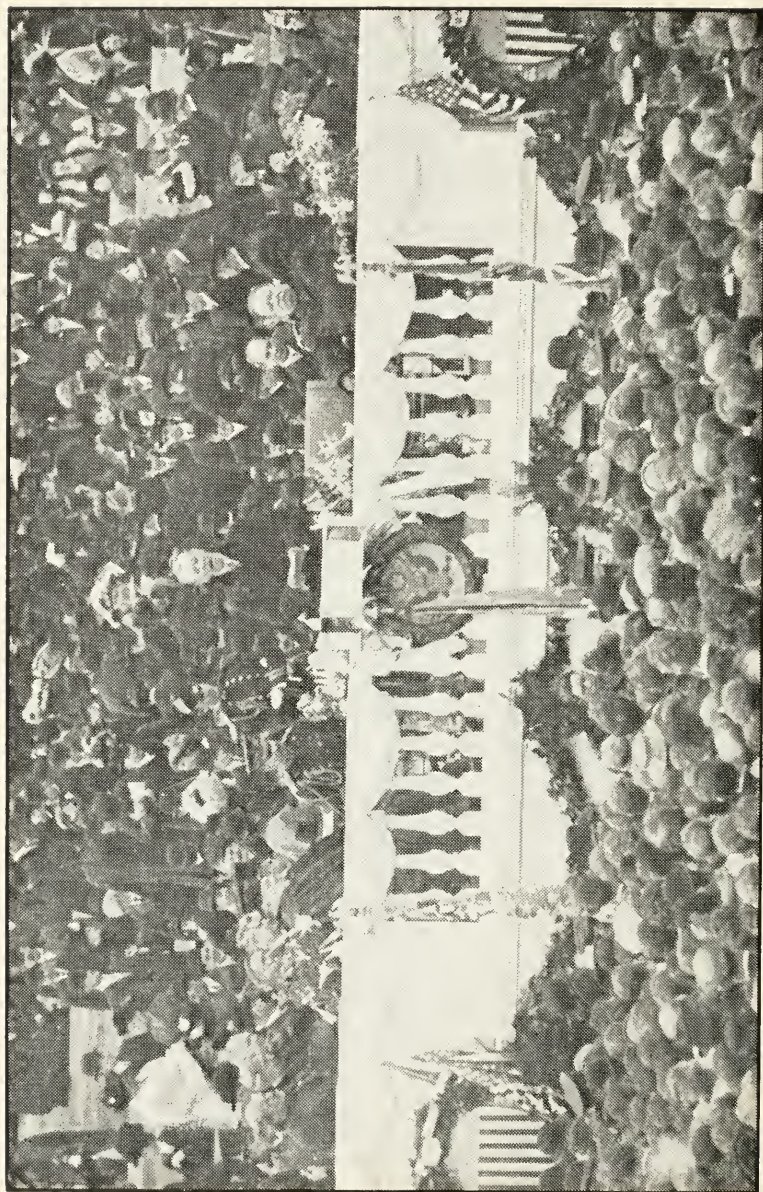
Woodrow Wilson marching with his class at Princeton University.



Wilson receiving the notification of his renomination by the Democratic party from Senator Ollie James.



THE GRACIOUS HOSTESSES OF THE NEW REGIME.
(Reading from the left, Miss Margaret Wilson, Mrs. Wilson, Miss Jessie Wilson, the President, Miss Eleanor Wilson.) Mrs. Wilson also comes from a distinguished Presbyterian family, formerly of Rome, Ga. She is a talented artist and studied in the Art Students' League, New York. Her paintings have recently been exhibited.



MAKING HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

houses, who would rejoice as much as I would to be released from this unbearable situation.”

The delay on the Underwood bill continued into June and the lobbyists, who were driven under cover to a great extent, were confident that it still could be delayed until it died a natural death. The members of Congress were looking forward to a hot summer season passed at the seashore, but their hopes were short lived.

On June 23rd, the President announced that he could be expected at a joint session of the House and Senate, much to the disgust of some of the members. He had intimated that sweeping reforms were desired in the financial system, but few were prepared for the plan he outlined. In his address to the joint session, he said:

“Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, gentlemen of the Congress, it is under the compulsion of what seems to me a clear and imperative duty that I have a second time this session sought the privilege of addressing you in person. I know, of course, that the heated season of the year is upon us, that work in these Chambers and in the committee rooms is likely to become a burden as the season lengthens, and that every consideration of personal convenience and personal comfort, perhaps, in the cases of some of us, considerations of personal health even, dictate an early conclusion of the deliberations of the session; but there are occasions of public duty when these things which touch us privately seem very small; when the work to be done is so pressing and so fraught with big consequence that we know that we are not at liberty to weigh against it any point of personal sacrifice. We are now in the presence of such an occasion. It is absolutely imperative that we should give the business men of this country a banking and currency system by means of which they can make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative which we are about to bestow upon them.

“We are about to set them free; we must not leave

them without the tools of action when they are free. We are about to set them free by removing the trammels of the protective tariff. Ever since the Civil War they have waited for this emancipation and for the free opportunities it will bring with it. It has been reserved for us to give it to them. Some fell in love, indeed, with the slothful security of their dependence upon the Government; some took advantage of the shelter of the nursery to set up a mimic mastery of their own within its walls. Now both the tonic and the discipline of liberty and maturity are to ensue. There will be some readjustments of purpose and point of view. There will follow a period of expansion and new enterprise, freshly conceived. It is for us to determine now whether it shall be rapid and facile and of easy accomplishment. This it can not be unless the resourceful business men who are to deal with the new circumstances are to have at hand and ready for use the instrumentalities and conveniences of free enterprise which independent men need when acting on their own initiative.

“It is not enough to strike the shackles from business. The duty of statesmanship is not negative merely. It is constructive also. We must show that we understand what business needs and that we know how to supply it. No man, however casual and superficial his observation of the conditions now prevailing in the country, can fail to see that one of the chief things business needs now, and will need increasingly as it gains in scope and vigor in the years immediately ahead of us, is the proper means by which readily to vitalize its credit, corporate and individual, and its originative brains. What will it profit us to be free if we are not to have the best and most accessible instrumentalities of commerce and enterprise? What will it profit us to be quit of one kind of monopoly if we are to remain in the grip of another and more effective kind? How are we to gain and keep the confidence of the business community unless we show that we know

how both to aid and to protect it? What shall we say if we make fresh enterprise necessary and also make it very difficult by leaving all else except the tariff just as we found it? The tyrannies of business, big and little, lie within the field of credit. We know that. Shall we not act upon the knowledge? Do we not know how to act upon it? If a man can not make his assets available at pleasure, his assets of capacity and character and resource, what satisfaction is it to him to see opportunity beckoning to him on every hand when others have the keys of credit in their pockets and treat them as all but their own private possession? It is perfectly clear that it is our duty to supply the new banking and currency system the country needs, and it will need it immediately more than it has ever needed it before.

“The only question is, When shall we supply it—now or later, after the demands shall have become reproaches that we are so dull and so slow? Shall we hasten to change the tariff laws and then be laggards about making it possible and easy for the country to take advantage of the change? There can be only one answer to that question. We must act now, at whatever sacrifice to ourselves. It is a duty which the circumstances forbid us to postpone. I should be recreant to my deepest convictions of public obligation did I not press it upon you with solemn and urgent insistence.

“The principles upon which we should act are also clear. The country has sought and seen its path in this matter within the last few years—sees it more clearly now than it ever saw it before—much more clearly than when the last legislative proposals on the subject were made. We must have a currency, not rigid as now, but readily, elastically responsive to sound credit, the expanding and contracting credits of everyday transactions, the normal ebb and flow of personal and corporate dealings. Our banking laws must mobilize reserves; must not permit the concentration anywhere in a few hands of the

monetary resources of the country or their use for speculative purposes in such volume as to hinder or impede or stand in the way of other more legitimate, more fruitful uses. And the control of the system of banking and of issue which our new laws are to set up must be public, not private, must be vested in the Government itself, so that the banks may be the instruments, not the masters, of business and of individual enterprise and initiative.

“The committees of the Congress to which legislation of this character is referred have devoted careful and dispassionate study to the means of accomplishing these objects. They have honored me by consulting me. They are ready to suggest action. I have come to you, as the head of the Government and the responsible leader of the party in power, to urge action now, while there is time to serve the country deliberately, and as we should, in a clear air of common counsel. I appeal to you with a deep conviction of duty. I believe that you share this conviction. I therefore appeal to you with confidence. I am at your service without reserve to play my part in any way you may call upon me to play it in this great enterprise of exigent reform which it will dignify and distinguish us to perform and discredit us to neglect.”

The Congress accepted the message and the request in the new spirit of patriotism that was sweeping the country. It was a direct challenge to the people's representatives to consider the country's needs or their own by leaving the session for a vacation.

President Wilson was establishing a precedent. It had been the custom in other years for the chief executive to write out a long, sonorous message that went into minute details of the desired legislation. President Wilson operated the other way. He first had the proposed bills drawn up and presented to the people through the newspapers. He studied editorial comments and letters from citizens and on these he based his final opinions. The result was that when he went before the legislators

he confined his remarks to a general synopsis of the question and indirectly brought to their attention that the American people were watching the proceedings carefully.

The financial reform measure was designed to meet the needs of business throughout the country and place the foundation of the country's assets on business rather than on Government bonds. The establishment of Federal Reserve Banks through which currency could be diverted to any corner of the country was one of the most important features. (The manner in which the plan worked several years later when the country was forced to raise billions for the national defense is testimony of its feasibility.) Conferences were held by bankers all over the country and reports were made direct to the President. On December 23rd, 1913, the measure went to the President for his signature and was hailed by the country as a welcome Christmas gift.

President Wilson's book, "The New Freedom," appeared in February, 1913, with the first message ever delivered to the American people by a President-elect on the eve of his inauguration. It is an avowal of faith and a declaration of intention on the part of the man, who, in sixteen days, was to be the first Democratic chief executive the country had in sixteen years.

One of the most interesting chapters dealt with the program of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt and his progressive followers. President Wilson analyzed it carefully and concluded the basis of the Roosevelt plan was the recognition and legislation of the monopoly which he proposed to convey into benevolence and philanthropy. He declared that "you cannot use monopoly in order to serve a free people," and warned Progressive Republicans they were being deluded.

"The New Freedom" was dedicated to every man or woman who might derive from it in a small degree the impulse of unselfish public services.

He pointed out that the corporations which formerly played a small part in business affairs "now played the chief part," and said that most of our laws were formed in the age when employer and employe knew each other, knew each others' characters, were associated with each other, dealt with each other as man to man, which was no longer the case.

CHAPTER VII

THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

For two years prior to President Wilson's election revolution had reigned supreme in Mexico. President Taft had maintained an attitude of utter unconcern in the matter on the theory that the Mexican people could work out their salvation without outside interference. President Wilson inclined to the same views, but it seemed as though his entire public career was to be marked by international differences.

Until 1910, Porfirio Diaz had been President of Mexico. His rule was one of dictatorship, for he frowned on active campaigns for the presidency. When, in 1910, Francisco Madero, leader of a great reform movement, steadily gained in favor with the people and threatened to succeed Diaz, he was thrown into prison and the match was applied to the revolutionary torch. Diaz was forced to flee to Europe, Madero was released from prison and made President, and it seemed as though enlightenment and progress was to come to Mexico.

The new administration was short. A nephew of the deposed President was captured while fomenting a new rebellion. Later he escaped and formed a new army. Meanwhile, General Victoriano Huerta, a Madero adherent, deserted the government, caused the arrest of President Madero and his assassination a few days later. Then he assumed the presidency and gave the signal for a reign of terror. It was at its height when President Wilson was inaugurated.

American life and capital in Mexico were in danger. American citizens were being murdered in a most wanton fashion. Many were executed by Huerta soldiers without

trial, and the eyes of the world were turned to President Wilson as the champion of the Monroe Doctrine.

A few months after he assumed office he sent John Lind, former governor of Minnesota, to Mexico as a special envoy. These were his instructions to Mr. Lind:

“Press very earnestly upon the attention of those who are now exercising authority or wielding influence in Mexico the following considerations and advice:

“The Government of the United States does not feel at liberty any longer to stand inactively by while it becomes daily more and more evident that no real progress is being made towards the establishment of a government at the City of Mexico which the country will obey and respect.

“The Government of the United States does not stand in the same case with the other great Governments of the world in respect of what is happening or what is likely to happen in Mexico. We offer our good offices, not only because of our genuine desire to play the part of a friend, but also because we are expected by the powers of the world to act as Mexico’s nearest friend.

“We wish to act in these circumstances in the spirit of the most earnest and disinterested friendship. It is our purpose in whatever we do or propose in this perplexing and distressing situation not only to pay the most scrupulous regard to the sovereignty and independence of Mexico—that we take as a matter of course to which we are bound by every obligation of right and honor—but also to give every possible evidence that we act in the interest of Mexico alone, and not in the interest of any person or body of persons who may have personal or property claims in Mexico which they may feel that they have the right to press. We are seeking to counsel Mexico for her own good, and in the interest of her own peace, and not for any other purpose whatever. The Government of the United States would deem itself discredited if it had any selfish or ulterior purpose in transactions where the peace, happiness, and prosperity of a whole people are involved. It

is acting as its friendship for Mexico, not as any selfish interest, dictates.

“The present situation in Mexico is incompatible with the fulfillment of international obligations on the part of Mexico, with the civilized development of Mexico herself, and with the maintenance of tolerable political and economic conditions in Central America. It is upon no common occasion, therefore, that the United States offers her counsel and assistance. All America cries out for a settlement.

“A satisfactory settlement seems to us to be conditioned on—

“(a) An immediate cessation of fighting throughout Mexico, a definite armistice solemnly entered into and scrupulously observed;

“(b) Security given for an early and free election in which all will agree to take part;

“(c) The consent of Gen. Huerta to bind himself not to be a candidate for election as President of the Republic at this election; and

“(d) The agreement of all parties to abide by the results of the election and co-operate in the most loyal way in organizing and supporting the new administration.

“The Government of the United States will be glad to play any part in this settlement or in its carrying out which it can play honorably and consistently with international right. It pledges itself to recognize and in every way possible and proper to assist the administration chosen and set up in Mexico in the way and on the conditions suggested.

“Taking all the existing conditions into consideration, the Government of the United States can conceive of no reasons sufficient to justify those who are now attempting to shape the policy or exercise the authority of Mexico in declining the offices of friendship thus offered. Can Mexico give the civilized world a satisfactory reason for rejecting our good offices? If Mexico can suggest any

better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico, and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion."

Mr. Lind proceeded on his difficult mission and finally reached Mexico City after several narrow escapes from the bandits who infested the country. He presented his credentials to the so-called Huerta government. The reply was most insolent. It read:

"The imputation that no progress has been made toward establishing a Government that may enjoy the obedience of the Mexican people is unfounded. In contradiction with their gross imputation, which is not supported by any proofs, principally because there are none, it affords me pleasure to refer, Mr. Confidential Agent, to the following facts which abound in evidence and which to a certain extent must be known to you by direct observation. The Mexican Republic, Mr. Confidential Agent, is formed by 27 States, 3 Territories, and 1 Federal District, in which the supreme power of the Republic has its seat. Of these 27 States, 18 of them, the 3 Territories, and the Federal District (making a total of 22 political entities) are under the absolute control of the present Government, which aside from the above, exercises its authority over almost every port in the Republic and, consequently, over the custom houses therein established. Its southern frontier is open and at peace. Moreover, my Government has an army of 80,000 men in the field, with no other purpose than to insure complete peace in the Republic, the only national aspiration and solemn promise of the present provisional President. . . .

"Inasmuch as the Government of the United States is willing to act in the most disinterested friendship, it will be difficult for it to find a more propitious opportunity than the following: If it should only watch that no material and monetary assistance is given to rebels who find refuge, conspire, and provide themselves with arms and food on the other side of the border; if it should demand

from its minor and local authorities the strictest observance of the neutrality laws, I assure you, Mr. Confidential Agent, that the complete pacification of this Republic would be accomplished within a relatively short time. . . .

“His Excellency Mr. Wilson is laboring under a serious delusion when he declares that the present situation of Mexico is incompatible with the compliance of her international obligations and with the required maintenance of conditions tolerable in Central America. No charge has been made by any foreign Government accusing us of the above lack of compliance, we are punctually meeting all of our credits, we are still maintaining diplomatic missions cordially accepted in almost all the countries of the world. With regard to our interior development, a contract has just been signed with Belgian capitalists which means to Mexico the construction of something like 5,000 kilometers of railway. In conclusion, we fail to see the evil results, which are prejudicial only to ourselves, felt in Central America by our present domestic war. . . . With reference to the rebels who style themselves “Constitutionalists,” one of the representatives of whom has been given an ear by Members of the United States Senate, what could there be more gratifying to us than if, convinced of the precipice to which we are being dragged by the resentment of their defeat, in a moment of reaction they would depose their rancor and add their strength to ours so that all together we would undertake the great and urgent task of national reconstruction? Unfortunately they do not avail themselves of the amnesty law enacted by the provisional government. . . .

“The request that General Victoriano Huerta should agree not to appear as a candidate for the Presidency of the Republic in the coming election cannot be taken into consideration, because, aside from its strange and unwarranted character, there is a risk that the same might be interpreted as a matter of personal dislike. . . . The legality of the government of General Huerta cannot be

disputed. Article 85 of our political constitution provides :

“If at the beginning of a constitutional term neither the President nor the Vice-President elected present themselves, the President whose term has expired will cease in his functions, and the secretary for foreign affairs shall immediately take charge of the Executive power in the capacity of provisional President; and if there should be no secretary for foreign affairs, the Presidency shall devolve on one of the other secretaries pursuant to the order provided by the law.

Now, then, the facts which occurred are the following: The resignation of Francisco I. Madero, constitutional President, and Jose Maria Pino Suarez, constitutional Vice-President of the Republic. These resignations having been accepted, Pedro Lascurain, Minister for Foreign Affairs, took charge by law of the vacant executive power, appointing, as he had the power to do, Gen. Victoriano Huerta to the post of Minister of the Interior. As Mr. Lascurain soon afterwards resigned, and as his resignation was immediately accepted by Congress, Gen. Victoriano Huerta took charge of the executive power, also by operation of law, with the provisional character and under the constitutional promise already complied with to issue a call for special elections. As will be seen, the point of issue is exclusively one of constitutional law in which no foreign nation, no matter how powerful and respectable it may be, should mediate in the least. . . .

“With reference to the final part of the instructions of President Wilson, which I beg to include herewith and say, ‘If Mexico can suggest any better way in which to show our friendship, serve the people of Mexico, and meet our international obligations, we are more than willing to consider the suggestion,’ that final part causes me to propose the following equally decorous arrangement: One, that our ambassador be received in Washington; two, that the United States of America send us a new ambassador without previous conditions.

“And all this threatening and distressing situation will have reached a happy conclusion; mention will not be made of the causes which might carry us, if the tension persists, to no one knows what incalculable extremities for two peoples who have the unavoidable obligation to continue being friends, provided, of course, that this friendship is based upon mutual respect, which is indispensable between two sovereign entities wholly equal before law and justice.”

With this indefinite reply, Mr. Lind was forced to journey back again to the United States. He presented the answer to President Wilson and the executive appeared before Congress on August 27, 1913, and spoke as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: It is clearly my duty to lay before you, very fully and without reservation, the facts concerning our present relations with the Republic of Mexico. The deplorable posture of affairs in Mexico I need not describe, but I deem it my duty to speak very frankly of what this Government has done and should seek to do in fulfillment of its obligation to Mexico herself, as a friend and neighbor, and to American citizens whose lives and vital interests are daily affected by the distressing conditions which now obtain beyond our southern border.

“Those conditions touch us very nearly. Not merely because they lie at our very doors. That, of course, makes us more vividly and more constantly conscious of them, and every instinct of neighborly interest and sympathy is aroused and quickened by them; but that is only one element in the determination of our duty. We are glad to call ourselves the friend of Mexico, and we shall, I hope, have many an occasion, in happier times as well as in these days of trouble and confusion, to show that our friendship is genuine and disinterested, capable of sacrifice and every generous manifestation. The peace, prosperity, and con-

tentment of Mexico mean more, much more, to us than merely an enlarged field for our commerce and enterprise. They mean an enlargement of the field of self-government and the realization of the hopes and rights of a nation with whose best aspirations, so long suppressed and disappointed, we deeply sympathize. We shall yet prove to the Mexican people that we know how to serve them without first thinking how we shall serve ourselves.

“But we are not the only friends of Mexico. The whole world desires her peace and progress; and the whole world is interested as never before. Mexico lies at last where all the world looks on. Central America is about to be touched by the great routes of the world’s trade and intercourse running free from ocean to ocean at the Isthmus. The future has much in store for Mexico, as for all the States of Central America; but the best gifts can come to her only if she be ready and free to receive them and to enjoy them honorably. America in particular—America north and south and upon both continents—waits upon the development of Mexico; and that development can be sound and lasting only if it be the product of a genuine freedom, a just and ordered government founded upon law. Only so can it be peaceful or fruitful of the benefits of peace. Mexico has a great and enviable future before her, if only she choose and attain the paths of honest constitutional government.

“The present circumstances of the Republic, I deeply regret to say, do not seem to promise even the foundations of such a peace. We have waited many months, months full of peril and anxiety, for the conditions there to improve, and they have not improved. They have grown worse, rather. The territory in some sort controlled by the provisional authorities at Mexico City has grown smaller, not larger. The prospect of the pacification of the country, even by arms, has seemed to grow more and more remote; and its pacification by the authorities at the capital is evidently impossible by any other means than

force. Difficulties more and more entangle those who claim to constitute the legitimate government of the Republic. They have not made good their claim in fact. Their successes in the field have proved only temporary. War and disorder, devastation and confusion, seem to threaten to become the settled fortune of the distracted country. As friends we could wait no longer for a solution which every week seemed further away. It was our duty at least to volunteer our good offices—to offer to assist, if we might, in effecting some arrangement which would bring relief and peace and set up a universally acknowledged political authority there.

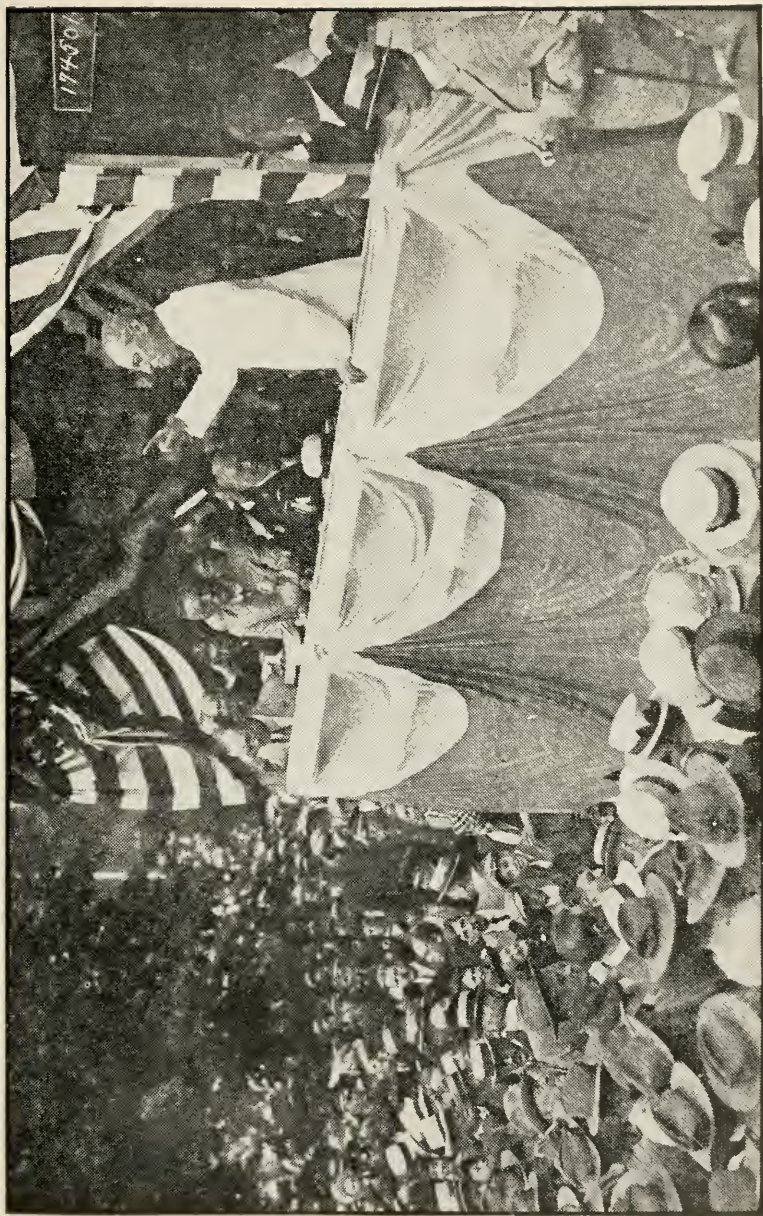
“Mr. Lind executed his delicate and difficult mission with singular tact, firmness, and good judgment, and made clear to the authorities at the City of Mexico not only the purpose of his visit but also the spirit in which it had been undertaken. But the proposals he submitted were rejected.

“I am led to believe that they were rejected partly because the authorities at Mexico City had been grossly misinformed and misled upon two points. They did not realize the spirit of the American people in this matter, their earnest friendliness and yet sober determination that some just solution be found for the Mexican difficulties; and they did not believe that the present administration spoke through Mr. Lind, for the people of the United States. The effect of this unfortunate misunderstanding on their part is to leave them singularly isolated and without friends who can effectually aid them. So long as the misunderstanding continues we can only await the time of their awakening to a realization of the actual facts. We can not thrust our good offices upon them. The situation must be given a little more time to work itself out in the new circumstances; and I believe that only a little while will be necessary. For the circumstances are new. The rejection of our friendship makes them new and will inevitably bring its own alterations in the whole aspect of

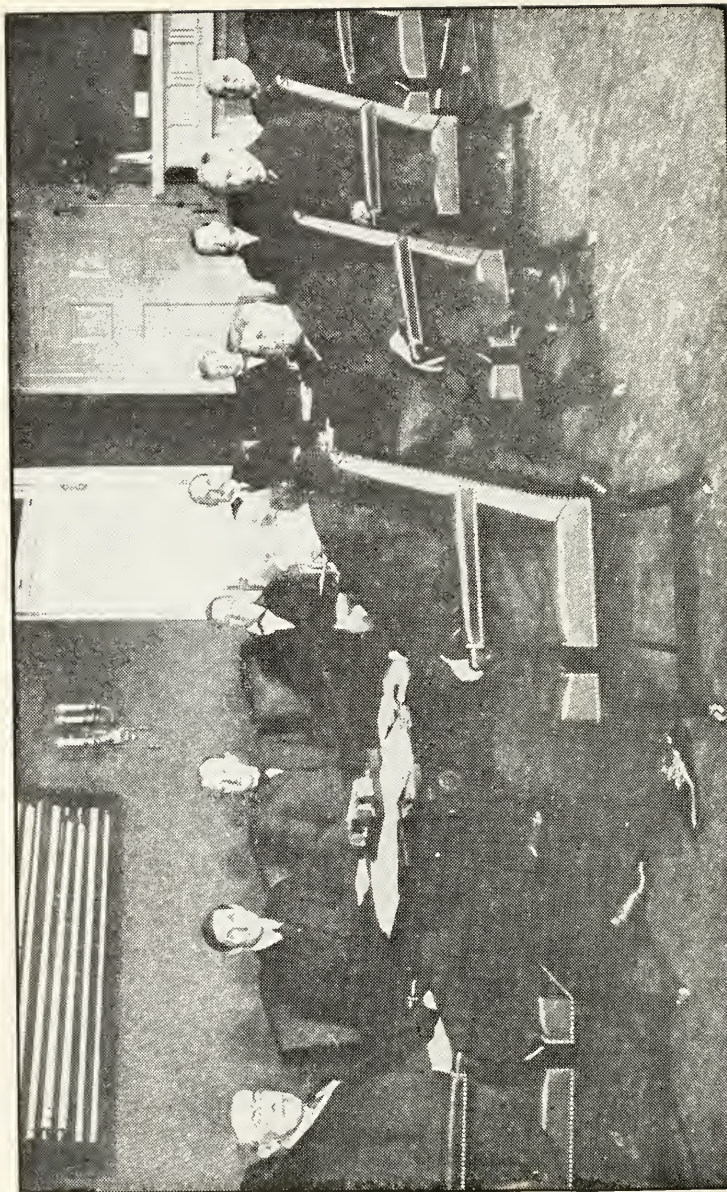
affairs. The actual situation of the authorities at Mexico City will presently be revealed.

“Meanwhile, what is it our duty to do? Clearly, everything that we do must be rooted in patience and done with calm and disinterested deliberation. Impatience on our part would be childish, and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly. We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns to misuse it. It was our duty to offer our active assistance. It is now our duty to show what true neutrality will do to enable the people of Mexico to set their affairs in order again and wait for a further opportunity to offer our friendly counsels. The door is not closed against the resumption, either upon the initiative of Mexico or upon our own, of the effort to bring order out of the confusion by friendly co-operative action, should fortunate occasion offer.

“While we wait, the contest of the rival forces will undoubtedly for a little while be sharper than ever, just because it will be plain that an end must be made of the existing situation, and that very promptly; and with the increased activity of the contending factions will come, it is to be feared, increased danger to the noncombatants in Mexico as well as to those actually in the field of battle. The position of outsiders is always particularly trying and full of hazard where there is civil strife and a whole country is upset. We should earnestly urge all Americans to leave Mexico at once, and should assist them to get away in every way possible—not because we would mean to slacken in the least our efforts to safeguard their lives and their interests, but because it is imperative that they should take no unnecessary risks when it is physically possible for them to leave the country. We should let every one who assumes to exercise authority in any part of Mexico know in the most unequivocal way that we shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who can not get away, and shall hold those responsible for their

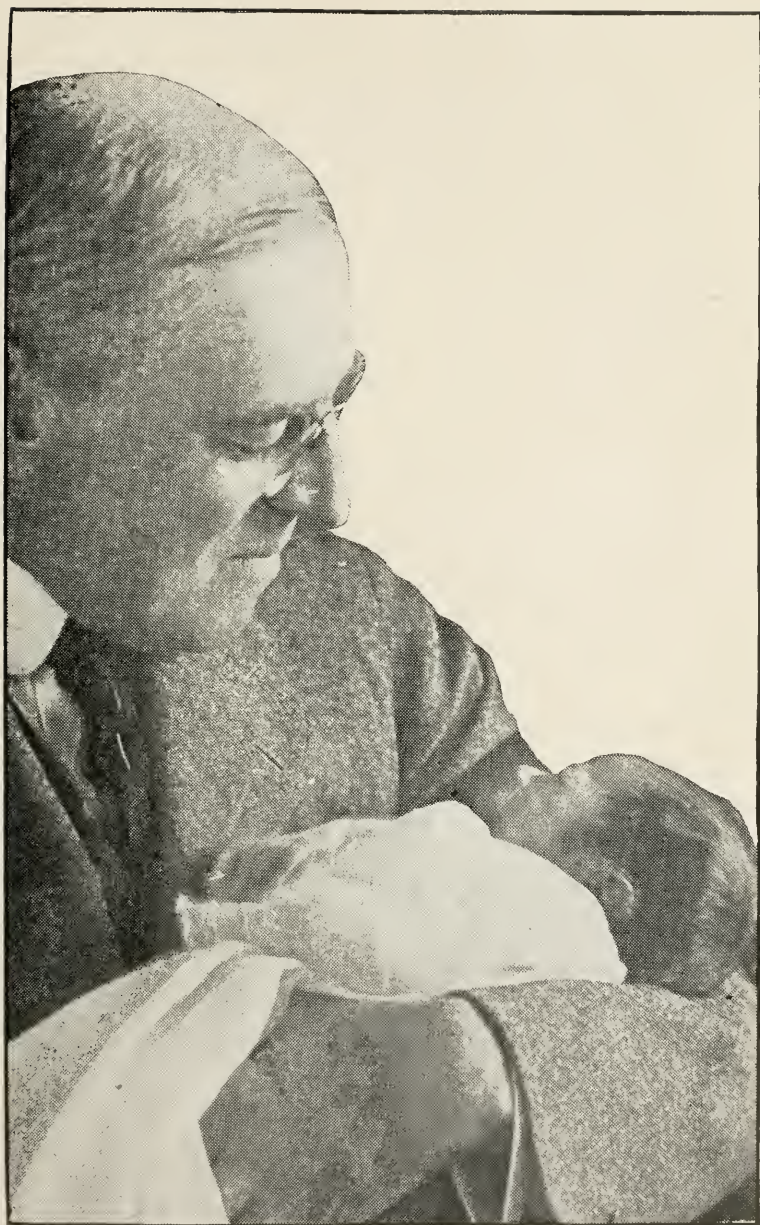


PRESIDENT WILSON MAKING AN ADDRESS IN PHILADELPHIA.

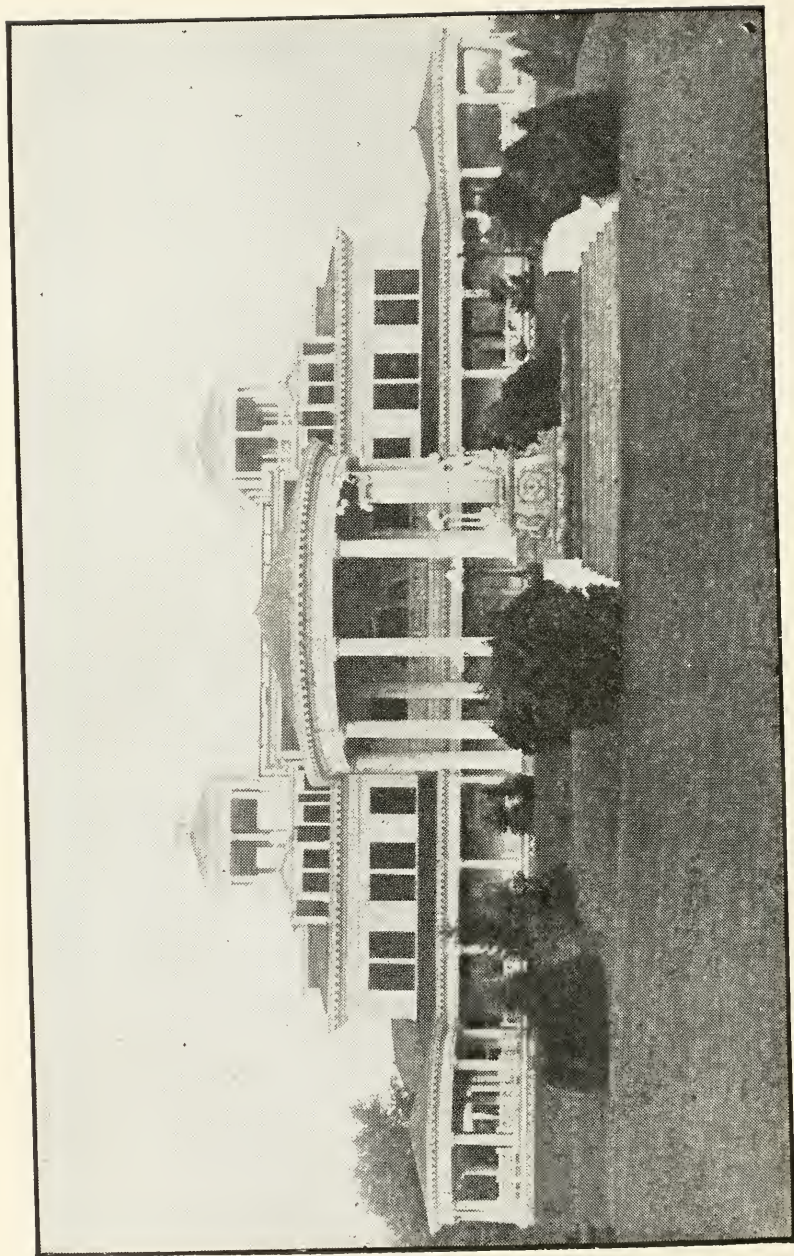


Photograph by Harris-Ewing.

HON. WOODROW WILSON, President of the United States, and his cabinet.



THE PRESIDENT AND HIS GRANDCHILD.



SHADOW LAWN, THE SUMMER WHITE HOUSE.

sufferings and losses to a definite reckoning. That can be and will be made plain beyond the possibility of a misunderstanding.

“For the rest, I deem it my duty to exercise the authority conferred upon me by the law of March 14, 1912, to see to it that neither side to the struggle now going on in Mexico receive any assistance from this side the border. I shall follow the best practice of nations in the matter of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms or munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico—a policy suggested by several interesting precedents and certainly dictated by many manifest considerations of practical expediency. We can not in the circumstances be the partisans of either party to the contest that now distracts Mexico, or constitute ourselves the virtual umpire between them.

“I am happy to say that several of the great Governments of the world have given this Government their generous moral support in urging upon the provisional authorities at the City of Mexico the acceptance of our proffered good offices in the spirit in which they were made. We have not acted in this matter under the ordinary principles of international obligation. All the world expects us in such circumstances to act as Mexico’s nearest friend and intimate adviser. This is our immemorial relation towards her. There is nowhere any serious question that we have the moral right in the case or that we are acting in the interest of a fair settlement and of good government, not for the promotion of some selfish interest of our own. If further motive were necessary than our own good will towards a sister Republic and our own deep concern to see peace and order prevail in Central America, this consent of mankind to what we are attempting, this attitude of the great nations of the world towards what we may attempt in dealing with this distressed people at our doors, should make us feel the more solemnly bound to go to the utmost length of patience and forbearance in this painful and

anxious business. The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down, and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies—and how much more handsomely, with how much higher and finer satisfaction of conscience and of honor!”

The message met with general satisfaction with the conservative element, but the Jingoists who were clamoring for war with Mexico were openly disappointed. They declared that Mexico had insulted the United States with far more temerity than she would have displayed to any other big power. Notwithstanding their comments, the president remained firm and insisted his was the right policy. He reiterated again and again his policy of “watchful waiting.”

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE.

On December 2, 1913, the first presidential message was read to Congress by President Wilson. It was a masterpiece of oratory and swept his hearers off their feet. It follows:

“Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Congress:

“In pursuance of my constitutional duty to ‘give to the Congress information of the state of the Union,’ I take the liberty of addressing you on several matters which ought, as it seems to me, particularly to engage the attention of your honorable bodies, as of all who study the welfare and progress of the Nation.

“I shall ask your indulgence if I venture to depart in some degree from the usual custom of setting before you in formal review the many matters which have engaged the attention and called for the action of the several departments of the Government or which look to them for early treatment in the future, because the list is long, very long, and would suffer in the abbreviation to which I should have to subject it. I shall submit to you the reports of the heads of the several departments, in which these subjects are set forth in careful detail, and beg that they may receive the thoughtful attention of your committees and of all Members of the Congress who may have the leisure to study them. Their obvious importance, as constituting the very substance of the business of the Government, makes comment and emphasis on my part unnecessary.

“The country, I am thankful to say, is at peace with all the world, and many happy manifestations multiply about us of a growing cordiality and sense of community

of interest among the nations, foreshadowing an age of settled peace and good will. More and more readily each decade do the nations manifest their willingness to bind themselves by solemn treaty to the processes of peace, the processes of frankness and fair concession. So far the United States has stood at the front of such negotiations. She will, I earnestly hope and confidently believe, give fresh proof of her sincere adherence to the cause of international friendship by ratifying the several treaties of arbitration awaiting renewal by the Senate. In addition to these, it has been the privilege of the Department of State to gain the assent, in principle, of no less than 31 nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world, to the negotiation of treaties by which it shall be agreed that whenever differences of interest or of policy arise which can not be resolved by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they shall be publicly analyzed, discussed, and reported upon by a tribunal chosen by the parties before either nation determines its course of action.

“There is only one possible standard by which to determine controversies between the United States and other nations, and that is compounded of these two elements: Our own honor and our obligations to the peace of the world. A test so compounded ought easily to be made to govern both the establishment of new treaty obligations and the interpretation of those already assumed.

“There is but one cloud upon our horizon. That has shown itself to the south of us, and hangs over Mexico. There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until General Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico; until it is understood on all hands, indeed, that such pretended governments will not be countenanced or dealt with by the Government of the United States. We are the friends of constitutional government in America; we are more than its friends, we are its champions; because in no other way can our neighbors, to whom we would wish in every way to make proof of our friendship,

work out their own development in peace and liberty. Mexico has no Government. The attempt to maintain one at the City of Mexico has broken down, and a mere military despotism has been set up which has hardly more than the semblance of national authority. It originated in the usurpation of Victoriano Huerta, who, after a brief attempt to play the part of constitutional President, has at last cast aside even the pretense of legal right and declared himself dictator. As a consequence, a condition of affairs now exists in Mexico which has made it doubtful whether even the most elementary and fundamental rights either of her own people or of the citizens of other countries resident within her territory can long be successfully safeguarded, and which threatens, if long continued, to imperil the interests of peace, order, and tolerable life in the lands immediately to the south of us. Even if the usurper had succeeded in his purposes, in despite of the constitution of the Republic and the rights of its people, he would have set up nothing but a precarious and hateful power, which could have lasted but a little while, and whose eventful downfall would have left the country in a more deplorable condition than ever. But he has not succeeded. He has forfeited the respect and the moral support even of those who were at one time willing to see him succeed. Little by little he has been completely isolated. By a little every day his power and prestige are crumbling and the collapse is not far away. We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then, when the end comes, we shall hope to see constitutional order restored in distressed Mexico by the concert and energy of such of her leaders as prefer the liberty of their people to their own ambitions.

“I turn to matters of domestic concern. You already have under consideration a bill for the reform of our system of banking and currency, for which the country waits with impatience, as for something fundamental to its whole business life and necessary to set credit free from

arbitrary and artificial restraints. I need not say how earnestly I hope for its early enactment into law. I take leave to beg that the whole energy and attention of the Senate be concentrated upon it till the matter is successfully disposed of. And yet I feel that the request is not needed—that the Members of that great House need no urging in this service to the country.

“I present to you, in addition, the urgent necessity that special provision be made also for facilitating the credits needed by the farmers of the country. The pending currency bill does the farmers a great service. It puts them upon an equal footing with other business men and masters of enterprise, as it should; and upon its passage they will find themselves quit of many of the difficulties which now hamper them in the field of credit. The farmers, of course, ask and should be given no special privilege, such as extending to them the credit of the Government itself. What they need and should obtain is legislation which will make their own abundant and substantial credit resources available as a foundation for joint, concerted local action in their own behalf in getting the capital they must use. It is to this we should now address ourselves.

“It has, singularly enough, come to pass that we have allowed the industry of our farms to lag behind the other activities of the country in its development. I need not stop to tell you how fundamental to the life of the Nation is the production of its food. Our thoughts may ordinarily be concentrated upon the cities and the hives of industry, upon the cries of the crowded market place and the clangor of the factory, but it is from the quiet interspaces of the open valleys and the free hillsides that we draw the sources of life and of prosperity, from the farm and the ranch, from the forest and the mine. Without these every street would be silent, every office deserted, every factory fallen into disrepair. And yet the farmer does not stand upon the same footing with the forester and the miner in the market of credit. He is the servant of the seasons.

Nature determines how long he must wait for his crops, and will not be hurried in her processes. He may give his note, but the season of its maturity depends upon the season when his crop matures, lies at the gates of the market where his products are sold. And the security he gives is of a character not known in the broker's office or as familiarly as it might be on the counter of the banker.

“The Agricultural Department of the Government is seeking to assist as never before to make farming an efficient business, of wide co-operative effort, in quick touch with the markets for foodstuffs. The farmers and the Government will henceforth work together as real partners in this field, where we now begin to see our way very clearly and where many intelligent plans are already being put into execution. The Treasury of the United States has, by a timely and well-considered distribution of its deposits, facilitated the moving of the crops in the present season and prevented the scarcity of available funds too often experienced at such times. But we must not allow ourselves to depend upon extraordinary expedients. We must add the means by which the farmer may make his credit constantly and easily available and command when he will the capital by which to support and expand his business. We lag behind many other great countries of the modern world in attempting to do this. Systems of rural credit have been studied and developed on the other side of the water while we left our farmers to shift for themselves in the ordinary money market. You have but to look about you in any rural district to see the result, the handicap and embarrassment which have been put upon those who produce our food.

“Conscious of this backwardness and neglect on our part, the Congress recently authorized the creation of a special commission to study the various systems of rural credit which have been put into operation in Europe, and this commission is already prepared to report. Its report ought to make it easier for us to determine what methods

will be best suited to our own farmers. I hope and believe that the committees of the Senate and House will address themselves to this matter with the most fruitful results, and I believe that the studies and recently formed plans of the Department of Agriculture may be made to serve them very greatly in their work of framing appropriate and adequate legislation. It would be indiscreet and presumptuous in anyone to dogmatize upon so great and many-sided a question, but I feel confident that common counsel will produce the results we must all desire.

“Turn from the farm to the world of business which centers in the city and in the factory, and I think that all thoughtful observers will agree that the immediate service we owe the business communities of the country is to prevent private monopoly more effectually than it has yet been prevented. I think it will be easily agreed that we should let the Sherman antitrust law stand, unaltered, as it is, with its debatable ground about it, but that we should as much as possible reduce the area of that debatable ground by further and more explicit legislation; and should also supplement that great act by legislation which will not only clarify it but also facilitate its administration and make it fairer to all concerned. No doubt we shall all wish, and the country will expect, this to be the central subject of our deliberations during the present session; but it is a subject so many-sided and so deserving of careful and discriminating discussion that I shall take the liberty of addressing you upon it in a special message at a later date than this. It is of capital importance that the business men of this country should be relieved of all uncertainties of law with regard to their enterprises and investments and a clear path indicated which they can travel without anxiety. It is as important that they should be relieved of embarrassment and set free to prosper as that private monopoly should be destroyed. The ways of action should be thrown wide open.

“I turn to a subject which I hope can be handled

promptly and without serious controversy of any kind. I mean the method of selecting nominees for the Presidency of the United States. I feel confident that I do not misinterpret the wishes or the expectations of the country when I urge the prompt enactment of legislation which will provide for primary elections throughout the country at which the voters of the several parties may choose their nominees for the Presidency without the intervention of nominating conventions. I venture the suggestion that this legislation should provide for the retention of party conventions, but only for the purpose of declaring and accepting the verdict of the primaries and formulating the platforms of the parties; and I suggest that these conventions should consist not of delegates chosen for this single purpose, but of the nominees for Congress, the nominees for vacant seats in the Senate of the United States, the Senators whose terms have not yet closed, the national committees, and the candidates for the Presidency themselves, in order that platforms may be framed by those responsible to the people for carrying them into effect.

“These are all matters of vital domestic concern, and besides them, outside the charmed circle of our own national life in which our affections command us, as well as our consciences, there stand out our obligations toward our territories oversea. Here we are trustees. Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, are ours, indeed, but not ours to do what we please with. Such territories, once regarded as mere possessions, are no longer to be selfishly exploited; they are part of the domain of public conscience and of serviceable and enlightened statesmanship. We must administer them for the people who live in them and with the same sense of responsibility to them as toward our own people in our domestic affairs. No doubt we shall successfully enough bind Porto Rico and the Hawaiian Islands to ourselves by ties of justice and interest and affection, but the performance of our duty toward the Philippines is a more difficult and debatable matter.

We can satisfy the obligations of generous justice toward the people of Porto Rico by giving them the ample and familiar rights and privileges accorded our own citizens in our own territories and our obligations towards the people of Hawaii by perfecting the provisions for self-government already granted them, but in the Philippines we must go further. We must hold steadily in view their ultimate independence, and we must move toward the time of that independence as steadily as the way can be cleared and the foundations thoughtfully and permanently laid.

“Acting under the authority conferred upon the President by Congress, I have already accorded the people of the islands a majority in both houses of their legislative body by appointing five instead of four native citizens to the membership of the commission. I believe that in this way we shall make proof of their capacity in counsel and their sense of responsibility in the exercise of political power, and that the success of this step will be sure to clear our view for the steps which are to follow. Step by step we should extend and perfect the system of self-government in the islands, making test of them and modifying them as experience discloses their successes and their failures; that we should more and more put under the control of the native citizens of the archipelago the essential instruments of their life, their local instrumentalities of government, their schools, all the common interest of their communities, and so by counsel and experience set up a government which all the world will see to be suitable to a people whose affairs are under their own control. At last, I hope and believe, we are beginning to gain the confidence of the Filipino peoples. By their counsel and experience, rather than by our own, we shall learn how best to serve them and how soon it will be possible and wise to withdraw our supervision. Let us once find the path and set out with firm and confident tread upon it and we shall not wander from it or linger upon it.

“A duty faces us with regard to Alaska which seems

to me very pressing and very imperative; perhaps I should say a double duty, for it concerns both the political and the material development of the Territory. The people of Alaska should be given the full Territorial form of government, and Alaska, as a storehouse, should be unlocked. One key to it is a system of railways. These the Government should itself build and administer, and the ports and terminals it should itself control in the interest of all who wish to use them for the service and development of the country and its people.

“But the construction of railways is only the first step; is only thrusting in the key to the storehouse and throwing back the lock and opening the door. How the tempting resources of the country are to be exploited is another matter, to which I shall take the liberty of from time to time calling your attention, for it is a policy which must be worked out by well-considered stages, not upon theory, but upon lines of practical expediency. It is part of our general problem of conservation. We have a freer hand in working out the problem in Alaska than in the States of the Union; and yet the principle and object are the same, wherever we touch it. We must use the resources of the country, not lock them up. There need be no conflict or jealousy as between State and Federal authorities, for there can be no essential difference of purpose between them. The resources in question must be used, but not destroyed or wasted; used, but not monopolized upon any narrow idea of individual rights as against the abiding interests of communities. That a policy can be worked out by conference and concession which will release these resources and yet not jeopard or dissipate them, I for one have no doubt; and it can be done on lines of regulation which need be no less acceptable to the people and governments of the States concerned than to the people and Government of the Nation at large, whose heritage these resources are. We must bend our counsels to this end. A common purpose ought to make agreement easy.

“Three or four matters of special importance and significance I beg that you will permit me to mention in closing.

“Our Bureau of Mines ought to be equipped and empowered to render even more effectual service than it renders now in improving the conditions of mine labor and making the mines more economically productive as well as more safe. This is an all-important part of the work of conservation; and the conservation of human life and energy lies even nearer to our interest than the preservation from waste of our material resources.

“We owe it, in mere justice to the railway employees of the country, to provide for them a fair and effective employers’ liability act; and a law that we can stand by in this matter will be no less to the advantage of those who administer the railroads of the country than to the advantage of those whom they employ. The experience of a large number of the States abundantly proves that.

“We ought to devote ourselves to meeting pressing demands of plain justice like this as earnestly as to the accomplishment of political and economic reforms. Social justice comes first. Law is the machinery for its realization and is vital only as it expresses and embodies it.

“An international congress for the discussion of all questions that affect safety at sea is now sitting in London at the suggestion of our own Government. So soon as the conclusions of that congress can be learned and considered we ought to address ourselves, among other things, to the prompt alleviation of the very unsafe, unjust, and burdensome conditions which now surround the employment of sailors and render it extremely difficult to obtain the services of spirited and competent men such as every ship needs if it is to be safely handled and brought to port.

“May I not express the very real pleasure I have experienced in co-operating with this Congress and sharing with it the labors of common service to which it has devoted itself so unreservedly during the past seven months

of uncomplaining concentration upon the business of legislation? Surely it is a proper and pertinent part of my report on 'the state of the Union' to express my admiration for the diligence, the good temper, and the full comprehension of public duty which has already been manifested by both the Houses; and I hope that it may not be deemed an impertinent intrusion of myself into the picture if I say with how much and how constant satisfaction I have availed myself of the privilege of putting my time and energy at their disposal alike in counsel and in action."

CHAPTER IX

THE DESTRUCTION OF MONOPOLY.

The year 1914, one of the most memorable in the history of the world, dawned with President Wilson in the midst of the greatest legislative upheaval since the civil war. He was far from satisfied with the revision of the tariff and a new financial system. The monopolies still existed and they were his next target.

Following the intimation in the first presidential passage that "Big Business" would be the next fortress to be assailed, committees at once began drawing up bills to be presented to Congress in 1914. The rough drafts given to the public caused wide discussion. They met with almost universal approval of the rank and file of the people who had been aroused by published reports that the Sherman anti-trust law was insufficient almost to the point of futility.

President Wilson constantly called the attention of the people to the fact that the country could be placed on a true democratic basis if congress would pass the necessary measures. The reduction of the tariff and the Federal Reserve Banking system, the first two milestones on the new road, had been passed. The third and most necessary stage was reached. It was with this idea in mind that the President addressed Congress on January 20, 1914. He spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, gentlemen of the Congress, in my report 'on the state of the Union,' which I had the privilege of reading to you on the 2d of December last, I ventured to reserve for discussion at a later date the subject of additional legislation regarding the very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies.

The time now seems opportune to turn to that great question, not only because the currency legislation, which absorbed your attention and the attention of the country in December, is now disposed of, but also because opinion seems to be clearing about us with singular rapidity in this other great field of action. In the matter of the currency it cleared suddenly and very happily after the much-debated act was passed; in respect of the monopolies which have multiplied about us and in regard to the various means by which they have been organized and maintained, it seems to be coming to a clear and all but universal agreement in anticipation of our action, as if by way of preparation, making the way easier to see and easier to set out upon with confidence and without confusion of counsel.

“Legislation has its atmosphere like everything else, and the atmosphere of accommodation and mutual understanding which we now breathe with so much refreshment is matter of sincere congratulation. It ought to make our task very much less difficult and embarrassing than it would have been had we been obliged to continue to act amidst the atmosphere of suspicion and antagonism which has so long made it impossible to approach such questions with dispassionate fairness. Constructive legislation, when successful, is always the embodiment of convincing experience and of the mature public opinion which finally springs out of that experience. Legislation is a business of interpretation, not of origination; and it is now plain what the opinion is to which we must give effect in this matter. It is not recent or hasty opinion. It springs out of the experience of a whole generation. It has clarified itself by long contest, and those who for a long time battled with it and sought to change it are now frankly and honorably yielding to it and seeking to conform their actions to it.

“The great business men who organized and financed monopoly and those who administered it in actual every-

day transactions have, year after year until now, either denied its existence or justified it as necessary for the effective maintenance and development of the vast business processes of the country in the modern circumstances of trade and manufacture and finance; but all the while opinion has made head against them. The average business man is convinced that the ways of liberty are also the ways of peace and the ways of success as well; and at last the masters of business on the great scale have begun to yield their preference and purpose, perhaps their judgment also, in honorable surrender.

“What we are purposing to do, therefore, is, happily, not to hamper or interfere with business as enlightened business men prefer to do it, or in any sense to put it under the ban. The antagonism between business and Government is over. We are now about to give expression to the best business judgment of America, to what we know to be the business conscience and honor of the land. The Government and business men are ready to meet each other halfway in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law. The best-informed men of the business world condemn the methods and processes and consequences of monopoly as we condemn them, and the instinctive judgment of the vast majority of business men everywhere goes with them. We shall now be their spokesmen. That is the strength of our position and the sure prophecy of what will ensue when our reasonable work is done.

“When serious contest ends, when men unite in opinion and purpose, those who are to change their ways of business joining with those who ask for the change, it is possible to effect it in the way in which prudent and thoughtful and patriotic men would wish to see it brought about, with as few, as slight, as easy and simple business readjustments as possible in the circumstances, nothing essential disturbed, nothing torn up by the roots, no parts rent asunder which can be left in wholesome combination.

Fortunately, no measures of sweeping or novel change are necessary. It will be understood that our object is *not* to unsettle business or anywhere seriously to break its established courses athwart. On the contrary, we desire the laws we are now about to pass to be the bulwarks and safeguards of industry against the forces who have disturbed it. What we have to do can be done in a new spirit, in thoughtful moderation, without revolution of any untoward kind.

“We are all agreed that ‘private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable,’ and our program is founded upon that conviction. It will be a comprehensive but not a radical or unacceptable program and these are its items, the changes which opinion deliberately sanctions and for which business waits:

“It waits with acquiescence, in the first place, for laws which will effectually prohibit and prevent such interlockings of the *personnel* of the directorates of great corporations—banks and railroads, industrial, commercial, and public service bodies—as in effect result in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business. Sufficient time should be allowed, of course, in which to effect these changes of organization without inconvenience or confusion.

“Such a prohibition will work much more than a mere negative good by correcting the serious evils which have arisen because, for example, the men who have been the directing spirits of the great investment banks have usurped the place which belongs to independent industrial management working in its own behoof. It will bring new men, new energies, a new spirit of initiative, new blood, into the management of our great business enterprises. It will open the field of industrial development and

origination to scores of men who have been obliged to serve when their abilities entitled them to direct. It will immensely hearten the young men coming on and will greatly enrich the business activities of the whole country.

“In the second place, business men as well as those who direct public affairs now recognize, and recognize with painful clearness, the great harm and injustice which has been done to many, if not all, of the great railroad systems of the country by the way in which they have been financed and their own distinctive interests subordinated to the interests of the men who financed them and of other business enterprises which those men wished to promote. The country is ready, therefore, to accept, and accept with relief as well as approval, a law which will confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to superintend and regulate the financial operations by which the railroads are henceforth to be supplied with the money they need for their proper development to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the country for increased and improved facilities of transportation. We can not postpone action in this matter without leaving the railroads exposed to many serious handicaps and hazards; and the prosperity of the railroads and the prosperity of the country are inseparably connected. Upon this question those who are chiefly responsible for the actual management and operation of the railroads have spoken very plainly and very earnestly, with a purpose we ought to be quick to accept. It will be one step, and a very important one, toward the necessary separation of the business of production from the business of transportation.

“The business of the country awaits also, has long awaited and has suffered because it could not obtain, further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing antitrust law. Nothing hampers business like uncertainty. Nothing daunts or discourages it like the necessity to take chances, to run the risk of falling under the condemnation of the law before it

can make sure just what the law is. Surely we are sufficiently familiar with the actual processes and methods of monopoly and of the many hurtful restraints of trade to make definition possible, at any rate up to the limits of what experience has disclosed. These practices, being now abundantly disclosed, can be explicitly and item by item forbidden by statute in such terms as will practically eliminate uncertainty, the law itself and the penalty being made equally plain.

“And the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, the definite guidance, and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission.

“The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly or in any sort to assume control of business, as if the Government made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case.

“Producing industries, for example, which have passed the point up to which combination may be consistent with the public interest and the freedom of trade, can not always be dissected into their component units as readily as railroad companies or similar organizations can be. Their dissolution by ordinary legal process may oftentimes involve financial consequences likely to overwhelm the security market and bring upon it breakdown and confusion. There ought to be an administrative com-

mission capable of directing and shaping such commission, capable of directing and shaping such corrective processes, not only in aid of the courts but also by independent suggestion, if necessary.

“Inasmuch as our object and the spirit of our action in these matters is to meet business half way in its processes of self-correction and disturb its legitimate course as little as possible, we ought to see to it, and the judgment of practical and sagacious men of affairs everywhere would applaud us if we did see to it, that penalties and punishments should fall not upon business itself, to its confusion and interruption, but upon the individuals who use the instrumentalities of business to do things which public policy and sound business practice condemn. Every act of business is done at the command or upon the initiative of some ascertainable person or group of persons. These should be held individually responsible and the punishment should fall upon them, not upon the business organization of which they make illegal use. It should be one of the main objects of our legislation to divest such persons of their corporate cloak and deal with them as with those who do not represent their corporations, but merely by deliberate intention break the law. Business men the country through would, I am sure, applaud us if we were to take effectual steps to see that the officers and directors of great business bodies were prevented from bringing them and the business of the country into disrepute and danger.

“Other questions remain which will need very thoughtful and practical treatment. Enterprises in these modern days of great individual fortunes are oftentimes interlocked, not by being under the control of the same directors but by the fact that the greater part of their corporate stock is owned by a single person or group of persons who are in some way intimately related in interest.

“We are agreed, I take it, that holding *companies* should be prohibited, but what of the controlling private

ownership of individuals or actually co-operative groups of individuals? Shall the private owners of capital stock be suffered to be themselves in effect holding companies? We do not wish, I suppose, to forbid the purchase of stocks by any person who pleases to buy them in such quantities as he can afford, or in any way arbitrarily to limit the sale of stocks to bona fide purchasers. Shall we require the owners of stock, when their voting power in several companies which ought to be independent of one another would constitute actual control, to make election in which of them they will exercise their right to vote? This question I venture for your consideration.

“There is another matter in which imperative considerations of justice and fair play suggest thoughtful remedial action. Not only do many of the combinations effected or sought to be effected in the industrial world work an injustice upon the public in general; they also directly and seriously injure the individuals who are put out of business in one unfair way or another by the many dislodging and exterminating forces of combination. I hope that we shall agree in giving private individuals who claim to have been injured by these processes the right to found their suits for redress upon the facts and judgments proved and entered in suits by the Government where the Government has upon its own initiative sued the combinations complained of and won its suit, and that the statute of limitations shall be suffered to run against such litigants only from the date of the conclusion of the Government’s action. It is not fair that the private litigant should be obliged to set up and establish again the facts which the Government has proved. He can not afford, he has not the power, to make use of such processes of inquiry as the Government has command of. Thus shall individual justice be done while the processes of business are rectified and squared with the general conscience.

“I have laid the case before you, no doubt, as it lies in your own mind, as it lies in the thought of the country.

What must every candid man say of the suggestions I have laid before you, of the plain obligations of which I have reminded you? That these are new things for which the country is not prepared? No; but that they are old things, now familiar, and must of course be undertaken if we are to square our laws with the thought and desire of the country. Until these things are done, conscientious business men the country over will be unsatisfied. They are in these things our mentors and colleagues. We are now about to write the additional articles of our constitution of peace, the peace that is honor and freedom and prosperity."

Upon publication of the presidential address, the entire country plunged into a heated debate for and against the proposed legislation. Much to the surprise of the big business interests, the message did not urge their absolute dissolution as they had expected. There was a feeling of relief in financial circles, but the enemies of big business clamored for more stringent regulation than that suggested.

The immediate result was a feeling of greater security in business circles, and those who had ridiculed the president's statement that the depression was psychological finally accepted it as fact. It is well to give here the events that followed in connection with the president's requests.

The battle that raged in congress over the first two innovations of the Democratic administration had shown that congress could not be rushed. Accustomed to the method of having a measure proposed at one session and acted on at the next, the tendency in congress was to believe that President Wilson's request was a problem to be given much thought. He disapproved of the idea, however, and work was started at once on the new measures.

His firm opposition to any delay forced congress to remain in session all through the summer of 1914 and on August 5th the Federal Trade Commission act went to the

president for signature. The Clayton anti-trust measure was delayed until October 5th, when it, too, was sent to the president. Both measures embodied the points laid down by the president the preceding January.

All the president's energy was not directed during this period to the consideration of domestic questions only. Two important international disputes drew him into controversy with Mexico and Great Britain. The Mexican question centered around the shipment of arms and ammunition to the contending factions. The row with Great Britain was in regard to the collection of tolls at the Panama Canal which recently had been completed.

Little need be said at this point about the Mexican embargo. There was a standing proclamation that no arms and ammunition were to be sent to Mexico while the revolution was raging, but in view of the unlawful government established by Huerta, President Wilson was constrained to revoke it and remove the embargo. He issued his proclamation on February 3, 1914, and arms were shipped at once by American firms to the forces fighting against the Huerta army.

The Panama Canal act against which Great Britain registered such violent objection provided for the exemption from toll of all American coastwise trade vessels. The British government insisted that it was a contravention of the rights guaranteed by the treaty of 1901 which provided for equal toll fees on all vessels regardless of nationality or registry. President Wilson concurred in the British demands and admitted that the treaty clause was plain. On March 5, 1914, he appeared before a joint session of congress and asked the repeal of the clause exempting certain American vessels. His speech follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: I have come to you upon an errand which can be very briefly performed, but I beg that you will not measure its importance by the

number of sentences in which I state it. No communication I have addressed to the Congress carried with it graver or more far-reaching implications as to the interest of the country, and I come now to speak upon a matter with regard to which I am charged in a peculiar degree, by the Constitution itself, with personal responsibility.

“I have come to ask you for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act of August 24, 1912, which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from payment of tolls, and to urge upon you the justice, the wisdom, and the large policy of such a repeal with the utmost earnestness of which I am capable.

“In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover, in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain concerning the canal concluded on November 18, 1901. But I have not come to urge upon you my personal views. I have come to state to you a fact and a situation. Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am asking you to repeal. We consented to the treaty; its language we accepted, if we did not originate it; and we are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with a too strained or refined reading the words of our own promises just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please. The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for

the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation.

“I ask this of you in support of the foreign policy of the administration. I shall not know how to deal with other matters of even greater delicacy and nearer consequence if you do not grant it to me in ungrudging measure.”

Congress responded favorably to his request and the offending clause of the act was repealed. Scarcely had this controversy been settled than the Mexican government showed its resentment of the proclamation issued some months prior by a series of outrages on American rights. President Wilson's speech to congress tells the story. It follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: It is my duty to call your attention to a situation which has arisen in our dealings with Gen. Victoriano Huerta at Mexico City which calls for action, and to ask your advice and co-operation.

“On April 9 a Paymaster of the U.S.S. Dolphin landed at the Iturbide bridge landing at Tampico with a whale-boat and boat's crew to take off certain supplies for his ship, and while engaged in loading the boat was arrested by an officer and squad of men of the army of General Huerta. Neither the Paymaster nor any one of the crew was armed. Two of the men were in the boat when the arrest was made, and were obliged to leave it and submit to be taken into custody, notwithstanding that the boat carried, both at her bow and her stern, the flag of the United States. The officer who made the arrest was proceeding up one of the streets of the town with his prisoners when met by an officer of higher authority, who ordered him to return to the landing and await orders, and within an hour and a half from the time of the arrest, orders were received from the commander of the Huertista forces at Tampico for the release of the Paymaster and his men. The release was followed by apologies from the commander and also by an expression of regret by Gen-

eral Huerta himself. General Huerta urged that martial law obtained at the time at Tampico, that orders had been issued that no one should be allowed to land at the Iturbide bridge, and that our sailors had no right to land there. Our naval commanders at the port had not been notified of any such prohibition, and, even if they had been, the only justifiable course open to the local authorities would have been to request the Paymaster and his crew to withdraw and to lodge a protest with the commanding officer of the fleet. Admiral Mayo regarded the arrest as so serious an affront that he was not satisfied with the apologies offered, but demanded that the flag of the United States be saluted with special ceremony by the military commander of the port.

“The incident can not be regarded as a trivial one, especially as two of the men arrested were taken from the boat itself—that is to say, from the territory of the United States; but had it stood by itself, it might have been attributed to the ignorance or arrogance of a single officer.

“Unfortunately, it was not an isolated case. A series of incidents have recently occurred which can not but create the impression that the representatives of General Huerta were willing to go out of their way to show disregard for the dignity and rights of this Government, and felt perfectly safe in doing what they pleased, making free to show in many ways their irritation and contempt.

“A few days after the incident at Tampico an orderly from the U. S. S. *Minnesota* was arrested at Vera Cruz while ashore in uniform to obtain the ship’s mail, and was for a time thrown into jail. An official dispatch from this Government to its embassy at Mexico City was withheld by the authorities of the telegraphic service until peremptorily demanded by our *Chargé d’ Affaires* in person.

“So far as I can learn, such wrong and annoyances have been suffered to occur only against representatives of the United States. I have heard of no complaints from

other governments of similar treatment. Subsequent explanations and formal apologies did not and could not alter the popular impression, which it is possible it had been the object of the Huertista authorities to create, that the Government of the United States was being singled out, and might be singled out with impunity, for slights and affronts in retaliation for its refusal to recognize the pretensions of General Huerta to be regarded as the Constitutional Provisional President of the Republic of Mexico.

“The manifest danger of such a situation was that such offenses might grow from bad to worse until something happened of so gross and intolerable a sort as to lead directly and inevitably to armed conflict. It was necessary that the apologies of General Huerta and his representatives should go much further, that they should be such as to attract the attention of the whole population to their significance, and such as to impress upon General Huerta himself the necessity of seeing to it that no further occasion for explanations and professed regrets should arise. I, therefore, felt it my duty to sustain Admiral Mayo in the whole of his demand and to insist that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas.

“Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now purpose to pursue.

“This Government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own Constitution, it has no government. General Huerta has set his power up in the City of Mexico, such as it is, without right and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control.

“If armed conflict should unhappily come as a result

of his attitude of personal resentment toward this Government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws and their own government.

“But I earnestly hope that war is not now in question. I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister republic. Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder or embarrass them. We would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent.

“The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way, and we sincerely desire to respect their right. The present situation need have none of the grave complications of interference if we deal with it promptly, firmly, and wisely.

“No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our Government without recourse to the Congress, and yet not exceed my constitutional power as President; but I do not wish to act in a matter possibly of so grave consequence except in close conference and co-operation with both the Senate and House. I therefore come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States, even amid the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico.

“There can in what we do be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only be-

cause we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind.”

The time for action had come. On the following day Admiral Fletcher was ordered to seize the customs house at Vera Cruz. The Mexicans resisted and in the fight that followed the fleet shelled the defended portion of the town while the marines effected a landing under fire. Within a few hours the Mexican rebels were driven from the city or captured.

The popular cry was for war with Mexico, but President Wilson still expressed confidence that a peaceful solution could be found. On April 25th the diplomatic representatives of Argentina, Brazil and Chile offered their services in bringing about arbitration proceedings. The mediators met in Niagara Falls and after months of debate a protocol was arranged whereby Huerta agreed not to stand in the way of a constitutional government, and the United States forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz. In this manner President Wilson avoided a war that would have been disastrous for both sides and set a poor example for other Latin-American countries.

In the midst of this year of herculean toil, a great grief came to President Wilson. At 5 p. m. on August 7th, 1914, Mrs. Wilson died after a long illness. It was a severe blow to the President to have his wife taken from him just when she had begun to enjoy the prestige that came to her as the “First Lady in the Land,” but he faced it with the courage that marked his whole life.

Both houses of Congress adjourned when Mrs. Wilson's death was announced, and for a brief time the wheels of government practically stopped, while everyone paid respect to the loss of the President.

During the day, Mrs. Wilson had spoken to Dr. Grayson about the President, of whose health she thought more

than she did her own. "Promise me," she whispered faintly, "that if I go you will take care of my husband."

It was the same touch of devotion which she had so many times repeated—her constant anxiety having been that the President might not worry about her or be disturbed in his official tasks.

Funeral services for Mrs. Wilson were held August 13th, 1914, in the historic East Room at the White House, where but a few months prior she had witnessed the happy marriage of her daughter, Jessie, to Francis B. Sayre. Interment took place the following day at Rome, Ga., where Mrs. Wilson passed many of her girlhood days, and where her life romance began.

Myrtle Hill cemetery at Rome, a beautiful shaded spot, was the final resting place of the wife of the President. Many telegrams were received at the White House from girlhood friends of Mrs. Wilson expressing their sympathy, and hoping that she might "be brought back home."

The services at the White House were private, but were attended by members of the cabinet, a few relatives, and intimate friends, and by committees from the senate and house. Reverend Sylvester Beach, of Princeton, New Jersey, who married Mrs. Sayre and Mrs. W. G. McAdoo in the White House, officiated, and Reverend James H. Taylor, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church of Washington, assisted.

CHAPTER X

THE WORLD WAR.

On July 28, 1914, war laid its devastating hand on Europe. It came with such startling suddenness that the world was left groping in a mist of unbelief at the reality of it all. Events had moved so swiftly and the conviction of justice and honor were so well inculcated into the mind of the average man that it was hard to conceive of the cataclysm as existing in the concrete.

President Wilson had watched the development of the world events leading to the war with deep concern. He had not believed that Austria-Hungary would enforce her demands against Serbia in the face of the generous Serbian offer to arbitrate. He sympathized with Great Britain's offer to bring the question before a world court of nations and anxiously awaited an opportunity to offer the good offices of the United States, known among all nations as an exponent of honor, in settling disputes.

When the first gun was fired and all the nations of Europe were drawn into the maelstrom of war, President Wilson realized that civilization's cause was lost. He then turned his attention to the phases of the problem that affected the United States. The first of these was the Declaration of London.

This famous agreement had been signed by the leading naval powers of the world and laid down the exact rules by which naval warfare could be waged. The President lost no time but addressed a note to United States ambassadors in the countries of the warring nations. It follows:

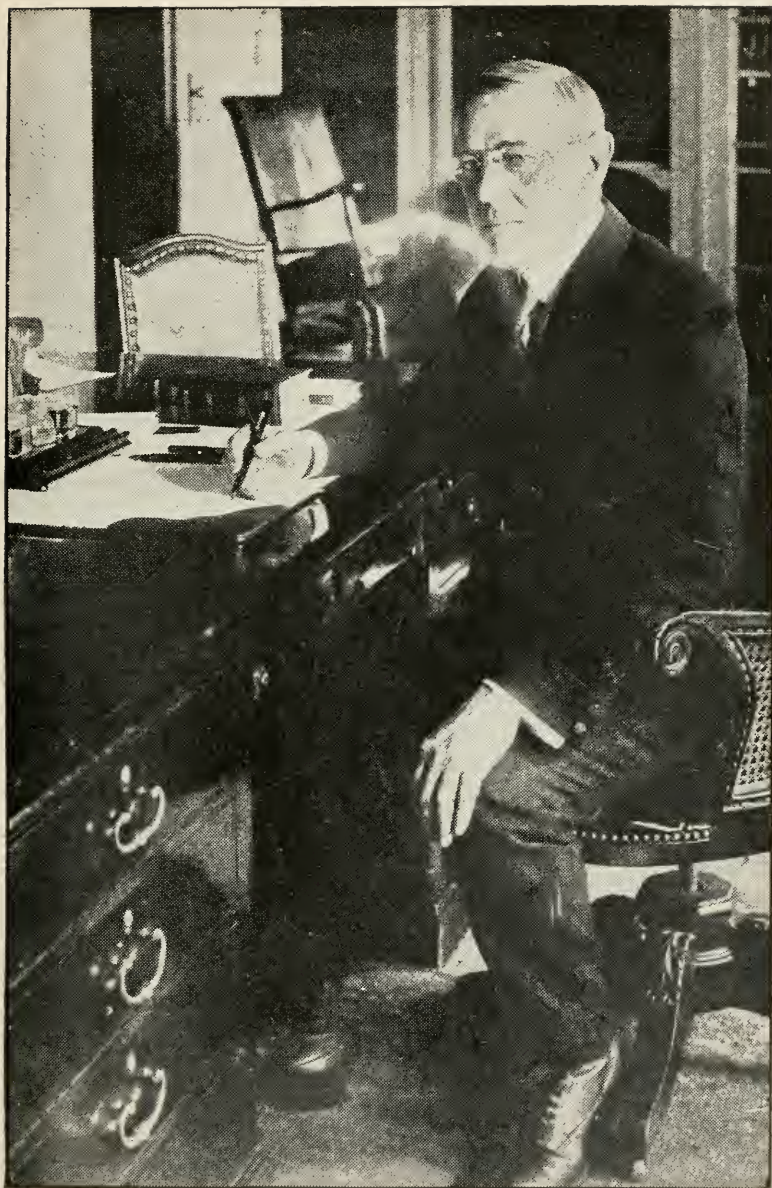
“Mr. Bryan instructs Mr. Page to inquire whether the British Government is willing to agree that the laws

of naval warfare as laid down by the Declaration of London of 1909 shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe provided that the Governments with whom Great Britain is or may be at war also agree to such application. Mr. Bryan further instructs Mr. Page to state that the Government of the United States believes that an acceptance of these laws by the belligerents would prevent grave misunderstanding which may arise as to the relations between neutral powers and the belligerents. Mr. Bryan adds that it is earnestly hoped that this inquiry may receive favorable consideration."

All the belligerent nations replied to the presidential inquiry with courtesy. Germany declared that she would remain bound by the declaration, which would not affect her in the least, while Great Britain and France, in view of the methods by which Germany was preparing to wage war, found that the restrictions of the Declaration of London would bind them to observe regulations that would work to their own disaster.

All the belligerents proceeded to sow contact mines in the waters near their shores without regard to the three-mile limit. This was a military necessity and its existence was recognized by President Wilson. He withdrew his request to the belligerents in the following notes:

"Inasmuch as the British Government consider that the conditions of the present European conflict make it impossible for them to accept without modification the Declaration of London, you are requested to inform His Majesty's Government that in the circumstances the Government of the United States feels obliged to withdraw its suggestion that the Declaration of London be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare to be observed by belligerents and neutrals during the present war; that therefore this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law



PRESIDENT WILSON AT HIS DESK IN THE WHITE HOUSE.



THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON.



SEATED ON THE DOORSTEP OF HARLEKENDEN
HOUSE, THE SUMMER WHITE HOUSE.



President Wilson's Stickpin, worn constantly as a good luck charm.

and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the Declaration of London; and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of His Britannic Majesty's Government.

LANSING.

“Referring to Department's August 6, 1 p. m., and Embassy's October 22, relative to the Declaration of London, Mr. Lansing instructs Mr. Gerard to inform the German Government that the suggestion of the department to belligerents as to the adoption of declaration for sake of uniformity as to a temporary code of naval warfare during the present conflict has been withdrawn because some of the belligerents are unwilling to accept the declaration without modifications and that this Government will therefore insist that the rights and duties of the Government and citizens of the United States in the present war be defined by existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States without regard to the provisions of the declaration and that the Government of the United States reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in every case in which the rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of the belligerent governments.”

It can be seen from these notes that President Wilson was prepared from the first to insist on the observance of American rights at sea. He made it clear that America would remain neutral so long as the warring nations kept the peace with her.

The position of the United States was delicate in the extreme. Among the 100,000,000 inhabitants of the country, a third could be said to have a personal interest in the war by reason of relatives left in Europe.

In no other country was the war discussed to such an extent. The foreign-born American could not be blamed for his partisanship, which was a question of blood and birth. It was the native-born element who saved the day by declaring that a rigid observance to Washington's doctrine of minding America's business first should be followed. None held this opinion more firmly than the President. On August 19th, a few weeks after the war began, he issued his famous neutrality appeal. It read:

"My Fellow Countrymen: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the Nation against distress and disaster.

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the Nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing

than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinion, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

“Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

“I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men’s souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

“My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a Nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a Nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

“Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and

the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?"

This message met with universal approval from true lovers of America and the supporter of the foreign nations was looked upon with open disapproval. The reader probably can recall the days when pictures of various celebrities of foreign nations and the soldiers of the warring nations would be exhibited in public. He probably can recall the silence with which they were greeted and the outburst of applause that followed when pictures of President Wilson or the national flag were shown.

The war created a tense situation in the American industrial world. Cut off from export by naval conditions, goods consigned to European markets piled up at New York docks and many men were thrown out of work because of industries shutting down. The loss to the government was tremendous. Revenues were negligible. We had little trade with South America and the southern states were paralyzed by the condition of the cotton market.

The lack of revenue was a real worry to President Wilson. On September 4, 1914, he called a joint meeting of Congress and appealed for more revenue. His speech follows:

"Gentlemen of the Congress: I come to you today to discharge a duty which I wish with all my heart I might have been spared; but it is a very clear duty, and therefore I perform it without hesitation or apology. I come to ask very earnestly that additional revenue be provided for the Government.

"During the month of August there was, as compared with the corresponding month of last year, a falling off of \$10,629,538 in the revenues collected from customs. A continuation of this decrease in the same proportion throughout the current fiscal year would probably mean a loss of customs revenues of from sixty to one hundred millions. I need not tell you to what this falling off is due.

It is due, in chief part, not to the reductions recently made in the customs duties, but to the great decrease in importations; and that is due to the extraordinary extent of the industrial area affected by the present war in Europe. Conditions have arisen which no man foresaw; they affect the whole world of commerce and economic production; and they must be faced and dealt with.

“It would be very unwise to postpone dealing with them. Delay in such a matter and in the particular circumstances in which we now find ourselves as a nation might involve consequences of the most embarrassing and deplorable sort, for which I, for one, would not care to be responsible. It would be very dangerous in the present circumstances to create a moment’s doubt as to the strength and sufficiency of the Treasury of the United States, its ability to assist, to steady, and sustain the financial operations of the country’s business. If the Treasury is known, or even thought, to be weak, where will be our peace of mind? The whole industrial activity of the country would be chilled and demoralized. Just now the peculiarly difficult financial problems of the moment are being successfully dealt with, with great self-possession and good sense and very sound judgment; but they are only in process of being worked out. If the process of solution is to be completed, no one must be given reason to doubt the solidity and adequacy of the Treasury of the Government which stands behind the whole method by which our difficulties are being met and handled.

“The Treasury itself could get along for a considerable period, no doubt, without immediate resort to new sources of taxation. But at what cost to the business of the community? Approximately \$75,000,000, a large part of the present Treasury balance, is now on deposit with national banks distributed throughout the country. It is deposited, of course, on call. I need not point out to you what the probable consequences of inconvenience and distress and confusion would be if the diminishing income of

the Treasury should make it necessary rapidly to withdraw these deposits. And yet without additional revenue that plainly might become necessary, and the time when it became necessary could not be controlled or determined by the convenience of the business of the country. It would have to be determined by the operations and necessities of the Treasury itself. Such risks are not necessary and ought not to be run. We can not too scrupulously or carefully safeguard a financial situation which is at best, while war continues in Europe, difficult and abnormal. Hesitation and delay are the worst forms of bad policy under such conditions.

“And we ought not to borrow. We ought to resort to taxation, however we may regret the necessity of putting additional temporary burdens on our people. To sell bonds would be to make a most untimely and unjustifiable demand on the money market; untimely, because this is manifestly not the time to withdraw working capital from other uses to pay the Government's bills; unjustifiable, because unnecessary. The country is able to pay any just and reasonable taxes without distress. And to every other form of borrowing, whether for long periods or for short, there is the same objection. These are not the circumstances, there is at this particular moment and in this particular exigency not the market, to borrow large sums of money. What we are seeking is to ease and assist every financial transaction, not to add a single additional embarrassment to the situation. The people of this country are both intelligent and profoundly patriotic. They are ready to meet the present conditions in the right way and to support the Government with generous self-denial. They know and understand, and will be intolerant only of those who dodge responsibility or are not frank with them.

“The occasion is not of our own making. We had no part in making it. But it is here. It affects us as directly and palpably almost as if we were participants in the circumstances which gave rise to it. We must accept the

inevitable with calm judgment and unruffled spirits, like men accustomed to deal with the unexpected, habituated to take care of themselves, masters of their own affairs and their own fortunes. We shall pay the bill, though we did not deliberately incur it.

“In order to meet every demand upon the Treasury without delay or peradventure and in order to keep the Treasury strong, unquestionably strong, and strong throughout the present anxieties, I respectfully urge that an additional revenue of \$100,000,000 be raised through internal taxes devised in your wisdom to meet the emergency. The only suggestion I take the liberty of making is that such sources of revenue be chosen as will begin to yield at once and yield with a certain and constant flow.

“I can not close without expressing the confidence with which I approach a Congress, with regard to this or any other matter, which has shown so untiring a devotion to public duty, which has responded to the needs of the Nation throughout a long season despite inevitable fatigue and personal sacrifice, and so large a proportion of whose Members have devoted their whole time and energy to the business of the country.”

To such an extent had the confidence of Congress in the President grown that legislation calling for a special tax was enacted at once and the crisis was passed.

The year of 1914 was rapidly drawing to a close. The problems of the administration were many but they were being met without flinching by President Wilson, who felt that he had the support of all true Americans in his course. His second annual message told of the dangers that threatened America. It was delivered in Congress on December 8, 1914, as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: The session upon which you are now entering will be the closing session of the Sixty-third Congress, a Congress, I venture to say, which will long be remembered for the great body of thoughtful and constructive work which it has done, in

loyal response to the thought and needs of the country. I should like in this address to review the notable record and try to make adequate assessment of it; but no doubt we stand too near the work that has been done and are ourselves too much part of it to play the part of historians toward it.

“Our program of legislation with regard to the regulation of business is now virtually complete. It has been put forth, as we intended, as a whole, and leaves no conjecture as to what is to follow. The road at last lies clear and firm before business. It is a road which it can travel without fear or embarrassment. It is the road to ungrudged, unclouded success. In it every honest man, every man who believes that the public interest is part of his own interest, may walk with perfect confidence.

“Moreover, our thoughts are now more of the future than of the past. While we have worked at our tasks of peace the circumstances of the whole age have been altered by war. What we have done for our own land and our own people we did with the best that was in us, whether of character or of intelligence, with sober enthusiasm and a confidence in the principles upon which we were acting which sustained us at every step of the difficult undertaking; but it is done. It has passed from our hands. It is now an established part of the legislation of the country. Its usefulness, its effects will disclose themselves in experience. What chiefly strikes us now, as we look about us during these closing days of a year which will be forever memorable in the history of the world, is that we face new tasks, have been facing them these six months, must face them in the months to come,—face them without partisan feeling, like men who have forgotten everything but a common duty and the fact that we are representatives of a great people whose thought is not of us but of what America owes to herself and to all mankind in such circumstances as these upon which we look amazed and anxious.

“War has interrupted the means of trade not only but also the processes of production. In Europe it is destroying men and resources wholesale and upon a scale unprecedented and appalling. There is reason to fear that the time is near, if it be not already at hand, when several of the countries of Europe will find it difficult to do for their people what they have hitherto been always easily able to do,—many essential and fundamental things. At any rate, they will need our help and our manifold services as they have never needed them before; and we should be ready, more fit and ready than we have ever been.

“It is of equal consequence that the nations whom Europe has usually supplied with innumerable articles of manufacture and commerce of which they are in constant need and without which their economic development halts and stands still can now get only a small part of what they formerly imported and eagerly look to us to supply their all but empty markets. This is particularly true of our own neighbors, the States, great and small, of Central and South America. Their lines of trade have hitherto run chiefly athwart the seas, not to our ports but to the ports of Great Britain and of the older continent of Europe. I do not stop to inquire why, or to make any comment on probable causes. What interests us just now is not the explanation but the fact, and our duty and opportunity in the presence of it. Here are markets which we must supply, and we must find the means of action. The United States, this great people for whom we speak and act, should be ready, as never before, to serve itself and to serve mankind; ready with its resources, its energies, its forces of production, and its means of distribution.

“It is a very practical matter, a matter of ways and means. We have the resources, but are we fully ready to use them? And, if we can make ready what we have, have we the means at hand to distribute it? We are not fully ready; neither have we the means of distribution. We are willing, but we are not fully able. We have the

wish to serve and to serve greatly, generously; but we are not prepared as we should be. We are not ready to mobilize our resources at once. We are not prepared to use them immediately and at their best, without delay and without waste.

“To speak plainly, we have grossly erred in the way in which we have stunted and hindered the development of our merchant marine. And now, when we need ships, we have not got them. We have year after year debated, without end or conclusion, the best policy to pursue with regard to the use of the ores and forests and water powers of our national domain in the rich States of the West, when we should have acted; and they are still locked up. The key is still turned upon them, the door shut fast at which thousands of vigorous men, full of initiative, knock clamorously for admittance. The water power of our navigable streams outside the national domain also, even in the eastern States, where we have worked and planned for generations, is still not used as it might be, because we will and we won't; because the laws we have made do not intelligently balance encouragement against restraint. We withhold by regulation.

“I have come to ask you to remedy and correct these mistakes and omissions, even at this short session of a Congress which would certainly seem to have done all the work that could reasonably be expected of it. The time and the circumstances are extraordinary, and so must our efforts be also.

“Fortunately, two great measures, finely conceived, the one to unlock, with proper safeguards, the resources of the national domain, the other to encourage the use of the navigable waters outside that domain for the generation of power, have already passed the House of Representatives and are ready for immediate consideration and action by the Senate. With the deepest earnestness I urge their prompt passage. In them both we turn our backs upon hesitation and makeshift and formulate a gen-

uine policy of use and conservation, in the best sense of those words. We owe the one measure not only to the people of that great western country for whose free and systematic development, as it seems to me, our legislation has done so little, but also to the people of the Nation as a whole; and we as clearly owe the other in fulfillment of our repeated promises that the water power of the country should in fact as well as in name be put at the disposal of great industries which can make economical and profitable use of it, the rights of the public being adequately guarded the while, and monopoly in the use prevented. To have begun such measures and not completed them would indeed mar the record of this great Congress very seriously. I hope and confidently believe that they will be completed.

“And there is another great piece of legislation which awaits and should receive the sanction of the Senate: I mean the bill which gives a larger measure of self-government to the people of the Philippines. How better, in this time of anxious questioning and perplexed policy, could we show our confidence in the principles of liberty, as the sources as well as the expression of life, how better could we demonstrate our own self-possession and steadfastness in the courses of justice and disinterestedness than by thus going calmly forward to fulfill our promises to a dependent people, who will now look more anxiously than ever to see whether we have indeed the liberality, the unselfishness, the courage, the faith we have boasted and professed. I can not believe that the Senate will let this great measure of constructive justice await the action of another Congress. Its passage would nobly crown the record of these two years of memorable labor.

“But I think that you will agree with me that this does not complete the toll of our duty. How are we to carry our goods to the empty markets of which I have spoken if we have not the ships? How are we to build up a great trade if we have not the certain and constant

means of transportation upon which all profitable and useful commerce depends? And how are we to get the ships if we wait for the trade to develop without them? To correct the many mistakes by which we have discouraged and all but destroyed the merchant marine of the country, to retrace the steps by which we have, it seems almost deliberately, withdrawn our flag from the seas, except where, here and there, a ship of war is bidden carry it or some wandering yacht displays it, would take a long time and involve many detailed items of legislation, and the trade which we ought immediately to handle would disappear or find other channels while we debated the items.

“The case is not unlike that which confronted us when our own continent was to be opened up to settlement and industry, and we needed long lines of railway, extended means of transportation prepared beforehand, if development was not to lag intolerably and wait interminably. We lavishly subsidized the building of transcontinental railroads. We look back upon that with regret now, because the subsidies led to many scandals of which we are ashamed; but we know that the railroads had to be built, and if we had it to do over again we should of course build them, but in another way. Therefore I propose another way of providing the means of transportation, which must precede, not tardily follow, the development of our trade with our neighbor states of America. It may seem a reversal of the natural order of things, but it is true, that the routes of trade must be actually opened—by many ships and regular sailings and moderate charges—before streams of merchandise will flow freely and profitably through them.

“Hence the pending shipping bill, discussed at the last session but as yet passed by neither House. In my judgment such legislation is imperatively needed and can not wisely be postponed. The Government must open these gates of trade, and open them wide; open them

before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to risk private capital to open them at a venture. It is not a question of the Government monopolizing the field. It should take action to make it certain that transportation at reasonable rates will be promptly provided, even where the carriage is not at first profitable; and then, when the carriage has become sufficiently profitable to attract and engage private capital, and engage it in abundance, the Government ought to withdraw. I very earnestly hope that the Congress will be of this opinion, and that both Houses will adopt this exceedingly important bill.

“The great subject of rural credits still remains to be dealt with, and it is a matter of deep regret that the difficulties of the subject have seemed to render it impossible to complete a bill for passage at this session. But it can not be perfected yet, and therefore there are no other constructive measures the necessity for which I will at this time call your attention to; but I would be negligent of a very manifest duty were I not to call the attention of the Senate to the fact that the proposed convention for safety at sea awaits its confirmation and that the limit fixed in the convention itself for its acceptance is the last day of the present month. The conference in which this convention originated was called by the United States; the representatives of the United States played a very influential part indeed in framing the provisions of the proposed convention; and those provisions are in themselves for the most part admirable. It would hardly be consistent with the part we have played in the whole matter to let it drop and go by the board as if forgotten and neglected. It was ratified in May last by the German Government and in August by the Parliament of Great Britain. It marks a most hopeful and decided advance in international civilization. We should show our earnest good faith in a great matter by adding our own acceptance of it.

“There is another matter of which I must make

special mention, if I am to discharge my conscience, lest it should escape your attention. It may seem a very small thing. It affects only a single item of appropriation. But many human lives and many great enterprises hang upon it. It is the matter of making adequate provision for the survey and charting of our coasts. It is immediately pressing and exigent in connection with the immense coast line of Alaska, a coast line greater than that of the United States themselves, though it is also very important indeed with regard to the older coasts of the continent. We can not use our great Alaskan domain, ships will not ply thither, if those coasts and their many hidden dangers are not thoroughly surveyed and charted. The work is incomplete at almost every point. Ships and lives have been lost in threading what were supposed to be well-known main channels. We have not provided adequate vessels or adequate machinery for the survey and charting. We have used old vessels that were not big enough or strong enough and which were so nearly unseaworthy that our inspectors would not have allowed private owners to send them to sea. This is a matter which, as I have said, seems small, but is in reality very great. Its importance has only to be looked into to be appreciated.

“Before I close may I say a few words upon two topics, much discussed out of doors, upon which it is highly important that our judgments should be clear, definite and steadfast?

“One of these is economy in government expenditures. The duty of economy is not debatable. It is manifest and imperative. In the appropriations we pass we are spending the money of the great people whose servants we are,—not our own. We are trustees and responsible stewards in the spending. The only thing debatable and upon which we should be careful to make our thought and purpose clear is the kind of economy demanded of us. I assert with the greatest confidence that the people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their

Government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay, that the money is being spent for objects of which they approve, and that it is being applied with good business sense and management.

“Governments grow, piecemeal, both in their tasks and in the means by which those tasks are to be performed, and very few Governments are organized; I venture to say, as wise and experienced business men would organize them if they had a clean sheet of paper to write upon. Certainly the Government of the United States is not. I think that it is generally agreed that there should be a systematic reorganization and reassembling of its parts so as to secure greater efficiency and effect considerable savings in expense. But the amount of money saved in that way would, I believe, though no doubt considerable in itself, running, it may be, into the millions, be relatively small,—small, I mean, in proportion to the total necessary outlays of the Government. It would be thoroughly worth effecting, as every saving would, great or small. Our duty is not altered by the scale of the saving. But my point is that the people of the United States do not wish to curtail the activities of this Government; they wish, rather, to enlarge them; and with every enlargement, with the mere growth, indeed, of the country itself, there must come, of course, the inevitable increase of expense. The sort of economy we ought to practice may be effected, and ought to be effected, by a careful study and assessment of the tasks to be performed; and the money spent ought to be made to yield the best possible returns in efficiency and achievement. And, like good stewards, we should so account for every dollar of our appropriations as to make it perfectly evident what it was spent for and in what way it was spent.

“It is not expenditure but extravagance that we should fear being criticized for; not paying for the legitimate enterprises and undertakings of a great Government

whose people command what it should do, but adding what will benefit only a few or pouring money out for what need not have been undertaken at all or might have been postponed or better and more economically conceived and carried out. The Nation is not niggardly; it is very generous. It will chide us only if we forget for whom we pay money out and whose money it is we pay. These are large and general standards, but they are not very difficult of application to particular cases.

“The other topic I shall take leave to mention goes deeper into the principles of our national life and policy. It is the subject of national defense.

“It can not be discussed without first answering some very searching questions. It is said in some quarters that we are not prepared for war. What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that; and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

“Allow me to speak with great plainness and directness upon this great matter and to avow my convictions with deep earnestness. I have tried to know what America is, what her people think, what they are, what they most cherish and hold dear. I hope that some of their finer passions are in my own heart,—some of the great conceptions and desires which gave birth to this Government and which have made the voice of this people a voice of peace and hope and liberty among the peoples of the world, and that, speaking my own thoughts, I shall, at least in



MRS. WOODROW WILSON



Miss Jessie Wilson, Daughter of Woodrow Wilson



LEGATION GUARDS AT PEKIN, CHINA.
SAILORS AND SOLDIERS FROM EVERY CLIME.



COLONEL BISHOP
ACE OF ACES WITH 72 HUN PLANES TO HIS RECORD

part, speak theirs also, however faintly and inadequately, upon this vital matter.

“We are at peace with all the world. No one who speaks counsel based on fact or drawn from a just and candid interpretation of realities can say that there is reason to fear that from any quarter our independence or the integrity of our territory is threatened. Dread of the power of any other nation we are incapable of. We are not jealous of rivalry in the fields of commerce or of any other peaceful achievement. We mean to live our own lives as we will; but we mean also to let live. We are, indeed, a true friend to all the nations of the world, because we threaten none, covet the possessions of none, desire the overthrow of none. Our friendship can be accepted and is accepted without reservation, because it is offered in a spirit and for a purpose which no one need ever question or suspect. Therein lies our greatness. We are the champions of peace and of concord. And we should be very jealous of this distinction which we have sought to earn. Just now we should be particularly jealous of it, because it is our dearest present hope that this character and reputation may presently, in God’s providence, bring us an opportunity such as has seldom been vouchsafed any nation, the opportunity to counsel and obtain peace in the world and reconciliation and a healing settlement of many a matter that has cooled and interrupted the friendship of nations. This is the time above all others when we should wish and resolve to keep our strength by self-possession, our influence by preserving our ancient principles of action.

“From the first we have had a clear and settled policy with regard to military establishments. We never have had, and while we retain our present principles and ideals we never shall have, a large standing army. If asked, Are you ready to defend yourselves? we reply, Most assuredly, to the utmost; and yet we shall not turn America into a military camp. We will not ask our young men to spend

the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves. There is another sort of energy in us. It will know how to declare itself and make itself effective should occasion arise. And especially when half the world is on fire we shall be careful to make our moral insurance against the spread of the conflagration very definite and certain and adequate indeed.

“Let us remind ourselves, therefore, of the only thing we can do or will do. We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible, and so induce our young men to undergo it at such times as they can command a little freedom and can seek the physical development they need, for mere health’s sake, if for nothing more. Every means by which such things can be stimulated is legitimate, and such a method smacks of true American ideas. It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government. And this, also, not because the time or occasion specially calls for such measures, but because it should be our constant policy to make these provisions for our national peace and safety.

“More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely

that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes can not touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble. This is assuredly the opportunity for which a people and a government like ours were raised up, the opportunity not only to speak but actually to embody and exemplify the counsels of peace and amity and the lasting concord which is based on justice and fair and generous dealing.

“A powerful navy we have always regarded as our proper and natural means of defense; and it has always been of defense that we have thought, never of aggression or of conquest. But who shall tell us now what sort of navy to build? We shall take leave to be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past; and there will be no thought of offense or of provocation in that. Our ships are our natural bulwarks. When will the expert tell us just what kind we should construct—and when will they be right for ten years together, if the relative efficiency of craft of different kinds and uses continues to change as we have seen it change under our very eyes in these last few months?

“But I turn away from the subject. It is not new. There is no new need to discuss it. We shall not alter our attitude toward it because some amongst us are nervous and excited. We shall easily and sensibly agree upon a policy of defense. The question has not changed its aspect because the times are not normal. Our policy will not be for an occasion. It will be conceived as a permanent and settled thing, which we will pursue at all seasons, without haste and after a fashion perfectly consistent with the peace of the world, the abiding friendship of states, and the unhampered freedom of all with whom we deal. Let there be no misconception. The country has been misinformed. We have not been negligent of national defense.

We are not unmindful of the great responsibility resting upon us. We shall learn and profit by the lesson of every experience and every new circumstance; and what is needed will be adequately done.

“I close, as I began, by reminding you of the great tasks and duties of peace which challenge our best powers and invite us to build what will last, the tasks to which we can address ourselves now and at all times with free-hearted zest and with all the finest gifts of constructive wisdom we possess. To develop our life and our resources; to supply our own people, and the people of the world as their need arises, from the abundant plenty of our fields and our marts of trade; to enrich the commerce of our own States and of the world with the products of our mines, our farms, and our factories, with the creations of our thought and the fruits of our character,—this is what will hold our attention and our enthusiasm steadily, now and in the years to come, as we strive to show in our life as a nation what liberty and the inspirations of an emancipated spirit may do for men and for societies, for individuals, for states, and for mankind.”

CHAPTER XI

AMERICA'S RIGHTS.

The opening days of 1915 saw the United States rapidly undergoing an internal change. The needs of the allied nations were pressing, as they lacked the facilities for producing war materials, and it was natural that they should turn to America for aid.

It was immediately forthcoming from the manufacturers, who were quick to see that a new vast market was opened to American industry. President Wilson fully concurred in the idea that America should take advantage of the circumstances and sell arms and ammunition without restraint to any of the warring powers who could call for the goods.

In following this policy, the United States had the precedent of war conditions from the beginning of history. As recent as 1898, while this nation was at war with Spain, the European powers had thrown their industrial doors open to the Spanish government, and it was no uncommon thing for a captured Spanish rifle to be found bearing the inscription "Made in Germany." To all of this the United States gave little heed. It was to be expected that a nation at war would buy in any available market the materials needed to prosecute the war with all vigor.

In spite of the German methods for the last forty years, when she had not failed to play an industrial part in every war, there was an immediate protest against the shipment of arms and ammunition from the United States. The German government, in announcements to its people, declared that the United States was prolonging the war by selling munitions. The American reply was that Ger-

many also could buy if she could provide a method of delivering.

President Wilson was quick to see the advantage of establishing the trade name of American manufacturers in Europe and South America. With that idea in view he appeared before a meeting of the United States Chamber of Commerce in Washington on February 3, 1915, and addressed the meeting as follows:

"I feel that it is hardly fair to you for me to come in in this casual fashion among a body of men who have been seriously discussing great questions, and it is hardly fair to me, because I come in cold, not having had the advantage of sharing the atmosphere of your deliberations and catching the feeling of your conference. Moreover, I hardly know just how to express my interest in the things you are undertaking. . . .

"I have asked myself before I came here today, what relation you could bear to the Government of the United States and what relation the Government could bear to you?

"There are two aspects and activities of the Government with which you will naturally come into most direct contact. The first is the Government's power of inquiry, systematic and disinterested inquiry, and its power of scientific assistance. You get an illustration of the latter, for example, in the Department of Agriculture. Has it occurred to you, I wonder, that we are just upon the eve of a time when our Department of Agriculture will be of infinite importance to the whole world? There is a shortage of food in the world now. That shortage will be much more serious a few months from now than it is now. It is necessary that we should plant a great deal more; it is necessary that our lands should yield more per acre than they do now; it is necessary that there should not be a plow or a spade idle in this country if the world is to be fed. And the methods of our farmers must feed upon the scientific information to be derived from the State depart-

ments of agriculture, and from that taproot of all, the United States Department of Agriculture. The object and use of that department is to inform men of the latest developments and disclosures of science with regard to all the processes by which soils can be put to their proper use and their fertility made the greatest possible. Similarly with the Bureau of Standards. It is ready to supply those things by which you can set forms, you can set bases, for all the scientific processes of business.

“I have a great admiration for the scientific parts of the Government of the United States, and it has amazed me that so few men have discovered them. Here in these departments are quiet men, trained to the highest degree of skill, serving for a petty remuneration along lines that are infinitely useful to mankind; and yet in some cases they waited to be discovered until this Chamber of Commerce of the United States was established. Coming to this city, officers of that association found that there were here things that were infinitely useful to them and with which the whole United States ought to be put into communication.

“The Government of the United States is very properly a great instrumentality of inquiry and information. One thing we are just beginning to do that we ought to have done long ago: We ought long ago to have had our Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. We ought long ago to have sent the best eyes of the Government out into the world to see where the opportunities and openings of American commerce and American genius were to be found—men who were not sent out as the commercial agents of any particular set of business men in the United States, but who were eyes for the whole business community. . . .

“We are just beginning to do, systematically and scientifically, what we ought long ago to have done, to employ the Government of the United States to survey the world in order that American commerce might be guided.

“But there are other ways of using the Government of the United States, ways that have long been tried, though not always with conspicuous success or fortunate results. You can use the Government of the United States by influencing its legislation. That has been a very active industry, but it has not always been managed in the interest of the whole people. It is very instructive and useful for the Government of the United States to have such means as you are ready to supply for getting a sort of consensus of opinion which proceeds from no particular quarter and originates with no particular interest. Information is the very foundation of all right action in legislation. . . .

“If we on the outside cannot understand the thing and cannot get advice from the inside, then we will have to do it with the flat hand and not with the touch of skill and discrimination. Isn't that true? Men on the inside of business know how business is conducted and they cannot complain if men on the outside make mistakes about business if they do not come from the inside and give the kind of advice which is necessary.

“The trouble has been that when they came in the past—for I think the thing is changing very rapidly—they came with all their bristles out; they came on the defensive; they came to see, not what they could accomplish, but what they could prevent. They did not come to guide; they came to block. That is of no use whatever to the general body politic. What has got to pervade us like a great motive power is that we cannot, and must not, separate our interests from one another, but must pool our interests. A man who is trying to fight for his single hand is fighting against the community and not fighting with it. There are a great many dreadful things about war, as nobody needs to be told in this day of distress and of terror, but there is one thing about war which has a very splendid side, and that is the consciousness that a whole nation gets that they must all act as a unit for a common

end. And when peace is as handsome as war there will be no war. When men, I mean, engage in the pursuits of peace in the same spirit of self-sacrifice and of conscious service of the community with which, at any rate, the common soldier engages in war, then shall there be wars no more. You have moved the vanguard for the United States in the purpose of this association just a little nearer that ideal. That is the reason I am here, because I believe it.

“There is a specific matter about which I, for one, want your advice. Let me say, if I may say it without disrespect, that I do not think you are prepared to give it right away. You will have to make some rather extended inquiries before you are ready to give it. What I am thinking of is competition in foreign markets as between the merchants of different nations.

“I speak of the subject with a certain degree of hesitation, because the thing farthest from my thought is taking advantage of nations now disabled from playing their full part in that competition, and seeking a sudden selfish advantage because they are for the time being disabled. Pray believe me that we ought to eliminate all that thought from our minds and consider this matter as if we and the other nations now at war were in the normal circumstances of commerce.

“There is a normal circumstance of commerce in which we are apparently at a disadvantage. Our anti-trust laws are thought by some to make it illegal for merchants in the United States to form combinations for the purpose of strengthening themselves in taking advantage of the opportunities of foreign trade. That is a very serious matter for this reason: There are some corporations, and some firms for all I know, whose business is great enough and whose resources are abundant enough to enable them to establish selling agencies in foreign countries; to enable them to extend the long credits which in

some cases are necessary in order to keep the trade they desire; to enable them, in other words, to organize their business in foreign territory in a way which the smaller man cannot afford to do. His business has not grown big enough to permit him to establish selling agencies. The export commission merchant, perhaps, taxes him a little too highly to make that an available competitive means of conducting and extending his business.

“The question arises, therefore, how are the smaller merchants, how are the younger and weaker corporations going to get a foothold as against the combinations which are permitted and even encouraged by foreign governments in this field of competition? There are governments which, as you know, distinctly encourage the formation of great combinations in each particular field of commerce in order to maintain selling agencies and to extend long credits, and to use and maintain the machinery which is necessary for the extension of business; and American merchants feel that they are at a very considerable disadvantage in contending against that. The matter has been many times brought to my attention, and I have each time suspended judgment. I want to be shown this: I want to be shown how such a combination can be made and conducted in a way which will not close it against the use of everybody who wants to use it. A combination has a tendency to exclude new members. When a group of men get control of a good thing, they do not see any particular point in letting other people into the good thing. What I would like very much to be shown, therefore, is a method of coöperation which is not a method of combination. Not that the two words are mutually exclusive, but we have come to have a special meaning attached to the word “combination.” Most of our combinations have a safety lock, and you have to know the combination to get in. I want to know how these coöperative methods can be adopted for the benefit of everybody who wants to use them, and I say frankly if I can be shown that, I am for them. If I

can not be shown that, I am against them. I hasten to add that I hopefully expect I *can* be shown that.

“You, as I have just now intimated, probably can not show it to me offhand, but by the methods which you have the means of using you certainly ought to be able to throw a vast deal of light on the subject.”

Whether this address brought about the German proclamation issued on the following day, in which Germany notified the world that neutral shipping would proceed at its own risk through certain zones in the vicinity of Europe, is a debatable question. It is certain that the proclamation was aimed at American activities in pursuing the legal right to sell goods in any available market.

The bluff, for such it was, was aimed at the United States. It aroused the greatest indignation, and all eyes were turned to the President. Hope was expressed that the protest sure to ensue would be of sufficient strength to prevent Germany from carrying out her plan of piracy.

There also was considerable popular indignation over the statement in the German note that Great Britain was misusing the United States naval flag to protect her merchant ships. The feeling was for fair play and the rights of all, rather than an apology for Great Britain. The President was urged publicly to call the attention of both nations to their delinquency.

The note to Germany was sent on February 10, 1915, and carried a stinging reprimand. It follows:

“The Government of the United States, having had its attention directed to the proclamation of the German Admiralty issued on the fourth of February, that the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are to be considered as comprised within the seat of war; that all enemy merchant vessels found in those waters after the eighteenth instant will be destroyed, although it may not always be possible to save crews and passengers; and that neutral vessels

expose themselves to danger within this zone of war because, in view of the misuse of neutral flags said to have been ordered by the British Government on the thirty-first of January and of the contingencies of maritime warfare, it may not be possible always to exempt neutral vessels from attacks intended to strike enemy ships, feels it to be its duty to call the attention of the Imperial German Government, with sincere respect and the most friendly sentiments but very candidly and earnestly, to the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated under that proclamation.

“The Government of the United States views those possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and indeed its duty in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relations between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty’s proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens.

“It is, of course, not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible. The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such ques-

tions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

“This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believe the governments of certain of other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those governments responsible in the proper way for any untoward effects upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify; and that it, therefore, regards itself as free in the present instance to take with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles the position indicated in this note.

“If the commanders of German vessels of war should act upon the presumption that the flag of the United States was not being used in good faith and should destroy on the high seas an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, it would be difficult for the Government of the United States to view the act in any other light than as an indefensible violation of neutral rights which it would be very hard, indeed, to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments.

“If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard

American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

“The Government of the United States, in view of these considerations, which it urges with the greatest respect and with the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstanding may arise and no circumstance occur that might even cloud the intercourse of the two Governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

“It is added for the information of the Imperial Government that representations have been made to His Britannic Majesty’s Government in respect to the unwarranted use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.”

The same afternoon a message of protest was sent to the British Government. It treated at length of the threats made by Germany and the fact that the United States would have to hold Great Britain accountable in a measure for acts of aggression should it be found that British merchantmen were misusing the American flag. The note follows:

“The department has been advised of the Declaration of the German Admiralty on February 4th, indicating that the British Government had on January 31st explicitly authorized the use of neutral flags on British merchant vessels, presumably for the purpose of avoiding recognition by German naval forces. The department’s attention has also been directed to reports in the press that the captain of the *Lusitania*, acting upon orders or information received from the British authorities, raised the American flag as his vessel approached the British coasts, in

order to escape anticipated attacks by German submarines: Today's press reports also contain an alleged official statement of the Foreign Office defending the use of the flag of a neutral country by a belligerent vessel in order to escape capture or attack by an enemy.

“Assuming that the foregoing reports are true, the Government of the United States, reserving for future consideration the legality and propriety of the deceptive use of the flag of a neutral power in any case for the purpose of avoiding capture, desires very respectfully to point out to His Britannic Majesty's Government the serious consequences which may result to American vessels and American citizens if this practice is continued.

“The occasional use of the flag of a neutral or an enemy under the stress of immediate pursuit and to deceive an approaching enemy, which appears by the press reports to be represented as the precedent and justification used to support this action, seems to this Government a very different thing from an explicit sanction by a belligerent government for its merchant ships generally to fly the flag of a neutral power within certain portions of the high seas which are presumed to be frequented with hostile warships. The formal declaration of such a policy of general misuse of a neutral's flag jeopardizes the vessels of the neutral visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality regardless of the flag which they may carry.

“In view of the announced purpose of the German Admiralty to engage in active naval operations in certain delimited sea areas adjacent to the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, the Government of the United States would view with anxious solicitude any general use of the flag of the United States by British vessels traversing those waters. A policy such as the one which His Majesty's Government is said to intend to adopt would, if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put in force, it seems clear, afford no protection to British vessels, while it

would be a serious and constant menace to the lives and vessels of American citizens.

“The Government of the United States, therefore, trusts that His Majesty’s Government will do all in their power to restrain vessels of British nationality from the deceptive use of the flag of the United States in the sea area defined in the German declaration, since such practice would greatly endanger the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters and would even seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force.

“Please present a note to Sir Edward Grey in the sense of the foregoing and impress him with the grave concern which this Government feels in the circumstances in regard to the safety of American vessels and lives in the war zone declared by the German Admiralty.

“You may add that this Government is making earnest representations to the German Government in regard to the danger to American vessels and citizens if the declaration of the German Admiralty is put into effect.”

The replies of both nations to the American notes were conciliatory in the extreme, but Germany refused to withdraw the threat of submarine warfare. This led to the sending of a note to both nations asking them to agree on certain defined points and abide by them for the protection of neutrals. The note was despatched on February 20, and read:

“In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty and the use of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in

peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.

“The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it of course fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

“Germany and Great Britain to agree:

“1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purposes only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

“2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.

“3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of *disguise or ruse de guerre*.

“Germany to agree:

“That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies

to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control without interference on the part of the German Government, of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

“Great Britain to agree:

“That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the noncombatant population.

“In substituting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a *modus vivendi* based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States either in its present form or in a modified form until accepted by this Government.”

Germany replied that she would be willing to abide by the rules laid down by President Wilson in case the British navy would lift the blockade of German ports. Great Britain stated that the blockade would be continued because Germany would not agree to the cessation of submarine warfare, which was clearly illegal when directed against unarmed merchant ships. The reply of the British

Government caused President Wilson once more to direct a note to London, as follows:

“In regard to the recent communications received from the British and French Governments concerning restraints upon commerce with Germany, please communicate with the British foreign office in the sense following:

“The difficulty of determining action upon the British and French declarations of intended retaliation upon commerce with Germany lies in the nature of the proposed measures in their relation to commerce by neutrals.

“While it appears that the intention is to interfere with and take into custody all ships, both outgoing and incoming, trading with Germany, which is in effect a blockade of German ports, the rule of blockade, that a ship attempting to enter or leave a German port, regardless of the character of its cargo, may be condemned, is not asserted.

“The language of the declaration is ‘the British and French Governments will, therefore, hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership, or origin. It is not intended to confiscate such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation.’

“The first sentence claims a right pertaining only to a state of blockade. The last sentence proposes a treatment of ships and cargoes as if no blockade existed. The two together present a proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

“As a consequence neutrals have no standard by which to measure their rights or to avoid danger to their ships and cargoes. The paradoxical situation thus created should be changed and the declaring powers ought to assert whether they rely upon the rules governing a blockade or the rules applicable when no blockade exists.

“The declaration presents other perplexities.

“The last sentence quoted indicates that the rules of contraband are to be applied to cargoes detained. The

rule covering noncontraband articles carried in neutral bottoms is that the cargoes shall be released and the ships allowed to proceed. This rule can not, under the first sentence quoted, be applied as to destination. What then is to be done with a cargo of noncontraband goods detained under the declaration? The same question may be asked as to conditional contraband cargoes.

“The foregoing comments apply to cargoes destined for Germany. Cargoes coming out of German ports present another problem under the terms of the declaration. Under the rules governing enemy exports only goods owned by enemy subjects in enemy bottoms are subject to seizure and condemnation. Yet by the declaration it is purposed to seize and take into port all goods of enemy ‘ownership and origin.’ The word ‘origin’ is particularly significant. The origin of goods destined to neutral territory on neutral ships is not and never has been a ground for forfeiture except in case a blockade is declared and maintained. What then would the seizure amount to in the present case except to delay the delivery of the goods? The declaration does not indicate what disposition would be made of such cargoes if owned by a neutral or if owned by an enemy subject. Would a different rule be applied according to ownership? If so, upon what principles of international law would it rest? And upon what rule if no blockade is declared and maintained could the cargo of a neutral ship sailing out of a German port be condemned? If it is not condemned, what other legal course is there but to release it?

“While this Government is fully alive to the possibility that the methods of modern naval warfare, particularly in the use of the submarine for both defensive and offensive operations, may make the former means of maintaining a blockade a physical impossibility, it feels that it can be urged with great force that there should be also some limit to ‘the radius of activity,’ and especially so if this action by the belligerents can be construed to be a

blockade. It would certainly create a serious state of affairs if, for example, an American vessel laden with a cargo of German origin should escape the British patrol in European waters only to be held up by a cruiser off New York and taken into Halifax."

In this manner did the hatred of the contending factions grow and wax stronger. During the spring of 1915 the German submarines waged incessant warfare on shipping of all kinds and descriptions. It was this warfare and the necessity of dealing a blow at England that led up to the most shocking tragedy the world has ever seen.

CHAPTER XII

THE SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, roused public sentiment in the United States to fever heat. Denunciations of Germany were on every lip, and German propaganda got a severe setback when bulletins were placed before newspaper offices in various cities announcing the disaster.

The plot reached back to December, 1914, when German agents met nightly at the secret places in New York City. They were in close touch with the German foreign office at Berlin, through the Sayville wireless station which was German-owned and German-controlled.

The *Lusitania* was a direct challenge to the German Admiralty. The vessel was unarmed and carried its regular trans-Atlantic passenger list of men, women and children, many of them Americans. The liner did not constitute a military menace to Germany or her allies.

In the possession of Boy-Ed, the arch conspirator in this crime of crimes, was a copy of the secret British code. By its use, in connection with the wireless station, he knew the position of every British ship on the Atlantic. To facilitate his communication with German agents in England, he evolved another code based on apparently harmless business communications and sympathetic messages between families. During the first month of 1915, efforts were made on several occasions to attack the *Lusitania*. Owing to the ship's speed, these attacks came to naught. It was decided that new plans would have to be made if the Germans were going to sink the ship.

Reports received by Boy-Ed from spies in Ireland furnished the first necessary information. They stated

that the Lusitania invariably signaled when near the Irish coast and waited for instructions from the British Admiralty. The customary procedure was for the Admiralty to notify the captain where he could meet his convoy. The reports also stated that wireless communication from the Admiralty could be juggled to meet the design of Boy-Ed.

On April 23, 1915, the following advertisement appeared in the New York Times:

NOTICE.—Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the water adjacent to the British Isles; that in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain or any of her allies are liable to destruction in these waters and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.

Washington, D. C., April 22, 1915.

The impertinence of the notice irritated Americans throughout the country. Because numbers of Americans were accustomed to using the Lusitania, it was not believed Germany would dare sink her. The fact of the matter was, however, that Germany was not satisfied with the results of propaganda in this country.

Preparations for the attack of the Lusitania went forward without delay, following the publication of Germany's warning. Two submarines were assigned to lie in waiting near the entrance to St. George's channel. At about the same time these U-boats took position, the Lusitania was being towed out of her pier in the Hudson River,

Among the passengers were Alfred Gwynn Vanderbilt, Charles Frohman, theatrical manager; Charles Klein, dramatist; Justice Miles Forman, author; and Elbert Hubbard, prominent in literary circles as an iconoclastic writer.

Mr. Hubbard, who had attracted the attention of notorious pro-Germans in the United States by his fiery denouncement of the German policy in Belgium, was approached by a newspaper man on the dock before the ship sailed. He was asked what his mission was in going abroad.

"I go to obtain a personal interview with Bill Kaiser," answered Mr. Hubbard.

He was then told that the German submarines might sink the ship.

"In that event, I'll see him in hell," replied Mr. Hubbard.

The Lusitania carried 1,254 passengers and a crew of 800. On board were two German agents who had planted bombs abroad and prepared to flash signals to the submarines which were lying in waiting.

On May 7th, Captain Turner addressed a wireless to the British Admiralty office requesting instructions. He was then near the Irish coast. The reply he received was:

"Proceed to a point ten miles south of the Old Head of Kinsale and then run into St. George's channel, arriving at the Liverpool bar at midnight."

That message was sent from the German-owned station at Sayville. The real order from the British Admiralty was for the Lusitania to proceed eighty miles south of the Old Head of Kinsale. The message never was received. German agents in England had seen to that.

Captain Turner of the Lusitania, as might be expected, followed the instructions he received. The ship's course was headed direct to the northeast. At 2:20 p. m. she sighted two submarines, one on each side and about half a mile from the ship. There was no preliminary

warning; no command for the vessel to stop, no opportunity for the passengers or crew to take to the lifeboats. Each submarine loosed a torpedo. One found its mark. There was a muffled explosion, that of the torpedo, followed by detonations as the German planted bombs exploded, and the liner began to settle in the water.

Many were killed or injured by the explosions. Some few boats were launched before the liner lost headway, but were capsized. Out of the ship's company, 1,214 went to their deaths. They included men, women and children. The prominent Americans on board were among those drowned. As the ship was settling, Mr. Frohman with characteristic philosophy said, "Death is the most beautiful adventure in life."

Wireless calls for help were sent at once by the Lusitania. The call was picked up by the Etonian, commanded by Captain Wood. An indication of how well the German plans were laid can be seen in his statement:

"It was 2 o'clock in the afternoon, May 7th, that we received the wireless S. O. S. I was then forty-two miles distant from the position he gave me. The Narragansett and the City of Exeter were nearer to the Lusitania, and they answered the call. At 5 o'clock I observed the City of Exeter cross our bow and she signaled, 'Have you heard anything of the disaster?'

"At that moment I saw a periscope of a submarine between my ship and the City of Exeter, about a quarter of a mile directly ahead of us. She dived as soon as she saw us. I signaled to the engine room for every available inch of speed. Then we saw the submarine come up astern of us. The periscope remained in sight about twenty minutes. No sooner had we lost sight of the one astern than another appeared on the starboard bow. I swung hard away from him and about eight minutes later he submerged.

"The Narragansett, as soon as she heard the S. O. S. call, went to the assistance of the Lusitania. One of the

submarines discharged a torpedo at her and missed by not more than eight feet. The Narragansett then warned us not to attempt to go to the rescue, as we would be sunk if we did."

The German government defended the destruction of the liner on the ground that it was armed and was carrying ammunition. Dudley Field Malone, collector at the port of New York, denied the charges and stated that there was no armament aboard. He said:

"This report is not correct. The Lusitania was inspected by me personally before sailing. No guns were found mounted or unmounted. No merchant ship would be allowed to arm in this port."

Former President Roosevelt refused to couch his statement in guarded language.

"This represents not merely piracy but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practiced," he said. "This is the warfare which destroyed Louvain and Dinant and hundreds of men, women and children in Belgium. It is a warfare against innocent men, women and children traveling on the ocean and our own fellow-countrymen and country-women who were among the sufferers.

"It seems inconceivable that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity, but to our national self-respect."

The coroner's jury which investigated the tragedy at Kinsale, Ireland, formally charged the officers of the submarine and the Kaiser with murder.

Insight upon the state of mind in Germany is given by the presence in many collections of war souvenirs of medals struck by the Berlin government to commemorate the Lusitania "victory." The day the news reached Berlin was immediately proclaimed a holiday, and given over to rejoicing. The Lusitania "victory" was accepted by the German empire as the first crack in the sea power of Great Britain.

President Wilson immediately drew up a note addressed to the German government protesting against the outrage. It was sent on May 13, 1915, and read as follows :

“Please call on the Minister of Foreign Affairs and after reading to him this communication leave with him a copy.

“In view of recent acts of the German authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas which culminated in the torpedoing and sinking of the British steamship *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which over 100 American citizens lost their lives, it is clearly wise and desirable that the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government should come to a clear and full understanding as to the grave situation which has resulted.

“The sinking of the British passenger steamer *Falaba* by a German submarine on March 28, through which Leon C. Thrasher, an American citizen, was drowned; the attack on April 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German aeroplane; the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two or more American citizens met their death; and, finally, the torpedoing and sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, constitute a series of events which the Government of the United States has observed with growing concern, distress, and amazement.

“Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas; having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity; and having understood the instructions of the Imperial German Government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plane of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the Government of the United States was loath to believe

—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the Imperial German Government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the Imperial German Government which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created and vindicate once more the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas.

“The Government of the United States has been apprised that the Imperial German Government considered themselves to be obliged by the extraordinary circumstances of the present war and the measures adopted by their adversaries in seeking to cut Germany off from all commerce, to adopt methods of retaliation which go much beyond the ordinary methods of warfare at sea, in the proclamation of a war zone from which they have warned neutral ships to keep away. This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it cannot admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality; and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the

usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

“The Government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity, which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts it is understood the Imperial German Government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

“American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

“There was recently published in the newspapers of

the United States, I regret to inform the Imperial German Government, a formal warning, purporting to come from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington, addressed to the people of the United States, and stating, in effect, that any citizen of the United States who exercised his right of free travel upon the seas would do so at his peril if his journey should take him within the zones of waters within which the Imperial German Navy was using submarines against the commerce of Great Britain and France, notwithstanding the respectful but very earnest protest of his Government, the Government of the United States. I do not refer to this for the purpose of calling the attention of the Imperial German Government at this time to the surprising irregularity of a communication from the Imperial German Embassy at Washington addressed to the people of the United States through the newspapers, but only for the purpose of pointing out that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

“Long acquainted as this Government has been with the character of the Imperial German Government and with the high principles of equity by which they have in the past been actuated and guided, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the commanders of the vessels which committed these acts of lawlessness did so except under a misapprehension of the orders issued by the Imperial German naval authorities. It takes it for granted that, at least within the practical possibilities of every such case, the commanders even of submarines were expected to do nothing that would involve the lives of noncombatants or the safety of neutral ships, even at the cost of failing of their object of capture or destruction. It confidently expects, therefore, that the Imperial German Government will disavow the acts of which the Government of the United States complains,

that they will make reparation so far as reparation is possible for injuries which are without measure, and that they will take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so obviously subversive of the principles of warfare for which the Imperial German Government have in the past so wisely and so firmly contended.

“The Government and the people of the United States look to the Imperial German Government for just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter with the greater confidence because the United States and Germany are bound together not only by special ties of friendship but also by the explicit stipulations of the treaty of 1828 between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia.

“Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice, the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

“The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.”

The German reply was received on May 28th and set up as a defense the fact that the *Lusitania* was armed. Inasmuch as the custom authorities at New York had denied the statement when first made, President Wilson found the answer unsatisfactory and signified his intention to the cabinet of forcing the German government to make a satisfactory explanation.

Unwilling to sign the forthcoming note to Berlin which he feared might precipitate war between the United States and Germany, Secretary of State Bryan resigned.

With the President and an overwhelming majority of the cabinet opposed to his views, he struggled in vain to effect a material modification of the rejoinder to the German reply to the Lusitania note.

The cabinet decided to stand by the President in dispatching to Berlin a note, not only firmly insisting upon the American demands, but requiring a categorical declaration of intention in regard to compliance with international law.

As soon as this decision was reached, Mr. Bryan offered his resignation to the President, the relinquishment of the office to take effect when the rejoinder was sent to Berlin. Shortly after the cabinet meeting adjourned, President Wilson wrote his acceptance of the resignation. The correspondence was made public at the White House the same evening.

Originally it was the intention of the President and Mr. Bryan to have the announcement of the resignation made simultaneously with the dispatch of the note to Germany, but when Mr. Bryan did not attend the cabinet meeting until President Wilson sent for him, the President took matters into his own hands.

The real disagreement dated back to the famous session of the cabinet when the note of May 13th, following the sinking of the Lusitania was drafted, informing Germany that the United States would not omit "any word or any act" to protect its rights.

At that time Mr. Bryan made a speech counseling peaceful measures and cautious action. He gave his consent to signing the note only after it was tentatively arranged that a statement should be transmitted to the German government, and announcing that inasmuch as Germany had accepted the principle of the peace treaties negotiated between the United States and other countries, differences between the two nations might be adjusted by a commission of investigation.

This was opposed by some members of the cabinet as



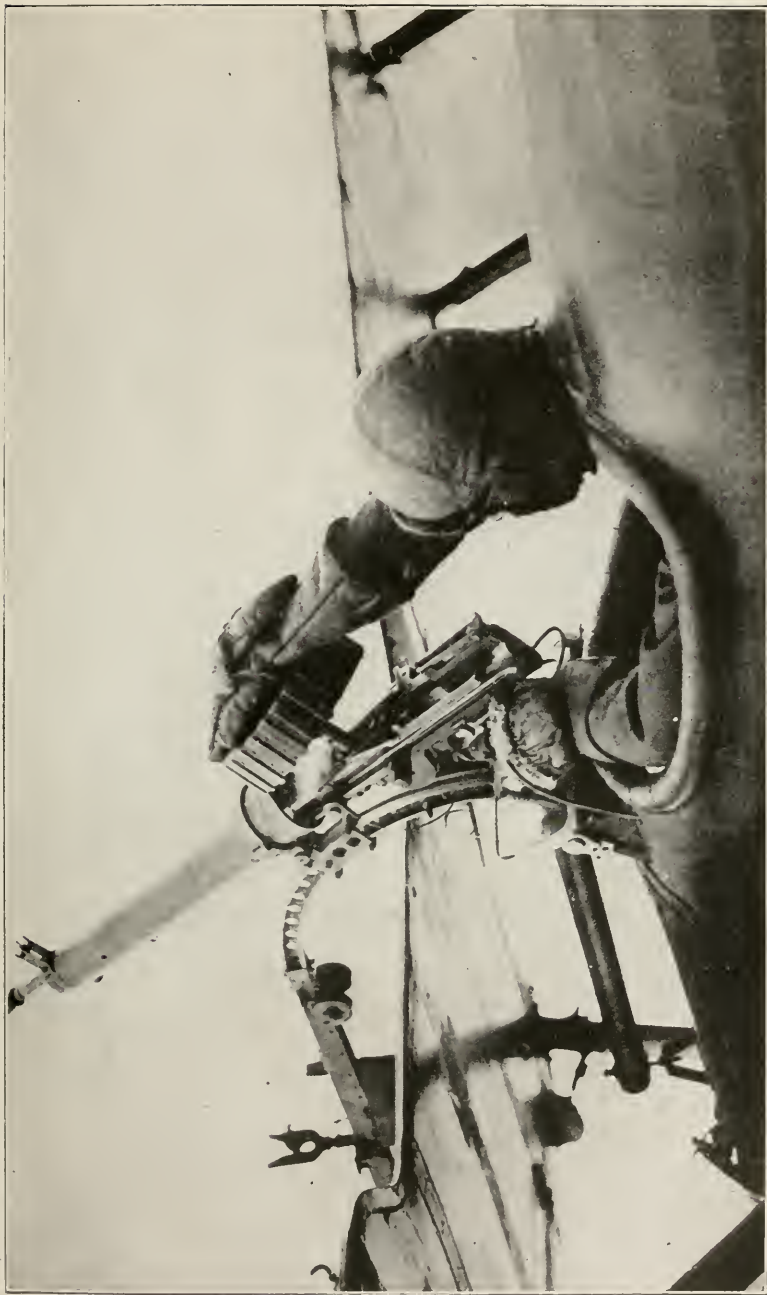
KING GEORGE AND FIELD MARSHAL
SIR DOUGLAS HAIG



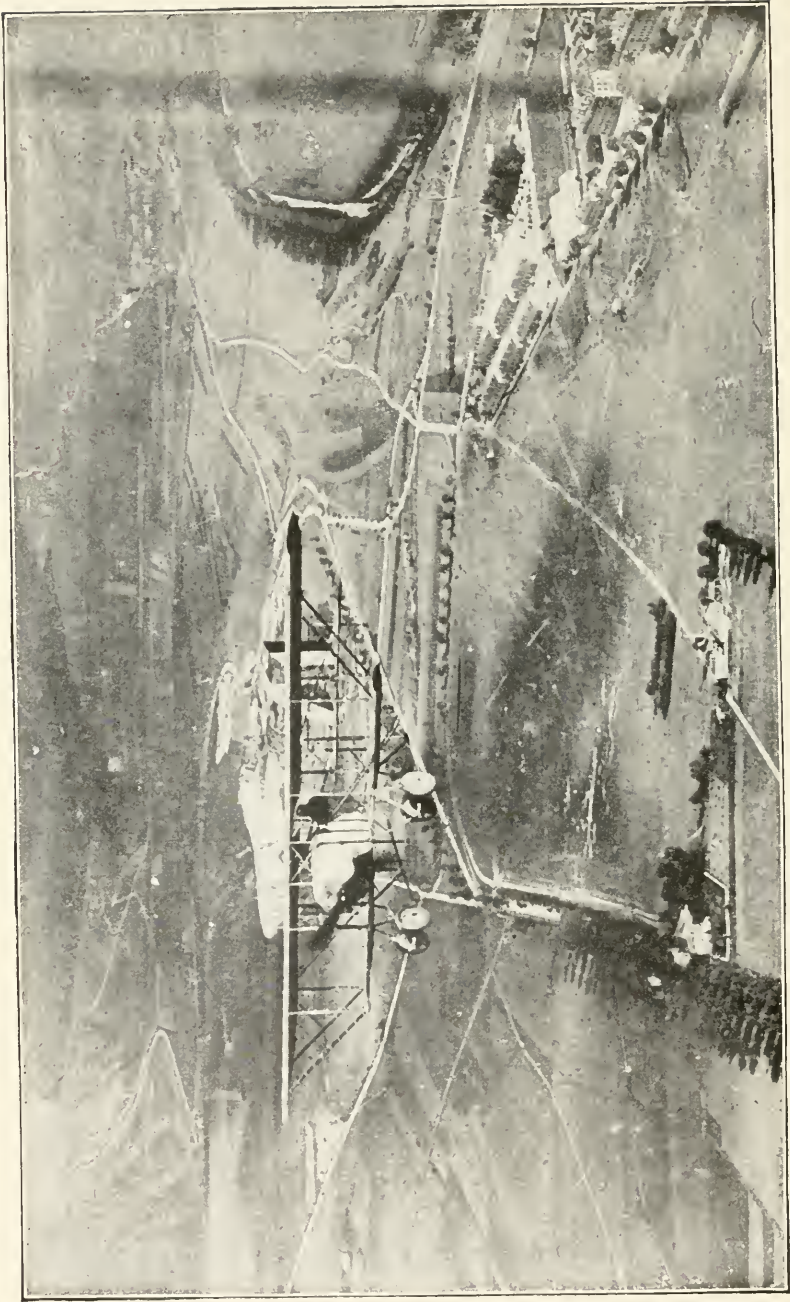
MARSHALL FOCH.



GENERAL JOFFRE.



BRITISH AVIATOR IN FRANCE.
A DEATH-DEFYING WARRIOR OF THE AIR PLACING A DRUM OF AMMUNITION IN HIS MACHINE GUN.



THE LAY OF THE LAND.
FRENCH AIRPLANE IN ITS DANGEROUS WORK OF TRENCH MAPPING.

weakening the position of the United States, and in the last hour before the note was sent, President Wilson ruled against Mr. Bryan's suggestion.

The action of Mr. Bryan did not swerve the President and his advisers from the course in the controversy with Germany they decided upon a week prior and reindorsed at the cabinet meeting on two subsequent occasions.

The note to which Mr. Bryan could not bring himself to affix his signature was signed by Robert Lansing, the counselor of the State Department, who automatically became acting Secretary of State when Mr. Bryan's resignation went into effect.

In refusing to make concessions to Bryan's view that the rejoinder to be sent to Germany was too militant and uncompromising, the President did not concede that war was likely. He believed that Germany would yield assurances to respect American rights, and even if Berlin rejected the American demands, war would not be the inevitable result.

With the exception of Mr. Bryan, the members of the cabinet shared the confidence of the President in this respect. They relied upon assurances of the peaceful outcome of the controversy which the President had given them ever since he talked with Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, a week before.

Mr. Bryan signed the note of May 13th, although he was not in thorough accord with the President's policy at that time. The refusal of the Secretary of State to sign the rejoinder, therefore, gave rise to erroneous suspicions that the note was actually militant in tone.

Apprehension of the tenor of the rejoinder was deepened, however, by the reference to the note Mr. Bryan made in his letter of resignation. The most portentous sentence in his letter follows:

"Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German government a note in which I cannot join

without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment, that to remain a member of the cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart—namely, the prevention of war.”

There was no gainsaying the fact that Mr. Bryan feared the policy enunciated in the rejoinder would result in war with Germany. He had read the note and that was his verdict.

Mr. Bryan held that the President was taking too uncompromising and unyielding a stand in proclaiming that submarines must comply with the rule of visit and search in making war on merchant vessels. In his letter of resignation he said: “Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed.”

Mr. Bryan disclosed the conviction that the introduction of the submarine had produced problems which were not satisfactorily solved by the application of existing rules of international law.

The president held that, although the methods of war had changed, the rules of war had not been altered, and would have to be complied with implicitly. He held that international law afforded the only protection of neutral rights and the only guidance in confronting danger upon which neutrals could rely. Unless international law was observed, according to the President, neutrals would not know what course to pursue.

Mr. Bryan held that whether submarines were to be required to comply with the existing rules of international law was a question which would have to be determined by agreement among the nations.

The President selected Robert Lansing as successor to Mr. Bryan. Mr. Lansing had collaborated with the President on the production of all of the notes addressed

to the belligerents in the European war. It had been the practice of the President to advise with Mr. Lansing upon the question of international law involved and then to determine the policy of the administration. Bryan had little to do with shaping these policies or with the dispatch of diplomatic notes, except the attachment of his signature as Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XIII

GERMANY CALLED TO ACCOUNT.

On June 9th, the day Bryan resigned from the cabinet, President Wilson forwarded to the German government the second note on the Lusitania outrage. It follows:

“You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

“In compliance with Your Excellency’s request I did not fail to transmit to my Government immediately upon their receipt your note of May 28 in reply to my note of May 15, and your supplementary note of June 1, setting forth the conclusions so far as reached by the Imperial German Government concerning the attacks on the American steamers Cushing and Gulflight. I am now instructed by my Government to communicate the following reply:

“The Government of the United States notes with gratification the full recognition by the Imperial German Government, in discussing the cases of the Cushing and the Gulflight, of the principle of the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships and the frank willingness of the Imperial German Government to acknowledge and meet its liability where the fact of attack upon neutral ships ‘which have not been guilty of any hostile act’ by German air craft or vessels of war is satisfactorily established; and the Government of the United States will in due course lay before the Imperial German Government, as it requests, full information concerning the attack on the steamer Cushing.

“With regard to the sinking of the steamer Falaba, by which an American citizen lost his life, the Government of the United States is surprised to find the Imperial German Government contending that an effort on the part

of a merchantman to escape capture and secure assistance alters the obligation of the officer seeking to make the capture in respect of the safety of the lives of those on board the merchantman, although the vessel had ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. These are not new circumstances. They have been in the minds of statesmen and of international jurists throughout the development of naval warfare, and the Government of the United States does not understand that they have ever been held to alter the principles of humanity upon which it has insisted. Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives of her passengers or crew. The Government of the United States, however, does not understand that the Imperial German Government is seeking in this case to relieve itself of liability, but only intends to set forth the circumstances which led the commander of the submarine to allow himself to be hurried into the course which he took.

“Your Excellency’s note, in discussing the loss of American lives resulting from the sinking of the steamship *Lusitania*, adverts at some length to certain information which the Imperial German Government has received with regard to the character and outfit of that vessel, and Your Excellency expresses the fear that this information may not have been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States. It is stated in the note that the *Lusitania* was undoubtedly equipped with masked guns, supplied with trained gunners and special ammunition, transporting troops from Canada, carrying a cargo not permitted under the laws of the United States to a vessel also carrying passengers, and serving, in virtual effect, as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. Fortunately, these are matters concerning which the Government of the United States is in a position to give the Imperial German Government official information. Of

the facts alleged in Your Excellency's note, if true, the Government of the United States would have been bound to take official cognizance in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power and in enforcing its national laws. It was its duty to see to it that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, that she was not serving as a transport, that she did not carry a cargo prohibited by the statutes of the United States, and that, if in fact she was a naval vessel of Great Britain, she should not receive clearance as a merchantman; and it performed that duty and enforced its statutes with scrupulous vigilance through its regularly constituted officials. It is able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German Government that it has been misinformed. If the Imperial German Government should deem itself to be in possession of convincing evidence that the officials of the Government of the United States did not perform these duties with thoroughness, the Government of the United States sincerely hopes that it will submit that evidence for consideration.

“Whatever may be the contentions of the Imperial German Government regarding the carriage of contraband of war on board the *Lusitania* or regarding the explosion of that material by the torpedo, it need only be said that in the view of this Government these contentions are irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel.

“But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the cases, principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more

than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every Government honors itself in respecting and which no Government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for so much as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy. This principle the Government of the United States understands the explicit instructions issued on August 3, 1914, by the Imperial German Admiralty to its commanders at sea to have recognized and embodied as do the naval codes of all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

“The Government of the United States is happy to observe that Your Excellency’s note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German Government is willing, now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the

Government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The Government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either Government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey and cordially invites the Imperial German Government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests or in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

“In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war, and whatever may in the opinion of the Imperial German Government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of its commanders at sea, the Government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

“The Government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German Government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law, and the ancient friendship of the German nation.

“The Government of the United States cannot admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights. It understands it, also, to accept as established beyond

question the principle that the lives of noncombatants cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag. 'The Government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done.'"

Germany took time in preparing a reply to this second note. When it was received by the State Department on July 8, 1915, it was found altogether unsatisfactory. It offered to grant immunity to American passenger liners but carefully avoided a direct statement on its policy toward the British ships on which Americans were accustomed to travel. On the 21st, the final note on the *Lusitania* was sent to Germany. It read:

"You are instructed to deliver textually the following note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

"The note of the Imperial German Government, dated the 8th of July, 1915, has received the careful consideration of the Government of the United States, and it regrets to be obliged to say that it has found it very unsatisfactory, because it fails to meet the real differences between the two Governments and indicates no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied in the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles which virtually set them aside.

"The Government of the United States notes with satisfaction that the Imperial German Government recognizes without reservation the validity of the principles insisted on in the several communications which this

Government has addressed to the Imperial German Government with regard to its announcement of a war zone and the use of submarines against merchantmen on the high seas—the principle that the high seas are free, that the character and cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination; for a belligerent act of retaliation is per se an act beyond the law, and the defense of an act as retaliatory is an admission that it is illegal.

“The Government of the United States is, however, keenly disappointed to find that the Imperial German Government regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even where neutral vessels are concerned, by what it believes the policy and practice of the Government of Great Britain to be in the present war with regard to neutral commerce. The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States can not discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that Government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this Government regards as grave and unjustifiable violations of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders. Illegal and inhuman acts, however justifiable they may be thought to be against an enemy who is believed to have acted in contravention of law and humanity, are manifestly indefensible when they deprive neutrals of their acknowledged rights, particularly when they violate the right to life itself. If a belligerent can not retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should

dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected. The Government of the United States is not unmindful of the extraordinary conditions created by this war or of the radical alterations of circumstance and method of attack produced by the use of instrumentalities of naval warfare which the nations of the world can not have had in view when the existing rules of international law were formulated, and it is ready to make every reasonable allowance for these novel and unexpected aspects of war at sea; but it can not consent to abate any essential or fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstance. The rights of neutrals in time of war are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the new circumstances to them.

“The events of the past two months have clearly indicated that it is possible and practicable to conduct such submarine operations as have characterized the activity of the Imperial German Navy within the so-called war zone in substantial accord with the accepted practices of regulated warfare. The whole world has looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused and remove the chief causes of offense.

“In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States can not believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for

the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for a needless destruction of human life by an illegal act.

“The Government of the United States, while not indifferent to the friendly spirit in which it is made, can not accept the suggestion of the Imperial German Government that certain vessels be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends and which in times for calmer counsels every nation would concede as of course.

“The Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government are contending for the same great object, have long stood together in urging the very principles, upon which the Government of the United States now so solemnly insists. They are both contending for the freedom of the seas. The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom, from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost. It invites the practical co-operation of the Imperial German Government at this time when co-operation may accomplish most and this great common object be most strikingly and effectively achieved.

“The Imperial German Government expresses the hope that this object may be in some measure accomplished even before the present war ends. It can be. The Government of the United States not only feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way.

“In the meantime the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the

people and Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

The concluding clause in this message brought the German government to the realization that President Wilson was fast losing patience with the submarine controversy. Its reply was entirely satisfactory and guaranteed the rights of American citizens at sea from that time on. Another controversy ensued when the White Star liner *Arabic* was sunk on August 19, 1915, with loss of American lives. This resulted in the German government notifying President Wilson that "liners would not be sunk without warning and without insuring the safety of noncombatants, provided that the liners did not try to escape or offer resistance."

In the midst of these trying events, Romance once more entered the life of the President. It was announced at the White House on October 6th, that Mrs. Norman Galt of Washington was engaged to marry President Woodrow Wilson. The plans for the marriage were shrouded in secrecy. According to the friends of Mr. Wilson and Mrs. Galt, however, the wedding was to take place before the end of the year.

The announcement that the President was to remarry created a sensational surprise at the capital, although President Wilson and Mrs. Galt had appeared together occasionally in public during the preceding months, and it was known that the charming widow was a frequent guest at the White House.

According to the most reliable information obtainable, the President and Mrs. Galt were engaged for ten

days prior to the announcement. The facts were a closely guarded secret in the family circle and few of the President's closest official associates were aware of the progress of the romance.

Mrs. Galt met President Wilson for the first time a few months after the death of Mrs. Wilson in August, 1914. It was not until the following spring, however, that he began to evince a more than casual interest in Mrs. Galt, who was frequently a guest of his daughter, Margaret, and his cousin, Miss Helen Woodrow Bones.

Dr. Cary Grayson, the President's aid and physician, was the means of bringing the President and Mrs. Galt together. It was Miss Bones, who had made her home with the President's family for several years, who really fostered the romance.

Dr. Grayson met Mrs. Galt through Miss Gertrude Gordon of Washington. Miss Gordon was the daughter of General Gordon, who, upon the death of her father several years ago, contested his will and obtained from the court a large sum of money. At that time Miss Gordon applied to the court to have Mrs. Galt appointed as her guardian. Mrs. Galt had acted in that capacity and traveled extensively with her.

Miss Bones, while convalescing from an illness due to close confinement while taking care of Mrs. Wilson, was ordered by Dr. Grayson to take a long walk every day, and as she found it too lonesome, he introduced her to Mrs. Galt, who was a very enthusiastic pedestrian.

Mrs. Galt and Miss Bones, being together so much, became inseparable companions, and Mrs. Galt became a frequent guest at the White House, at first for luncheons at which the President was always present when in Washington. Later she spent many evenings there.

In the late spring Mrs. Galt frequently was seen in the White House automobile when the President was taking his daily drive. She and Miss Bones frequently

accompanied him to the links, where they formed a gallery and watched him play with Dr. Grayson.

People at last began to comment on the close intimacy between the President and Mrs. Galt, and notice was taken of the marked attention paid her when they were in public together.

Mrs. Galt was a beautiful woman of brunette type, about forty years of age and came from Virginia. Once the President became impressed with her beauty and charm, he pressed his suit with all the ardor of a young man.

Later Mrs. Galt went for a visit at Harklakended House, the former home of President Wilson at Cornish, N. H. The President made two visits to Cornish during Mrs. Galt's stay. It was then that friendship began to ripen into love. They took long drives together in the White House touring car in the beautiful mountain country of Vermont and New Hampshire. The President abandoned the practice of riding beside the chauffeur, but preferred a seat in the tonneau with his daughter and Mrs. Galt, finding their literary tastes were a source of interest.

With Mrs. Galt's departure from the summer White House in August, reports that they were engaged took shape. These reports were received with the greatest interest in official and social circles at the capital, but the President's friends refused to discuss the matter in any way.

It was intimated broadly that the President would resent any effort to pry into his personal affairs, it being pointed out that matters relating solely to his family did not concern the public, and he did not intend because of his official position to yield any of the privileges of a private citizen in this respect.

Mrs. Galt was a great favorite. "Loving, charming, witty," are the adjectives to which Washington society

became accustomed during its association with the name of Mrs. Galt.

They were married December 18th, 1915, at the residence of the bride in 20th Street.

Fewer than forty-eight guests, members of the immediate families of the bride and bridegroom and two or three of their most intimate friends were present.

The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Herbert Scott Smith, who was a student of Dr. Wilson at Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn., in 1888, and later rector of St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, of which the bride was a communicant.

The Rev. Dr. Smith broke the stillness by entering into the solemn exhortation to the bride and bridegroom which precedes the marriage rite proper. The "ring service" was used and the word "obey" held its traditional place in the holy office.

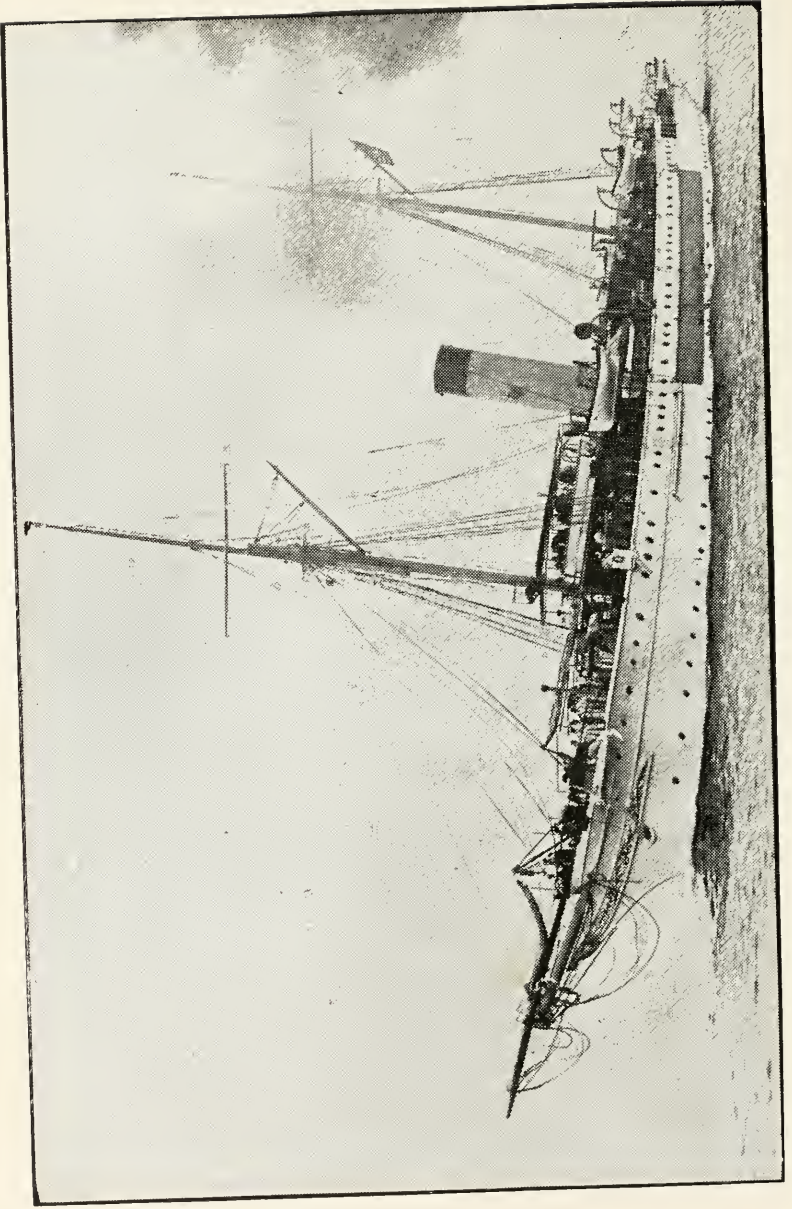
The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. James H. Taylor, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, of which the President was an elder.

The President and his bride departed the same night for Hot Springs, Ark., on the presidential private car.

They motored to Alexandria, Va., across the Potomac, to take the train and avoid a crowd at the Union station. At the Union station the presidential entrance was fully lighted and lines of police were spread all about, causing crowds to gather there.



An Enthusiastic Sportsman; Golf was His Favorite Pastime.



PRESIDENT'S YACHT, THE MAYFLOWER.



Marshal Foch, the Defender of Verdun.



King George and British Veterans. From left to right.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INTERNATIONAL LAWYER.

President Wilson did not allow his romance to interfere with the business of the country to the slightest extent. Realizing as he did that America was in a most delicate position between the charges and countercharges of Great Britain and Germany, he kept careful watch on foreign developments, at all times prepared to enter the diplomatic arena to take up the cause of the United States.

Great Britain was not altogether blameless in the difficulties that beset the President's path. American ships were stopped on the high seas and conducted into British ports where they were subjected to long and irritating delays. Mails were seized and examined. Several cargoes were ordered confiscated as contraband and to all these complaints the British government replied with the assertion that it was following precedent established by the United States during the civil war.

Notes were sent by the British government on January 7th, February 10th, June 22nd, July 23rd, July 31st, August 2nd, and August 6th, in which Great Britain skilfully evaded a direct answer to the President's demands. The climax came on October 21st when the President, aroused by the persistent refusal of the British government to recognize American rights, sent the following note to London:

"I desire that you present a note to Sir Edward Grey in the sense of the following:

"This Government has delayed answering the earlier of these notes in the hope that the announced purpose

of His Majesty's Government 'to exercise their belligerent rights with every possible consideration for the interest of neutrals' and their intention of 'removing all causes of avoidable delay in dealing with American cargoes' and of causing 'the least possible amount of inconvenience to persons engaged in legitimate trade,' as well as their 'assurances to the United States Government that they would make it their first aim to minimize the inconveniences' resulting from the 'measures taken by the Allied Governments,' would in practice not unjustifiably infringe upon the neutral rights of American citizens engaged in trade and commerce. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that this hope has not been realized, but that, on the contrary, interferences with American ships and cargoes destined in good faith to neutral ports and lawfully entitled to proceed have become increasing vexatious, causing American shipowners and American merchants to complain to this Government of the failure to take steps to prevent an exercise of belligerent power in contravention of their just rights. As the measures complained of proceed directly from orders issued by the British Government, are executed by British authorities, and arouse a reasonable apprehension that, if not resisted, they may be carried to an extent even more injurious to American interests, this Government directs the attention of His Majesty's Government to the following considerations:

[The President here listed a full and complete denial of the allegations made by the British. He declared (1) that Great Britain had no right to seize ships on suspicion and then seek to find incriminating evidence; (2) that it was illegal for the British to take a ship into port for search when international law clearly provided for search at sea; (3) that there was no legal strength in the British claims that American procedure in the civil war established a precedent, as there was no similarity between the two occasions; (4) that naval experts supported his opin-

ions that search at sea could be carried on with greater ease than years ago and that Great Britain was wrong in her statement that such search was impracticable; (6) that the British government was clearly in error when it quoted the seizure of the *Bermuda* during the civil war as a similar example of war practice. The note continued:]

“Great Britain cannot expect the United States to submit to such manifest injustice or to permit the rights of its citizens to be so seriously impaired. . . . When goods are clearly intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, it is an unwarranted and inquisitorial proceeding to detain shipments for examination as to whether those goods are ultimately destined for the enemy’s country or use. Whatever may be the conjectural conclusions to be drawn from trade statistics, which, when stated by value, are of uncertain evidence as to quantity, the United States maintains the right to sell goods into the general stock of a neutral country, and denounces as illegal and unjustifiable any attempt of a belligerent to interfere with that right on the ground that it suspects that the previous supply of such goods in the neutral country, which the imports renew or replace, has been sold to an enemy. That is a matter with which the neutral vendor has no concern and which can in no way affect his rights of trade. Moreover, even if goods listed as conditional contraband are destined to an enemy country through a neutral country, that fact is not in itself sufficient to justify their seizure. . . . Relying upon the regard of the British Government for the principles of justice so frequently and uniformly manifested prior to the present war, this Government anticipates that the British Government will instruct their officers to refrain from these vexatious and illegal practices. . . .

“The British note of July 23, 1915, appears to confirm the intention indicated in the note of March 15, 1915,

to establish a blockade so extensive as to prohibit trade with Germany or Austria-Hungary, even through the ports of neutral countries adjacent to them. Great Britain, however, admits that it should not, and gives assurances that it will not, interfere with trade with the countries contiguous to the territories of the enemies of Great Britain. Nevertheless, after over six months' application of the 'blockade' order, the experience of American citizens has convinced the Government of the United States that Great Britain has been unsuccessful in her efforts to distinguish between enemy and neutral trade. Arrangements have been made to create in these neutral countries special consignees, or consignment corporations, with power to refuse shipments and to determine when the state of the country's resources requires the importation of new commodities. American commercial interests are hampered by the intricacies of these arrangements, and many American citizens justly complain that their bona fide trade with neutral countries is greatly reduced as a consequence, while others assert that their neutral trade, which amounted annually to a large sum, has been entirely interrupted. . . .

"While the United States Government was at first inclined to view with leniency the British measures which were termed in the correspondence but not in the Order in Council of March 11 a 'blockade,' because of the assurances of the British Government that inconvenience to neutral trade would be minimized, this Government is now forced to the realization that its expectations were based on a misconception of the intentions of the British Government. . . . In the circumstances now developed it feels that it can no longer permit the validity of the alleged blockade to remain unchallenged.

"The Declaration of Paris in 1856, which has been universally recognized as correctly stating the rule of international law as to blockade, expressly declares that 'blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective;' that

is to say, maintained by force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. . . .

[President Wilson here quoted in detail evidence supporting his contention that the British blockade of the German coast was ineffectual and that Germany kept ports open for traffic from Norway and Sweden. Protesting against the blockade of Scandinavian ports, which were neutral, the note went on to say:]

“It is a matter of common knowledge that Great Britain exports and re-exports large quantities of merchandise to Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, whose ports, so far as American commerce is concerned, she regards as blockaded. In fact, the British note of August 13 itself indicates that the British exports of many articles, such as cotton, lubricating oil, tobacco, cocoa, coffee, rice, wheat flour, barley, spices, tea, copra, etc., to these countries have greatly exceeded the British exports for the corresponding period of 1914. The note also shows that there has been an important British trade with these countries in many other articles, such as machinery, beef, butter, cotton waste, etc.

“Finally, there is no better settled principle of the law of nations than that which forbids the blockade of neutral ports in time of war. The Declaration of London, though not regarded as binding upon the signatories because not ratified by them, has been expressly adopted by the British Government without modification as to blockade in the British Order in Council of October 29, 1914. Article 18 of the Declaration declares specifically that ‘The blockading forces must not bar access to neutral ports or coasts.’

[The note at this point went into definitions laid down by Sir Edward Grey in the opening days of the war and quoted authority for the course pursued by the United States. It then went on to say:]

“Without mentioning the other customary elements of a regularly imposed blockade, such as notification of

the particular coast line invested, the imposition of the penalty of confiscation, etc., which are lacking in the present British 'blockade' policy, it need only be pointed out that, measured by the universally conceded tests above set forth, the present British measures cannot be regarded as constituting a blockade in law, in practice, or in effect.

"It is incumbent upon the United States Government, therefore, to give the British Government notice that the blockade, which they claim to have instituted under the Order in Council of March 11, cannot be recognized as a legal blockade by the United States.

"Since the Government of Great Britain has laid much emphasis on the ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Springbok case, that goods of contraband character seized while going to the neutral port of Nassau, though actually bound for the blockaded ports of the south, were subject to condemnation, it is not inappropriate to direct attention to the British view of this case in England prior to the present war, as expressed by Sir Edward Grey in his instructions to the British delegates to the London Conference in 1908:

"It is exceedingly doubtful whether the decision of the Supreme Court was in reality meant to cover a case of blockade running in which no question of contraband arose. Certainly if such was the intention, the decision would pro tanto be in conflict with the practice of British courts. His Majesty's Government sees no reason for departing from that practice, and you should endeavor to obtain general recognition of its correctness.'

"It may be pointed out also that the circumstances surrounding the Springbok case were essentially different from those of the present day. The ports of the Confederate States were effectively blockaded by the naval forces of the United States, though no neutral ports were closed, and a continuous voyage through a neutral port required an all-sea voyage terminating in an attempt to pass the blockading squadron.

“They (the cases) result from acts committed by the British naval authorities upon the high seas, where the jurisdiction over neutral vessels is acquired solely by international law. Vessels of foreign nationality, flying a neutral flag and finding their protection in the country of that flag, are seized without facts warranting a reasonable suspicion that they are destined to blockaded ports of the enemy or that their cargoes are contraband. The officers appear to find their justification in the Orders in Council and regulations of the British Government, in spite of the fact that in many of the present cases the Orders in Council and the regulations are themselves complained of as contrary to international law. Yet the very courts which, it is said, are to dispense justice to dissatisfied claimants are bound by the Orders in Council. . . . How can a tribunal fettered by municipal enactments declare itself emancipated from their restrictions and at liberty to apply the rules of international law with freedom? The very laws and regulations which bind the court are now matters of dispute between the Government of the United States and that of His Britannic Majesty. . . . There is, furthermore, a real and far-reaching injury for which prize courts offer no means of reparation. It is the disastrous effect of the methods of the allied Governments upon the general right of the United States to enjoy its international trade free from unusual and arbitrary limitations imposed by belligerent nations. Unwarranted delay and expense in bringing vessels into port for search and investigation upon mere suspicion has a deterrent effect upon trade ventures, however lawful they may be, which cannot be adequately measured in damages. . . .

“There is another ground why American citizens cannot submit their wrongs arising out of undue detentions and seizures to British prize courts for reparation. It is the manner in which British courts obtain jurisdiction of such cases. . . . Municipal regulations in viola-

tion of the international rights of another nation cannot be extended to the vessels of the latter on the high seas so as to justify a belligerent nation bringing them into its ports, and, having illegally brought them within its territorial jurisdiction, compelling them to submit to the domestic laws of that nation. Jurisdiction obtained in such a manner is contrary to those principles of justice and equality which all nations should respect. . . . The Government of the United States has, therefore, viewed with surprise and concern the attempt of His Majesty's Government to confer upon the British prize courts jurisdiction by this illegal exercise of force. . . .

“This Government is advised that vessels and cargoes brought in for examination are released only upon condition that costs and expenses incurred in the course of such unwarranted procedure, such as pilotage, unloading costs, etc., be paid by the claimants or on condition that they sign a waiver of right to bring claims against the British Government for these exactions. This Government is loath to believe that such ungenerous treatment will continue to be accorded American citizens by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, but in order that the position of the United States Government may be clearly understood, I take this opportunity to inform Your Excellency that this Government denies that the charges incident to such detentions are rightfully imposed upon innocent trade or that any waiver of indemnity exacted from American citizens under such conditions of duress can preclude them from obtaining redress through diplomatic channels or by whatever other means may be open to them. . . .

“I believe it has been conclusively shown that the methods employed by Great Britain to obtain evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose a contraband character upon such cargoes are without justification; that the blockade, upon which such methods are partly founded, is ineffective, illegal,

and indefensible; that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation for an international injury is inherently defective for the purpose; and that in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the law of nations. The United States, therefore, cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature, and intended to punish the enemies of Great Britain for alleged illegalities on their part. The United States might not be in a position to object to them if its interests and the interests of all neutrals were unaffected by them, but, being affected, it cannot with complacence suffer further subordination of its rights to the plea that the exceptional geographic position of the enemies of Great Britain require or justify oppressive and illegal practices.

“The Government of the United States desires, therefore, to impress most earnestly upon His Majesty’s Government that it must insist that the relations between it and His Majesty’s Government be governed, not by a policy of expediency, but by those established rules of international conduct upon which Great Britain in the past has held the United States to account when the latter nation was a belligerent engaged in a struggle for national existence. It is of the highest importance to neutrals not only of the present day but of the future that the principles of international right be maintained unimpaired.

“This task of championing the integrity of neutral rights, which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes, and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which from the outbreak of the war it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring nations.”

This masterly attack on the stand taken by British statesmen had the effect of silencing once and for all the declaration of pro-Germans in the United States that the President was abetting England in her defiance of American rights. It also resulted in Great Britain refraining from interference with neutral ships en route to Scandinavian ports.

Public interest in the question had not died out when the sinking of the steamer *Ancona* by an Austrian submarine in the Mediterranean Sea was announced. Again were all eyes turned to the President. His note to the Austrian government, sent on December 6th, follows:

“Please deliver a note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, textually as follows:

“Reliable information obtained from American and other survivors who were passengers on the steamship *Ancona* shows that on Nov. 7 a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag fired a solid shot toward the steamship, that thereupon the *Ancona* attempted to escape, but, being overhauled by the submarine, she stopped, that after a brief period and before the crew and passengers were all able to take to the boats the submarine fired a number of shells at the vessel and finally torpedoed and sank her while there were yet many persons on board, and that by gunfire and foundering of the vessel a large number of persons lost their lives or were seriously injured, among whom were citizens of the United States.

“The public statement of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty has been brought to the attention of the Government of the United States and received careful consideration. This statement substantially confirms the principal declaration of the survivors, as it admits that the *Ancona*, after being shelled, was torpedoed and sunk while persons were still on board.

“The Austro-Hungarian Government has been advised, through the correspondence which has passed between the United States and Germany, of the attitude of

the Government of the United States as to the use of submarines in attacking vessels of commerce, and the acquiescence of Germany in that attitude, yet with full knowledge on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government of the views of the Government of the United States as expressed in no uncertain terms to the ally of Austria-Hungary, the commander of the submarine which attacked the Ancona failed to put in a place of safety the crew and passengers of the vessel which they purposed to destroy because, it is presumed, of the impossibility of taking it into port as a prize of war.

“The Government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can only be characterized as wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants, since at the time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape, and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue.

“The Government of the United States is forced, therefore, to conclude either that the commander of the submarine acted in violation of his instructions or that the Imperial and Royal Government failed to issue instructions to the commanders of its submarines in accordance with the law of nations and the principles of humanity. The Government of the United States is unwilling to believe the latter alternative and to credit the Austro-Hungarian Government with an intention to permit its submarines to destroy the lives of helpless men, women and children. It prefers to believe that the commander of the submarine committed this outrage without authority and contrary to the general or special instructions which he had received.

“As the good relations of the two countries must

rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel.

“The Government of the United States expects that the Austro-Hungarian Government, appreciating the gravity of the case, will accede to its demand promptly, and it rests this expectation on the belief that the Austro-Hungarian Government will not sanction or defend an act which is condemned by the world as inhuman and barbarous, which is abhorrent to all civilized nations, and which has caused the death of innocent American citizens.”

After much irritating correspondence in which the Austrian government evaded the main issue, President Wilson demanded that a satisfactory explanation be made. This met with prompt response and the President was notified that the submarine commander had been punished.

CHAPTER XV

THE THIRD MESSAGE.

President Wilson had been talking preparedness for some time, and embodied his recommendations in his third annual address to Congress which was delivered on December 7, 1915. It follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: Since I last had the privilege of addressing you on the state of the Union the war of nations on the other side of the sea, which had then only begun to disclose its portentous proportions, has extended its threatening and sinister scope until it has swept within its flame some portion of every quarter of the globe, not excepting our own hemisphere, has altered the whole face of international affairs, and now presents a prospect of reorganization and reconstruction such as statesmen and peoples have never been called upon to attempt before.

“We have stood apart, studiously neutral. It was our manifest duty to do so. Not only did we have no part or interest in the policies which seem to have brought the conflict on; it was necessary, if a universal catastrophe was to be avoided, that a limit should be set to the sweep of destructive war and that some part of the great family of nations should keep the processes of peace alive, if only to prevent collective economic ruin and the breakdown throughout the world of the industries by which its populations are fed and sustained. It was manifestly the duty of the self-governed nations of this hemisphere to redress, if possible, the balance of economic loss and confusion in the other, if they could do nothing more. In the day of readjustment and recuperation we earnestly hope and believe that they can be of infinite service.

“In this neutrality, to which they were bidden not only by their separate life and their habitual detachment from the politics of Europe but also by a clear perception of international duty, the states of America have become conscious of a new and more vital community of interest and moral partnership in affairs, more clearly conscious of the many common sympathies and interests and duties which bid them stand together.

“There was a time in the early days of our own great nation and of the republics fighting their way to independence in Central and South America when the government of the United States looked upon itself as in some sort the guardian of the republics to the south of her as against any encroachments or efforts at political control from the other side of the water; felt it its duty to play the part even without invitation from them; and I think that we can claim that the task was undertaken with a true and disinterested enthusiasm for the freedom of the Americas and the unmolested self-government of her independent peoples. But it was always difficult to maintain such a rôle without offence to the pride of the peoples whose freedom of action we sought to protect, and without provoking serious misconceptions of our motives, and every thoughtful man of affairs must welcome the altered circumstances of the new day in whose light we now stand, when there is no claim of guardianship or thought of wards, but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, north and south. Our concern for the independence and prosperity of the states of Central and South America is not altered. We retain unabated the spirit that has inspired us throughout the whole life of our government and which was so frankly put into words by President Monroe. We still mean always to make a common cause of national independence and of political liberty in America. But that purpose is now better understood so far as it concerns ourselves. It

is known not to be a selfish purpose. It is known to have in it no thought of taking advantage of any government in this hemisphere or playing its political fortunes for our own benefit. All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

“We have been put to the test in the case of Mexico, and we have stood the test. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. Her fortunes are in her own hands. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men’s choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountains of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our government was set up was everywhere amongst us accepted as the creed of free men. That doctrine is, ‘That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community’; that ‘of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.’ We have unhesitatingly applied that heroic principle to the case of Mexico, and now hopefully await the rebirth of the troubled Republic, which had so much of which to purge itself and so little sympathy from any outside quarter in the radical but necessary process. We will aid and be-

friend Mexico, but we will not coerce her; and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control.

“The moral is, that the states of America are not hostile rivals, but coöperating friends, and that their growing sense of community of interest, alike in matters political and in matters economic, is likely to give them a new significance as factors in international affairs and in the political history of the world. It presents them as in a very deep and true sense a unit in world affairs, spiritual partners, standing together because thinking together, quick with common sympathies and common ideals. Separated they are subject to all the cross-currents of the confused politics of a world of hostile rivalries; united in spirit and purpose they cannot be disappointed of their peaceful destiny.

“This is Pan-Americanism. It has none of the spirit of empire in it. It is the embodiment, the effectual embodiment, of the spirit of law and independence and liberty and mutual service.

“A very notable body of men recently met in the City of Washington, at the invitation and as the guests of this Government, whose deliberations are likely to be looked back to as marking a memorable turning point in the history of America. They were representative spokesmen of the several independent states of this hemisphere and were assembled to discuss the financial and commercial relations of the republics of the two continents which nature and political fortune have so intimately linked together. I earnestly recommend to your perusal the reports of their proceedings and of the actions of their committees. You will get from them, I think, a fresh conception of the ease and intelligence and advantage with which Americans of both continents may draw together in practical coöperation and of what the material foundations of this hopeful partnership of interest must

consist,—of how we should build them and of how necessary it is that we should hasten their building.

“There is, I venture to point out, an especial significance just now attaching to this whole matter of drawing the Americas together in bonds of honorable partnership and mutual advantage because of the economic readjustments which the world must inevitably witness within the next generation, when peace shall have at last resumed its healthful tasks. In the performance of these tasks I believe the Americas to be destined to play their parts together. I am interested to fix your attention on this prospect now because unless you take it within your view and permit the full significance of it to command your thought I can not find the right light in which to set forth the particular matter that lies at the very front of my whole thought as I address you today. I mean national defense.

“No one who readily comprehends the spirit of the great people for whom we are appointed to speak can fail to perceive that their passion is for peace, their genius best displayed in the practice of the arts of peace. Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. Conquest and dominion are not in our reckoning, or agreeable to our principles. But just because we demand unmolested development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice. We insist upon security in prosecuting our self-chosen lines of national development. We do more than that. We demand it also for others. We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national development to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of inde-

pendence and right. From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side of the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside domination as that we ourselves should be; have set America aside as a whole for the uses of independent nations and political freemen.

“Out of such thoughts grow all our policies. We regard war merely as a means of asserting the rights of a people against aggression. And we are as fiercely jealous of coercive or dictatorial power within our own nation as of aggression from without. We will not maintain a standing army except for uses which are as necessary in times of peace as in times of war; and we shall always see to it that our military peace establishment is no larger than is actually and continuously needed for the uses of days in which no enemies move against us. But we do believe in a body of free citizens ready and sufficient to take care of themselves and of the governments which they have set up to serve them. In our constitutions themselves we have commanded that ‘the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed,’ and our confidence has been that our safety in times of danger would lie in the rising of the nation to take care of itself, as the farmers rose at Lexington.

“But war has never been a mere matter of men and guns. It is a thing of disciplined might. If our citizens are ever to fight effectively upon a sudden summons, they must know how modern fighting is done, and what to do when the summons comes to render themselves immediately available and immediately effective. And the government must be their servant in this matter, must supply them with the training they need to take care of themselves and of it. The military arm of their government, which they will not allow to direct them, they may properly use to serve them and make their independence secure,—and not their own independence merely but the rights also of those with whom they have made common

cause, should they also be put in jeopardy. They must be fitted to play the great rôle in the world, and particularly in this hemisphere, which they are qualified by principle and by chastened ambition to play.

“It is with these ideals in mind that the plans of the Department of War for more adequate national defense were conceived which will be laid before you, and which I urge you to sanction and put into effect as soon as they can be properly scrutinized and discussed. They seem to me the essential first steps, and they seem to me for the present sufficient.

“They contemplate an increase of the standing force of the regular army from its present strength of five thousand and twenty-three officers and one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and eighty-five enlisted men of all services to a strength of seven thousand one hundred and thirty-six officers and one hundred and thirty-four thousand seven hundred and seven enlisted men, or 141,843, all told, all services, rank and file, by the addition of fifty-two companies of coast artillery, fifteen companies of engineers, ten regiments of infantry, four regiments of field artillery, and four aero squadrons, besides seven hundred and fifty officers required for a great variety of extra service, especially the all-important duty of training the citizen force of which I shall presently speak, seven hundred and ninety-two non-commissioned officers for service in drill, recruiting and the like, and the necessary quota of enlisted men for the Quartermaster Corps, the Hospital Corps, the Ordnance Department, and other similar auxiliary services. These are the additions necessary to render the army adequate for its present duties, duties which it has to perform not only upon our own continental coasts and borders and at our interior army posts, but also in the Philippines, in the Hawaiian Islands, at the Isthmus, and in Porto Rico.

“By way of making the country ready to assert some part of its real power promptly and upon a larger scale,

should occasion arise, the plan also contemplates supplementing the army by a force of four hundred thousand disciplined citizens, raised in increments of one hundred and thirty-three thousand a year throughout a period of three years. This it is proposed to do by a process of enlistment under which the serviceable men of the country would be asked to bind themselves to serve with the colors for purposes of training for short periods throughout three years, and to come to the colors at call at any time throughout an additional 'furlough' period of three years. This force of four hundred thousand men would be provided with personal accoutrements as fast as enlisted and their equipment for the field made ready to be supplied at any time. They would be assembled for training at stated intervals at convenient places in association with suitable units of the regular army. Their period of annual training would not necessarily exceed two months in the year.

"It would depend upon the patriotic feeling of the younger men of the country whether they responded to such a call to service or not. It would depend upon the patriotic spirit of the employers of the country whether they made it possible for the younger men in their employ to respond under favorable conditions or not. I, for one, do not doubt the patriotic devotion either of our young men or of those who give them employment,—those for whose benefit and protection they would in fact enlist. I would look forward to the success of such an experiment with entire confidence.

"At least so much by way of preparation for defense seems to me to be absolutely imperative now. We cannot do less.

"The programme which will be laid before you by the Secretary of the Navy is similarly conceived. It involves only a shortening of the time within which plans long matured shall be carried out; but it does make definite and explicit a programme which has heretofore been

only implicit, held in the minds of the Committees on Naval Affairs and disclosed in the debates of the two Houses but nowhere formulated or formally adopted. It seems to me very clear that it will be to the advantage of the country for the Congress to adopt a comprehensive plan for putting the navy upon a final footing of strength and efficiency and to press that plan to completion within the next five years. We have always looked to the navy of the country as our first and chief line of defense; we have always seen it to be our manifest course of prudence to be strong on the seas. Year by year we have been creating a navy which now ranks very high indeed among the navies of the maritime nations. We should now definitely determine how we shall complete what we have begun, and how soon.

“The programme to be laid before you contemplates the construction within five years of ten battleships, six battle-cruisers, ten scout-cruisers, fifty destroyers, fifteen fleet submarines, eighty-five coast submarines, four gunboats, one hospital ship, two ammunition ships, two fuel-oil ships, and one repair ship. It is proposed that of this number we shall the first year provide for the construction of two battleships, two battle-cruisers, three scout-cruisers, fifteen destroyers, five fleet submarines, twenty-five coast submarines, two gunboats, and one hospital ship; the second year, two battleships, one scout-cruiser, ten destroyers, four submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat, and one fuel-oil ship; the third year, two battleships, one battle-cruiser, two scout-cruisers, five destroyers, two fleet submarines, and fifteen coast submarines; the fourth year, two battleships, two battle-cruisers, two scout-cruisers, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one ammunition ship, and one fuel-oil ship; and the fifth year, two battleships, one battle-cruiser, two scout-cruisers, ten destroyers, two fleet submarines, fifteen coast submarines, one gunboat, one ammunition ship, and one repair ship.

“The Secretary of the Navy is asking also for the immediate addition to the personnel of the navy of seven thousand five hundred sailors, twenty-five hundred apprentice seamen, and fifteen hundred marines. This increase would be sufficient to care for the ships which are to be completed within the fiscal year 1917 and also for the number of men which must be put in training to man the ships which will be completed early in 1918. It is also necessary that the number of midshipmen at the Naval Academy at Annapolis should be increased by at least three hundred in order that the force of officers should be more rapidly added to; and authority is asked to appoint, for engineering duties only, approved graduates of engineering colleges, and for service in the aviation corps a certain number of men taken from civil life.

“If this full programme should be carried out we should have built or building in 1921, according to the estimates of survival and standards of classification followed by the General Board of the Department, an effective navy consisting of twenty-seven battleships, of the first line, six battle-cruisers, twenty-five battleships of the second line, ten armored cruisers, thirteen scout-cruisers, five first-class cruisers, three second-class cruisers, ten third-class cruisers, one hundred and eight destroyers, eighteen fleet submarines, one hundred and fifty-seven coast submarines, six monitors, twenty gunboats, four supply ships, fifteen fuel ships, four transports, three tenders to torpedo vessels, eight vessels of special types, and two ammunition ships. This would be a navy fitted to our needs and worthy of our traditions.

“But armies and instruments of war are only part of what has to be considered if we are to provide for the supreme matter of national self-sufficiency and security in all its aspects. There are other great matters which will be thrust upon our attention whether we will or not. There is, for example, a very pressing question of trade and shipping involved in this great problem of national

adequacy. It is necessary for many weighty reasons of national efficiency and development that we should have a great merchant marine. The great merchant fleet we once used to make us rich, that great body of sturdy sailors who used to carry our flag into every sea, and who were the pride and often the bulwark of the nation, we have almost driven out of existence by inexcusable neglect and indifference and by a hopelessly blind and provincial policy of so-called economic protection. It is high time we repaired our mistake and resumed our commercial independence on the seas.

“For it is a question of independence. If other nations go to war or seek to hamper each other’s commerce, our merchants, it seems, are at their mercy, to do with as they please. We must use their ships, and use them as they determine. We have not ships enough of our own. We can not handle our own commerce on the seas. Our independence is provincial, and is only on land and within our own borders. We are not likely to be permitted to use even the ships of other nations in rivalry of their own trade, and are without means to extend our commerce even where the doors are wide open and our goods desired. Such a situation is not to be endured. It is of capital importance not only that the United States should be its own carrier on the seas and enjoy the economic independence which only an adequate merchant marine would give it, but also that the American hemisphere as a whole should enjoy a like independence and self-sufficiency, if it is not to be drawn into the tangle of European affairs. Without such independence the whole question of our political unity and self-determination is very seriously clouded and complicated indeed.

“Moreover, we can develop no true or effective American policy without ships of our own,—not ships of war, but ships of peace, carrying goods and carrying much more; creating friendships and rendering indispensable services to all interests on this side the water. They must

move constantly back and forth between the Americas. They are the only shuttles that can weave the delicate fabric of sympathy, comprehension, confidence, and mutual dependence in which we wish to clothe our policy of America for Americans.

“The task of building up an adequate merchant marine for American private capital must ultimately undertake and achieve, as it has undertaken and achieved every other like task amongst us in the past, with admirable enterprise, intelligence, and vigor; and it seems to me a manifest dictate of wisdom that we should promptly remove every legal obstacle that may stand in the way of this much-to-be-desired revival of our old independence and should facilitate in every possible way the building, purchase, and American registration of ships. But capital cannot accomplish this great task of a sudden. It must embark upon it by degrees, as the opportunities of trade develop. Something must be done at once; done to open routes and develop opportunities where they are as yet undeveloped; done to open the arteries of trade where the currents have not yet learned to run,—especially between the two American continents, where they are, singularly enough, yet to be created and quickened; and it is evident that only the government can undertake such beginnings and assume the initial financial risks. When the risk has passed and private capital begins to find its way in sufficient abundance into these new channels, the government may withdraw. But it can not omit to begin. It should take the first steps, and should take them at once. Our goods must not lie piled up at our ports and stored upon side-tracks in freight cars which are daily needed on the roads; must not be left without means of transport to any foreign quarter. We must not await the permission of foreign ship-owners and foreign governments to send them where we will.

“With a view to meeting these pressing necessities of our commerce and availing ourselves at the earliest possi-

ble moment of the present unparalleled opportunity of linking the two Americas together in bonds of mutual interest and service, an opportunity which may never return again if we miss it now, proposals will be made to the present Congress for the purchase or construction of ships to be owned and directed by the government similar to those made to the last Congress, but modified in some essential particulars. I recommend these proposals to you for your prompt acceptance with the more confidence because every month that has elapsed since the former proposals were made has made the necessity for such action more and more manifestly imperative. This need was then foreseen; it is now acutely felt and everywhere realized by those for whom trade is waiting but who can find no conveyance for their goods. I am not so much interested in the particulars of the programme as I am in taking immediate advantage of the great opportunity which awaits us if we will but act in this emergency. In this matter, as in all others, a spirit of common counsel should prevail, and out of it should come an early solution of this pressing problem.

“There is another matter which seems to me to be very intimately associated with the question of national safety and preparation for defense. That is our policy towards the Philippines and the people of Porto Rico. Our treatment of them and their attitude towards us are manifestly of the first consequence in the development of our duties in the world and in getting a free hand to perform those duties. We must be free from every unnecessary burden or embarrassment; and there is no better way to be clear of embarrassment than to fulfil our promises and promote the interests of those dependent on us to the utmost. Bills for the alteration and reform of the government of the Philippines and for rendering fuller political justice to the people of Porto Rico were submitted to the sixty-third Congress. They will be submitted also to you. I need not particularize their details. You are

most of you already familiar with them. But I do recommend them to your early adoption with the sincere conviction that there are few measures you could adopt which would more serviceably clear the way for the great policies by which we wish to make good, now and always, our right to lead in enterprises of peace and good will and economic and political freedom.

The plans for the armed forces of the nation which I have outlined, and for the general policy of adequate preparation for mobilization and defense, involve of course very large additional expenditures of money,—expenditures which will considerably exceed the estimated revenues of the government. It is made my duty by law, whenever the estimates of expenditure exceed the estimates of revenue, to call the attention of the Congress to the fact and suggest any means of meeting the deficiency that it may be wise or possible for me to suggest. I am ready to believe that it would be my duty to do so in any case; and I feel particularly bound to speak of the matter when it appears that the deficiency will arise directly out of the adoption by the Congress of measures which I myself urge it to adopt. Allow me, therefore, to speak briefly of the present state of the Treasury and of the fiscal problems which the next year will probably disclose.

“On the thirtieth of June last there was an available balance in the general fund of the Treasury of \$104,170,105.78. The total estimated receipts for the year 1916, on the assumption that the emergency revenue measure passed by the last Congress will not be extended beyond its present limit, the thirty-first of December, 1915, and that the present duty of one cent per pound on sugar will be discontinued after the first of May, 1916, will be \$670,365,500. The balance of June last and these estimated revenues come, therefore, to a grand total of \$774,535,605.78. The total estimated disbursements for the present fiscal year, including twenty-five millions for the Panama

Canal, twelve millions for probable deficiency appropriations, and fifty thousand dollars for miscellaneous debt redemptions, will be \$753,891,000; and the balance in the general fund of the Treasury will be reduced to \$20,644,605.78. The emergency revenue act, if continued beyond its present time limitation, would produce, during the half year then remaining, about forty-one millions. The duty of one cent per pound on sugar, if continued, would produce during the two months of the fiscal year remaining after the first of May, about fifteen millions. These two sums, amounting together to fifty-six millions, if added to the revenues of the second half of the fiscal year, would yield the Treasury at the end of the year an available balance of \$76,644,605.78.

“The additional revenues required to carry out the programme of military and naval preparation of which I have spoken would, as at present estimated, be for the fiscal year 1917, \$93,800,000. Those figures, taken with the figures for the present fiscal year which I have already given, disclose our financial problem for the year 1917. Assuming that the taxes imposed by the emergency revenue act and the present duty on sugar are to be discontinued, and that the balance at the close of the present fiscal year will be only \$20,644,605.78, that the disbursements for the Panama Canal will again be about twenty-five millions, and that the additional expenditures for the army and navy are authorized by the Congress, the deficit in the general fund of the Treasury on the thirtieth of June, 1917, will be nearly two hundred and thirty-five millions. To this sum at least fifty millions should be added to represent a safe working balance for the Treasury, and twelve millions to include the usual deficiency estimates in 1917; and these additions would make a total deficit of some two hundred and ninety-seven millions. If the present taxes should be continued throughout this year and the next, however, there would be a balance in the Treasury of some seventy-six and a half millions at the end of

the present fiscal year, and a deficit at the end of the next year of only some fifty millions, or, reckoning in sixty-two millions for deficiency appropriations and a safe Treasury balance at the end of the year, a total deficit of some one hundred and twelve millions. The obvious moral of the figures is that it is a plain counsel of prudence to continue all of the present taxes or their equivalents, and confine ourselves to the problem of providing one hundred and twelve millions of new revenue rather than two hundred and ninety-seven millions.

“How shall we obtain the new revenue? We are frequently reminded that there are many millions of bonds which the Treasury is authorized under existing law to sell to reimburse the sums paid out of current revenues for the construction of the Panama Canal; and it is true that bonds to the amount of approximately \$222,000,000 are now available for that purpose. Prior to 1913 \$134,631,980 of these bonds had actually been sold to recoup the expenditures at the Isthmus; and now constitute a considerable item of the public debt. But I, for one, do not believe that the people of this country approve of postponing the payment of their bills. Borrowing money is short-sighted finance. It can be justified only when permanent things are to be accomplished which many generations will certainly benefit by and which it seems hardly fair that a single generation should pay for. The objects we are now proposing to spend money for cannot be so classified, except in the sense that everything wisely done may be said to be done in the interest of posterity as well as in our own. It seems to me a clear dictate of prudent statesmanship and frank finance that in what we are now, I hope, about to undertake we should pay as we go. The people of the country are entitled to know just what burdens of taxation they are to carry, and to know from the outset, now. The new bills should be paid by internal taxation.

“To what sources, then, shall we turn? This is so

peculiarly a question which the gentlemen of the House of Representatives are expected under the Constitution to propose an answer to that you will hardly expect me to do more than discuss it in very general terms. We should be following an almost universal example of modern governments if we were to draw the greater part or even the whole of the revenues we need from the income taxes. By somewhat lowering the present limits of exemption and the figures at which the surtax shall begin to be imposed, and by increasing, step by step throughout the present graduation, the surtax itself, the income taxes as at present apportioned would yield sums sufficient to balance the books of the Treasury at the end of the fiscal year 1917 without anywhere making the burden unreasonably or oppressively heavy. The precise reckonings are fully and accurately set out in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury which will be immediately laid before you.

“And there are many additional sources of revenue which can justly be resorted to without hammering the industries of the country or putting any too great charge upon individual expenditure. A tax of one cent per gallon on gasoline and naphtha would yield, at the present estimated production, \$10,000,000; a tax of fifty cents per horsepower on automobiles and internal explosion engines, \$15,000,000; a stamp tax on bank cheques, probably \$18,000,000; a tax of twenty-five cents per ton on pig iron, \$10,000,000; a tax of twenty-five cents per ton on fabricated iron and steel probably \$10,000,000. In a country of great industries like this it ought to be easy to distribute the burdens of taxation without making them anywhere bear too heavily or too exclusively upon any one set of persons or undertakings. What is clear is, that the industry of this generation should pay the bills of this generation.

“I have spoken to you today, gentlemen, upon a single theme, the thorough preparation of the nation to care for its own security and to make sure of entire free-

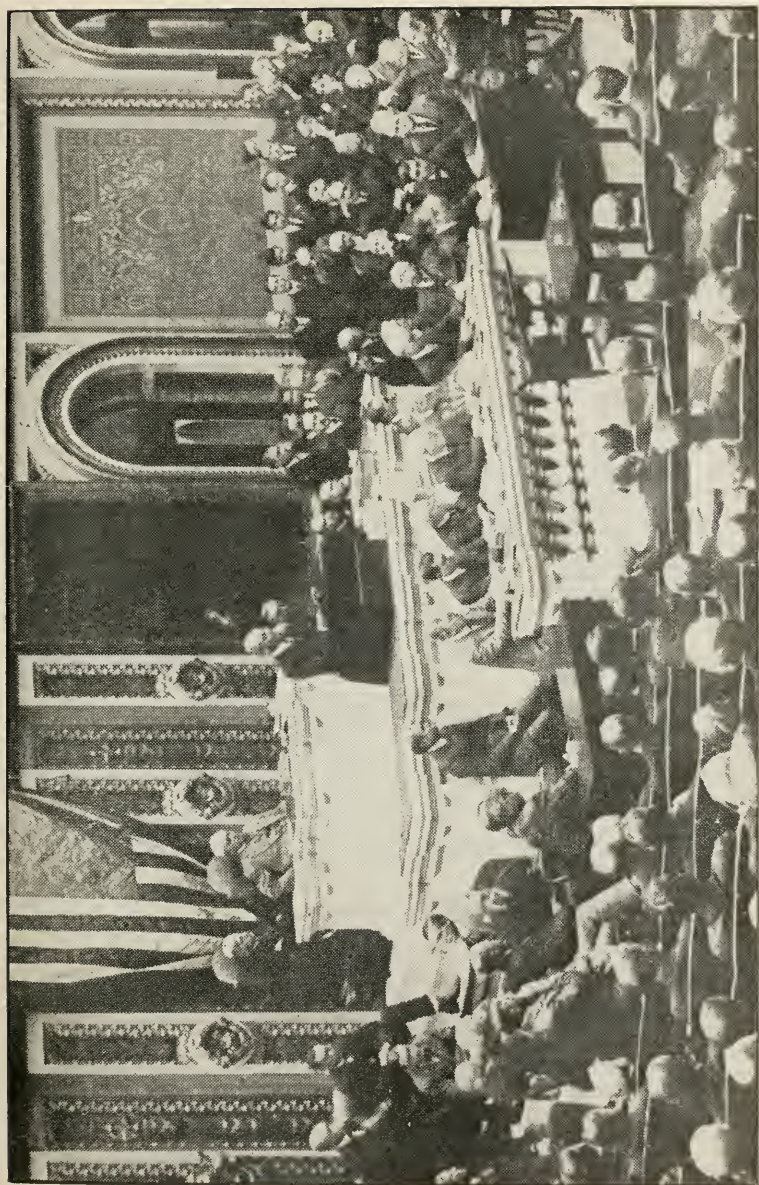
dom to play the impartial rôle in this hemisphere and in the world which we all believe to have been providentially assigned to it. I have had in my mind no thought of any immediate or particular danger arising out of our relations with other nations. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and there is reason to hope that no question in controversy between this and other governments will lead to any serious breach of amicable relations, grave as some differences of attitude and policy have been and may yet turn out to be. I am sorry to say that the gravest threats against our national peace and safety have been uttered within our own borders. There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our policies to the uses of foreign intrigue. Their number is not great as compared with the whole number of those sturdy hosts by which our nation has been enriched in recent generations out of virile foreign stocks; but it is great enough to have brought deep disgrace upon us and to have made it necessary that we should promptly make use of processes of law by which we may be purged of their corrupt distempers. America never witnessed anything like this before. It never dreamed it possible that men sworn into its own citizenship, men drawn out of great free stocks such as supplied some of the best and strongest elements of that little, but how heroic, nation that in a high day of old staked its very life to free itself from every entanglement that had darkened the fortunes of the older nations and set up a new standard here,—that men of such origins and such free choices of allegiance would ever turn in malign reac-

tion against the Government and people who had welcomed and nurtured them and seek to make this proud country once more a hotbed of European passion. A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been almost ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate federal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that in doing so I am urging you to do something less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. They are not many, but they are infinitely malignant, and the hand of our power should close over them at once. They have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the Government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the Government in order to serve interests alien to our own. It is possible to deal with these things very effectually. I need not suggest the terms in which they may be dealt with.

“I wish that it could be said that only a few men, misled by mistaken sentiments of allegiance to the governments under which they were born, had been guilty of disturbing the self-possession and misrepresenting the temper and principles of the country during these days of terrible war, when it would seem that every man who was truly an American would instinctively make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own. But it can not. There are some men among us, and many resident abroad who, though born and bred in the United States and calling themselves Americans, have so forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their passionate sympathy with one or the other side in the great Euro-

pean conflict above their regard for the peace and dignity of the United States. They also preach and practice disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruptions of the mind and heart; but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us.

“While we speak of the preparation of the nation to make sure of her security and her effective power we must not fall into the patent error of supposing that her real strength comes from armaments and mere safeguards of written law. It comes, of course, from her people, their energy, their success in their undertakings, their free opportunity to use the natural resources of our great home land and of the lands outside our continental borders which look to us for protection, for encouragement, and for assistance in their development; from the organization and freedom and vitality of our economic life. The domestic questions which engaged the attention of the last Congress are more vital to the nation in this its time of test than at any other time. We can not adequately make ready for any trial of our strength unless we wisely and promptly direct the force of our laws into these all-important fields of domestic action. A matter which it seems to me we should have very much at heart is the creation of the right instrumentalities by which to mobilize our economic resources in any time of national necessity. I take it for granted that I do not need your authority to call into sympathetic consultation with the directing officers of the army and navy men of recognized leadership and ability from among our citizens who are thoroughly familiar, for example, with the transportation facilities of the country and therefore competent to advise how they may be coördinated when the need arises, those who can suggest the best way in which to bring about prompt



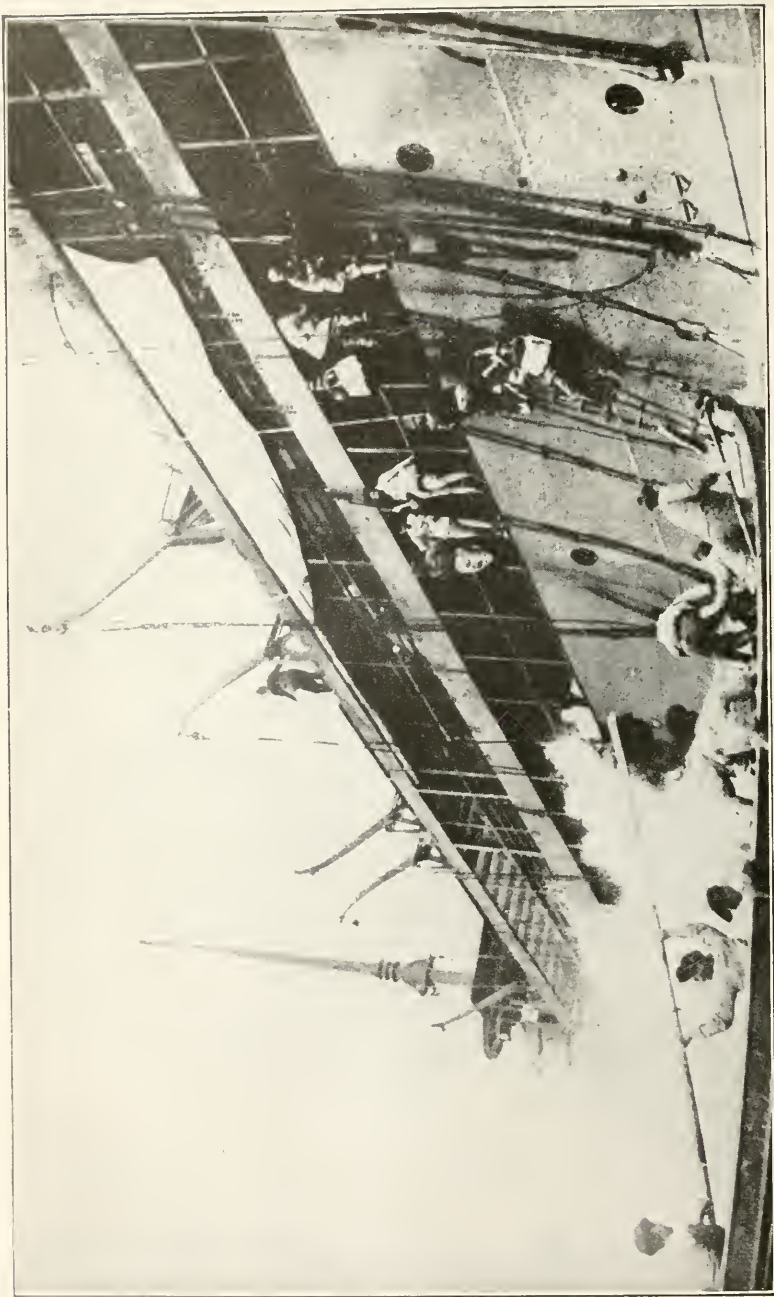
PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS ON BREAK WITH GERMANY



GENERAL PERSHING.
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY
FORCES.



KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM.
FOR FOUR LONG YEARS A KING WITHOUT A COUNTRY.



A RACE FOR THE LIFE BOATS.

WITHOUT WARNING A GERMAN SUBMARINE TORPEDED THE SONTAY, CAUSING THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES.

coöperation among the manufacturers of the country, should it be necessary, and those who could assist to bring the technical skill of the country to the aid of the Government in the solution of particular problems of defense. I only hope that if I should find it feasible to constitute such an advisory body the Congress would be willing to vote the small sum of money that would be needed to defray the expenses that would probably be necessary to give it the clerical and administrative machinery with which to do serviceable work.

“What is more important is, that the industries and resources of the country should be available and ready for mobilization. It is the more imperatively necessary, therefore, that we should promptly devise means for doing what we have not yet done: that we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry; that, at the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently, as was sought to be done in the admirable bills submitted to the last Congress from its committees on the public lands, bills which I earnestly recommend in principle to your consideration; that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the Reserve Bank Act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages; and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adaptation of our economic arrangements to changing conditions.

“Many conditions about which we have repeatedly legislated are being altered from decade to decade, it is evident, under our very eyes, and are likely to change even more rapidly and more radically in the days immediately ahead of us, when peace has returned to the

world and the nations of Europe once more take up their tasks of commerce and industry with the energy of those who must bestir themselves to build anew. Just what these changes will be no one can certainly foresee or confidently predict. There are no calculable, because no stable, elements in the problem. The most we can do is to make certain that we have the necessary instrumentalities of information constantly at our service so that we may be sure that we know exactly what we are dealing with when we come to act, if it should be necessary to act at all. We must first certainly know what it is that we are seeking to adapt ourselves to. I may ask the privilege of addressing you more at length on this important matter a little later in your session.

“In the meantime may I make this suggestion? The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time of late been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coördinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by a thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at present framed and administered are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem. It is obviously a problem that lies at the very foundation of our efficiency as a people. Such an inquiry ought to draw out every circumstance and opinion worth considering and we need to know all sides of the matter if we mean to do anything in the field of federal legislation.

“No one, I am sure, would wish to take any backward step. The regulation of the railways of the country by federal commission has had admirable results and has fully justified the hopes and expectations of those by whom the policy of regulation was originally proposed. The question is not what should we undo? It is, whether there is anything else we can do that will supply us the effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bet-

tering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the country as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of coördination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

“For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self-government, industry, justice, liberty and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or vigor of law, to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety, and assured success. In this we are no partisans but heralds and prophets of a new age.”

CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENT WILSON ON PREPAREDNESS.

President Wilson had been considering the state of the country's defense for some time before he made an official announcement in his message to congress. He had mentioned the problem in several speeches, the most notable of which was delivered at a meeting of the Associated Press in New York on April 20th, 1915. His theme on that occasion was "America First." The address follows:

"I am deeply gratified by the generous reception you have accorded me. It makes me look back with a touch of regret to former occasions when I have stood in this place and enjoyed a greater liberty than is granted me today. There have been times when I stood in this spot and said what I really thought, and I can not help praying that those days of indulgence may be accorded me again. I have come here today, of course, somewhat restrained by a sense of responsibility which I can not escape. For I take the Associated Press very seriously. I know the enormous part that you play in the affairs not only of this country but of the world. You deal in the raw material of opinion and, if my convictions have any validity, opinion ultimately governs the world.

"It is, therefore, of very serious things that I think as I face this body of men. I do not think of you, however, as members of the Associated Press. I do not think of you as men of different parties or of different racial derivations or of different religious denominations. I want to talk to you as to my fellow citizens of the United States, for there are serious things which as fellow citi-

zens we ought to consider. The times behind us, gentlemen, have been difficult enough; the times before us are likely to be more difficult still, because, whatever may be said about the present condition of the world's affairs, it is clear that they are drawing rapidly to a climax, and at the climax the test will come, not only for the nations engaged in the present colossal struggle—it will come to them, of course—but the test will come for us particularly.

“Do you realize that, roughly speaking, we are the only great Nation at present disengaged? I am not speaking, of course, with disparagement of the greatness of those nations in Europe which are not parties to the present war, but I am thinking of their close neighborhood to it. I am thinking how their lives much more than ours touch the very heart and stuff of the business, whereas we have rolling between us and those bitter days across the water 3,000 miles of cool and silent ocean. Our atmosphere is not yet charged with those disturbing elements which must permeate every nation of Europe. Therefore, is it not likely that the nations of the world will some day turn to us for the cooler assessment of the elements engaged? I am not now thinking so preposterous a thought as that we should sit in judgment upon them—no nation is fit to sit in judgment upon any other nation—but that we shall some day have to assist in reconstructing the processes of peace. Our resources are untouched; we are more and more becoming by the force of circumstances the mediating Nation of the world in respect of its finance. We must make up our minds what are the best things to do and what are the best ways to do them. We must put our money, our energy, our enthusiasm, our sympathy into these things, and we must have our judgments prepared and our spirits chastened against the coming of that day.

“So that I am not speaking in a selfish spirit when I say that our whole duty, for the present at any rate, is

summed up in this motto, 'America first.' Let us think of America before we think of Europe, in order that America may be fit to be Europe's friend when the day of tested friendship comes. The test of friendship is not now sympathy with the one side or the other, but getting ready to help both sides when the struggle is over. The basis of neutrality, gentlemen, is not indifference; it is not self-interest. The basis of neutrality is sympathy for mankind. It is fairness, it is good will, at bottom. It is impartiality of spirit and of judgment. I wish that all of our fellow citizens could realize that. There is in some quarters a disposition to create distempers in this body politic. Men are even uttering slanders against the United States, as if to excite her. Men are saying that if we should go to war upon either side there would be a divided America—an abominable libel of ignorance! America is not all of it vocal just now. It is vocal in spots, but I, for one, have a complete and abiding faith in that great silent body of Americans who are not standing up and shouting and expressing their opinions just now, but are waiting to find out and support the duty of America. I am just as sure of their solidity and of their loyalty and of their unanimity, if we act justly, as I am that the history of this country has at every crisis and turning point illustrated this great lesson.

“We are the mediating Nation of the world. I do not mean that we undertake not to mind our own business and to mediate where other people are quarreling. I mean the word in a broader sense. We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand all nations; we are able to understand them in the compound, not separately, as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating Nation.

The opinion of America, the action of America, is ready to turn, and free to turn, in any direction. Did you ever reflect upon how almost every other nation has through long centuries been headed in one direction? That is not true of the United States. The United States has no racial momentum. It has no history back of it which makes it run all its energies and all its ambitions in one particular direction. And America is particularly free in this, that she has no hampering ambitions as a world power. We do not want a foot of anybody's territory. If we have been obliged by circumstances, or have considered ourselves to be obliged by circumstances, in the past, to take territory which we otherwise would not have thought of taking, I believe I am right in saying that we have considered it our duty to administer that territory, not for ourselves but for the people living in it, and to put this burden upon our consciences—not to think that this thing is ours for our use, but to regard ourselves as trustees of the great business for those to whom it does really belong, trustees ready to hand it over to the cestui que trust at any time when the business seems to make that possible and feasible. That is what I mean by saying we have no hampering ambitions. We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations, and is not a nation like that ready to form some part of the assessing opinion of the world?

“My interest in the neutrality of the United States is not the petty desire to keep out of trouble. To judge by my experience, I have never been able to keep out of trouble. I have never looked for it, but I have always found it. I do not want to walk around trouble. If any man wants a scrap that is an interesting scrap and worth while, I am his man. I warn him that he is not going to draw me into the scrap for his advertisement, but if he is looking for trouble that is the trouble of men in general and I can help a little, why, then, I am in for it. But I

am interested in neutrality because there is something so much greater to do than fight; there is a distinction waiting for this Nation that no nation has ever yet got. That is the distinction of absolute self-control and self-mastery. Whom do you admire most among your friends? The irritable man? The man out of whom you can get a "rise" without trying? The man who will fight at the drop of the hat, whether he knows what the hat is dropped for or not? Don't you admire and don't you fear, if you have to contest with him, the self-mastered man who watches you with calm eye and comes in only when you have carried the thing so far that you must be disposed of? That is the man you respect. That is the man who, you know, has at bottom a much more fundamental and terrible courage than the irritable, fighting man. Now, I covet for America this splendid courage of reserve moral force, and I wanted to point out to you gentlemen simply this:

"There is news and news. There is what is called news from Turtle Bay that turns out to be falsehood, at any rate in what it is said to signify, but which, if you could get the Nation to believe it true, might disturb our equilibrium and our self-possession. We ought not to deal in stuff of that kind. We ought not to permit that sort of thing to use up the electrical energy of the wires, because its energy is malign, its energy is not of the truth, its energy is of mischief. It is possible to sift truth. I have known some things to go out on the wires as true when there was only one man or one group of men who could have told the originators of that report whether it was true or not, and they were not asked whether it was true or not for fear it might not be true. That sort of report ought not to go out over the wires. There is generally, if not always, somebody who knows whether the thing is so or not, and in these days, above all other days, we ought to take particular pains to resort to the one small group of men, or to the one man if there be but one,

who knows whether those things are true or not. The world ought to know the truth; the world ought not at this period of unstable equilibrium to be disturbed by rumor, ought not to be disturbed by imaginative combinations of circumstances, or, rather, by circumstances stated in combination which do not belong in combination. You gentlemen, and gentlemen engaged like you, are holding the balance in your hand. This unstable equilibrium rests upon scales that are in your hands. For the food of opinion, as I began by saying, is the news of the day. I have known many a man to go off at a tangent on information that was not reliable. Indeed, that describes the majority of men. The world is held stable by the man who waits for the next day to find out whether the report was true or not.

“We cannot afford, therefore, to let the rumors of irresponsible persons and origins get into the atmosphere of the United States. We are trustees for what I venture to say is the greatest heritage that any nation ever had, the love of justice and righteousness and human liberty. For, fundamentally, those are the things to which America is addicted and to which she is devoted. There are groups of selfish men in the United States, there are coteries, where sinister things are purposed, but the great heart of the American people is just as sound and true as it ever was. And it is a single heart; it is the heart of America. It is not a heart made up of sections selected out of other countries.

“What I try to remind myself of every day when I am almost overcome by perplexities, what I try to remember, is what the people at home are thinking about. I try to put myself in the place of the man who does not know all the things that I know and ask myself what he would like the policy of this country to be. Not the talkative man, not the partisan man, not the man who remembers first that he is a Republican or a Democrat, or that his parents were German or English, but the man who re-

members first that the whole destiny of modern affairs centers largely upon his being an American first of all. If I permitted myself to be a partisan in this present struggle, I would be unworthy to represent you. If I permitted myself to forget the people who are not partisans, I would be unworthy to be your spokesman. I am not sure that I am worthy to represent you, but I do claim this degree of worthiness—that before everything else I love America.”

During the ensuing months he spoke of preparedness on many occasions. He was busy drawing up the formula which he placed before the people in a speech delivered in New York on November 4th, 1915, while he was being entertained at the Manhattan club. He said:

“I shall assume that here around the dinner table on this memorable occasion our talk should properly turn to the wide and common interests which are most in our thoughts, whether they be the interests of the community or of the nation.

“A year and a half ago our thought would have been almost altogether of great domestic questions. They are many and of vital consequence. We must and shall address ourselves to their solution with diligence, firmness, and self-possession, notwithstanding we find ourselves in the midst of a world disturbed by great disaster and ablaze with terrible war; but our thought is now inevitably of new things about which formerly we gave ourselves little concern. We are thinking now chiefly of our relations with the rest of the world—not our commercial relations—about those we have thought and planned always—but about our political relations, our duties as an individual and independent force in the world to ourselves, our neighbors, and the world itself.

“Our principles are well known. It is not necessary to avow them again. We believe in political liberty and founded our great government to obtain it, the liberty of men and of peoples—of men to choose their own lives and

of peoples to choose their own allegiance. Our ambition, also, all the world has knowledge of. It is not only to be free and prosperous ourselves, but also to be the friend and thoughtful partisan of those who are free or who desire freedom the world over. If we have had aggressive purposes and covetous ambitions, they were the fruit of our thoughtless youth as a nation and we have put them aside. We shall, I confidently believe, never again take another foot of territory by conquest. We shall never in any circumstances seek to make an independent people subject to our dominion; because we believe, we passionately believe, in the right of every people to choose their own allegiance and be free of masters altogether. For ourselves we wish nothing but the full liberty of self-development; and with ourselves in this great matter we associate all the peoples of our own hemisphere. We wish not only for the United States but for them the fullest freedom of independent growth and of action, for we know that throughout this hemisphere the same aspirations are everywhere being worked out, under diverse conditions but with the same impulse and ultimate object.

“All this is very clear to us and will, I confidently predict, become more and more clear to the whole world as the great processes of the future unfold themselves. It is with a full consciousness of such principles and such ambitions that we are asking ourselves at the present time what our duty is with regard to the armed force of the Nation. Within a year we have witnessed what we did not believe possible, a great European conflict involving many of the greatest nations of the world. The influences of a great war are everywhere in the air. All Europe is embattled. Force everywhere speaks out with a loud and imperious voice in a titanic struggle of governments, and from one end of our own dear country to the other men are asking one another what our own force is, how far we are prepared to maintain ourselves against any interference with our national action or development.

“In no man’s mind, I am sure, is there even raised the question of the wilful use of force on our part against any nation or any people. No matter what military or naval force the United States might develop, statesmen throughout the whole world might rest assured that we were gathering that force, not for attack in any quarter, not for aggression of any kind, not for the satisfaction of any political or international ambition, but merely to make sure of our own security. We have it in mind to be prepared, not for war, but only for defense; and with the thought constantly in our minds that the principles we hold most dear can be achieved by the slow processes of history only in the kindly and wholesome atmosphere of peace, and not by the use of hostile force. The mission of America in the world is essentially a mission of peace and good will among men. She has become the home and asylum of men of all creeds and races. Within her hospitable borders they have found homes and congenial associations and freedom and a wide and cordial welcome, and they have become part of the bone and sinew and spirit of America itself. America has been made up out of the nations of the world and is the friend of the nations of the world.

“But we feel justified in preparing ourselves to vindicate our right to independent and unmolested action by making the force that is in us ready for assertion.

“And we know that we can do this in a way that will be itself an illustration of the American spirit. In accordance with our American traditions we want and shall work for only an army adequate to the constant and legitimate uses of times of international peace. But we do want to feel that there is a great body of citizens who have received at least the most rudimentary and necessary forms of military training that they will be ready to form themselves into a fighting force at the call of the nation; and that the nation has the munitions and sup-

plies with which to equip them without delay should it be necessary to call them into action. We wish to supply them with the training they need, and we think we can do so without calling them at any time too long away from their civilian pursuits.

“It is with this idea, with this conception, in mind that the plans have been made which it will be my privilege to lay before the Congress at its next session. That plan calls for only such an increase in the regular Army of the United States as experience has proved to be required for the performance of the necessary duties of the Army in the Philippines, in Hawaii, in Porto Rico, upon the borders of the United States, at the coast fortifications, and at the military posts of the interior. For the rest, it calls for the training within the next three years of a force of 400,000 citizen soldiers to be raised in annual contingents of 133,000, who would be asked to enlist for three years with the colors and three years on furlough, but who during their three years of enlistment with the colors would not be organized as a standing force but would be expected merely to undergo intensive training for a very brief period of each year. Their training would take place in immediate association with the organized units of the regular Army. It would have no touch of the amateur about it, neither would it exact of the volunteers more than they could give in any one year from their civilian pursuits.

“And none of this would be done in such a way as in the slightest degree to supersede or subordinate our present serviceable and efficient National Guard. On the contrary, the National Guard itself would be used as part of the instrumentality by which training would be given the citizens who enlisted under the new conditions, and I should hope and expect that the legislation by which all this would be accomplished would put the National Guard itself upon a better and more permanent footing than it has ever been before, giving it not only the recognition

which it deserves, but a more definite support from the national government and a more definite connection with the military organization of the nation.

“What we all wish to accomplish is that the forces of the nation should indeed be part of the nation and not a separate professional force, and the chief cost of the system would not be in the enlistment or in the training of the men, but in the providing of ample equipment in case it should be necessary to call all forces into the field.

“Moreover, it has been American policy time out of mind to look to the Navy as the first and chief line of defense. The Navy of the United States is already a very great and efficient force. Not rapidly, but slowly, with careful attention, our naval force has been developed until the Navy of the United States stands recognized as one of the most efficient and notable of the modern time. All that is needed in order to bring it to a point of extraordinary force and efficiency as compared with the other navies of the world is that we should hasten our pace in the policy we have long been pursuing, and that chief of all we should have a definite policy of development, not made from year to year but looking well into the future and planning for a definite consummation. We can and should profit in all that we do by the experience and example that have been made obvious to us by the military and naval events of the actual present. It is not merely a matter of building battleships and cruisers and submarines, but also a matter of making sure that we shall have the adequate equipment of men and munitions and supplies for the vessels we build and intend to build. Part of our problem is the problem of what I may call the mobilization of the resources of the nation at the proper time if it should ever be necessary to mobilize them for national defense. We shall study efficiency and adequate equipment as carefully as we shall study the number and size of our ships, and I believe that the plans already in part made public by the Navy Department are plans

which the whole nation can approve with rational enthusiasm.

“No thoughtful man feels any panic haste in this matter. The country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world. Her resources are known and her self-respect and her capacity to care for her own citizens and her own rights. There is no fear amongst us. Under the new-world conditions we have become thoughtful of the things which all reasonable men consider necessary for security and self-defense on the part of every nation confronted with the great enterprise of human liberty and independence. That is all.

“Is the plan we propose sane and reasonable and suited to the needs of the hour? Does it not conform to the ancient traditions of America? Has any better plan been proposed than this programme that we now place before the country? In it there is no pride of opinion. It represents the best professional and expert judgment of the country. But I am not so much interested in programmes as I am in safe-guarding at every cost the good faith and honor of the country. If men differ with me in this vital matter, I shall ask them to make it clear how far and in what way they are interested in making the permanent interests of the country safe against disturbance.

“In the fulfillment of the programme I propose I shall ask for the hearty support of the country, of the rank and file of America, of men of all shades of political opinion. For my position in this matter is different from that of the private individual who is free to speak his own thoughts and to risk his own opinions in this matter. We are here dealing with things that are vital to the life of America itself. In doing this I have tried to purge my heart of all personal and selfish motives. For the time being, I speak as the trustee and guardian of a nation's rights, charged with the duty of speaking for that nation in matters involving her sovereignty—a nation too big

and generous to be exacting and yet courageous enough to defend its rights and the liberties of its people wherever assailed or invaded. I would not feel that I was discharging the solemn obligation I owe the country were I not to speak in terms of deepest solemnity of the urgency and necessity of preparing ourselves to guard and protect the rights and privileges of our people, our sacred heritage of the fathers who struggled to make us an independent nation.

“The only thing within our own borders that has given us grave concern in recent months has been that voices have been raised in America professing to be the voices of Americans which were not indeed and in truth American, but which spoke alien sympathies, which came from men who loved other countries better than they loved America, men who were partisans of other causes than that of America and had forgotten that their chief and only allegiance was to the great government under which they live. These voices have not been many, but they have been loud and very clamorous. . . . The chief thing necessary is that the real voice of the nation should sound forth unmistakably and in majestic volume, in the deep unison of a common, unhesitating national feeling.”

When congress failed to heed the requests of the President he decided to take the issue directly before the people and for that reason began a tour of the country on January 7th, 1916, delivering his first speech in New York. He then proceeded to Pittsburgh, where he again addressed a public meeting of citizens. His speech there follows:

“I am conscious of a sort of truancy in being absent from my duties in Washington, and yet it did seem to me to be clearly the obligation laid upon me by the office to which I have been chosen that, as your servant and representative, I should come and report to you upon the progress of public affairs. . . .



Hon. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State.



Herbert C. Hoover, Food Dictator.



AMERICANS GOING THROUGH A SUBURB OF PARIS.
LEAVING FOR THE FRONT, PERHAPS NEVER TO RETURN, THEY WERE FETTERED WITH FLOWERS AND CANDIES.



NAVAL HEADQUARTERS IN LONDON, ENGLAND.
A GROUP OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICERS.



SECRETARY OF THE NAVY DANIELS AND REAR ADMIRAL SIMS.
VETERAN STATESMAN AND ADMIRAL SIMS, VETERAN NAVAL MAN AND HERO OF MANY BATTLES.

“You know that there is a multitude of voices upon the question of national defense, and I, for my part, am not inclined to criticize any of the views that have been put forth upon this important subject, because if there is one thing we love more than another in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind. . . .

“What is it that we want to defend? You do not need to have me answer that question for you; it is your own thought. We want to defend the life of this Nation against any sort of interference. We want to maintain the equal right of this Nation as against the action of all other nations, and we wish to maintain the peace and unity of the Western Hemisphere. Those are great things to defend, and in their defense sometimes our thought must take a great sweep, even beyond our own borders. Do you never stop to reflect just what it is that America stands for? If she stands for one thing more than another, it is for the sovereignty of self-governing peoples, and her example, her assistance, her encouragement, has thrilled two continents in this Western World with all the fine impulses which have built up human liberty on both sides of the water. She stands, therefore, as an example of independence, as an example of free institutions, and as an example of disinterested international action in the maintenance of justice. These are very great things to defend, and wherever they are attacked America has at least the duty of example, has at least the duty of such action as it is possible for her with self-respect to take, in order that these things may not be neglected or thrust on one side. . . .

“I am not going before audiences like this to go into the details of the programme which has been proposed to the Congress of the United States, because, after all, the details do not make any difference. I believe in one plan; others may think that an equally good plan can be sub-

stituted, and I hope my mind is open to be convinced that it can; but what I am convinced of and what we are all working for is that there should be provided, not a great militant force in this country, but a great reserve of adequate and available force which can be called on upon occasion. I have proposed that we should be supplied with at least half a million men accustomed to handle arms and to live in camps; and that is a very small number as compared with the gigantic proportions of modern armies. Therefore, it seems to me that no man can speak of proposals like that as if they pointed in the direction of militarism. . . .

“For I am proposing something more than what is temporary. It is my conception that as the Government of the United States has done a great deal, though even yet probably not enough, to promote agricultural education in this country, it ought to do a great deal to promote industrial education in this country, and that along with thoroughgoing industrial and vocational training it is perfectly feasible to instruct the youth of the land in the mechanism and use of arms, in the sanitation of camps, in the more rudimentary principles and practices of modern warfare, and so not to bring about occasions such as we have sometimes brought about, when upon a sudden danger youngsters were summoned by the proclamation of the President out of every community, who came crude and green and raw into the service of their country—ininitely willing but also wholly unfitted for the great physical task which was ahead of them. No nation should waste its youth like that. A nation like this should be ashamed to use an insufficient instrument when it can make its instrument efficient for everything that it needs to employ it for, and can do it along with the magnifying and ennobling and quickening of the tasks of peace.

“But we have to create the schools and develop the schools to do these things, and we can not at present wait

for this slow process. We must go at once to the task of training a very considerable body of men to the use of arms and the life of camps, and we can do so upon one condition, and one condition only. The test, ladies and gentlemen, of what we are proposing is not going to be the action of Congress; it is going to be the response of the country. It is going to be the volunteering of the men to take the training and the willingness of their employers to see to it that no obstacle is put in the way of their volunteering. It will be up to the young men of this country and to the men who employ them; then, and not till then, we shall know how far it is true that America wishes to prepare itself for national defense—not a matter of sentiment, but a matter of hard practice.

“Are the men going to come out, and are those who employ them going to facilitate their coming out? I for one believe that they will. There are many selfish influences at work in this country, as in every other; but when it comes to the large view America can produce the substance of patriotism as abundantly as any other country under God’s sun. I have no anxiety along those lines, and I have no anxiety along the lines of what Congress is going to do. You elect men to Congress who have opinions, and it is not strange that they should have differing opinions. I am not jealous of debate. If what I propose can not stand debate, then something ought to be substituted for it which can. And I am not afraid that it is going to be all debate. I am not afraid that nothing is going to come out of it. I am not afraid that we shall fail to get out of it the most substantial and satisfactory results. Certainly when I talk a great deal myself I am not going to be jealous of the other man’s having a chance to talk also. We are talking, I take it, in order to get at the very final analysis of the case, the final proof and demonstration of what we ought to do.

“My own feeling, ladies and gentlemen, is that it is a pity that this is a campaign year. I hope, with the chair-

man of the meeting, that the question of national preparation for defense will not by anybody be drawn into campaign uses or partisan aspects. There are many differences between Democrats and Republicans, honest differences of opinion and of conviction, but Democrats do not differ from Republicans upon the question of the nation's safety, and no man ought to draw this thing into controversy in order to make party or personal profit out of it. I am ready to acknowledge that men on the other side politically are just as deeply and just as intelligently interested in this question as I am, of course, and I shall be ashamed of any friends of mine who may take any different view of it.

"I want you to realize just what is happening, not in America, but in the rest of the world. It is very hard to describe it briefly. It is very hard to describe it in quiet phrases. The world is on fire, and there is tinder everywhere. The sparks are liable to drop anywhere, and somewhere there may be material which we can not prevent from bursting into flame. The influence of passion is everywhere abroad in the world. It is not strange that men see red in such circumstances. What a year ago was incredible has now happened and the world is so in the throes of this titanic struggle that no part of it is unaffected.

"You know what is happening. You know that by a kind of improvidence which should be very uncharacteristic of America we have neglected for several generations to provide the means to carry our own commerce on the seas, and, therefore, being dependent upon other nations for the most part to carry our commerce, we are dependent upon other nations now for the movement of our commerce when other nations are caught in the grip of war. So that every natural impulse of our peaceful life is embarrassed and impeded by the circumstances of the time, and wherever there is contact there is apt to be friction. Wherever the ordinary rules of commerce at sea

and of international relationship are thrust aside or ignored, there is danger of the more critical kind of controversy. Where nations are engaged as many nations are now engaged, they are peculiarly likely to be stubbornly steadfast in the pursuit of the purpose which is the main purpose of the moment; and so, while we move among friends, we move among friends who are preoccupied, preoccupied with an exigent matter which is foreign to our own life, foreign to our own policy, but which nevertheless inevitably affects our own life and our own policy. While a year ago it seemed impossible that a struggle upon so great a scale should last a whole twelvemonth, it has now lasted a year and a half and the end is not yet, and all the time things have grown more and more difficult to handle.

“It fills me with a very strange feeling sometimes, my fellow citizens, when it seems to be implied that I am not the friend of peace. If these gentlemen could have sat with me reading the dispatches and handling the questions which arise every hour of the twenty-four, they would have known how infinitely difficult it had been to maintain the peace and they would have believed that I was the friend of peace. But I also know the difficulties, the real dangers, dangers not about things that I can handle, but about things that the other parties handle and I can not control.

“It amazes me to hear men speak as if America stood alone in the world and could follow her own life as she pleased. We are in the midst of a world that we did not make and can not alter; its atmospheric and physical conditions are the conditions of our own life also, and therefore, as your responsible servant, I must tell you that the dangers are infinite and constant. I should feel that I was guilty of an unpardonable omission if I did not go out and tell my fellow countrymen that new circumstances have arisen which make it absolutely necessary that this country should prepare herself, not for war, not for any-

thing that smacks in the least of aggression, but for adequate national defense. . . .

“What I want you to do is this: I do not want you merely to listen to speeches. I want you to make yourselves vocal. I want you to let everybody who comes within earshot of it know that you are a partisan for the adequate preparation of the United States for national defense. I have come to ask you not merely to go home and say, ‘The President seems to be a good fellow and to mean what he says’; I want you to go home determined that within the whole circle of your influence the President, not as a partisan, but as the representative of the national honor, shall be backed up by the whole force that is in the nation.”

He continued his tour and aroused the public to wild demonstrations. Speeches were delivered in Cleveland, O.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Chicago, Ill.; Des Moines, Ia.; Topeka, Kans.; Kansas City, Mo.; and St. Louis, Mo. The President returned to Washington on February 4th and again took up his duties of steering the American ship of state through the perils that beset its path.

Among these was the Mexican question, which was as far from solution as ever. Although Huerta had left the country, revolution and counter revolution followed in quick succession, with none of the contending parties making any headway.

General Carranza still held the reins of what appeared to be the central government, but in the north General Francisco Villa controlled the border provinces, while Zapata was strong in the south. The other American republics watched developments with growing concern, as the psychological effect on their own people was too great to ignore.

In August, 1915, representatives of six American republics called on President Wilson to unite with them in settling the internal strife in Mexico. He accepted the invitation with pleasure and the result was an appeal to

Mexican leaders for a conference at which the differences could be discussed and possibly settled. The first to accept the invitation was Villa. Zapata proved indifferent, and Carranza refused outright the good offers of the peacemakers.

The diplomats met again the following month and decided that three weeks' time would be given the Mexican factions to settle their claims, and after that time the one proving the strongest would receive official recognition. At the end of the appointed time Carranza was judged to hold the most stable government and he accordingly was recognized as president de facto of Mexico.

The effect of this announcement on Villa can well be imagined. He at once lost prestige and power and blamed all his troubles on the United States. He at once began a war of frightfulness on Americans in Mexico, while Carranza was unable or unwilling to come to their assistance.

In March, 1916, it was made known to the American government that Villa was planning a raid into United States territory, but there was hope that the information would prove false. It was true, however, for Villa descended on the town of Columbus, New Mexico, on the night of March 9th, and in the fight that followed twenty American soldiers and citizens were killed, while the Mexican chieftain was driven back with a loss of sixty men.

The insult was too great to ignore. The day following the raid the following proclamation was made by President Wilson:

"An adequate force will be sent at once in pursuit of Villa with the single object of capturing him and putting a stop to his forays. This can and will be done in entirely friendly aid of constituted authority in Mexico and with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of that Republic."

It was first necessary for the United States to obtain permission from General Carranza before the punitive expedition could start into Mexico. There was some

wrangling over the question and Carranza finally gave his consent on condition that Mexican troops be allowed to enter United States territory after fleeing outlaws.

It was hard at the time for the United States to understand the Mexican attitude, but all was made clear later when the activities of the German ambassador in Mexico came to light. He was filling Carranza's mind with wild and extravagant plans for the reconquest of Texas and other American states.

The expedition into Mexico was commanded by General John J. Pershing. He advanced rapidly, but failed to get in touch with Villa, who fled before his approach. General Pershing was so occupied in avoiding a clash with the hostile Mexicans that he could devote little time to the business in hand.

As the expedition went forward the attitude of Carranza became more hostile. The result was that peremptory orders issued to General Pershing by the Mexican generals were ignored, for he refused point blank to obey them. Then the Mexican president requested the United States to withdraw the expedition.

There was hesitancy over accepting the request, because the American government wanted assurances that the border would not again be crossed by bands of Mexican bandits. This resulted in an order to the Mexican army to attack the Americans and the first clash came at Carrizal on June 21, 1916, while the President was writing a note to Carranza.

War seemed inevitable. An emergency call was put in for the immediate mobilization of the National Guard and the nation awaited for the President's call for volunteers. It is certain that a million men could have been raised by direct enlistment, such was the popular indignation over the attitude of General Carranza.

President Wilson set about learning the real reason of Carranza's action. To his satisfaction he found that the presence of more than 100,000 American soldiers on

the border had a salutary effect, and Carranza's replies to his questions grew more conciliatory. The American prisoners were surrendered and the crisis passed. A war with Mexico at that time would have involved the United States to such an extent that operations in the European theater of war a year later would have been hampered to a great extent.

CHAPTER XVII

SUBMARINE WARFARE RESUMED.

The submarine controversy with Germany was reopened in April, 1916, by the ruthless sinking of the channel steamer *Sussex*. A number of Americans were passengers on board and several lost their lives. It seemed as though the German Government was about to reject the assurances given in reply to the protests of the President on the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and the executive was quick to call its attention to the delinquency.

In a note sent from Washington on April 18th, 1916, the President called the attention of the German Government to its oft repeated assurances as follows:

“You are instructed to deliver to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs a communication reading as follows:

“I did not fail to transmit immediately, by telegraph, to my Government Your Excellency’s note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24, last, wrecked the French steamship *Sussex* in the English Channel. I have now the honor to deliver, under instruction from my Government, the following reply to Your Excellency:

“Information now in the possession of the Government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case of the *Sussex*, and the inferences which my Government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in Your Excellency’s note of the 10th instant. On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o’clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer *Sussex* with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was

torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. The Sussex had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English Channel; and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships. About 80 of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured.

“A careful, detailed, and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the Sussex was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that the torpedo by which she was struck was of German manufacture. In the view of the Government of the United States these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was fired by a German submarine unavoidable. It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of Your Excellency’s note. A full statement of the facts upon which the Government of the United States has based its conclusions is inclosed.

“The Government of the United States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the Imperial Government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements, and proposals contained in that note is that the Imperial Government has failed to appreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the Sussex but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft during the past twelvemonth and more in the indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations. If the sinking of the Sussex had been an isolated case the Government of the United States might find it possible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had wilfully violated his orders or had been

criminally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed, and that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the Imperial Government. But, though the attack upon the *Sussex* was manifestly indefensible and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are conducting it, it unhappily does not stand alone.

“On the contrary, the Government of the United States is forced by recent events to conclude that it is only one instance, even though one of the most extreme and most distressing instances, of the deliberate method and spirit of indiscriminate destruction of merchant vessels of all sorts, nationalities, and destinations which have become more and more unmistakable as the activity of German undersea vessels of war has in recent months been quickened and extended.

“The Imperial Government will recall that when, in February, 1915, it announced its intention of treating the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and of destroying all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep out of the waters thus proscribed or to enter them at their peril, the Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without constant gross and palpable violations of the accepted law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded on the principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the

ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks; and that no right to close any part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the Imperial Government in the circumstances then existing. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based that protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

“The Imperial Government, notwithstanding, persisted in carrying out the policy announced, expressing the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to the commanders of its submarines, and assuring the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

“In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the Government of the United States, the commanders of the Imperial Government’s undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the Imperial Government has found it impracticable to put any such restraints upon them as it had hoped and promised to put. Again and again the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen

owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

“Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship’s boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship’s boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* and mere passenger boats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment’s warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers, and crew have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States can not but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

“The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the

most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

“It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that that time has come. It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy’s commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

“If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government

of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Government of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations."

LANSING.

On the following day the President appeared at a joint session of congress and delivered a special message. He told congress of the action he had taken which was within his right as chief executive of the United States. His message was as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Congress: A situation has arisen in the foreign relations of the country of which it is my plain duty to inform you very frankly.

"It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the Imperial German Government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as of belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus proscribed or else enter them at their peril. The Government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of non-combatants at sea, could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part

of the high seas against their use or to expose them to such risks could lawfully be asserted by any belligerent government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the Government of the United States based its protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

“Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our Government, the Imperial German Government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the Government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of non-combatants.

“What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified, those assurances insusceptible of being fulfilled. In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and entered upon by the Imperial German Government in despite of the solemn protest of this Government, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less observant of restraints of any kind; and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand. Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along

with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this Government foresaw must happen has happened. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances, as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, can not be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the Imperial German Government, it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

“In February of the present year the Imperial German Government informed this Government and the other neutral governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the Government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them secret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the Imperial German Government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning. The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them to repel attack, although to use them, in such circumstances, at their own risk; but the Imperial German Government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further

to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operation of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

“Again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. Great liners like the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and mere ferryboats like the *Sussex* have been attacked without a moment’s warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passengers and crew have been sacrificed wholesale, in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantment of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on; and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

“One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross channel steamer *Sussex*. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer *Lusitania* did, as so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for

the past twelvemonth been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some disavowal by the German Government, some evidence of criminal mistake or wilful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained; but unhappily it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one instance, even though it be one of the most extreme and distressing instances, of the spirit and method of warfare which the Imperial German Government has mistakenly adopted, and which from the first exposed that Government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in pursuit of its immediate objects.

“The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or of protest by a thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained and continue to entertain towards the German nation. It has of course accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial German Government as given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the German Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation.

“That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The Imperial German Government has been unable to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either

freight or passenger ships. It has therefore become painfully evident that the position which this Government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

“I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the Imperial German Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

“This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances the responsible spokesman of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representa-

tive of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

"I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the Imperial German Government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made."

Two weeks later the German Government, in a long reply, informed the President that the use of submarines would be limited in the future, to avoid offending the United States. Submarine commanders had been instructed to act on the principle of "visit and search" in accordance with the President's demand, the note said, and there should be no further cause for protest.

The President was not satisfied with the note where it insinuated that Germany's course would depend partly upon the manner in which her opponents waged war and did not hesitate to call the attention of the German Chancellor to the fact. In a note which was sent from Washington on May 8th, 1916, the President said:

"You are instructed to deliver to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a communication textually as follows:

"The note of the Imperial German Government under date of May 4, 1916, has received careful consideration by the Government of the United States. It is especially noted, as indicating the purpose of the Imperial Government as to the future, that it 'is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operation of the war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents,' and that it is determined to impose upon all its commanders at sea the limitations of the recognized rules of international law upon which the Government of the United States has insisted. Throughout the months

which have elapsed since the Imperial Government announced, on February 4, 1915, its submarine policy, now happily abandoned, the Government of the United States has been constantly guided and restrained by motives of friendship in its patient efforts to bring to an amicable settlement the critical questions arising from that policy. Accepting the Imperial Government's declaration of its abandonment of the policy which has so seriously menaced the good relations between the two countries, the Government of the United States will rely upon a scrupulous execution henceforth of the now altered policy of the Imperial Government, such as will remove the principal danger to an interruption of the good relations existing between the United States and Germany.

“The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.”

This note closed the submarine controversy for nine months and was the last ever sent by the United States. It was considered a diplomatic victory by the friends of

the President, and with good reason, for he had, by sheer force of will and reasoning, forced the German Government into acknowledging that he was the master of their diplomatic experts.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EIGHT HOUR LAW.

The outlook for the year 1916 was one of peace for the United States. Unaffected by the cries of the war party, which would have forced the United States into the war regardless of the offense given, President Wilson kept the even tenor of his way. He replied to acts of aggression on the part of Mexico with continued expressions of faith in the country's own ability to get back to a sane standard of government. He had won a singular diplomatic victory over Germany and forced that nation to admit that ruthless submarine warfare was a crime against civilization.

The domestic situation was not a path of roses by any means. The overworked employes of railroads in the United States were clamoring for a law that would guarantee the eight-hour day. It was possible in those days for a railroad company to keep a man at work for sixteen hours out of every twenty-four, and the workers found a ready champion in the President.

He appeared before Congress at a special session on August 29, 1916, and laid the problem before them in clear, precise terms that could not be misconstrued. His speech follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: I have come to you to seek your assistance in dealing with a very grave situation which has arisen out of the demand of the employers of the railroads engaged in freight train service that they be granted an eight-hour working day, safeguarded by payment for an hour and a half of service for every hour of work beyond the eight.

“The matter has been agitated for more than a year. The public has been made familiar with the demands of

the men and the arguments urged in favor of them, and even more familiar with the objections of the railroads and their counter demand that certain privileges now enjoyed by their men and certain bases of payment worked out through many years of contest be reconsidered, especially in their relation to the adoption of an eight-hour day. The matter came some three weeks ago to a final issue and resulted in a complete deadlock between the parties. The means provided by law for the mediation of the controversy failed and the means of arbitration for which the law provides were rejected. The representatives of the railway executives proposed that the demands of the men be submitted in their entirety to arbitration, along with certain questions of readjustment as to pay and conditions of employment which seemed to them to be either closely associated with the demands or to call for reconsideration on their own merits; the men absolutely declined arbitration, especially if any of their established privileges were by that means to be drawn again in question. The law in the matter put no compulsion upon them. The four hundred thousand men from whom the demands proceeded had voted to strike if their demands were refused; the strike was imminent; it has since been set for the 4th of September next. It affects the men who man the freight trains on practically every railway in the country. The freight service throughout the United States must stand still until their places are filled, if, indeed, it should prove possible to fill them at all. Cities will be cut off from their food supplies, the whole commerce of the nation will be paralyzed, men of every sort and occupation will be thrown out of employment, countless thousands will in all likelihood be brought, it may be, to the very point of starvation, and a tragical national calamity brought on, to be added to the other distresses of the time, because no basis of accommodation or settlement has been found.

“Just so soon as it became evident that mediation

under the existing law had failed and that arbitration had been rendered impossible by the attitude of the men, I considered it my duty to confer with the representatives of both the railways and the brotherhoods, and myself offer mediation, not as an arbitrator, but merely as spokesman of the nation, in the interest of justice, indeed, and as a friend of both parties, but not as judge, only as the representative of one hundred millions of men, women, and children who would pay the price, the incalculable price, of loss and suffering should these few men insist upon approaching and concluding the matters in controversy between them merely as employers and employees, rather than as patriotic citizens of the United States looking before and after and accepting the larger responsibility which the public would put upon them.

“It seemed to me, in considering the subject-matter of the controversy, that the whole spirit of the time and the preponderant evidence of recent economic experience spoke for the eight-hour day. It has been adjudged by the thought and experience of recent years a thing upon which society is justified in insisting as in the interest of health, efficiency, contentment, and a general increase of economic vigor. The whole presumption of modern experience would, it seemed to me, be in its favor, whether there was arbitration or not, and the debatable points to settle were those which arose out of the acceptance of the eight-hour day rather than those which affected its establishment. I, therefore, proposed that the eight-hour day be adopted by the railway managements and put into practice for the present as a substitute for the existing ten-hour basis of pay and service; that I should appoint, with the permission of the Congress, a small commission to observe the results of the change, carefully studying the figures of the altered operating costs, not only, but also the conditions of labor under which the men worked and the operation of their existing agreements with the railroads, with instructions to report the facts as they

found them to the Congress at the earliest possible day, but without recommendation; and that, after the facts had been thus disclosed, an adjustment should in some orderly manner be sought of all the matters now left unadjusted between the railroad managers and the men.

“These proposals were exactly in line, it is interesting to note, with the position taken by the Supreme Court of the United States when appealed to to protect certain litigants from the financial losses which they confidently expected if they should submit to the regulation of their charges and of their methods of service by public legislation. The Court has held that it would not undertake to form a judgment upon forecasts, but could base its action only upon actual experience; that it must be supplied with facts, not with calculations and opinions, however scientifically attempted. To undertake to arbitrate the question of the adoption of an eight-hour day in the light of results merely estimated and predicted would be to undertake an enterprise of conjecture. No wise man could undertake it, or, if he did undertake it, could feel assured of his conclusions.

“I unhesitatingly offered the friendly services of the administration to the railway managers to see to it that justice was done the railroads in the outcome. I felt warranted in assuring them that no obstacle of law would be suffered to stand in the way of their increasing their revenues to meet the expenses resulting from the change so far as the development of their business and of their administrative efficiency did not prove adequate to meet them. The public and the representatives of the public, I felt justified in assuring them, were disposed to nothing but justice in such cases and were willing to serve those who served them.

“The representatives of the brotherhoods accepted the plan; but the representatives of the railroads declined to accept it. In the face of what I cannot but regard as the practical certainty that they will be ultimately obliged to

accept the eight-hour day by the concerted action of organized labor, backed by the favorable judgment of society, the representatives of the railway management have felt justified in declining a peaceful settlement which would engage all the forces of justice, public and private, on their side to take care of the event. They fear the hostile influence of shippers, who would be opposed to an increase of freight rates (for which, however, of course, the public itself would pay); they apparently feel no confidence that the Interstate Commerce Commission could withstand the objections that would be made. They do not care to rely upon the friendly assurances of the Congress or the President. They have thought it best that they should be forced to yield, if they must yield, not by counsel, but by the suffering of the country. While my conferences with them were in progress, and when to all outward appearance those conferences had come to a standstill, the representatives of the brotherhoods suddenly acted and set the strike for the 4th of September.

“The railway managers based their decision to reject my counsel in this matter upon their conviction that they must at any cost to themselves or to the country stand firm for the principle of arbitration which the men had rejected. I based my counsel upon the indisputable fact that there was no means of obtaining arbitration. The law supplied none; earnest efforts at mediation had failed to influence the men in the least. To stand firm for the principle of arbitration and yet not get arbitration seemed to me futile, and something more than futile, because it involved incalculable distress to the country and consequences in some respects worse than those of war, and that in the midst of peace.

“I yield to no man in firm adherence, alike of conviction and of purpose, to the principle of arbitration in industrial disputes; but matters have come to a sudden crisis in this particular dispute and the country had been caught unprovided with any practicable means of en-

forcing that conviction in practice (by whose fault we will not now stop to inquire). A situation had to be met whose elements and fixed conditions were indisputable. The practical and patriotic course to pursue, as it seemed to me, was to secure immediate peace by conceding the one thing in the demands of the men which society itself and any arbitrators who represented public sentiment were most likely to approve, and immediately lay the foundations for securing arbitration with regard to everything else involved. The event has confirmed that judgment.

“I was seeking to compose the present in order to safeguard the future; for I wished an atmosphere of peace and friendly coöperation in which to take counsel with the representatives of the nation with regard to the best means for providing, so far as it might prove possible to provide, against the recurrence of such unhappy situations in the future—the best and most practicable means of securing calm and fair arbitration of all industrial disputes in the days to come. This is assuredly the best way of vindicating a principle, namely, having failed to make certain of its observance in the present, to make certain of its observance in the future.

“But I could only propose. I could not govern the will of others who took an entirely different view of the circumstances of the case, who even refused to admit the circumstances to be what they have turned out to be.

“Having failed to bring the parties to this critical controversy to an accommodation, therefore, I turn to you, deeming it clearly our duty as public servants to leave nothing undone that we can do to safeguard the life and interests of the nation. In the spirit of such a purpose, I earnestly recommend the following legislation:

“First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commis-

sion may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are with its present constitution and means of action practically impossible.

“Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

“Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads; its effects in the matter of operating costs, in the application of the existing practices and agreements to the new conditions, and in all other practical aspects, with the provision that the investigators shall report their conclusions to the Congress at the earliest possible date, but without recommendation as to legislative action; in order that the public may learn from an unprejudiced source just what actual developments have ensued.

“Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

“Fifth, an amendment of the existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

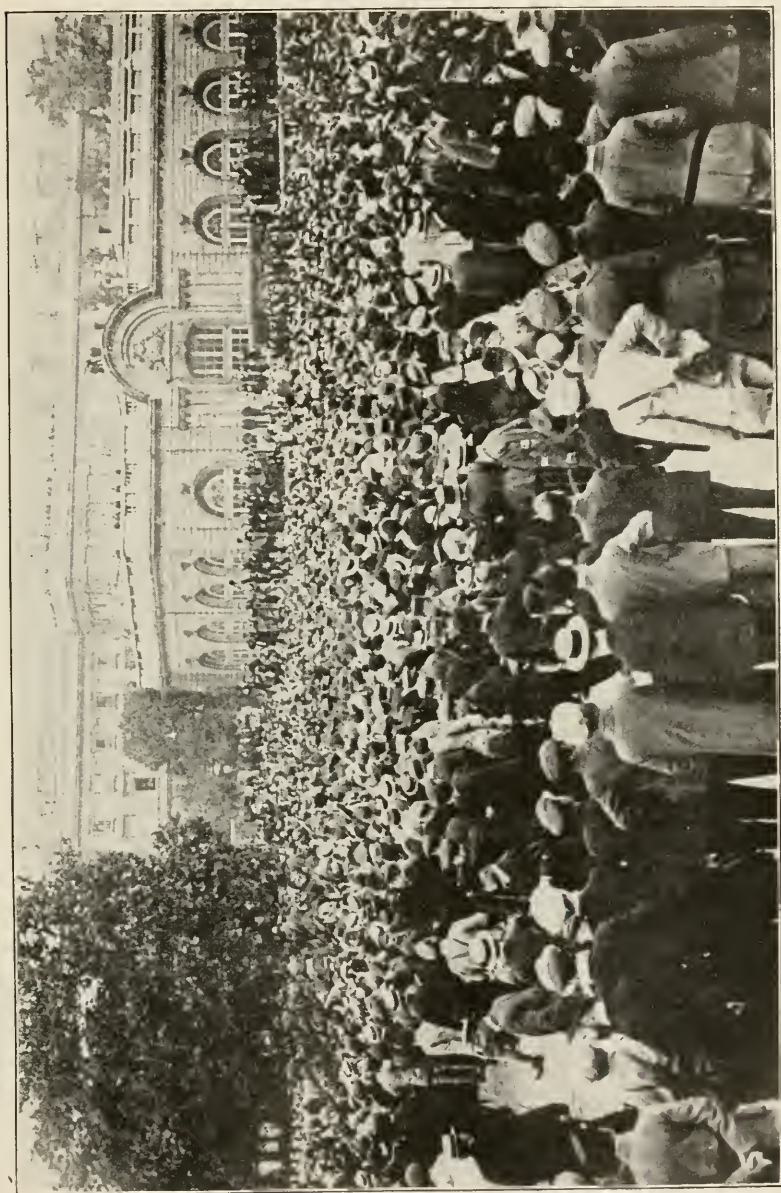
“And, sixth, the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to

take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

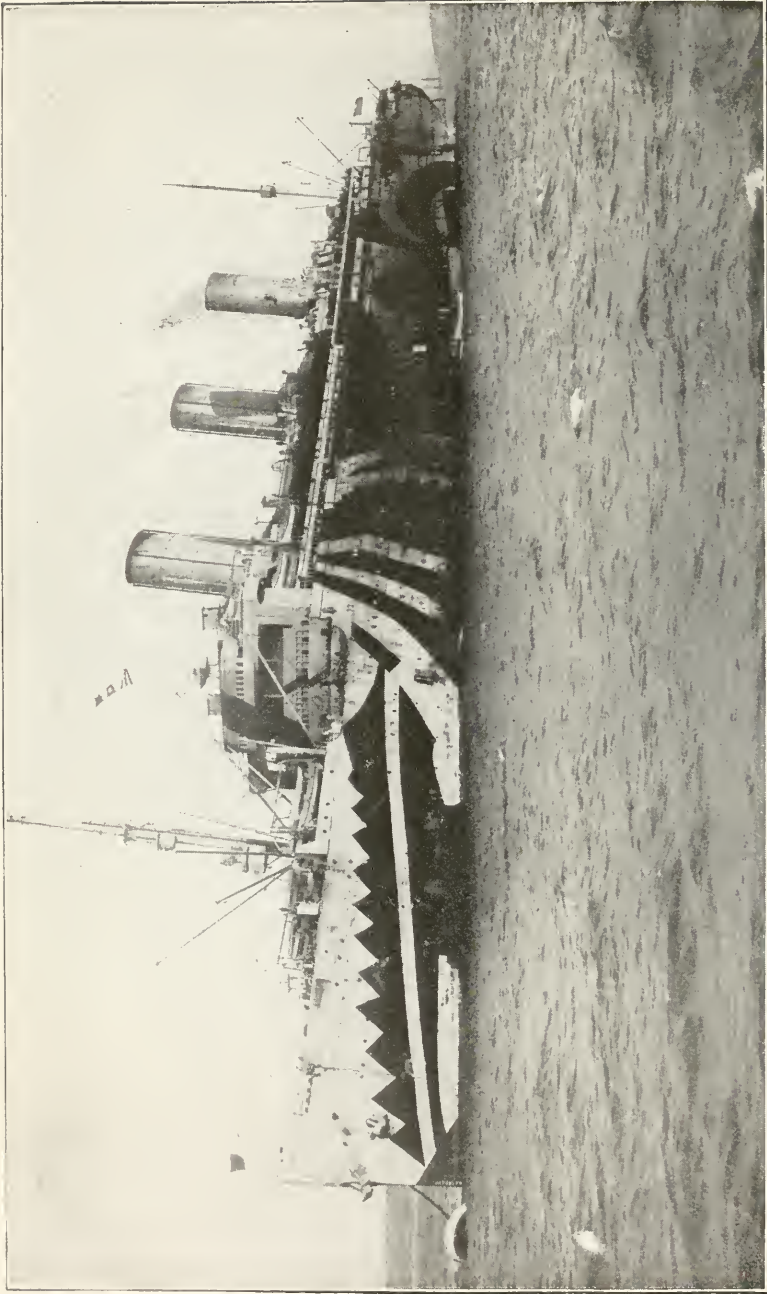
“This last suggestion I make because we cannot in any circumstances suffer the nation to be hampered in the essential matter of national defense. At the present moment circumstances render this duty particularly obvious. Almost the entire military force of the nation is stationed upon the Mexican border to guard our territory against hostile raids. It must be supplied, and steadily supplied, with whatever it needs for its maintenance and efficiency. If it should be necessary for purposes of national defense to transfer any portion of it upon short notice to some other part of the country, for reasons now unforeseen, ample means of transportation must be available, and available without delay. The power conferred in this matter should be carefully and explicitly limited to cases of military necessity, but in all such cases it should be clear and ample.

“There is one other thing we should do if we are true champions of arbitration. We should make all arbitral awards judgments by record of a court of law in order that their interpretation and enforcement may lie, not with one of the parties to the arbitration, but with an impartial and authoritative tribunal.

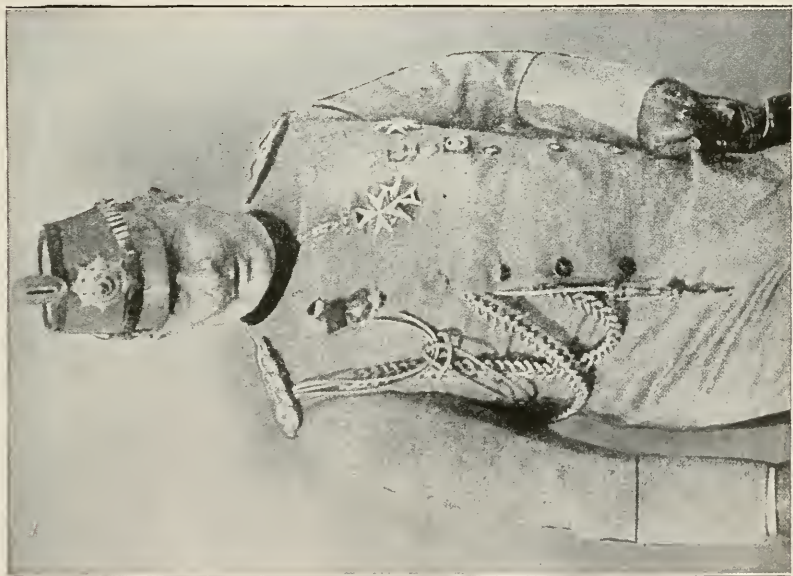
“These things I urge upon you, not in haste or merely as a means of meeting a present emergency, but as permanent and necessary additions to the law of the land, suggested, indeed, by circumstances we had hoped never to see, but imperative as well as just, if such emergencies are to be prevented in the future. I feel that no extended argument is needed to commend them to your favorable consideration. They demonstrate themselves. The time and the occasion only give emphasis to their importance.



A glimpse of the wonderful reception which Paris gave the American troops.



WAR PAINT.
THE GIANT TRANSPORT LEVIATHAN, FORMERLY THE VATERLAND, CAMOUFLAGED FROM THE LURKING
SUBMARINES.



The Ex-Kaiser in Austrian Uniform. The Shrivelled Left Arm Is Quite Noticeable.



General Dickman, Commander of the Third United States Field Army.



U. S. S. North Dakota Passing Through Culebra Cut in the Panama Canal Zone.

We need them now and we shall continue to need them.”

The President's request met with response from Congress and legislation settling the dispute was passed. The measure went to President Wilson on September 3rd, the day before the strike was to have been called, and a national calamity was averted. The railroad companies subsequently took the law to the United States Supreme Court, where it was upheld. The result was an increased amount of confidence in the President by laboring men all over the country.

While the controversy between the railroad companies and their employes was raging, the Republican and Democratic parties held their conventions.

CHAPTER XIX

PRESIDENT WILSON RENOMINATED.

The Republican party was more formidable now than it had been in 1912, when the diversion of Colonel Roosevelt and his followers had wrecked the Republican machine. The entire party stood united and laid stress on the fact that the United States would not accept the aggression of either Mexico or Germany in case their candidate was elected. There was some rumor that Colonel Roosevelt would again enter the lists as a Progressive candidate, but he declined the nomination proffered him and urged his party to support the Republican nominee. After three days' balloting, Charles Evans Hughes, a justice in the United States Supreme Court, was nominated.

The Democratic convention was held in St. Louis in June, 1916. Complete harmony prevailed and the session was concluded in two days with President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall again leading the ticket.

Typewriting of the platform on which the committee on resolutions of the convention agreed, following an all-night session, delayed the final adjournment of the convention for one hour and twenty-five minutes.

A speech burning with patriotic utterances was delivered by United States Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri, who virtually charged that victory for the Republicans would mean war for the United States.

Chairman James then presented to the convention Senator William A. Stone, chairman of the Resolution Committee. Senator Stone introduced Senators Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana, and Henry F. Hollis, of New Hampshire, who read the platform.

"Under the American flag or under some other."

That was the challenge to Americans written in the platform at President's Wilson's request. It contained condemnation of all activities, whether by individuals, groups or organizations, in this country that conspired to assist any foreign power. It read:

"We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country."

The Americanism plank rang with the spirit of patriotism. That it was incorporated in the draft was a tribute to the unbending attitude of President Wilson, who wrote it, and who was opposed to changing its bristling declarations against the disloyalty of organizations and groups which were working in the interests of foreign governments.

It was the President's desire that the issue be a clean-cut one. Those members of the resolutions committee who wanted to approach it with timidity were met with the firm stand the President took on any political question.

The challenge to the Republican party was included in these words: "We condemn any political party, which, in view of the activities of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policies."

The platform put squarely before the country the record of the Wilson administration and Democratic Congress. The party went into the campaign "pointing with pride" instead of criticising a Republican administration, as had been the case with campaigns for twenty years back.

The laboring man and the farmer had benefited by Democratic legislation. Business was stabilized by the tariff federal trade commissions and federal reserve acts. The power of monopoly had been strangled and the burden of taxation was lightened by taxes on swollen fortunes.

The foreign policy of the administration was upheld.

Intervention in Mexico would have led to a demand for subjugation of that country, a course revolting to the United States.

The plan and legislation of the Democratic Congress were proof of the party's stand on preparedness and the upbuilding of the army and navy.

After the convention was called to order, prayer was offered by Rabbi Leon Harrison, of St. Louis, who gave thanks for the great leader of the nation, wielding no strong arm of flesh, but who had been triumphant in his invincible plea for justice and humanity. He gave thanks for "the wise and noble President of the United States, who warded off disaster, who with firm and fearless hand has steered us between the menace of both warfare and dishonor, assuring the people peace without shame, a proud peace, with head erect and a dignity undiminished."

Unexpectedly there was a clash over a proposal for a prohibition plank. When William Jennings Bryan, an advocate of a dry nation, declared that he would make no fight for a prohibition plank, it was believed that the committee easily would vote down any attempt to insert such a bill into the platform.

Members of the committee were in constant communication with President Wilson over the telephone wire at the White House until finally the Americanism plank was whipped into satisfactory shape and the mainstay of the party's declaration of principles was agreed upon. President Wilson had been aroused by opposition to the Americanism plank and had made the plea that it must be incorporated and must meet his ideas.

The President gained his point by threatening to come to St. Louis and personally present the plank before the delegates.

The messages from Washington had the intended effect and when Senator Stone, after talking with the President, reported back to the committee, the plank was found to fit nicely into the platform.

The delegates for party leaders had listened to a wonderful speech by Mr. Bryan, in which he praised the President, with whom he had severed official relations a year before, when they failed to agree upon the President's foreign and preparedness policies.

Mr. Bryan's speech brushed aside all doubts that there would be harmonious action in the campaign, for the leaders who were not on the committee were not in a humor to have the peace that reigned in the party spoiled.

Under the suspension of the rules, the nominations of President Wilson and Vice-President Marshall were made by acclamation.

President Wilson made his speech of acceptance on September 2nd. He said:

"I cannot accept the leadership and responsibility which the National Democratic Convention has again, in such generous fashion, asked me to accept without first expressing my profound gratitude to the party for the trust it reposes in me after four years of fiery trial in the midst of affairs of unprecedented difficulty, and the keen sense of added responsibility with which this honor fills (I had almost said burdens) me as I think of the great issues of national life and policy involved in the present and immediate future conduct of our Government. I shall seek, as I have always sought, to justify the extraordinary confidence thus reposed in me by striving to purge my heart and purpose of every personal and of every misleading party motive and devoting every energy I have to the service of the nation as a whole, praying that I may continue to have the counsel and support of all forward-looking men at every turn of the difficult business.

"For I do not doubt that the people of the United States will wish the Democratic party to continue in control of the Government. They are not in the habit of rejecting those who have actually served them for those who are making doubtful and conjectural promises of service. Least of all are they likely to substitute those who

promised to render them particular services and proved false to that promise for those who have actually rendered those very services.

“Boasting is always an empty business, which pleases nobody but the boaster, and I have no disposition to boast of what the Democratic party has accomplished. It has merely done its duty. It has merely fulfilled its explicit promises. But there can be no violation of good taste in calling attention to the manner in which those promises have been carried out or in adverting to the interesting fact that many of the things accomplished were what the opposition party had again and again promised to do but had left undone. Indeed, that is manifestly part of the business of this year of reckoning and assessment. There is no means of judging the future except by assessing the past. Constructive action must be weighed against destructive comment and reaction. The Democrats either have or have not understood the varied interests of the country. The test is contained in the record.

“What is that record? What were the Democrats called into power to do? What things had long waited to be done, and how did the Democrats do them? It is a record of extraordinary length and variety, rich in elements of many kinds, but consistent in principle throughout and susceptible of brief recital.

“The Republican party was put out of power because of failure, practical failure and moral failure; because it had served special interests and not the country at large; because, under the leadership of its preferred and established guides, of those who still make its choice, it had lost touch with the thoughts and the needs of the nation and was living in a past age and under a fixed illusion, the illusion of greatness. It had framed tariff laws based upon a fear of foreign trade, a fundamental doubt as to American skill, enterprise, and capacity, and a very tender regard for the profitable privileges of those who had gained control of domestic markets and domestic credits;

and yet had enacted anti-trust laws which hampered the very things they meant to foster, which were stiff and inelastic, and in part unintelligible. It had permitted the country throughout the long period of its control to stagger from one financial crisis to another under the operation of a national banking law of its own framing which made stringency and panic certain and the control of the larger business operations of the country by the bankers of a few reserve centers inevitable; had made as if it meant to reform the law but had faint-heartedly failed in the attempt, because it could not bring itself to do the one thing necessary to make the reform genuine and effectual, namely, break up the control of small groups of bankers. It had been oblivious, or indifferent, to the fact that the farmers, upon whom the country depends for its food and in the last analysis for its prosperity, were without standing in the matter of commercial credit, without the protection of standards in their market transactions, and without systematic knowledge of the markets themselves; that the laborers of the country, the great army of men who man the industries it was professing to father and promote, carried their labor as a mere commodity to market, were subject to restraint by novel and drastic process in the courts, were without assurance of compensation for industrial accidents, without federal assistance in accommodating labor disputes, and without national aid or advice in finding the places and the industries in which their labor was most needed. The country had no national system of road construction and development. Little intelligent attention was paid to the army, and not enough to the navy. The other republics of America distrusted us, because they found that we thought first of the profits of American investors and only as an afterthought of impartial justice and helpful friendship. Its policy was provincial in all things; its purposes were out of harmony with the temper and purpose of the people and the timely development of the nation's interests.

“So things stood when the Democratic party came into power. How do they stand now? Alike in the domestic field and in the wide field of the commerce of the world, American business and life and industry have been set free to move as they never moved before.

“The tariff has been revised, not on the principle of repelling foreign trade, but upon the principle of encouraging it, upon something like a footing of equality with our own in respect of the terms of competition, and a Tariff Board has been created whose function it will be to keep the relations of America with foreign business and industry under constant observation, for the guidance alike of our business men and of our Congress. American energies are now directed towards the markets of the world.

“The laws against trusts have been clarified by definition, with a view to making it plain that they were not directed against big business but only against unfair business and the pretense of competition where there was none; and a Trade Commission has been created with powers of guidance and accommodation which have relieved business men of unfounded fears and set them upon the road of hopeful and confident enterprise.

“By the Federal Reserve Act the supply of currency at the disposal of active business has been rendered elastic, taking its volume, not from a fixed body of investment securities, but from the liquid assets of daily trade; and these assets are assessed and accepted, not by distant groups of bankers in control of unavailable reserves, but by bankers at the many centers of local exchange who are in touch with local conditions everywhere.

“Effective measures have been taken for the re-creation of an American merchant marine and the revival of the American carrying trade indispensable to our emancipation from the control which foreigners have so long exercised over the opportunities, the routes, and the methods of our commerce with other countries.

“The Interstate Commerce Commission has been reorganized to enable it to perform its great and important functions more promptly and more efficiently. We have created, extended and improved the service of the parcels post.

“So much we have done for business. What other party has understood the task so well or executed it so intelligently and energetically? What other party has attempted it at all? The Republican leaders, apparently know of no means of assisting business but “protection.” How to stimulate it and put it upon a new footing of energy and enterprise they have not suggested.

“For the farmers of the country we have virtually created commercial credit, by means of the Federal Reserve Act and the Rural Credits Act. They now have the standing of other business men in the money market. We have successfully regulated speculation in “futures” and established standards in the marketing of grains. By an intelligent Warehouse Act we have assisted to make the standard crops available as never before both for systematic marketing and as a security for loans from the banks. We have greatly added to the work of neighborhood demonstration on the farm itself of improved methods of cultivation, and, through the intelligent extension of the functions of the Department of Agriculture, have made it possible for the farmer to learn systematically where his best markets are and how to get at them.

“The workingmen of America have been given a veritable emancipation, by the legal recognition of a man’s labor as part of his life, and not a mere marketable commodity; by exempting labor organizations from processes of the courts which treated their members like fractional parts of mobs and not like accessible and responsible individuals; by releasing our seamen from involuntary servitude; by making adequate provision for compensation for industrial accidents; by providing suitable machinery for mediation and conciliation in industrial disputes; and by

putting the Federal Department of Labor at the disposal of the workingman when in search of work.

“We have effected the emancipation of the children of the country by releasing them from hurtful labor. We have instituted a system of national aid in the building of highroads such as the country has been feeling after for a century. We have sought to equalize taxation by means of an equitable income tax. We have taken the steps that ought to have been taken at the outset to open up the resources of Alaska. We have provided for national defense upon a scale never before seriously proposed upon the responsibility of an entire political party. We have driven the tariff lobby from cover and obliged it to substitute solid argument for private influence.

“This extraordinary recital must sound like a platform, a list of sanguine promises; but it is not. It is a record of promises made four years ago and now actually redeemed in constructive legislation.

“These things must profoundly disturb the thoughts and confound the plans of those who have made themselves believe that the Democratic Party neither understood nor was ready to assist the business of the country in the great enterprises which it is its evident and inevitable destiny to undertake and carry through. The breaking up of the lobby must especially disconcert them; for it was through the lobby that they sought and were sure they had found the heart of things. The game of privilege can be played successfully by no other means.

“This record must equally astonish those who feared that the Democratic Party had not opened its heart to comprehend the demands of social justice. We have in four years come very near to carrying out the platform of the Progressive Party as well as our own; for we also are progressives.

“There is one circumstance connected with this programme which ought to be very plainly stated. It was resisted at every step by the interests which the Repub-

lican Party had catered to and fostered at the expense of the country, and these same interests are now earnestly praying for a reaction which will save their privileges,—for the restoration of their sworn friends to power before it is too late to recover what they have lost. They fought with particular desperation and infinite resourcefulness the reform of the banking and currency system, knowing that to be the citadel of their control; and most anxiously are they hoping and planning for the amendment of the Federal Reserve Act by the concentration of control in a single bank which the old familiar group of bankers can keep under their eye and direction. But while the ‘big men’ who used to write the tariffs and command the assistance of the Treasury have been hostile,—all but a few with vision,—the average business man knows that he has been delivered, and that the fear that was once every day in his heart, that the men who controlled credit and directed enterprise from the committee rooms of Congress would crush him, is there no more, and will not return,—unless the party that consulted only the ‘big men’ should return to power,—the party of masterly inactivity and cunning resourcefulness in standing pat to resist change.

“The Republican Party is just the party that *cannot* meet the new conditions of a new age. It does not know the way and it does not wish new conditions. It tried to break away from the old leaders and could not. They still select its candidates and dictate its policy, still resist change, still hanker after the old conditions, still know no methods of encouraging business but the old methods. When it changes its leaders and its purposes and brings its ideas up to date it will have the right to ask the American people to give it power again; but not until then. A new age, an age of revolutionary change, needs new purposes and new ideas.

“In foreign affairs we have been guided by principles clearly conceived and consistently lived up to. Perhaps

they have not been fully comprehended because they have hitherto governed international affairs only in theory, not in practice. They are simple, obvious, easily stated, and fundamental to American ideals.

“We have been neutral not only because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe and because we had had no part either of action or of policy in the influences which brought on the present war, but also because it was manifestly our duty to prevent, if it were possible, the indefinite extension of the fires of hate and desolation kindled by that terrible conflict and seek to serve mankind by reserving our strength and our resources for the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which must follow, when peace will have to build its house anew.

“The rights of our own citizens of course became involved: that was inevitable. Where they did this was our guiding principle: that property rights can be vindicated by claims for damages when the war is over, and no modern nation can decline to arbitrate such claims; but the fundamental rights of humanity cannot be. The loss of life is irreparable. Neither can direct violations of a nation’s sovereignty await vindication in suits for damages. The nation that violates these essential rights must expect to be checked and called to account by direct challenge and resistance. It at once makes the quarrel in part our own. These are plain principles and we have never lost sight of them or departed from them, whatever the stress or the perplexity of circumstances or the provocation to hasty resentment. The record is clear and consistent throughout and stands distinct and definite for anyone to judge who wishes to know the truth about it.

“The seas were not broad enough to keep the infection of the conflict out of our own politics. The passions and intrigues of certain active groups and combinations of men amongst us who were born under foreign flags injected the poison of disloyalty into our own most critical

affairs, laid violent hands upon many of our industries, and subjected us to the shame of divisions of sentiment and purpose in which America was contemned and forgotten. It is part of the business of this year of reckoning and settlement to speak plainly and act with unmistakable purpose in rebuke of these things, in order that they may be forever hereafter impossible. I am the candidate for a party, but I am above all things else an American citizen. I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of that small alien element amongst us which puts loyalty to any foreign power before loyalty to the United States.

“While Europe was at war our own continent, one of our own neighbors, was shaken by revolution. In that matter, too, principle was plain and it was imperative that we should live up to it if we were to deserve the trust of any real partisan of the right as free men see it. We have professed to believe, and we do believe, that the people of small and weak states have the right to expect to be dealt with exactly as the people of big and powerful states would be. We have acted upon that principle in dealing with the people of Mexico.

“Our recent pursuit of bandits into Mexican territory was no violation of that principle. We ventured to enter Mexican territory only because there were no military forces in Mexico that could protect our border from hostile attack and our own people from violence, and we have committed there no single act of hostility or interference even with the sovereign authority of the Republic of Mexico herself. It was a plain case of the violation of our own sovereignty which could not wait to be vindicated by damages and for which there was no other remedy. The authorities of Mexico were powerless to prevent it.

“Many serious wrongs against the property, many irreparable wrongs against the persons, of Americans have been committed within the territory of Mexico herself during this confused revolution, wrongs which could

not be effectually checked so long as there was no constituted power in Mexico which was in a position to check them. We could not act directly in that matter ourselves without denying Mexicans the right to any revolution at all which disturbed us and making the emancipation of her own people await our own interest and convenience.

“For it is their emancipation that they are seeking,—blindly, it may be, and as yet ineffectually, but with profound and passionate purpose and within their unquestionable right, apply what true American principle you will,—any principle that an American would publicly avow. The people of Mexico have not been suffered to own their own country or direct their own institutions. Outsiders, men out of other nations and with interests too often alien to their own, have dictated what their privileges and opportunities should be and who should control their land, their lives, and their resources,—some of them Americans, pressing for things they could never have got in their own country. The Mexican people are entitled to attempt their liberty from such influences; and so long as I have anything to do with the action of our great Government I shall do everything in my power to prevent anyone standing in their way. I know that this is hard for some persons to understand; but it is not hard for the plain people of the United States to understand. It is hard doctrine only for those who wish to get something for themselves out of Mexico. There are men, and noble women, too, not a few, of our own people, thank God! whose fortunes are invested in great properties in Mexico who yet see the case with true vision and assess its issues with true American feeling. The rest can be left for the present out of the reckoning until this enslaved people has had its day of struggle towards the light. I have heard no one who was free from such influences propose interference by the United States with the internal affairs of Mexico. Certainly no friend of the Mexican people has proposed it.

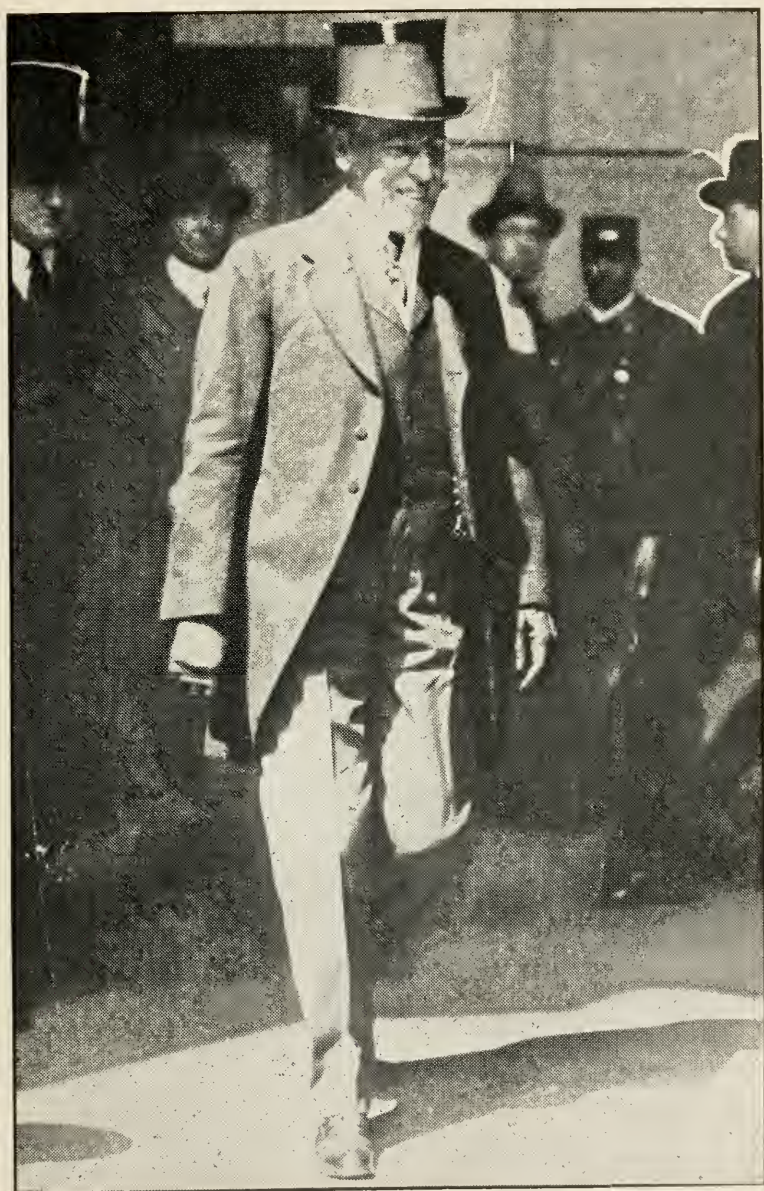
“The people of the United States are capable of great sympathies and a noble pity in dealing with problems of this kind. As their spokesman and representative, I have tried to act in the spirit they would wish me show. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness,—fifteen million oppressed men, overburdened women, and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own home of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasure! Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unspeakable Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, impudently spoke for the very forces that had driven his people to the rebellion with which he had pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent, however imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the Government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to any one who obtains power in a sister republic by treachery and violence. No permanency can be given the affairs of any republic by a title based upon intrigue and assassination. I declared that to be the policy of this Administration within three weeks after I assumed the presidency. I here again vow it. I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men and pitiful women and children than in any property rights whatever. Mistakes I have no doubt made in this perplexing business, but not in purpose or object.

“More is involved than the immediate destinies of Mexico and the relations of the United States with a distressed and distracted people. All America looks on. Test is now being made of us whether we be sincere lovers of popular liberty or not and are indeed to be trusted to

respect national sovereignty among our weaker neighbors. We have undertaken these many years to play big brother to the republics of this hemisphere. This is the day of our test whether we mean, or have ever meant, to play that part for our own benefit wholly or also for theirs. Upon the outcome of that test (its outcome in their minds, not in ours) depends every relationship of the United States with Latin America, whether in politics or in commerce and enterprise. These are great issues and lie at the heart of the gravest tasks of the future, tasks both economic and political and very intimately intertwined with many of the most vital of the new issues of the politics of the world. The republics of America have in the last three years been drawing together in a new spirit of accommodation, mutual understanding, and cordial coöperation. Much of the politics of the world in the years to come will depend upon their relationships with one another. It is a barren and provincial statesmanship that loses sight of such things!

“The future, the immediate future, will bring us squarely face to face with many great and exacting problems which will search us through and through whether we be able and ready to play the part in the world that we mean to play. It will not bring us into their presence slowly, gently, with ceremonious introduction, but suddenly and at once, the moment the war in Europe is over. They will be new problems, most of them; many will be old problems in a new setting and with new elements which we have never dealt with or reckoned the force and meaning of before. They will require for their solution new thinking, fresh courage and resourcefulness, and in some matters radical reconsiderations of policy. We must be ready to mobilize our resources alike of brains and of materials.

“It is not a future to be afraid of. It is, rather, a future to stimulate and excite us to the display of the best powers that are in us. We may enter it with confidence



The President on the Streets of Washington.



French peasants thanking their liberators from German oppressors.



AMERICANS HOLDING A BRIDGE.

THE BRIDGE IS CONCEALED, BUT THESE YANKS ARE HOLDING IT AGAINST GREAT ODDS AT THE COST OF LIFE AND LIMB.



FLYING OVER UNITED STATES WARSHIPS.

when we are sure that we understand it,—and we have provided ourselves already with the means of understanding it.

“Look first at what it will be necessary that the nations of the world should do to make the days to come tolerable and fit to live and work in; and then look at our part in what is to follow and our own duty of preparation. For we must be prepared both in resources and in policy.

“There must be a just and settled peace, and we here in America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and of our authority as a nation to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that cannot easily be shaken. No nation should be forced to take sides in any quarrel in which its own honor and integrity and the fortunes of its own people are not involved; but no nation can any longer remain neutral as against any wilful disturbance of the peace of the world. The effects of war can no longer be confined to the areas of battle. No nation stands wholly apart in interest when the life and interests of all nations are thrown into confusion and peril. If hopeful and generous enterprise is to be renewed, if the healing and helpful arts of life are indeed to be revived when peace comes again, a new atmosphere of justice and friendship must be generated by means the world has never tried before. The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees that whatever is done to disturb the whole world's life must first be tested in the court of the whole world's opinion before it is attempted.

“These are the new foundations the world must build for itself, and we must play our part in the reconstruction, generously and without too much thought of our separate interests. We must make ourselves ready to play it intelligently, vigorously and well.

“One of the contributions we must make to the world's peace is this: We must see to it that the people in our insular possessions are treated in their own lands as we would treat them here, and make the rule of the

United States mean the same thing everywhere,—the same justice, the same consideration for the essential rights of men.

“Besides contributing our ungrudging moral and practical support to the establishment of peace throughout the world we must actively and intelligently prepare ourselves to do our full service in the trade and industry which are to sustain and develop the life of the nations in the days to come.

“We have already been provident in this great matter and supplied ourselves with the instrumentalities of prompt adjustment. We have created, in the Federal Trade Commission, a means of inquiry and of accommodation in the field of commerce which ought both to coördinate the enterprises of our traders and manufacturers and to remove the barriers of misunderstanding and of a too technical interpretation of the law. In the new Tariff Commission we have added another instrumentality of observation and adjustment which promises to be immediately serviceable. The Trade Commission substitutes counsel and accommodation for the harsher processes of legal restraint, and the Tariff Commission ought to substitute facts for prejudices and theories. Our exporters have for some time had the advantage of working in the new light thrown upon foreign markets and opportunities of trade by the intelligent inquiries and activities of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce which the Democratic Congress so wisely created in 1912. The Tariff Commission completes the machinery by which we shall be enabled to open up our legislative policy to the facts as they develop.

“We can no longer indulge our traditional provincialism. We are to play a leading part in the world drama whether we wish it or not. We shall lend, not borrow; act for ourselves, not imitate or follow; organize and initiate, not peep about merely to see where we may get in.

“We have already formulated and agreed upon a

policy of law which will explicitly remove the ban now supposed to rest upon coöperation amongst our exporters in seeking and securing their proper place in the markets of the world. The field will be free, the instrumentalities at hand. It will only remain for the masters of enterprise amongst us to act in energetic concert, and for the Government of the United States to insist upon the maintenance throughout the world of those conditions of fairness and of even-handed justice in the commercial dealings of the nations with one another upon which, after all, in the last analysis, the peace and ordered life of the world must ultimately depend.

“At home also we must see to it that the men who plan and develop and direct our business enterprises shall enjoy definite and settled conditions of law, a policy accommodated to the freest progress. We have set the just and necessary limits. We have put all kinds of unfair competition under the ban and penalty of the law. We have barred monopoly. These fatal and ugly things being excluded, we must now quicken action and facilitate enterprise by every just means within our choice. There will be peace in the business world, and, with peace, revived confidence and life.

“We ought both to husband and to develop our natural resources, our mines, our forests, our water power. I wish we could have made more progress than we have made in this vital matter; and I call once more, with the deepest earnestness and solicitude, upon the advocates of a careful and provident conservation, on the one hand, and the advocates of a free and inviting field for private capital, on the other, to get together in a spirit of genuine accommodation and agreement and set this great policy forward at once.

“We must hearten and quicken the spirit and efficiency of labor throughout our whole industrial system by everywhere and in all occupations doing justice to the laborer, not only by paying a living wage but also by

making all the conditions that surround labor what they ought to be. And we must do more than justice. We must safeguard life and promote health and safety in every occupation in which they are threatened or imperilled. That is more than justice, and better, because it is humanity and economy.

“We must coördinate the railway systems of the country for national use, and must facilitate and promote their development with a view to that coördination and to their better adaptation as a whole to the life and trade and defense of the nation. The life and industry of the country can be free and unhampered only if these arteries are open, efficient, and complete.

“Thus shall we stand ready to meet the future as circumstance and international policy effect their unfolding, whether the changes come slowly or come fast and without preface.

“I have not spoken explicitly, gentlemen, of the platform adopted at St. Louis; but it has been implicit in all that I have said. I have sought to interpret its spirit and meaning. The people of the United States do not need to be assured now that that platform is a definite pledge, a practical programme. We have proved to them that our promises are made to be kept.

“We hold very definite ideals. We believe that the energy and initiative of our people have been too narrowly coached and superintended; that they should be set free, as we have set them free, to disperse themselves throughout the nation; that they should not be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful guides and guardians, as our opponents have again and again, in effect if not in purpose, sought to concentrate them. We believe, moreover,—who that looks about him now with comprehending eye can fail to believe?—that the day of Little Americanism, with its narrow horizons, when methods of ‘protection’ and industrial nursing were the chief study of our provincial statesmen, are past and gone and that

a day of enterprise has at last dawned for the United States whose field is the wide world.

“We hope to see the stimulus of that new day draw all America, the republics of both continents, on to a new life and energy and initiative in the great affairs of peace. We are Americans for Big America, and rejoice to look forward to the days in which America shall strive to stir the world without irritating it or drawing it on to new antagonisms, when the nations with which we deal shall at last come to see upon what deep foundations of humanity and justice our passion for peace rests, and when all mankind shall look upon our great people with a new sentiment of admiration, friendly rivalry and real affection, as upon a people who, though keen to succeed, seeks always to be at once generous and just and to whom humanity is dearer than profit or selfish power.

“Upon this record and in the faith of this purpose we go to the country.”

CHAPTER XX

PRESIDENT WILSON RE-ELECTED.

The presidential campaign and election in 1916 was one of the bitterest in the history of the United States. There were so many disconcerting issues before the public that the average man did not know which way to turn. The air was filled with the clarion calls of the war party on one hand and the shouts of the pacifists on the other. Capital was arrayed against labor and the middle class gravitated between the two.

The Republican party used every means in its power to insure the election of its candidate. The quarrel of 1912 between the Republicans and Progressives was forgotten in the struggle. "Too proud to fight" was their slogan. They chose to attack President Wilson's policies rather than extoll the virtues of Justice Hughes.

The Democrats were not guiltless of vituperation. They branded Hughes as a corporation lawyer and declared that Wall Street would be established as the capital of the United States in case he was elected. They replied to the cry of the Republicans with "He kept us out of war."

President Wilson departed for the West immediately after accepting the nomination for the sole purpose of attending the dedication ceremonies of the Lincoln Memorial erected on the site of the log cabin in which the great civil war leader was born. He arrived in Hodgenville, Ky., on September 4th, and once more stirred the patriotic feelings of his listeners. His address follows:

"No more significant memorial could have been presented to the nation than this. It expresses so much of

what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy! There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle even, and its own life of adventure and of training. Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history, gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic, a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of the great plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy.

“Here, no less, hides the mystery of democracy. Who shall guess this secret of nature and providence and a free polity? Whatever the vigor and vitality of the stock from which he sprang, its mere vigor and soundness do not explain where this man got his great heart that seemed to comprehend all mankind in its catholic and benignant sympathy, the mind that sat enthroned behind those brooding, melancholy eyes, whose vision swept many

an horizon which those about him dreamed not of, that mind that comprehended what it had never seen, and understood the language of affairs with the ready ease of one to the manner born—or that nature which seemed in its varied richness to be the familiar of men of every way of life. This is the sacred mystery of democracy, that its richest fruits spring up out of soils which no man has prepared and in circumstances amidst which they are the least expected. This is a place alike of mystery and of reassurance.

“It is likely that in a society ordered otherwise than our own Lincoln could not have found himself or the path of fame and power upon which he walked serenely to his death. In this place it is right that we should remind ourselves of the solid and striking facts upon which our faith in democracy is founded. Many another man besides Lincoln has served the nation in its highest places of counsel and of action whose origins were as humble as his. Though the greatest example of the universal energy, richness, stimulation, and force of democracy, he is only one example among many. The permeating and all-pervasive virtue of the freedom which challenges us in America to make the most of every gift and power we possess every page of our history serves to emphasize and illustrate. Standing here in this place, it seems almost the whole of the stirring story.

“Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between beginning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man—I would rather say of a spirit—like Lincoln the question *where* he was is of little significance, that it is always *what* he was that really arrests our

thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lincoln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American must always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy, and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

“We would like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amidst the little circle of cultivated gentlemen to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius. But there will be few such men at best, and we will not look into the mystery of how and why they come. We will only keep the door open for them always, and a hearty welcome—after we have recognized them.

“I have read many biographies of Lincoln; I have sought out with the greatest interest the many intimate stories that are told of him, the narratives of nearby friends, the sketches at close quarters, in which those who had the privilege of being associated with him have tried to depict for us the very man himself ‘in his habit as he lived;’ but I have nowhere found a real intimate of Lincoln's. I nowhere get the impression in any narrative or reminiscence that the writer had in fact penetrated to the heart of his mystery, or that any man could penetrate to the heart of it. That brooding spirit had no real famil-

ians. I get the impression that it never spoke out in complete self-revelation, and that it could not reveal itself completely to anyone. It was a very lonely spirit that looked out from underneath those shaggy brows and comprehended men without fully communing with them, as if, in spite of all its genial efforts at comradeship, it dwelt apart, saw its visions of duty where no man looked on. There is a very holy and very terrible isolation for the conscience of every man who seeks to read the destiny in affairs for others as well as for himself, for a nation as well as for individuals. That privacy no man can intrude upon. That lonely search of the spirit for the right perhaps no man can assist. This strange child of the cabin kept company with invisible things, was born into no intimacy but that of its own silently assembling and deploying thoughts.

“I have come here today, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln; he stands in need of none, but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them. The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the

guidance of our own feet. We are not worthy to stand here unless we ourselves be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us."

He then returned east and accepted an invitation to appear on September 8th before the Woman Suffrage Convention which was in session in Atlantic City, N. J. True to his ideals, he told the convention that he was in favor of the States deciding the universal suffrage question and insisted it was not a national issue. His address follows:

"Madam President, Ladies of the Association: The astonishing thing about the movement which you represent is, not that it has grown so slowly, but that it has grown so rapidly. No doubt for those who have been a long time in the struggle, like your honored president, it seems a long and arduous path that has been trodden, but when you think of the cumulating force of this movement in recent decades, you must agree with me that it is one of the most astonishing tides in modern history. Two generations ago, no doubt Madam President will agree with me in saying, it was a handful of women who were fighting this cause. Now it is a great multitude of women who are fighting it.

"And there are some interesting historical connections which I would like to attempt to point out to you. One of the most striking facts about the history of the United States is that at the outset it was a lawyers' history. Almost all of the questions to which America addressed itself, say a hundred years ago, were legal questions, were questions of method, not questions of what you were going to do with your Government, but questions of how you were going to constitute your Government—how you were going to balance the powers of the States and the Federal Government, how you were going to balance

the claims of property against the processes of liberty, how you were going to make your governments up so as to balance the parts against each other so that the legislature would check the executive, and the executive the legislature, and the courts both of them put together. The whole conception of government when the United States became a Nation was a mechanical conception of government, and the mechanical conception of government which underlay it was the Newtonian theory of the universe. If you pick up the *Federalist*, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government. They speak of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system. The whole thing is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts. There was a time when nobody but a lawyer could know enough to run the Government of the United States, and a distinguished English publicist once remarked, speaking of the complexity of the American Government, that it was no proof of the excellence of the American Constitution that it had been successfully operated, because the Americans could run any constitution. But there have been a great many technical difficulties in running it.

“And then something happened. A great question arose in this country which, though complicated with legal elements, was at bottom a human question, and nothing but a question of humanity. That was the slavery question. And is it not significant that it was then, and then for the first time, that women became prominent in politics in America? Not many women; those prominent in that day were so few that you can name them over in a brief catalogue, but, nevertheless, they then began to play a part in writing, not only, but in public speech, which was a very novel part for women to play in America. After the Civil War had settled some of what seemed to be the most difficult legal questions of our system, the life of the Nation began not only to unfold, but to accumu-

late. Life in the United States was a comparatively simple matter at the time of the Civil War. There was none of that underground struggle which is now so manifest to those who look only a little way beneath the surface. The pressure of low wages, the agony of obscure and unremunerated toil, did not exist in America in anything like the same proportions that they exist now.

“And as our life has unfolded and accumulated, as the contacts of it have become hot, as the populations have assembled in the cities and the cool spaces of the country have been supplanted by the feverish urban areas, the whole nature of our political questions has been altered. They have ceased to be legal questions. They have more and more become social questions, questions with regard to the relations of human beings to one another—not merely their legal relations, but their moral and spiritual relations to one another. This has been most characteristic of American life in the last few decades, and as these questions have assumed greater and greater prominence, the movement which this association represents has gathered cumulative force. So that, if anybody asks himself, ‘What does this gathering force mean,’ if he knows anything about the history of the country, he knows that it means something that has not only come to stay, but has come with conquering power.

“I get a little impatient sometimes about the discussion of the channels and methods by which it is to prevail. It is going to prevail, and that is a very superficial and ignorant view of it which attributes it to mere social unrest. It is not merely because the women are discontented. It is because the women have seen visions of duty, and that is something which we not only cannot resist, but, if we be true Americans, we do not wish to resist. America took its origin in visions of the human spirit, in aspirations for the deepest sort of liberty of the mind and of the heart, and as visions of that sort come up to the sight of those who are spiritually minded in America, America

comes more and more into her birthright and into the perfection of her development.

“So that what we have to realize in dealing with forces of this sort is that we are dealing with the substance of life itself. I have felt as I sat here tonight the wholesome contagion of the occasion. Almost every other time that I ever visited Atlantic City, I came to fight somebody. I hardly know how to conduct myself when I have not come to fight against anybody, but with somebody. I have come to suggest, among other things, that when the forces of nature are steadily working and the tide is rising to meet the moon, you need not be afraid that it will not come to its flood. We feel the tide; we rejoice in the strength of it; and we shall not quarrel in the long run as to the method of it. Because, when you are working with masses of men and organized bodies of opinion, you have got to carry the organized body along. The whole art and practice of government consists, not in moving individuals, but in moving masses. It is all very well to run ahead and beckon, but, after all, you have got to wait for the body to follow. I have not come to ask you to be patient, because you have been, but I have come to congratulate you that there was a force behind you that will beyond any peradventure be triumphant, and for which you can afford a little while to wait.”

The President had not touched on the business situation of the country in several months, but took occasion on a visit to Baltimore to state that he was not through with the reform program he had begun when he was elected for the first term. He spoke before a meeting of the Grain Dealers' Association on September 25th as follows:

“Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a matter of sincere gratification to me that I can come and address an association of this sort, and yet I feel that there is a certain drawback to the present occasion. That drawback consists of the fact that it occurs in the midst

of a political campaign. Nothing so seriously interrupts or interferes with the sober and sincere consideration of public questions as a political campaign. I want to say to you at the outset that I believe in *party* action, but that I have a supreme contempt for *partisan* action; that I believe that it is necessary for men to concert measures together in organized coöperation by party, but that whenever party feeling touches any one of the passions that work against the general interest, it is altogether to be condemned. Therefore, I feel that on occasions like this we should divest ourselves of the consciousness that we are in the midst of a political campaign. . . .

“What I have come to say to you today, therefore, I would wish to say in an atmosphere from which all the vapors of passion have been cleared away, for I want to speak to you about the business situation of the world, so far as America is concerned. I am not going to take the liberty of discussing that business situation from the special point of view of your association, because I know that I would be bringing coals to Newcastle. I know that I am speaking to men who understand the relation of the grain business to the business of the world very much better than I do; and I know that it is true that, except under very unusual circumstances such as have existed in the immediate past, the export of grain from this country has been a diminishing part of our foreign commerce rather than an increasing part; that the increase of our own population—the decrease in proportion to that increase, of our production of grains—has been rendering the question of foreign markets less important, though still very important, than it was in past generations, so far as the dealing in grain is concerned. I also remember, however, that we have only begun in this country the process by which the full production of our agricultural acreage is to be obtained. The agricultural acreage of this country ought to produce twice what it is now producing, and under the stimulation and instruction which

have recently been characteristic of agricultural development I think we can confidently predict that within, let us say, a couple of decades, the agricultural production of this country will be something like double, whereas, there is no likelihood that the population of this country will be doubled within the same period. You can look forward, therefore, it seems to me, with some degree of confidence to an increasing, and perhaps a rapidly increasing, volume of the products in which you deal.

“But, as I have said, I have not come to discuss that. I have come to discuss the general relation of the United States to the business of the world in the decades immediately ahead of us. We have swung out, my fellow citizens, into a new business era in America. I suppose that there is no man connected with your association who does not remember the time when the whole emphasis of American business discussion was laid upon the domestic market. I need not remind you how recently it has happened that our attention has been extended to the markets of the world; much less recently, I need not say, in the matters with which you are concerned than in the other export interests of the country. But it happened that American production, not only in the agricultural field and in mining and in all the natural products of the earth, but also in manufacture, increased in recent years to such a volume that American business burst its jacket. It could not any longer be taken care of within the field of the domestic markets; and when that began to disclose itself as the situation, we also became aware that American business men had not studied foreign markets, that they did not know the commerce of the world, and that they did not have the ships in which to take their proportionate part in the carrying trade of the world; that our merchant marine had sunk to a negligible amount, and that it had sunk to its lowest at the very time when the tide of our exports began to grow in most formidable volume.

“One of the most interesting circumstances of our

business history is this: The banking laws of the United States—I mean the Federal banking laws—did not put the national banks in a position to do foreign exchange under favorable conditions, and it was actually true that private banks, and sometimes branch banks drawn out of other countries, notably out of Canada, were established at our chief ports to do what American bankers ought to have done. It was as if America was not only unaccustomed to touching all the nerves of the world's business, but was disinclined to touch them, and had not prepared the instrumentality by which it might take part in the great commerce of the round globe. Only in very recent years have we been even studying the problem of providing ourselves with the instrumentalities.

“Not until the recent legislation of Congress known as the Federal Reserve Act were the federal banks of this country given the proper equipment through which they could assist American commerce, not only in our own country, but in any part of the world where they chose to set up branch institutions. British banks had been serving British merchants all over the world, German banks had been serving German merchants all over the world, and no national bank of the United States had been serving American merchants anywhere in the world except in the United States. We had, as it were, deliberately refrained from playing our part in the field in which we prided ourselves that we were most ambitious and most expert, the field of manufacture and of commerce. All that is past, and the scene has been changed by the events of the last two years, almost suddenly, and with a completeness that almost daunts the planning mind. Not only when this war is over, but now, America has her place in the world and must take her place in the world of finance and commerce upon a scale that she never dreamed of before.

“My dream is that she will take her place in that great field in a new spirit which the world has never seen

before; not the spirit of those who would exclude others, but the spirit of those who would excel others. I want to see America pitted against the world, not in selfishness, but in brains. . . .

“What instrumentalities have we provided ourselves with in order that we may be equipped with knowledge? There has been an instrumentality in operation for four or five years of which, strangely enough, American business men have only slowly become aware. Some four or five years ago the Congress established, in connection with the department which was then the Department of Commerce and Labor (now the Department of Commerce) a Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, and one of the advantages which the American Government has derived from that bureau is that it has been able to hire brains for much less than the brains were worth. It is in a way a national discredit to us, my fellow citizens, that we are paying studious men, capable of understanding anything and of conducting any business, just about one-third of what they could command in the field of business; and it is one of the admirable circumstances of American life that they are proud to serve the Government on a pittance. There are such men in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. They have been studying the foreign commerce of this country as it was never studied before, and have been making reports so comprehensive and so thorough that they compare to their great advantage with the reports of any similar bureau of any other government in the world, and I have found to my amazement that some of the best of those reports seem never to have been read. . . .

“And then, in addition to that, there was recently created the Federal Trade Commission. It is hard to describe the functions of that commission; all I can say is that it has transformed the Government of the United States from being an antagonist of business into being a friend of business. A few years ago American business

men—I think you will corroborate this statement—took up their morning paper with some degree of nervousness to see what the Government was doing to them. I ask you if you take up the morning paper now with any degree of nervousness? And I ask you if you have not found, those of you who have dealt with it all, the Federal Trade Commission to be put there to show you the way in which the Government can help you and not the way in which the Government can hinder you?

“But that is not the matter that I am most interested in. It has always been a fiction—I don’t know who invented it or why he invented it—that there was a contest between the law and business. There has always been a contest in every government between the law and bad business, and I do not want to see that contest softened in any way; but there has never been any contest between men who intended the right thing and the men who administered the law. But what I want to speak of is this: One of the functions of the Federal Trade Commission is to inquire with the fullest powers ever conferred upon a similar commission in this country into all the circumstances of American business for the purpose of doing for American business exactly what the Department of Agriculture has so long and with increasing efficiency done for the farmer, inform the American business man of every element, big and little, with which it is his duty to deal. Here are created searching eyes of inquiry to do the very thing that it was imperatively necessary and immediately necessary that the country should do—look upon the field of business and know what was going on!

“And then, in the third place, you know that we have just now done what it was common sense to do about the tariff. We have not put this into words, but I do not hesitate to put it into words: We have admitted that on the one side and on the other we were talking theories and managing policies without a sufficient knowledge of the facts upon which we were acting, and, therefore, we

have established what is intended to be a non-partisan Tariff Commission to study the conditions with which legislation has to deal in the matter of the relations of American with foreign business transactions. Another eye created to see the facts! . . . The Tariff Commission is going to look for the facts, no matter who is hurt. We are creating one after another the instrumentalities of knowledge, so that the business men of this country shall know what the field of the world's business is and deal with that field upon that knowledge.

“Then, when the knowledge is obtained, what are we going to do? One of the things that interests me most about an association of this sort is that the intention of it is that the members should share a common body of information, and that they should concert among themselves those operations of business which are beneficial to all of them; that, instead of a large number of dealers in grain acting separately and each fighting for his own hand, you are willing to come together and study the problem as if you were partners and brothers and coöperators in this field of business. That has been going on in every occupation in the United States of any consequence. . . . We must coöperate in the whole field of business, the Government with the merchant, the merchant with his employee, the whole body of producers with the whole body of consumers, to see that the right things are produced in the right volume and find the right purchasers at the right place, and that, all working together, we realize that nothing can be for the individual benefit which is not for the common benefit.

“You know that there was introduced in the House of Representatives recently a bill, commonly called the Webb bill, for the purpose of stating it as the policy of the law of the United States that nothing in the anti-trust laws now existing should be interpreted to interfere with the proper sort of coöperation among exporters. The foreign field is not like the domestic field. The foreign field

is full of combinations meant to be exclusive. The anti-trust laws of the United States are intended to prevent any kind of combination in the United States which shall be exclusive of new enterprises within the United States, any combination which shall set up monopoly in America; but the export business is a very big business, a very complicated business, a very expensive business, and it ought to be possible, and it will be possible and legal, for men engaged in exporting to get together and manage it in groups, so that they can manage it at an advantage instead of at a disadvantage as compared with foreign rivals. Not for the purpose of exclusive and monopolistic combination, but for the purpose of coöperation, and there is a very wide difference there. I for myself despise monopoly, and I have an enthusiasm for coöperation. By coöperation I mean working along with anybody who is willing to work along with you under definite understandings and arrangements which will constitute a sound business program. There can be no jealousy of that, and if there had been time, I can say with confidence that this bill, which passed the House of Representatives, would have passed the Senate of the United States also. So that any obstacle that ingenious lawyers may find in the anti-trust laws will be removed. . . .

“And then there must be coöperation, not only between the Government and the business men, but between business men. Shippers must coöperate, and they ought to be studying right now how to coöperate. There are a great many gentlemen in other countries who can show them how! They ought to look forward, particularly, to caring for this matter, that they have vehicles in which to carry their goods. We must address ourselves immediately and as rapidly as possible to the re-creation of a great American merchant marine. Our present situation is very like this: Suppose that a man who had a great department store did not have any delivery wagons and depended upon his competitors in the same market to

deliver his goods to his customers. You know what would happen. They would deliver their own goods first and quickest, and they would deliver yours only if yours were to be delivered upon the routes followed by their wagons. That is an exact picture of what is taking place in our foreign trade at this minute. Foreign vessels carry our goods where they, the foreign vessels, happen to be going, and they carry them only if they have room in addition to what they are carrying for other people. You can not conduct trade that way. That is conducting trade on sufferance. That is conducting trade on an 'if you please.' That is conducting trade on the basis of service the point of view of which is not your advantage. Therefore, we can not lose any time in getting delivery wagons.

"There has been a good deal of discussion about this recently, and it has been said, 'The Government must not take any direct part in this. You must let private capital do it,' and the reply was, 'All right, go ahead.' 'Oh, but we will not go ahead unless you help us.' We said, 'Very well, then, we will go ahead, but we will not need your help, because we do not want to compete where you are already doing the carrying business, but where you are not doing the carrying business it has to be done for some time at a loss. We will undertake to do it at a loss until that route is established, and we will give place to private capital whenever private capital is ready to take the place.' That sounds like a very reasonable proposition. 'We will carry your goods one way when we have to come back empty the other way and lose money on the voyage, and when there are cargoes both ways and it is profitable to carry them, we shall not insist upon carrying them any longer.'

"And it is absolutely necessary now to make good our new connections. Our new connections are with the great and rich republics to the south of us. For the first time in my recollection they are beginning to trust and believe in us and want us, and one of my chief concerns

has been to see that nothing was done that did not show friendship and good faith on our part. You know that it used to be the case that if you wanted to travel comfortably in your own person from New York to a South American port, you had to go by way of England or else stow yourself away in some uncomfortable fashion in a ship that took almost as long to go straight, and within whose bowels you got in such a temper before you got there that you did not care whether she got there or not. The great interesting geographical fact to me is that by the opening of the Panama Canal there is a straight line south from New York through the canal to the western coast of South America, which hitherto has been one of the most remote coasts in the world so far as we were concerned. The west coast of South America is now nearer to us than the eastern coast of South America ever was, though we have the open Atlantic upon which to approach the east coast. Here is the loom all ready upon which to spread the threads which can be worked into a fabric of friendship and wealth such as we have never known before! . . .

“We have got to have the knowledge, we have got to have the coöperation, and then back of all that has got to lie what America has in abundance and only has to release, that is to say, the self-reliant enterprise.

“There is only one thing I have ever been ashamed of about in America, and that was the timidity and fearfulness of Americans in the presence of foreign competitors. I have dwelt among Americans all my life and am an intense absorbent of the atmosphere of America, and I know by personal experience that there are as effective brains in America as anywhere in the world. An American afraid to pit American business men against any competitors anywhere! Enterprise, the shrewdness which Americans have shown, the knowledge of business which they have shown, all these things are going to make for that peaceful and honorable conquest of foreign markets which is our reasonable ambition. . . .”

President Wilson, throughout the campaign, held aloof from personal attacks on any of his opponents. He urged the interests of America and pointed to the legislation which had marked his administration. On November 2, 1916, he addressed a meeting of business men in the Waldorf hotel in New York. He said:

“We are living in a very serious period of the world’s history, therefore we must search every question facing us to the heart. Too many things in investigating business, for instance, have been left out.”

The President criticised business “for resisting changes,” declared that men in Wall Street had no vision, and that men who treat their employees as partners in business were most prosperous.

“‘Are the people living under conditions which bring about justice?’ is a question of prime importance,” he continued. “The roots of business lie deep in the daily lives of the ordinary people. The thing which has disturbed the thoughts of a great many people is that some men believe they are being exploited.

“Men who go under the surface see things that will have to be dealt with in vigorous fashion—they see a volcano. But I believe this sort of thing will be relieved and that the things which are wrong will be made right.

“It is high time that we define what we mean when we speak of progressive policies.”

The President spoke of the “intolerable burdens” some women and children are carrying. “Progressiveness,” he said, “is a constant adjustment of the conditions of society to the welfare of mankind. I come to suggest to business men that it is better that this adjustment go forward rather than that it be dammed up until the dam is broken and society is overturned.

“The particular conditions upon which successful vital business depends are the conditions which touch the daily life of the common mass of the people of the country.

“When you think of the ultimate foundation of busi-

ness, you must know that you find them in the conditions of the national life, and when I think of searching the business question to the heart it seems to me that there are some very large reckonings which have too often been left out of the account.

“The amount of genius that exerts itself in resisting changes is a great indictment. Brains have been burned out acting as brakes. The real trouble is that American business has been under the direction of too small a body of men.

“If we have a contented people we can make conquests of the world by making other people follow our example. In making this fight I am fighting a battle for the very men who opposed me, for if it is not won the very businesses in which they are interested will crumble.

“You have got to have new blood.” He then went on to say there were a small number of men in Wall Street who felt “nothing is safe unless they are consulted.”

“Aristocracy,” he said, “is just as bad for business as it is for a government. That is why I was so interested in the federal reserve act. It has broken up the business of limiting control.

“The only sources of strength for business as well as government are to be found in the people,” he continued, “holding that they must be satisfied and confident of justice if they are to do their work happily and well.

“The roots of our daily life are these people who travel the streets and those who have the impression that they are being exploited, that others may prosper while they are getting the crumbs.

“Opinion is just as much a fact as any law of nature. This subtle thing of opinion you will find lying deep hidden in unspoken thoughts of people. Once America had no such underworld.”

He said dissatisfaction must be dealt with generally, “not because of danger,” but “because I think this is the country of all the world where things that are wrong are

being made right." He said nearly every progressive idea which has borne fruit "has had something to do with the welfare of man.

"The law of adjustment is the law of life," he continued, "in a world that never stands still. The structure and satisfaction of the nation is based upon the human heart. Business can not afford to let anything alone. When I hear a man say 'let business alone,' I know he does not know business.

"I have been told again and again," said the President, discussing Wall Street, "that it was a mistake for me not to call into counsel, in public affairs, men who constitute what we have agreed to call 'Wall Street.' And I have again said this:

"If they would come in a spirit of coöperation they would be more than welcome. But they always come in a spirit of resistance, advising alterations in the plans; alterations which would defeat the balance.

"This is not generalization. They have a subtle genius for proposing seemingly immaterial changes which would eventually lead to the defect of the main objects of the legislation proposed. Do you wonder that I did not call them into consultation? And yet I tell you again that they will be welcomed the moment they come to coöperate and they will not be welcome until then."

The election took place on November 7th, five days after the address was delivered.

For many days the result remained in doubt. The vote was so close that a wrangle was caused by the Republicans claiming an official count of the ballots. It was not until November 12th that the final count was announced. It showed 9,129,606 votes cast for President Wilson and 8,538,221 for Hughes; a plurality of 591,385 for the President. The Republicans were forced to concede their defeat, which they did most grudgingly.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FOURTH MESSAGE.

President Wilson accepted his election with satisfaction. He was well aware that his methods in dealing with international questions had caused differences of opinion, but so sure was he that his course was right, that the vote of the people seemed to him to be one of confidence, and he held his way steadily on the same course.

More legislation was needed to bring the United States into the economic condition that his knowledge of government dictated. He appeared before a joint session of Congress on December 5, 1916, and delivered his fourth annual message, as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: In fulfilling at this time the duty laid upon me by the Constitution of communicating to you from time to time information of the state of the Union and recommending to your consideration such legislative measures as may be judged necessary and expedient, I shall continue the practice, which I hope has been acceptable to you, of leaving to the reports of the several heads of the executive departments the elaboration of the detailed needs of the public service and confine myself to those matters of more general public policy with which it seems necessary and feasible to deal at the present session of the Congress.

“I realize the limitations of time under which you will necessarily act at this session and shall make my suggestions as few as possible; but there were some things left undone at the last session which there will now be time to complete and which it seems necessary in the interest of the public to do at once.

“In the first place, it seems to me imperatively neces-

sary that the earliest possible consideration and action should be accorded the remaining measures of the programme of settlement and regulation which I had occasion to recommend to you at the close of your last session in view of the public dangers disclosed by the unaccommodated difficulties which then existed, and which still unhappily continue to exist, between the railroads of the country and their locomotive engineers, conductors, and trainmen.

“I then recommended:

“First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are, with its present constitution and means of action, practically impossible.

“Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employes who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

“Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads.

“Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

“Fifth, an amendment of the existing federal statute

which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

“And, sixth, the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

“The second and third of these recommendations the Congress immediately acted on: it established the eight-hour day as the legal basis of work and wages in train service and it authorized the appointment of a commission to observe and report upon the practical results, deeming these the measures most immediately needed; but it postponed action upon the other suggestions until an opportunity should be offered for a more deliberate consideration of them. The fourth recommendation I do not deem it necessary to renew. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant an increase of rates on the ground referred to is indisputably clear and a recommendation by the Congress with regard to such a matter might seem to draw in question the scope of the Commission's authority or its inclination to do justice when there is no reason to doubt either.

“The other suggestions,—the increase in the Interstate Commerce Commission's membership and in its facilities for performing its manifold duties, the provision for full public investigation and assessment of industrial disputes, and the grant to the Executive of the power to control and operate the railways when necessary in time

of war or other like public necessity,—I now very earnestly renew.

“The necessity for such legislation is manifest and pressing. Those who have entrusted us with the responsibility and duty of serving and safeguarding them in such matters would find it hard, I believe, to excuse a failure to act upon these grave matters or any unnecessary postponement of action upon them.

“Not only does the Interstate Commerce Commission now find it practically impossible, with its present membership and organization, to perform its great functions promptly and thoroughly, but it is not unlikely that it may presently be found advisable to add to its duties still others equally heavy and exacting. It must first be perfected as an administrative instrument.

“The country can not and should not consent to remain any longer exposed to profound industrial disturbances for lack of additional means of arbitration and conciliation which the Congress can easily and promptly supply. And all will agree that there must be no doubt as to the power of the Executive to make immediate and uninterrupted use of the railroads for the concentration of the military forces of the nation wherever they are needed and whenever they are needed.

“This is a programme of regulation, prevention, and administrative efficiency which argues its own case in the mere statement of it. With regard to one of its items, the increase in the efficiency of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House of Representatives has already acted; its action needs only the concurrence of the Senate.

“I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave. To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be

to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce. But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted which shall make the whole question at issue plain, for the judgment of the opinion of the nation is not to propose any such principle. It is based upon the very different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employee and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration. I can see nothing in that proposition but the justifiable safeguarding by society of the necessary processes of its very life. There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily and unjustly done. It can and should be done with a full and scrupulous regard for the interests and liberties of all concerned as well as for the permanent interests of society itself.

“Three matters of capital importance await the action of the Senate which have already been acted upon by the House of Representatives: the bill which seeks to extend greater freedom of combination to those engaged in promoting the foreign commerce of the country than is now thought by some to be legal under the terms of the laws against monopoly; the bill amending the present organic law of Porto Rico; and the bill proposing a more thorough and systematic regulation of the expenditure of money in elections, commonly called the Corrupt Practices Act. I need not labor my advice that these measures be enacted into law. Their urgency lies in the manifest circumstances which render their adoption at this time not only opportune but necessary. Even delay would

seriously jeopard the interests of the country and of the government.

“Immediate passage of the bill to regulate the expenditure of money in elections may seem to be less necessary than the immediate enactment of the other measures to which I refer; because at least two years will elapse before another election in which federal offices are to be filled; but it would greatly relieve the public mind if this important matter were dealt with while the circumstances and the dangers to the public morals of the present method of obtaining and spending campaign funds stand clear under recent observation, and the methods of expenditure can be frankly studied in the light of present experience; and a delay would have the further very serious disadvantage of postponing action until another election was at hand and some special object connected with it might be thought to be in the mind of those who urged it. Action can be taken now with facts for guidance and without suspicion of partisan purpose.

“I shall not argue at length the desirability of giving a freer hand in the matter of combined and concerted effort to those who shall undertake the essential enterprise of building up our export trade. That enterprise will presently, will immediately assume, has indeed already assumed, a magnitude unprecedented in our experience. We have not the necessary instrumentalities for its prosecution; it is deemed to be doubtful whether they could be created upon an adequate scale under our present laws. We should clear away all legal obstacles and create a basis of undoubted law for it which will give freedom without permitting unregulated license. The thing must be done now, because the opportunity is here and may escape us if we hesitate or delay.

“The argument for the proposed amendments of the organic law of Porto Rico is brief and conclusive. The present laws governing the Island and regulating the rights and privileges of its people are not just. We have



General Tasker H. Bliss, of the Regular United States Army.



Henry P. Davison, Chairman of the American Red Cross.



F1195

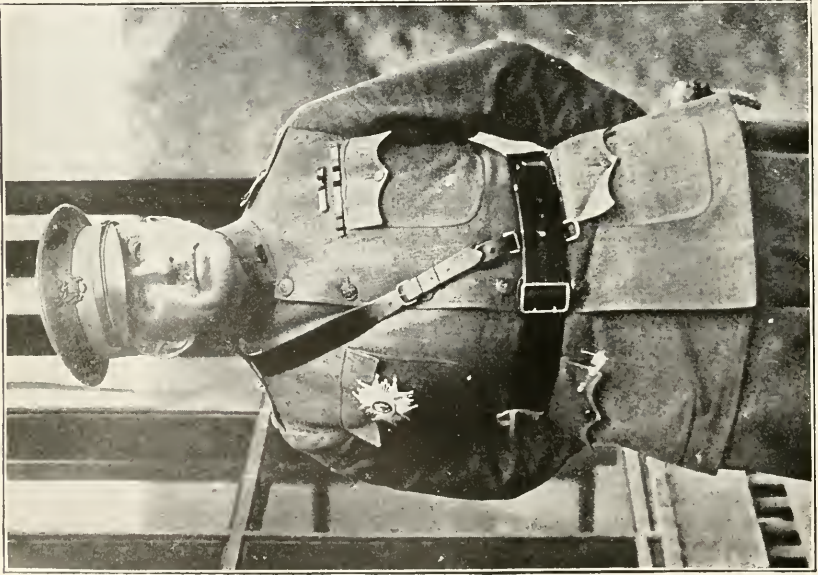
AMERICAN RED CROSS NURSES.
SERVING COFFEE TO MEN ENJOYING A BRIEF RESPIRE FROM THE GHASTLY NIGHTMARE OF TRENCH WARFARE



Lieut.-General Hunter Liggett, commander of the
First U. S. Field Army.



Lieut.-General Robt. L. Bullard, commander of the
Second U. S. Field Army.



General Leonard Wood, U. S. A.



The Hon. Josephus Daniels.

created expectations of extended privilege which we have not satisfied. There is uneasiness among the people of the Island and even a suspicious doubt with regard to our intentions concerning them which the adoption of the pending measure would happily remove. We do not doubt what we wish to do in any essential particular. We ought to do it at once.

“At the last session of the Congress a bill was passed by the Senate which provides for the promotion of vocational and industrial education which is of vital importance to the whole country because it concerns a matter, too long neglected, upon which the thorough industrial preparation of the country for the critical years of economic development immediately ahead of us in very large measure depends. May I not urge its early and favorable consideration by the House of Representatives and its early enactment into law? It contains plans which affect all interests and all parts of the country, and I am sure that there is no legislation now pending before the Congress whose passage the country awaits with more thoughtful approval or greater impatience to see a great and admirable thing set in the way of being done.

“There are other matters already advanced to the stage of conference between the two Houses of which it is not necessary that I should speak. Some practicable basis of agreement concerning them will no doubt be found and action taken upon them.

“Inasmuch as this is, gentlemen, probably the last occasion I shall have to address the Sixty-fourth Congress, I hope that you will permit me to say with what genuine pleasure and satisfaction I have coöperated with you in the many measures of constructive policy with which you have enriched the legislative annals of the country. It has been a privilege to labor in such company. I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the completion of a record of rare serviceableness and distinction.”

The European war had now been raging for two and a half years with little prospect of either side gaining a decisive victory. The German army had maintained its lines in France and Belgium, and a large portion of Roumania was in its possession, in addition to Poland, Serbia, Montenegro and part of Russia.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PROPOSAL.

The time was most opportune for the Germans to make an offer of peace. Every aim that the Germans had was attained. By release of part of the conquered territory the German general staff contemplated obtaining the return of the lost colonies and important concessions at the expense of the French and British.

With this idea in mind the German government, on December 12, 1916, addressed a note to the allied powers offering to enter at once on peace negotiations.

The German offer was repudiated with indignation by the Allies. They could see the disastrous peace underlying the German offer.

President Wilson, however, agreed that the time was most opportune for a general reconciliation and accordingly addressed a note to the warring powers on December 18th, as follows :

“The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited :

“The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:]

“The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[The third paragraph of the note as sent to the ten Entente Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Roumania, and Serbia—is as follows:]

“The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:]

“The President suggests that an early occasion be

sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

“He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

“In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as

the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or government. They stand ready, and even eager, to coöperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest, but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

“The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

“The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against

its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitely stated.

“The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definite results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

“It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

“The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.”

This note brought a new offer of negotiations from Germany which agreed identically with the note of December 12th. The Allies replied on January 10th and declared that the time was not yet ripe for peace, as they could agree on no peace which would not provide for the complete restoration of Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro and the payment of a sufficient indemnity. President Wil-

son then appeared in the United States Senate, related the correspondence with the European powers and laid down his idea of a peace. He said:

“Gentlemen of the Senate: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy. The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

“I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

“It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They can not in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

“That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement can not now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

“The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condi-

tion precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

“No covenant of coöperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

“I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

“The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of

power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

“Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

“They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor’s terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

“The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there

of course can not be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

“And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

“I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

“So far as practicable, moreover, every great people

now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this can not be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right of comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

“And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and coöperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

“It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the coöperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace can not be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to

be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

“I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world’s yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

“And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

“I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe

as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

“I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power; catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

“I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

“These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.”

President Wilson believed at that time that peace was coming within the next few months, but he had not appreciated the menace that lay in the military system Germany had built up after forty years of effort. He believed then as in later years, when America emerged from the war crowned with victory, that the future peace of the earth would be based on a League of Nations which would eliminate hidden diplomacy and secret treaties. He could

see no reason why international affairs should be held from the public, for local affairs were always placed before them for criticism through their representatives in the legislatures.

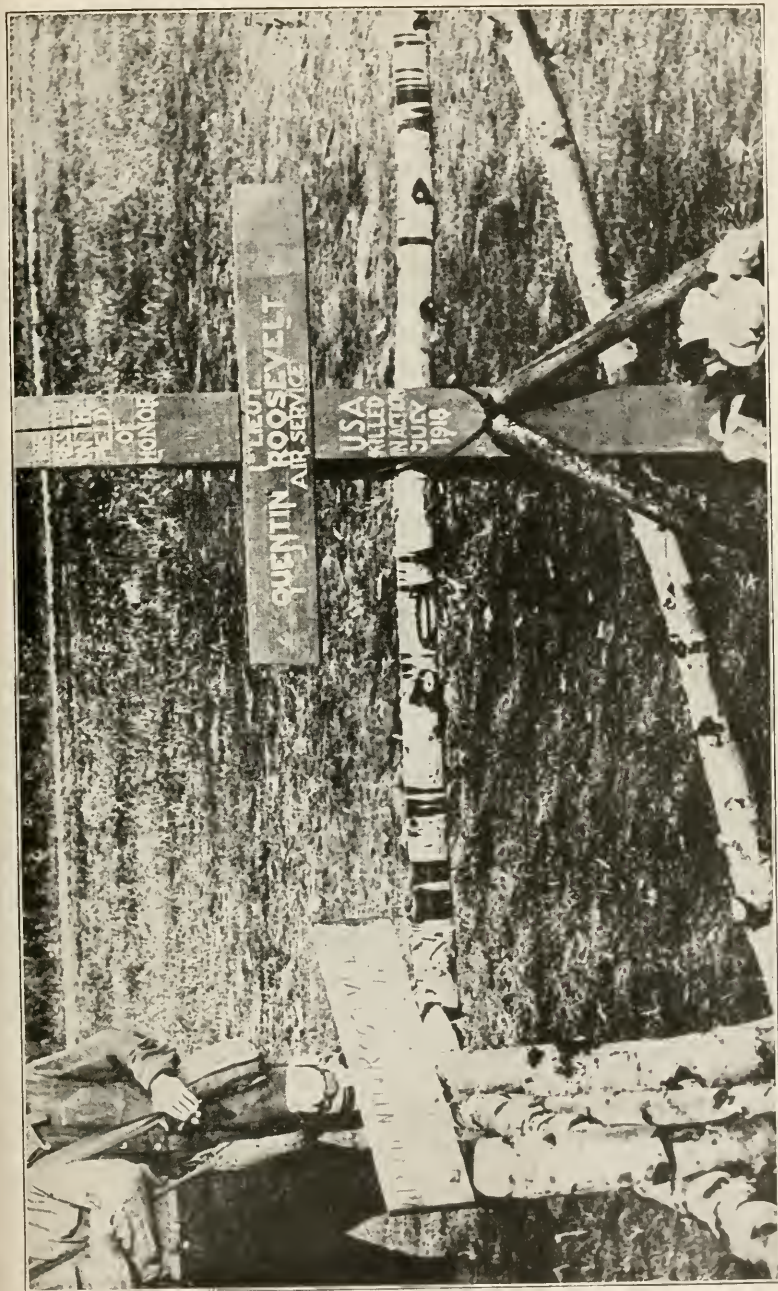
Six days later a measure restricting emigration was sent to the President for signature. The legislation was the outcome of an agitation that was countrywide against indiscriminate admission to the United States of impoverished foreigners after the war. The fear that American labor markets would be undermined by the influx was an old one, and Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the measure.

The President addressed the House of Representatives on January 28th, as follows:

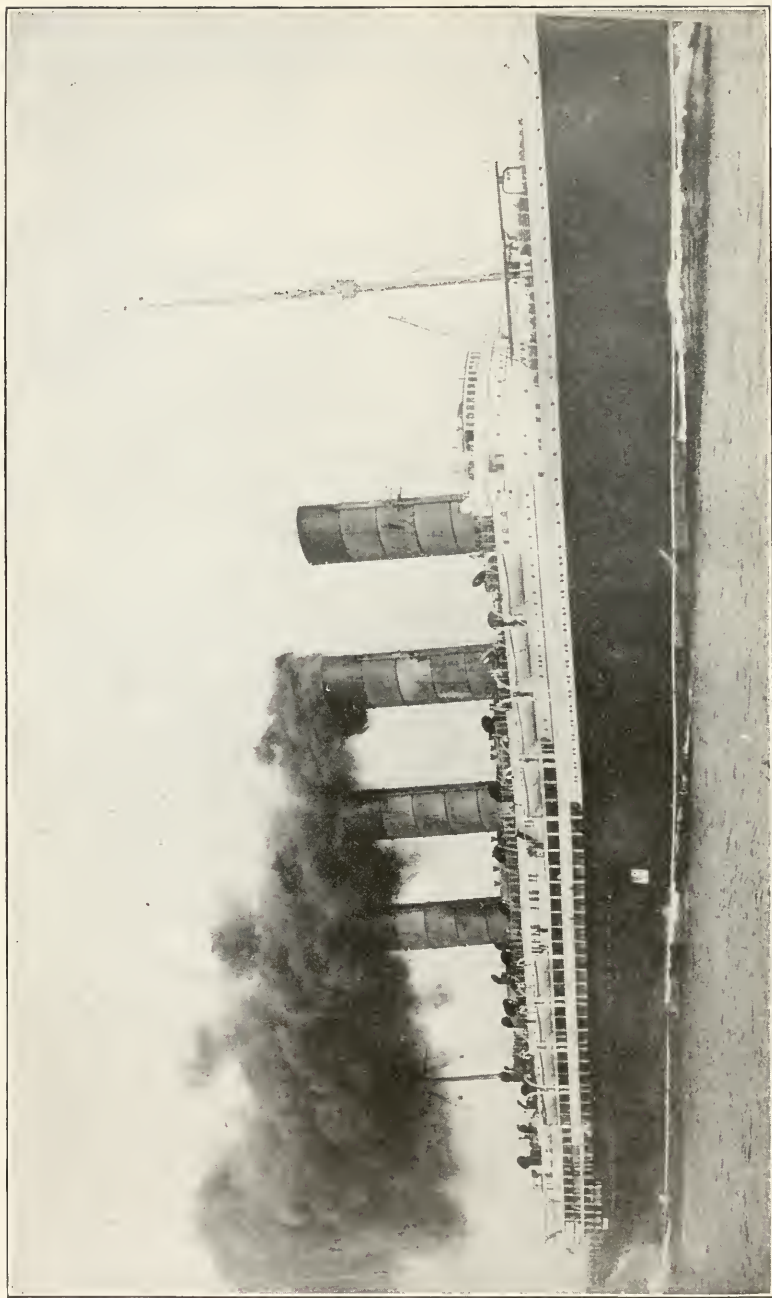
“To the House of Representatives:

“I very much regret to return this bill (H. R. 10394, ‘An act to regulate the immigration of aliens to, and the residence of aliens in, the United States’) without my signature. In most of the provisions of the bill I should be very glad to concur, but I can not rid myself of the conviction that the literacy test constitutes a radical change in the policy of the nation which is not justified in principle. It is not a test of character, of quality, or of personal fitness, but would operate in most cases merely as a penalty for lack of opportunity in the country from which the alien seeking admission came. The opportunity to gain an education is in many cases one of the chief opportunities sought by the immigrant in coming to the United States, and our experience in the past has not been that the illiterate immigrant is as such an undesirable immigrant. Tests of quality and of purpose can not be objected to on principle, but tests of opportunity surely may be.

“Moreover, even if this test might be equitably insisted on, one of the exceptions proposed to its application involves a provision which might lead to very delicate and hazardous diplomatic situations. The bill exempts from the operation of the literacy test ‘all aliens who shall



THE MEMORIAL TO QUENTIN ROOSEVELT.
SON OF FORMER PRESIDENT, SHOT DOWN AND BURIED ON THIS HOMELY SPOT BY THE RETREATING GERMANS.
TRULY A NOBLE LIFE GIVEN FOR A NOBLE CAUSE.



FULL STEAM AHEAD.

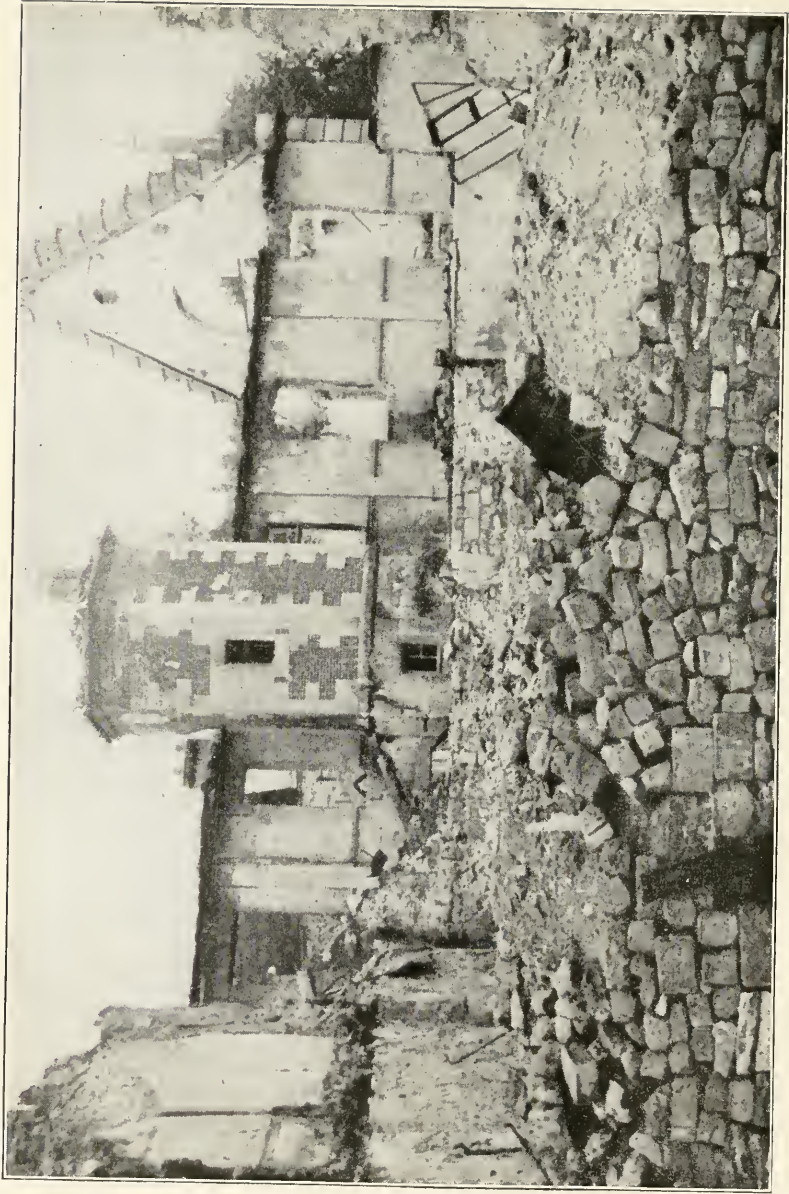
UNDER NAVAL CONVOY, THESE HUGE SHIPS SAILED BACK AND FORTH CARRYING SUPPLIES AND MEN.



William G. McAdoo, son-in-law of President Wilson, and ex-Secretary of the Treasury.



Carter Glass, who succeeded Wm. G. McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury.



The House Where the Armistice was Signed.

prove to the satisfaction of the proper immigration officer or to the Secretary of Labor that they are seeking admission to the United States to avoid religious persecution in the country of their last permanent residence, whether such persecution be evidenced by overt acts or by laws or governmental regulations that discriminate against the alien or the race to which he belongs because of his religious faith.' Such a provision, so applied and administered, would oblige the officer concerned in effect to pass judgment upon the laws and practices of a foreign Government and declare that they did or did not constitute religious persecution. This would, to say the least, be a most invidious function for any administrative officer of this Government to perform, and it is not only possible, but probable, that very serious questions of international justice and comity would rise between this Government and the government or governments thus officially condemned should its exercise be attempted. I dare say that these consequences were not in the minds of the proponents of this provision, but the provision separately and in itself renders it unwise for me to give my assent to this legislation in its present form."

Congress was so determined on passing the bill that it was made a law over the President's veto.

CHAPTER XXIII

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY SEVERED.

On January 31, 1917, just one week after President Wilson made his offer of peace to the warring nations, the Imperial German Government issued a proclamation stating that all ships encountered in the restricted zone would be sunk without warning, neutral shipping included.

It was a bolt from a clear sky.

President Wilson had dealt with the German empire in a friendly but firm manner, and this was his answer. It meant that American rights were to be ignored altogether in the struggle for world dominion.

With the issue presented in those terms, which were unmistakable, all the fighting blood of the President was aroused. The old strain of Scotch and Irish, that regarded a word of honor as a thing irretractable, came to the surface. There was no writing of notes. Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, was handed his passports, and our ambassador in Berlin, James R. Gerard, was ordered home.

Then the President called a joint session of Congress and appeared February 3rd to deliver notice of his action. He said:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: The Imperial German Government on the 31st of January announced to this Government and to the governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

“Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel passenger steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:

“‘If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.’

“In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

“‘The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

“‘The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by inter-

national law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.'

"'But,' it added, 'neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated.'

"To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding:

"'The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Re-

sponsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.'

'To this note of the eighth of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

'On the thirty-first of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

'The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente-Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente-Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

'Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc., etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.'

'I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the eighteenth of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

“I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passports.

“Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

“If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress, to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

“We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends

of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago,— seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!”

The country stood united in back of the President. There was dissatisfaction in some quarters, created expressly by the German agents who were at that time carrying on a relentless propaganda in behalf of the central powers. A few native-born Americans announced their stand as pacifists, but the great majority of the body politic ignored their weak protests. The people were stung to the quick and the preponderance of opinion supported President Wilson.

The President's next move was to obtain protection for American merchant vessels. With this idea in mind he went before Congress on February 26th and demanded permission to arm the ships with naval guns for protection against submarines. His address follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the Houses of Congress, so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross purposes between us.

“On the third of February I officially informed you of the sudden and unexpected action of the Imperial German Government in declaring its intention to disregard

the promises it had made to this Government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean, and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity even which might interfere with their object. That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active execution for nearly four weeks.

“Its practical results are not yet fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the first of February, when the new policy of the Imperial Government was put into operation. We have asked the coöperation of the other neutral governments to prevent these depredations, but so far none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

“Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. The case of the *Housatonic*, which was carrying foodstuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Fry*, in which, it will be recalled, the German Government admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the *Fry*, were safeguarded with reasonable care. The case of the *Law*, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German Government has used it.

“In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves

in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the third of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports because of the unwillingness of our shipowners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted, a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day. This in itself might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

“But, while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that, if our ships and our people are spared, it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint rather than because of the instructions under which these commanders are acting. It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are in fact, and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

“I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand, by constitutional limitation; and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress

which is to succeed it. I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law, by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers; but I prefer, in the present circumstances, not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

“No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to *armed* neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

“It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any

steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the wilful acts and aggressions of others.

“You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

“I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought, the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight. It is not of material interests merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself. I am thinking, not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper

business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of those rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives, the lives of non-combatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance. We are speaking of no selfish material rights but of rights which our hearts support and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, as upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things."

Although the employment of armed defense meant war in case of a clash between an American ship and a German submarine, President Wilson did not hesitate. His fighting blood was up and he was tired of German deceit. A bill was drawn up and presented to Congress granting him the authority he desired, but several quibbles prevented its passage. The President then acted on the authority conferred on him under the constitution and armed the ships. The people again expressed satisfaction with his course.

The country awaited the President's inaugural address with interest, for it was felt that he would outline the future course of the United States in the world war. At that time he was still confident of his power to keep America from being dragged into the war, and did not hesitate to say so. His address was delivered on March 4th as follows:

"The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequence. Perhaps no

equal period in our history has been so fruitful of important reforms in our economic and industrial life or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set our house in order, correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, correct and quicken the processes of our national genius and energy, and lift our politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction. But I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself and will be of increasing influence as the years go by. This is not the time for retrospect. It is time, rather, to speak our thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future.

“Although we have centered counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago, other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention, matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence.

“It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world. They have shaken men everywhere with a passion and an apprehension they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people swayed this way and that under their influence. We are a composite and cosmopolitan people. We are of the blood of all the nations that are at war. The currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The war inevitably set its mark from the first, alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics, and our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question.

“And yet all the while we have been conscious that we were not part of it. In that consciousness, despite many divisions, we have drawn closer together. We have been deeply wronged upon the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return; have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the war itself. As some of the injuries done us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind—fair dealing, justice, the freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong.

“It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware, more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace. We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and of freedom of action. We stand firm in armed neutrality since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forego. We may even be drawn on, by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. But nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered. We desire neither conquest nor advantage. We wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed unselfish purpose and we covet the opportunity to prove that our professions are sincere.

“There are many things still to do at home, to clarify our own politics and give new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole

world for stage and in coöperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the war itself and will set civilization up again. We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of the thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not.

“And yet we are not the less Americans on that account. We shall be the more American if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or in peace:

“That all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and equally responsible for their maintenance;

“That the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of right or privilege;

“That peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power;

“That governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or power of the family of nations.

“That the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples, under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms;

“That national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety;

“That the community of interest and of power upon which peace must henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceed-

ing from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other states should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

“I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow countrymen: they are your own, part and parcel of your own thinking and your own motive in affairs. They spring up native among us. Upon this as a platform of purpose and of action we can stand together.

“And it is imperative that we should stand together. We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world. In their ardent heat we shall, in God’s providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of the errant humors of party and of private interest, and shall stand forth in the days to come with a new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, the high purpose of the Nation in his own mind, ruler of his own will and desire.

“I stand here and have taken the high and solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power and have by their gracious judgment named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God I may be given the wisdom and the prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel. The thing I shall count upon, the thing without which neither counsel nor action will avail, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose, and in its vision of duty, of opportunity, and of service. We are to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and the necessities of the Nation to their own private profit or use them for the building up of private power; beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people; beware that our

Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in the face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, and your united aid. The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled and we shall walk with the light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world and in the thought of all those who love liberty and justice and the right exalted.”

The American people were satisfied with the address. They were not in favor of war at this time unless unmistakable cause should be given and were opposed to taking the aggressive against Germany. In this they followed the reasoning of the President, who felt that the life of one American soldier was worth more than the praise of the party who was clamoring for war.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR.

Germany's answer to the President's order for all merchant ships to arm for defense was a proclamation that the American gunners would be taken from the vessels and executed as pirates.

The statement was so unreasonable that President Wilson cast off all restraint. He went before Congress on the afternoon of April 2, 1917, and asked that the United States accept the status of belligerent which had been thrust upon it by Germany. His immortal address follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

“On the 3rd of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning

would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

“I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings

that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

“It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

“When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy

them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs: they cut to the very roots of human life.

“With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

“What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as inci-

dent to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

“I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

“In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

“I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

“While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22nd of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3rd of February and on the 26th of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

“We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

“A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

“Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been

happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

“One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we know that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to

convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

“We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

“Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

“I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

“It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live

amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

“It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.”

The request of the President was immediately carried out and on April 6th the declaration of war was passed in the Senate by a vote of 82 to 6, and in the House of Representatives by a vote of 373 to 50. It was im-

mediately signed by the President and included in a proclamation, which read as follows:

“Whereas the Congress of the United States in the exercise of the constitutional authority vested in them have resolved, by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives bearing date this day ‘That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared’;

“Whereas it is provided by section four thousand and sixty-seven of the Revised Statutes, as follows:

“‘Whenever there is declared a war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion of predatory incursion is perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States, by any foreign nation or government, and the President makes public proclamation of the event, all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed, as alien enemies. The President is authorized, in any such event, by his proclamation thereof, or other public act, to direct the conduct to be observed, on the part of the United States, toward the aliens who become so liable; the manner and degree of the restraint to which they shall be subject, and in what cases, and upon what security their residence shall be permitted, and to provide for the removal of those who, not being permitted to reside within the United States, refuse or neglect to depart therefrom; and to establish any other regulations which are found necessary in the premises and for the public safety’;

“Whereas, by sections four thousand and sixty-eight, four thousand and sixty-nine, and four thousand and seventy, of the Revised Statutes, further provision is made relative to alien enemies;

“Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim to all whom it may concern that a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government; and I do specially direct all officers, civil or military, of the United States that they exercise vigilance and zeal in the discharge of the duties incident to such a state of war; and I do, moreover, earnestly appeal to all American citizens that they, in loyal devotion to their country, dedicated from its foundation to the principles of liberty and justice, uphold the laws of the land, and give undivided and willing support to those measures which may be adopted by the constitutional authorities in prosecuting the war to a successful issue and in obtaining a secure and just peace;

“And, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the United States and the said sections of the Revised Statutes, I do hereby further proclaim and direct that the conduct to be observed on the part of the United States towards all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of Germany, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, who for the purpose of this proclamation and under such sections of the Revised Statutes are termed alien enemies, shall be as follows:

“All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace towards the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States, and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President; and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law, they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations and

be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States; and towards such alien enemies as conduct themselves in accordance with law, all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States;

“And all alien enemies who fail to conduct themselves as so enjoined, in addition to all other penalties prescribed by law, shall be liable to restraint, or to give security, or to remove and depart from the United States in the manner prescribed by sections four thousand and sixty-nine and four thousand and seventy of the Revised Statutes, and as prescribed in the regulations duly promulgated by the President;

“And pursuant to the authority vested in me, I hereby declare and establish the following regulations, which I find necessary in the premises and for the public safety:

“(1) An alien enemy shall not have in his possession, at any time or place, any firearm, weapon, or implement of war, or component part thereof, ammunition, maxim or other silencer, bomb or explosive or material used in the manufacture of explosives;

“(2) An alien enemy shall not have in his possession at any time or place or use or operate any aircraft or wireless apparatus, or any form of signalling device, or any form of cipher code, or any paper, document or book written or printed in cipher or in which there may be invisible writing;

“(3) All property found in the possession of an alien enemy in violation of the foregoing regulations shall be subject to seizure by the United States;

“(4) An alien enemy shall not approach or be found within one-half of a mile of any Federal or State fort, camp, arsenal, aircraft station, Government or naval

vessel, navy yard, factory, or workshop for the manufacture of munitions of war or of any products for the use of the army or navy;

“(5) An alien enemy shall not write, print, or publish any attack or threats against the Government or Congress of the United States, or either branch thereof, or against the measures or policy of the United States, or against the person or property of any person in the military, naval, or civil service of the United States, or of the States or Territories, or of the District of Columbia, or of the municipal governments therein;

“(6) An alien enemy shall not commit or abet any hostile act against the United States, or give information, aid, or comfort to its enemies;

“(7) An alien enemy shall not reside in or continue to reside in, to remain in, or enter any locality which the President may from time to time designate by Executive Order as a prohibited area in which residence by an alien enemy shall be found by him to constitute a danger to the public peace and safety of the United States, except by permit from the President and except under such limitations or restrictions as the President may prescribe;

“(8) An alien enemy whom the President shall have reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy, or to be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety of the United States, or to have violated or to be about to violate any of these regulations, shall remove to any location designated by the President by Executive Order, and shall not remove therefrom without a permit, or shall depart from the United States if so required by the President;

“(9) No alien enemy shall depart from the United States until he shall have received such permit as the President shall prescribe, or except under order of a court, judge, or justice, under sections 4069 and 4070 of the Revised Statutes;

“(10) No alien enemy shall land in or enter the



VICTORIOUS COMMANDERS.

GENERAL PERSHING, Commander-in-Chief of the American Armies.
 GENERAL FERDINAND FOCH, Commander-in-Chief of All Allied Forces.

FIELD MARSHALL HAIG, Head of the British Armies.
 ADMIRAL SIMS, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Navy in
 European Waters.

SIR JOHN JELICOE, Lord High Admiral of the British Navy.
 GENERAL GUILLAUMAT, French Army Commander.
 GENERAL CADORNA, First Commander of Italian Forces.



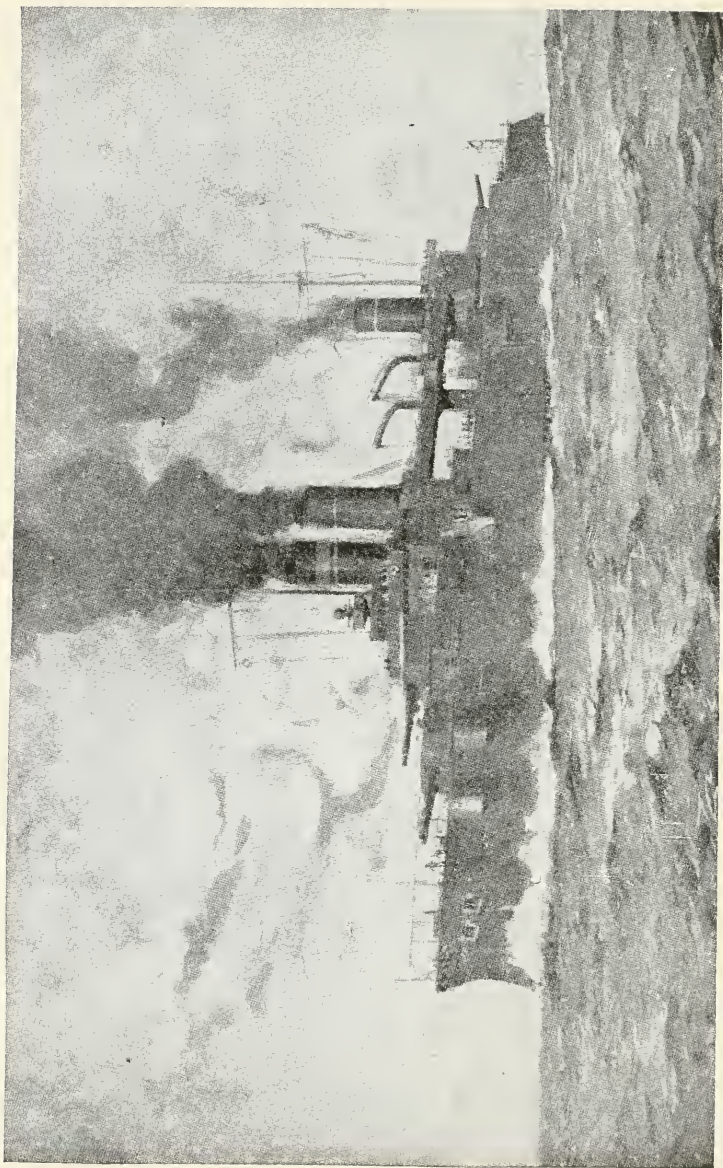
GENERAL J. T. DICKMAN
Commander of the American Army of Occupation.



MAJOR GENERAL JOHN BIDDLE
Commander of the American Forces in England.



From left to right: Marshal Foch, General Pershing, Madam Dubail, Marshal Joffre, General Dubail and Son. Generals Pelletier and Galopin in rear to either side of Marshal Joffre.



Great German battleship "Ersatz Babern" among those surrendered.

United States, except under such restrictions and at such places as the President may prescribe;

“(11) If necessary to prevent violations of these regulations, all alien enemies will be obliged to register;

“(12) An alien enemy whom there may be reasonable cause to believe to be aiding or about to aid the enemy, or who may be at large to the danger of the public peace or safety, or who violates or attempts to violate, or of whom there is reasonable ground to believe that he is about to violate, any regulation duly promulgated by the President, or any criminal law of the United States, or of the States or Territories thereof, will be subject to summary arrest by the United States marshal, or his deputy, or such other officer as the President shall designate, and to confinement in such penitentiary, prison, jail, military camp, or other place of detention as may be directed by the President.’

“This proclamation and the regulations herein contained shall extend and apply to all land and water, continental or insular, in any way within the jurisdiction of the United States.

“In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

“Done at the City of Washington, this 6th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

“WOODROW WILSON.”

The proclamation of war was not the only legislation Congress acted on. A war budget of \$21,390,730,940 was passed immediately. The budget was followed by laws prohibiting trading with the enemy, espionage, and the unlawful manufacture of explosives. War risk insurance for men in service was also provided in connection with legislation to increase the pay of the fighting men.

CHAPTER XXV

THE APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

President Wilson issued an address to the American people on April 16th. This masterly document follows:

“The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

“We are rapidly putting our navy upon an efficient war footing and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause we are fighting for. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice, it involves.

“These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting,—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

“We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made

common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting;

“We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea but also to clothe and support our people for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are cooperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

“It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and the women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, Service Army,—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free

men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental, sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

“I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are cooperating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of food stuffs. The importance of an adequate food supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency but for some time after peace shall have come both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America. Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure, rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual cooperation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done and done immediately to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

“I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant food stuffs as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present

price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

“The Government of the United States and the governments of the several States stand ready to cooperate. They will do everything possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as of the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation’s food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great Democracy and we shall not fall short of it!

“This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our food stuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

“To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation’s life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the

merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service"; and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

"Let me suggest, also, that everyone who creates or cultivates a garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

"In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest, also, to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the

theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

“The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!”

On May 18th the selective service legislation asked by President Wilson became a law and the vast machinery of the election system was put in motion to register men for service. The day set was June 5th and 9,683,445 men signed their names to the rolls. By September 15th, the sound of marching feet was heard in every city, village and hamlet as America went to war. The troops were trained in great cantonments which were built almost over night.

The raising of an army threatened to upset the industrial situation to such an extent that total stagnation of the food market was impending and this led President Wilson to issue a food proclamation on May 19th, as follows:

“It is very desirable, in order to prevent misunderstandings or alarms and to assure cooperation in a vital matter, that the country should understand exactly the scope and purpose of the very great powers which I have thought it necessary in the circumstances to ask the Congress to put in my hands with regard to our food supplies. Those powers are very great, indeed, but they are no greater than it has proved necessary to lodge in the other Governments which are conducting this momentous war, and their object is stimulation and conservation, not arbitrary restraint or injurious interference with the normal processes of production. They are intended to benefit and assist the farmer and all those who play a legitimate part in the preparation, distribution, and marketing of foodstuffs.

“It is proposed to draw a sharp line of distinction between the normal activities of the Government represented in the Department of Agriculture in reference to food production, conservation, and marketing, on the

one hand, and the emergency activities necessitated by the war in reference to the regulation of food distribution and consumption, on the other. All measures intended directly to extend the normal activities of the Department of Agriculture in reference to the production, conservation, and the marketing of farm crops will be administered, as in normal times, through that department, and the powers asked for over distribution and consumption, over exports, imports, prices, purchase, and requisition of commodities, storing, and the like which may require regulation during the war will be placed in the hands of a Commissioner of Food Administration, appointed by the President and directly responsible to him.

“The objects sought to be served by the legislation asked for are: Full inquiry into the existing available stocks of foodstuffs and into the costs and practices of the various food-producing and distributing trades; the prevention of all unwarranted hoarding of every kind and of the control of foodstuffs by persons who are not in any legitimate sense producers, dealers, or traders; the requisitioning when necessary for the public use of food supplies and of the equipment necessary for handling them properly; the licensing of wholesome and legitimate mixtures and milling percentages, and the prohibition of the unnecessary or wasteful use of foods.

“Authority is asked also to establish prices, but not in order to limit the profits of the farmers, but only to guarantee to them when necessary a minimum price which will insure them a profit where they are asked to attempt new crops and to secure the consumer against extortion by breaking up corners and attempts at speculation, when they occur, by fixing temporarily a reasonable price at which middlemen must sell.

“I have asked Mr. Herbert Hoover to undertake this all-important task of food administration. He has expressed his willingness to do so on condition that he is to receive no payment for his services and that the

whole of the force under him, exclusive of clerical assistance, shall be employed, so far as possible, upon the same volunteer basis. He has expressed his confidence that this difficult matter of food administration can be successfully accomplished through the voluntary coöperation and direction of legitimate distributors of foodstuffs and with the help of the women of the country.

“Although it is absolutely necessary that unquestionable powers shall be placed in my hands, in order to insure the success of this administration of the food supplies of the country, I am confident that the exercise of those powers will be necessary only in the few cases where some small and selfish minority proves unwilling to put the nation’s interests above personal advantage, and that the whole country will heartily support Mr. Hoover’s efforts by supplying the necessary volunteer agencies throughout the country for the intelligent control of food consumption and securing the coöperation of the most capable leaders of the very interests most directly affected, that the exercise of the powers deputed to him will rest very successfully upon the good-will and coöperation of the people themselves, and that the ordinary economic machinery of the country will be left substantially undisturbed.

“The proposed food administration is intended, of course, only to meet a manifest emergency and to continue only while the war lasts. Since it will be composed, for the most part, of volunteers, there need be no fear of the possibility of a permanent bureaucracy arising out of it. All control of consumption will disappear when the emergency has passed. It is with that object in view that the Administration considers it to be of pre-eminent importance that the existing associations of producers and distributors of foodstuffs should be mobilized and made use of on a volunteer basis. The successful conduct of the projected food administration by such means will be the finest possible demonstration of the willing-

ness, the ability, and the efficiency of democracy, and of its justified reliance upon the freedom of individual initiative. The last thing that any American could contemplate with equanimity would be the introduction of anything resembling Prussian autocracy into the food control in this country.

“It is of vital interest and importance to every man who produces food and to every man who takes part in its distribution that these policies thus liberally administered should succeed, and succeed altogether. It is only in that way that we can prove it to be absolutely unnecessary to resort to the rigorous and drastic measures which have proved to be necessary in some of the European countries.”

In connection with this proclamation, the President appointed Herbert C. Hoover as food administrator on August 19th. Four days later, Dr. Harry A. Garfield was made fuel administrator. The President, in this manner, organized the whole country for war.

Germany succeeded in diverting the Russian support two weeks before the United States entered the war. It was a heavy blow for the allies as it was estimated that Germany would be able to release more than a million soldiers for use in France.

President Wilson was not discouraged by the defection of the Russian support. He was aware of the democratic spirit that was slowly gaining strength and he sympathized with the Russian people. The allied statesmen were inclined to upbraid their allies for failing at the critical moment but President Wilson immediately took steps to lend moral aid to the champions of freedom. With this idea in mind he addressed a note to the Russian Provisional government on May 26th, 1917, as follows:

“In view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of coöperation between

the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the past few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

“The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat, those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

“The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must

be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever being rewoven or repaired.

“Of course, the Imperial Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the *status quo ante*. It was the *status quo ante* out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

“We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

“But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payments for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

“And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical coöperation that will in effect combine their

force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

“For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford then to be generous, but we cannot afford then or now to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security.”

With the entry of the United States into the war it became apparent that Germany had treated this country as an enemy since the beginning of the world conflict. The President and the American people were loath to believe that the Imperial Government had deliberately violated the neutrality of the United States but the facts were plain.

Activities of this sort had led to the dismissal of Count Dumba, the Austrian ambassador, a year after the war began and several German representatives also were sent home. It was all that could be done under the circumstances, but with America at war it was another matter.

President Wilson denounced the activities of the German agents in an address in Washington on Flag Day, June 14, 1917, in which he said:

“Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect

their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or coöperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

“The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the centre of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations; and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

“But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised loyalties.

The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a People's War, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German peoples themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish."

CHAPTER XXVI

THE VOICE OF THE ALLIES.

In August, 1917, Pope Benedict addressed a note to the warring powers asking for the peace aims of each. King Albert of Belgium replied and practically directed the pope to look to President Wilson for the aims of the allies. His action was an indication of the regard in which the President was held by the allied leaders. The President's note to the pope was sent on August 27th, 1917, as follows:

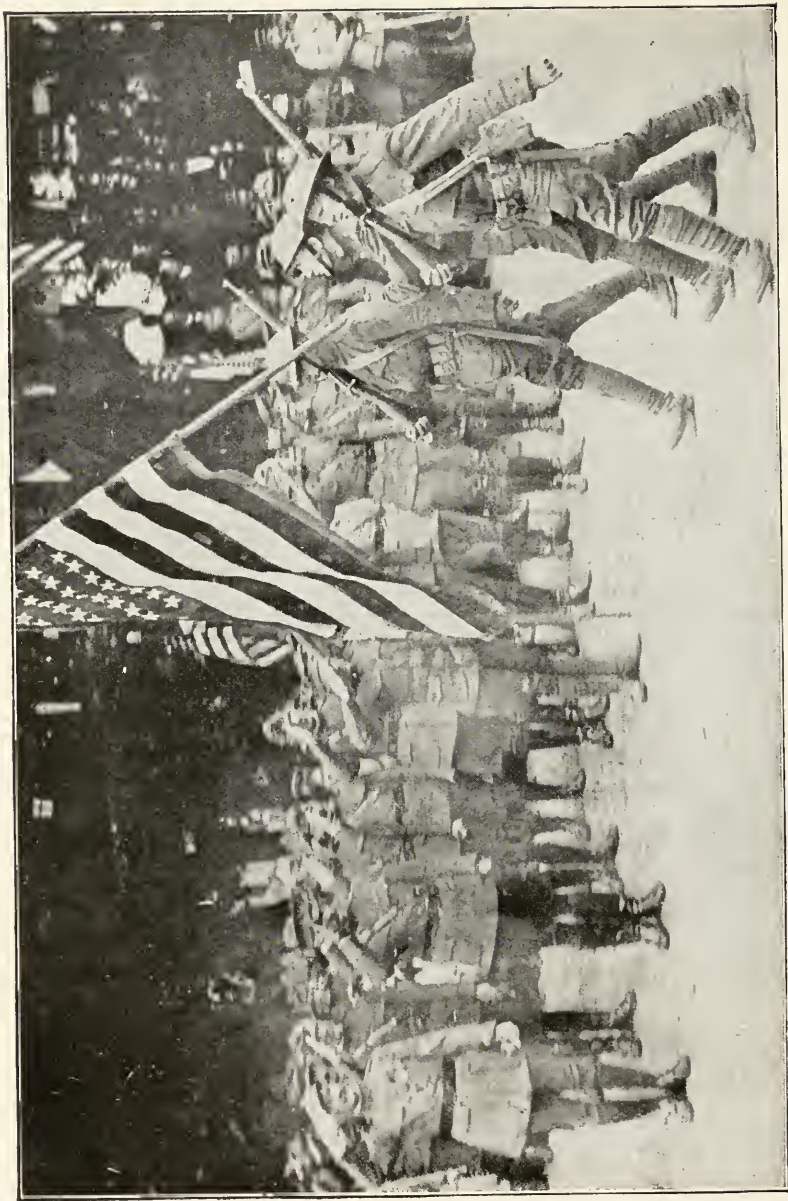
“In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated Aug. 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

“Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts, and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

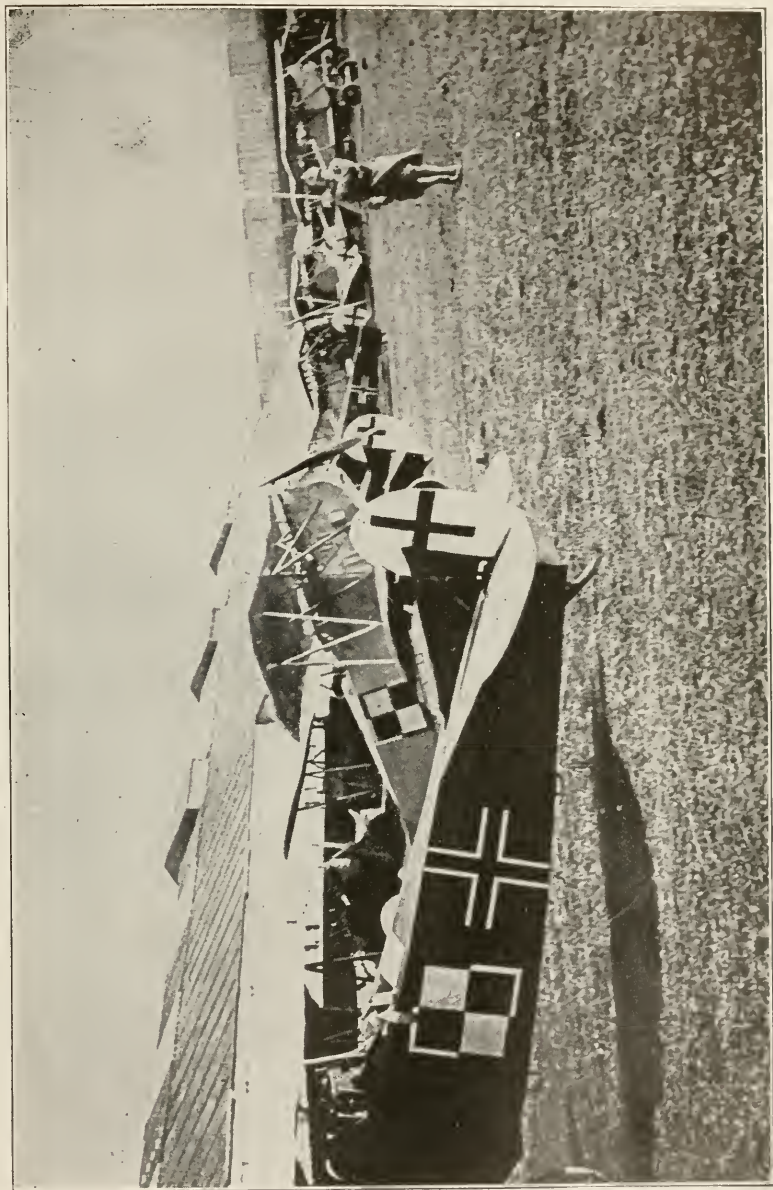
“His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the status quo ante-bellum and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas



A Very Characteristic Picture of America's First Citizen



Honoring Old Glory on German territory.



First installment of German airplanes surrendered to the Allies under the terms of the armistice.



American army of occupation along the Rhine. A column of troops (1st Engineers, 1st Division) on a road near Wirges, which is eleven miles northeast of Coblenz.

be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

“It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the status quo ante furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

“This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

“To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the

manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world.

“Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?”

“Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

“The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the people involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

“The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the

expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

“We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on.

“We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.”

The note met with approval from all the allied and associated powers, and President Wilson from that time became the authorized spokesman of the nations fighting for Democracy.

All during the fall President Wilson was occupied with the innumerable details of government, as well as the weight of the responsibilities which had been placed on him by Congress. He possessed more power than any man in the history of the world.

In November word came from Europe that Austrian-Hungarian troops had taken position in the German trenches. This meant that they would oppose American soldiers when the time came for the latter to go into the

allied line. It was therefore necessary for this country to declare war on the dual monarchy.

President Wilson voiced the request in his fifth annual message, which was delivered at a joint session of Congress on December 4th. It follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to retail or even to summarize those events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

“I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

“From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it. As a Nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling them-

selves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

“But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

“I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable Thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as the German power, a Thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this Thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we

shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect our enemies as well as our friends.

“You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or peoples shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula ‘No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities.’ Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to right of plain men everywhere it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray—and the people of every other country their agents could reach, in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson, and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

“But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can Right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the ex-

clusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

“Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved. Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey, and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

“Germany’s success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise, we did not grudge or oppose, but admired, rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science, and commerce that were involved for us in her success and stand or fall as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated. The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the

peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

“We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is no affair of ours what they do with their own life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

“And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

“The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their Empire, a war of desperate self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are in fact fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own—from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

“The worst that can happen to the detriment of the

German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments. It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself, by processes which would assuredly set in.

“The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That of course. But they can not and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life. German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the

comradeship of the other peoples of the world either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with those tides.

“All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I can not help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided. The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It can not be uttered too plainly or too often.

“From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over. When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways, I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies as well as our present associates in the war. I

was thinking, and am thinking now, of Austria herself, among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of right can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

“What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success, and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

“One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is, in fact, the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German Government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business. The Government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

“The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

“It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

“Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the presidential proclamations relating to alien enemies promulgated under section 4067 of the Revised Statutes and providing appropriate punishment; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the Government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions where they could be made to work as other criminals do.

“Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the Government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry, it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequities obtain on all sides.

“It is imperatively necessary that the consideration

of the full use of the water power of the country, and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal Government, should be immediately resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

“The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of coöperation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

“And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.

“Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress again adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of the Congress upon another occasion.

“If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous, rapid, and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

“We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the Union of the States. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

“It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

“I have spoken plainly because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us. A supreme moment of history has come.

The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy."

Congress at once acceded to the request of the President and on December 7th a joint resolution was adopted in both Senate and House, naming the Austrian-Hungarian government as an enemy of the United States and calling for prosecution of the war with increased vigor. There was only one dissenting vote.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FOURTEEN POINTS.

The whole world was now looking to President Wilson for an expression of the war aims of the United States. He appeared before Congress on January 8, 1918, and addressed the legislators, as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

“The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

“It is a reasonable conjecture that the general

principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

“The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

“The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

“But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of pur-

pose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

“There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

“There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shat-

tered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

“They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

“It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

“We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence.

“What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and

safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.

“All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world’s peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

“1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

“2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

“3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

“4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest points consistent with domestic safety.

“5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

“6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest coöperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unem-

barrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

“7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

“8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

“9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

“10. The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

“11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees

of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

"12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

"13. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

"14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

"In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

"For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove.

"We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very

bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing.

“We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world,—the new world in which we now live,—instead of a place of mastery.

“Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

“We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

“Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything they possess. The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.”

This was the birth of the famous Fourteen Points which were adopted by the allied statesmen as a basis for their peace utterances. They created a great amount of excitement in Germany and popular demand was for

a reply from the German government. It was not long in forthcoming. On January 24th, Count von Hertling, the German chancellor, replied to President Wilson in an address to the reichstag in which he said:

“Gentlemen: You have acquainted yourselves with the speech of Premier Lloyd George and the proposals of President Wilson. We now must ask ourselves whether these speeches and proposals breathe a real and earnest wish for peace. They contain certain principles for a general world peace to which we also assent and which might form the starting point and aid negotiations.

“When, however, concrete questions came into the question—points which, for the Teutonic allies, are of decisive importance—their peace will is less observable. Our enemies do not desire to destroy Germany, but they cast covetous eyes on parts of our allies’ lands. They speak with respect of Germany’s position, but their conception, ever afresh, finds expression as if we were the guilty who must do penance and promise improvement.

“Thus speaks the victor to the vanquished; he who interprets all our former expressions of a readiness for peace as merely a sign of weakness.

“The leaders of the entente must first renounce this standpoint and this deception. In order to facilitate this, I would like to recall what the position really is. They may take it from me that our military position was never so favorable as it now is. Our highly gifted army leaders face the future with undiminished confidence in victory. Throughout the whole army, in the officers and the men, lives unbroken the joy of battle.

“I now come to President Wilson. Here, too, I recognize that the tone appears to have changed. The unanimous rejection of Mr. Wilson’s attempt, in reply to the pope’s note, to sow discord between the German government and the German people has had its effect.

“This unanimous rejection might of itself lead Mr. Wilson on the right path. A beginning to that end has

perhaps been made, for now there is at any rate no longer talk about oppression of the German people by an autocratic government, and the former attacks on the house of Hohenzollern have not been repeated.

“I shall not enlarge upon the distorted representation of German policy which is contained in Mr. Wilson’s message, but will deal in detail with the points which Mr. Wilson lays down there, not less than fourteen points, in which he formulates his peace program, and I pray your indulgence in dealing with these as briefly as possible.

“The first point is the demand that there shall be no more secret international agreements. History shows it is we above all others who would be able to agree to the publicity of diplomatic documents. I recall that our defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary was known to the whole world from 1888, while the offensive agreement of the enemy states first saw the light of publicity during the war through the revelations of the secret Russian archives.

“In his second point Mr. Wilson demands freedom of shipping on the seas in war and peace. This also is demanded by Germany as the first and one of the most important requirements for the future. Therefore there is here no difference of opinion.

“It would, however, be highly important for the freedom of shipping in future if strongly fortified naval bases on important international routes, such as England has at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hongkong, the Falkland islands, and many other places, were removed.

“Point 3—We, too, are in thorough accord with the removal of economic barriers which interfere with trade in superfluous manner. We, too, condemn economic war, which would inevitably bear within it causes of future warlike complications.

“Point 4—Limitation of armaments: As already declared by us, the idea of limitation of armaments is entirely discussable. The financial position of all

European states after the war might most effectively promote a satisfactory solution. It is therefore clear that an understanding might be reached without difficulty on the first four points of Mr. Wilson's program.

"I now come to the fifth point—settlement of all colonial claims and disputes. Practical realization of Mr. Wilson's principles in the realm of reality will encounter some difficulties in any case. I believe that for the present it may be left for England, which has the greatest colonial empire, to make what she will of this proposal of her ally. This point of the program also will have to be discussed in due time, on the reconstitution of the world's colonial possessions, which we also demand absolutely.

"Point 6—Evacuation of Russian territory: Now that the entente has refused within the period agreed upon by Russia and the quadruple alliance to join in the negotiations, I must, in the name of the latter, decline to allow any subsequent interference.

"We are dealing here with questions which concern only Russia and the four allied powers. I adhere to the hope that with recognition of self-determination for the peoples on the western frontier of the former Russian empire good relations will be established, both with these peoples and with the rest of Russia, for whom we wish most earnestly a return of order, peace and conditions guaranteeing the welfare of the country.

"Point 7—Belgium: My predecessors in office repeatedly declared that at no time did the annexation of Belgium to Germany form a point in the program of German policy. The Belgian question belongs to those questions the details of which are to be settled by negotiations at the peace conference. I must adhere to the standpoint hitherto always adopted and refuse the removal in advance of the Belgian affair from the entire discussion.

"Point 8—The occupied parts of France are a valu-

able pawn in our hands. Here, too, forcible annexation forms no part of the official German policy. The conditions and methods of procedure of the evacuation, which must take account of Germany's vital interests, are to be agreed upon between Germany and France.

"I can only again expressly accentuate the fact that there can never be a question of dismemberment of imperial territory. Under no fine phrases of any kind shall we permit the enemy again to take from us territory of the empire which with ever increasing intimacy has linked itself to Germanism, which has in highly gratifying manner ever and increasingly developed in an economic respect, and of whose people more than 87 per cent speak the German mother tongue.

"The questions dealt with by Mr. Wilson under points 9, 10, and 11 touch both the Italian frontier question and questions of the future development of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the future of the Balkan states; questions in which, for the greater part, the interests of our ally, Austria-Hungary, preponderate.

"Where German interests are concerned we shall defend them most energetically. But I may leave the answer to Mr. Wilson's proposals on these points in the first place to the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister. Close contact with the allied dual monarchy forms the kernel of our present policy and must be the guiding line in the future.

"Loyal comradeship in arms, which has stood the test so brilliantly in war time, must continue to have its effect in peace. We shall thus on our part do everything for the attainment of peace by Austria-Hungary which takes into account her just claims.

"The matters touched upon by Mr. Wilson in point 12 concern our loyal, brave ally, Turkey. I must in no wise forestall her statesmen in their attitude. The integrity of Turkey and the safeguarding of her capital, which is connected closely with the question of the straits,

are important and vital interests of the German empire only."

Count Czernin's reply to the President was made on the same day. It was along the same line as that of Count von Hertling. Neither was satisfactory to President Wilson who addressed his reply to congress on February 11th. His speech follows:

"Gentlemen of the Congress: "On the eighth of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the fifth of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the twenty-fourth and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

"Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own Government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two Governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them; but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

"Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate im-

pression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk. His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the people and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the Government of France the 'conditions' under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman Empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, affected

in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

“It must be evident to everyone who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice,—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag Resolutions of the nineteenth of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state. The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to the Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security, and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may

be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

“Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind, that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag Resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. ‘Self-determination’ is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

“The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied. But she entered this war because she was

made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany, against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

“This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade. Count von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles on peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no founda-

tion for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

“Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own Empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must of course be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

“After all, the test of whether it is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

“First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

“Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great

game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

“Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and

“Fourth, that all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

“A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

“I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation,—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers,—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of inde-

pendent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

“I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.”

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CHALLENGE OF FORCE.

The enemy chancellors replied to the President on February 25th. Both said they could "fundamentally agree" on the peace terms outlined by the President but expressed unbelief in his ability to unite the other allied nations in an agreement along the lines proposed. In contradiction of the principles they agreed to accept, ruinous peace treaties were signed with Russia and Roumania the following week. This was the real answer to the President and he realized that he was being challenged to use force. He accepted the gage and addressed the country in a speech delivered at Baltimore on April 6th, 1918, a year after America entered the war, in which he stated his acceptance of the German threat. His speech follows:

"This is the anniversary of our acceptance of Germany's challenge to fight for our right to live and be free, and for the sacred rights of free men everywhere. The Nation is awake. There is no need to call to it. We know what the war must cost, our utmost sacrifice, the lives of our fittest men and, if need be, all that we possess. The loan we are met to discuss is one of the least parts of what we are called upon to give and to do, though in itself imperative. The people of the whole country are alive to the necessity of it, and are ready to lend to the utmost, even where it involves a sharp skimping and daily sacrifice to lend out of meagre earnings. They will look with reprobation and contempt upon those who can and will not, upon those who demand a higher rate of interest, upon those who think of it as a mere commercial transac-

tion. I have not come, therefore, to urge the loan. I have come only to give you, if I can, a more vivid conception of what it is for.

“The reasons for this great war, the reason why it had to come, the need to fight it through, and the issues that hang upon its outcome, are more clearly disclosed now than ever before. It is easy to see just what this particular loan means because the Cause we are fighting for stands more sharply revealed than at any previous crisis of the momentous struggle. The man who knows least can now see plainly how the cause of Justice stands and what the imperishable thing is he is asked to invest in. Men in America may be more sure than they ever were before that the cause is their own, and that, if it should be lost, their own great Nation’s place and mission in the world would be lost with it.

“I call you to witness, my fellow countrymen, that at no stage of this terrible business have I judged the purposes of Germany intemperately. I should be ashamed in the presence of affairs so grave, so fraught with the destinies of mankind throughout all the world, to speak with truculence, to use the weak language of hatred or vindictive purpose. We must judge as we would be judged. I have sought to learn the objects Germany has in this war from the mouths of her own spokesmen, and to deal as frankly with them as I wished them to deal with me. I have laid bare our own ideals, our own purposes, without reserve or doubtful phrase, and have asked them to say as plainly what it is that they seek.

“We have ourselves proposed no injustice, no aggression. We are ready, whenever the final reckoning is made, to be just to the German people, deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between peoples in the final judgment, if it is indeed to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, evenhanded and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome of the war,

would be to renounce and dishonor our own cause. For we ask nothing that we are not willing to accord.

“It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon the other nations of the world that the German leaders were seeking. They have answered, answered in unmistakable terms. They have avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will.

“The avowal has not come from Germany’s statesmen. It has come from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen have said that they wished peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at the conference table with them. Her present Chancellor has said—in indefinite and uncertain terms, indeed, and in phrases that often seem to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent—that he believed that peace should be based upon the principles which we had declared would be our own in the final settlement. At Brest-Litovsk her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms; professed their desire to conclude a fair peace and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances. But action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We can not mistake what they have done—In Russia, in Finland, in the Ukraine, in Rumania. The real test of their justice and fair play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph in which no brave or gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for the time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten. They nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power and exploit everything

for their own use and aggrandizement; and the peoples of conquered provinces are invited to be free under their dominion!

“Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their western front if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions can not overcome? If, when they have felt their check to be final, they should propose favorable and equitable terms with regard to Belgium and France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East?

“Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free and ambitious nations of the Baltic peninsula, all the lands that Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition and build upon that dominion an empire of force upon which they fancy that they can then erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy—an empire as hostile to the Americas as to the Europe which it will overawe—an empire which will ultimately master Persia, India, and the peoples of the Far East. In such a program our ideals, the ideals of justice and humanity and liberty, the principle of the free self-determination of nations upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for the ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it.

“That program once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the World, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old, age-

long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind!

“The thing is preposterous and impossible; and yet is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched.

“What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer.

“I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether Right as America conceives it or Dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from

us: Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.”

How well that answer to the German Government was carried out was told at Chateau Thierry two months afterward. There the Prussian Guard followed on the heels of the retreating French only to come to a stop near the positions of two battalions of American marines. It was the turning point of the world war and Force had been met with Force. The marines won.

On July 4th, a few days after the marines delivered the President's answer in person, President Wilson once more stated the aims of the allies from the porch of George Washington's residence at Mount Vernon. He said:

“I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation's independence. The place seems very still and remote. It is as serene and untouched by the hurry of the world as it was in those great days long ago when General Washington was here and held leisurely conference with the men who were to be associated with him in the creation of a nation. From these gentle slopes they looked out upon the world and saw it whole, saw it with the light of the future upon it, saw it with modern eyes that turned away from a past which men of liberated spirits could no longer endure. It is for that reason that we cannot feel, even here, in the immediate presence of this sacred tomb, that this is a place of death. It was a place of achievement. A great promise that was meant for all mankind was here given plan and reality. The associations by which we are here surrounded are the inspiring associations of that noble death which is only a glorious consummation. From this green hillside we also ought to be able to see with compre-

hending eyes the world that lies about us and should conceive anew the purposes that must set men free.

“It is significant—significant of their own character and purpose and of the influences they were setting afoot—that Washington and his associates, like the barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. They were thinking, not of themselves and of the material interests which centred in the little groups of landholders and merchants and men of affairs with whom they were accustomed to act, in Virginia and the colonies to the north and south of her, but of a people which wished to be done with classes and special interests and the authority of men whom they had not themselves chosen to rule over them. They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of every nation what shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled once for all what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. This is surely a fitting place from which calmly to look out upon our task, that we may fortify our spirits for its accomplishment. And this is the appropriate place from which to avow, alike to the friends who look on and to the friends with whom we have

the happiness to be associated in action, the faith and purpose with which we act.

“This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others also who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of governments who speak no common purpose but only selfish ambitions of their own by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands; governments which fear their people and yet are for the time their sovereign lords, making every choice for them and disposing of their lives and fortunes as they will, as well as of the lives and fortunes of every people who fall under their power—governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

“There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:

“I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

“II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or

of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

“III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern states in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

“IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

“These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

“These great ends cannot be achieved by debating and seeking to reconcile and accommodate what statesmen may wish, with their projects for balances of power and of national opportunity. They can be realized only by the determination of what the thinking peoples of the world desire, with their longing hope for justice and for social freedom and opportunity.

“I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here

were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they knew little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!”

The beginning of the end came on September 14th when a note from the Austro-Hungarian government was handed to the American representative in Berne, Switzerland. The communication asked for a conference to decide terms of peace. It was at once sent to President Wilson who replied on September 16th, as follows:

“Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated Sept. 16, communicating to me a note from the imperial government of Austria-Hungary, containing a proposal to the governments of all the belligerent states to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion on the basic principles for the conclusion of peace. Furthermore, it is proposed that the delegates would be charged to make known to one another the conception of their governments regarding these principles and to receive analogous communications as well as to request and give frank and candid explanations on all those points which need to be precisely defined.

“In reply, I beg to say that the substance of your communication has been submitted to the president, who now directs me to inform you that the Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the imperial Austro-Hungarian government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States

would consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain.”

“LANSING.”

CHAPTER XXIX

NO PEACE BY COMPROMISE.

The President then declared that there would be no peace by compromise. He again stated the demands of the allies in his address in New York on September 27th, 1918, at the opening of the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign. He said:

“I am not here to promote the loan. That will be done—ably and enthusiastically done—by the hundreds of thousands of loyal and tireless men and women who have undertaken to present it to you and to our fellow citizens throughout the country; and I have not the least doubt of their complete success; for I know their spirit and the spirit of the country. My confidence is confirmed, too, by the thoughtful and experienced coöperation of the bankers here and everywhere, who are lending their invaluable aid and guidance. I have come, rather, to seek an opportunity to present to you some thoughts which I trust will serve to give you, in perhaps fuller measure than before, a vivid sense of the great issues involved, in order that you may appreciate and accept with added enthusiasm the grave significance of the duty of supporting the Government by your men and your means to the utmost point of sacrifice and self-denial. No man or woman who has really taken in what this war means can hesitate to give to the very limit of what they have; and it is my mission here tonight to try to make it clear once more what the war really means. You will need no other stimulation or reminder of your duty.

“At every turn of the war we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our

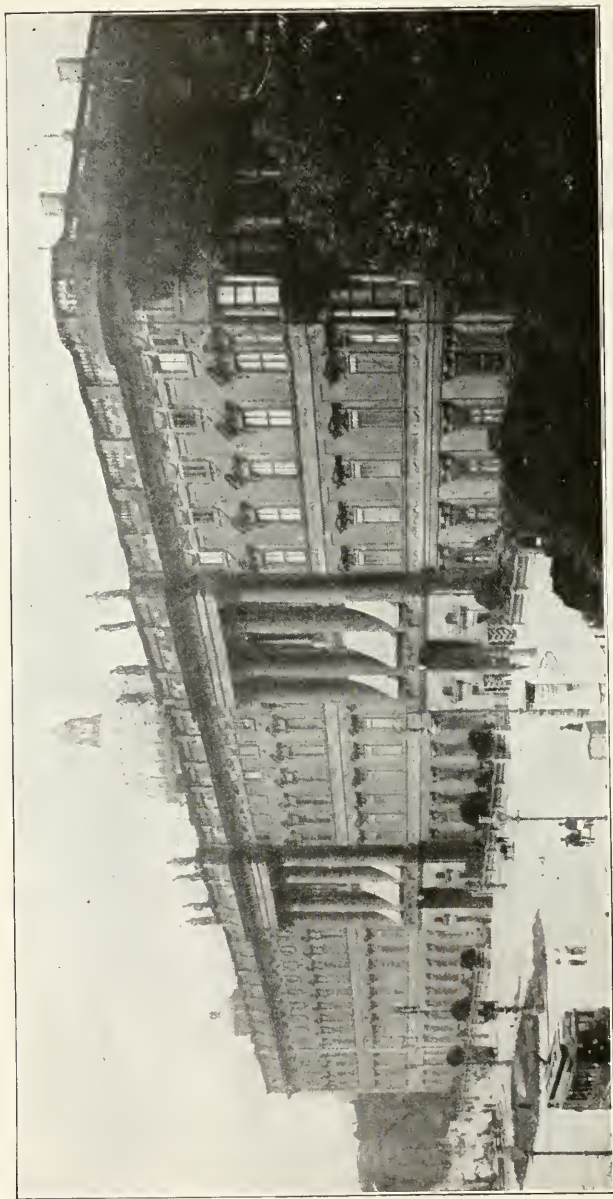
hope and expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well-defined purposes which we did not determine and which we can not alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now. The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement. We came into it when its character had become fully defined and it was plain that no nation could stand apart or be indifferent to its outcome. Its challenge drove to the heart of everything we cared for and lived for. The voice of the war had become clear and gripped our hearts. Our brothers from many lands, as well as our own murdered dead under the sea, were calling to us, and we responded, fiercely and of course.

“The air was clear about us. We saw things in their full, convincing proportions as they were; and we have seen them with steady eyes and unchanging comprehension ever since. We accepted the issues of the war as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can accept no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these:

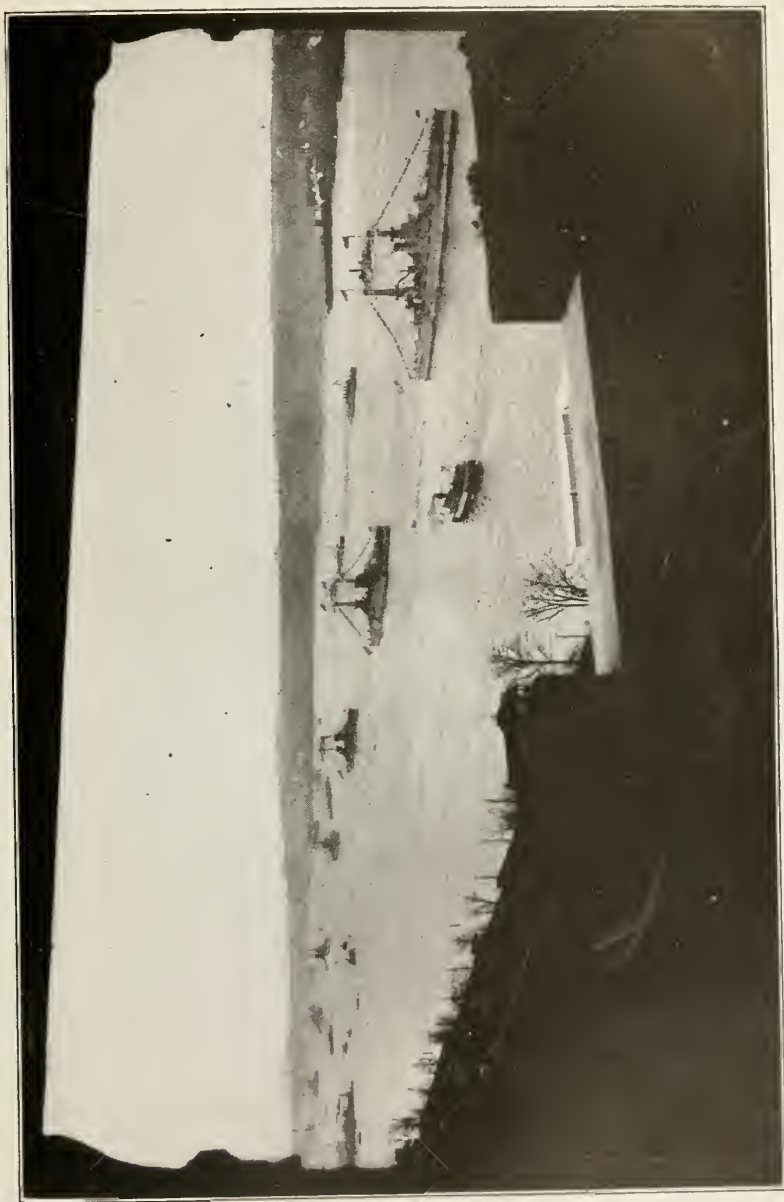
“Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples



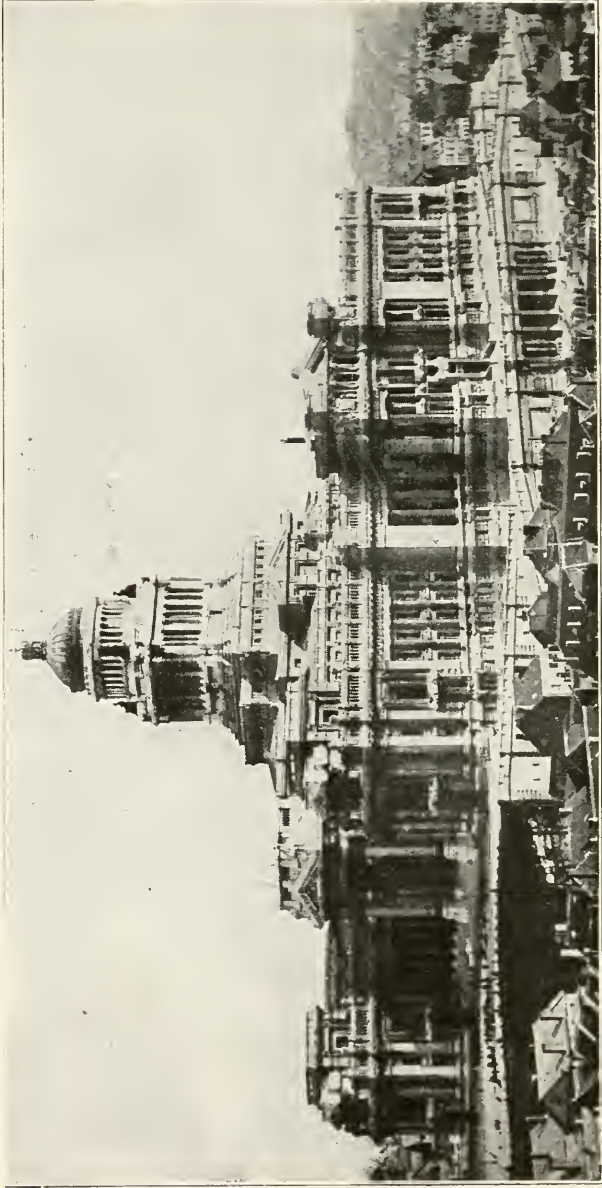
The Royal Family of Germany. The former Kaiser, who fled to Holland when he lost the war, has six sons and one daughter



The Ex-Emperor of Germany's Palace in Berlin.



The American fleet after its return from the great war.



The Palace of Justice, Brussels, Belgium.

over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

“Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

“Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

“Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

“Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

“No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They *are* the issues of it; and they must be settled,—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interest, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

“This is what we mean when we speak of a permanent peace, if we speak sincerely, intelligently, and with a real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

“We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already and have seen them deal with other governments that were parties to this struggle, at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We can not “come to terms” with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us.

We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement.

“It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the practical implications that are involved in it.

“If it be in deed and in truth the common object of the governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing, also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of the peace will be honored and fulfilled.

“That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows.

“And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now it would be merely a new alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not

likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace can not be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the Governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Rumania.

“But these general terms do not disclose the whole matter. Some details are needed to make them sound less like a thesis and more like a practical program. These, then, are some of the particulars, and I state them with the greater confidence because I can state them authoritatively as representing this Government’s interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace:

“First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

“Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

“Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

“Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

“Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

“Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

“The confidence with which I venture to speak for our people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely and the well-known principles of international action which we have always professed and followed. In the same sentence in which I say that the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington’s immortal warning against “entangling alliances” with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights.

“I have made this analysis of the international situation which the war has created, not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubtings and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all the irresponsible talk about peace intrigues and weakening morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly, and if need be unceremoniously, aside

and say things in the plainest words that can be found, even when it is only to say over again what has been said before, quite as plainly if in less unvarnished terms.

“As I have said, neither I nor any other man in governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command. But I have responded gladly and with a resolution that has grown warmer and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can pervert unless it be wilfully. I am bound to fight for them, and happy to fight for them as time and circumstance have revealed them to me as to all the world. Our enthusiasm for them grows more and more irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid and unmistakable outline.

“And the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array, organize their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of the peoples engaged. It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a peoples' war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

“I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their governments declare to them plainly what it is, exactly what it is, that they were seeking in this war, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen’s terms,—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad-visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulfs the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded.

“But I, for one, am glad to attempt the answer again and again, in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps above all others, entitled to a reply whose meaning no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get someone to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of the governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained. Unity of purpose and of counsel are as

imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battlefield; and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. It can be had in no other way. "Peace drives" can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which will bring security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the 'terms' she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing."

CHAPTER XXX

THE ENEMY WHINES FOR PEACE.

On October 6th, 1918, the German government asked for peace and the request was supplemented by a published statement issued over the signature of Wilhelm II which read as follows:

“For months past the enemy, with enormous exertions and almost without pause in the fighting, has stormed against your lines. In weeks of the struggle, often without repose you have had to persevere and resist a numerically far superior enemy. Therein lies the greatness of the task which has been set for you and which you are fulfilling. Troops of all the German states are doing their part and are heroically defending the fatherland on foreign soil. Hard is the task.

“My navy is holding its own against the united enemy naval forces and is unwaveringly supporting the army in its difficult struggle.

“The eyes of those at home rest with pride and admiration on the deeds of the army and the navy, I express to you the thanks of myself and the fatherland.

“The collapse of the Macedonian front has occurred in the midst of the hardest struggle. In accord with our allies I have resolved once more to offer peace to the enemy, but I will only extend my hand for an honorable peace. We owe that to the heroes who have laid down their lives for the fatherland, and we make that our duty to our children.

“Whether arms will be lowered is a question. Until then we must not slacken. We must, as hitherto, exert all our strength unwearily to hold our ground against the onslaught of our enemies.

“The hour is grave, but trusting in your strength and in God’s gracious help, we feel ourselves to be strong enough to defend our beloved fatherland.

WILHELM.”

In response to the German overtures, the following note was transmitted to the American legation in Berne on October 8th:

“Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge, on behalf of the president, your note of Oct. 6, inclosing a communication from the German government to the president, and I am instructed by the president to request you to make the following communication to the imperial German chancellor:

“‘Before making reply to the request of the imperial German government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the president of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the imperial chancellor.

“‘Does the imperial chancellor mean that the imperial German government accepts the terms laid down by the president in his address to the congress of the United States on the 8th of January last, and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

“‘The president feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the government of the United States is associated against the central powers so long as the armies of those powers are upon their soil.

“‘The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the central powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

“The president also feels that he is justified in asking whether the imperial chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the empire who have so far conducted the war.

“He deems the answer to these questions vital from every point of view.’

“Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

ROBERT LANSING.”

The German government in its reply dodged the issue of evacuation very cleverly but the deception was detected by the President and the answer was stated in the following note:

“Sir: In reply to the communication of the German government dated the 12th inst., which you handed me to-day, I have the honor to request you to transmit the following answer:

“The unqualified acceptance by the present German government and by a large majority of the German reichstag of the terms laid down by the president of the United States of America in his address to the congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German government of the 8th and 12th of October, 1918.

“It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the government of the United States and allied governments, and the president feels it his duty to say that no arrangement can be accepted by the government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the allies in the field.

He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the allied governments.

“The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the governments with which the government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. At the very time that the German government approaches the government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of not only all they contain but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation and desolation are being continued, which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

“It is necessary, also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the 4th of July last. It is as follows:

““The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world: or, if it cannot be pres-

ently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency."

"The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The president's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The president feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guaranties which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the government associated against Germany should know beyond peradventure with whom they are dealing."

"The President will make a separate reply to the royal and imperial government of Austria-Hungary.

"Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

"ROBERT LANSING."

The German reply to this note was returned promptly and said that the German people had been given a voice in the government, therefore it was time for an armistice. To this President Wilson replied on Oct. 23rd, as follows:

"Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 22nd transmitting a communication under date of the 20th from the German government and to advise you that the president has instructed me to reply thereto as follows:

"Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, particularly the address of the 27th of September, and that it desires to discuss the details of their application and that this wish and purpose emanated, not from

those who have hitherto dictated German policy and conducted the present war on Germany's behalf, but from ministers who speak for the majority of the reichstag and for an overwhelming majority of the German people; and having received also the explicit promise of the present German government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the president of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the governments with which the government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice.

“He deems it his duty to say again, however, that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which should leave the United States and the powers associated with her in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible.

“The president has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the governments with which the government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those governments are disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as will fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German government has agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view.

“Should such terms of armistice be suggested, their acceptance by Germany will afford the best concrete evidence of her unequivocal acceptance of the terms and principles of peace from which the whole action proceeds.

“The President would deem himself lacking in candor did he not point out in the frankest possible terms the reason why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. Significant and important as the constitutional changes seem to be which are spoken of by the German foreign secretary in his note of the 20th of October, it does not appear that the principle of a government responsible to the German people has yet been fully worked out or that any guaranties either exist or are in contemplation that the alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon will be permanent.

“Moreover, it does not appear that the heart of the present difficulty has been reached. It may be that future wars have been brought under the control of the German people, but the present war has not been; and it is with the present war that we are dealing.

“It is evident that the German people have no means of commanding the acquiescence of the military authorities of the empire in the popular will; that the power of the king of Prussia to control the policy of the empire is unimpaired; that the determining initiative still remains with those who have hitherto been the masters of Germany.

“Feeling that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the president deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften what may seem harsh words, that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that, in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war, the government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany.

“If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to

have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.'

"Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of high consideration.

"ROBERT LANSING."

On Oct. 19, 1918, Secretary Lansing made public the following note received through W. A. F. Ekengren, Swedish minister to the United States, from the Austro-Hungarian government:

"Legation of Sweden, Washington, D. C., Oct. 7, 1918.

"Excellency: By order of my government I have the honor confidentially to transmit herewith to you the following communication of the imperial and royal government of Austria-Hungary to the president of the United States of America:

"'The Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to his lordship the President of the United States of America and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the message of President Wilson to congress of Jan. 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of Feb. 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation in which the viewpoints declared by President Wilson in his address of Sept. 27, 1918, will also be taken into account.'

"Be pleased to accept, etc.

"W. A. F. EKENGREN."

President Wilson on October 19th replied through Secretary Lansing to the foregoing note as follows :

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th instant in which you transmit a communication of the imperial and royal government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough through your government to convey to the imperial and royal government the following reply :

“The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian government that he cannot entertain the present suggestions of that government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the government of the United States.

“Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following :

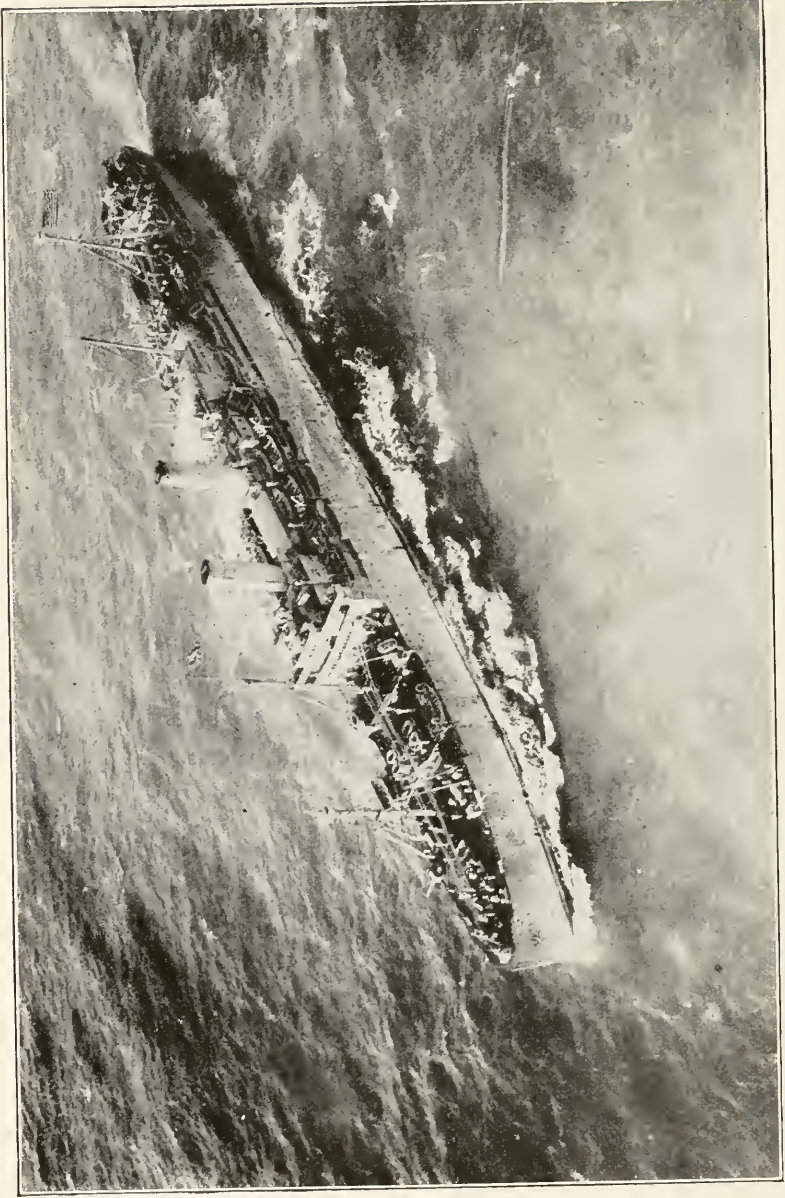
““10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.”

“Since the sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian empires and that the Czecho-Slovak national council is a de facto belligerent government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo Slavs for freedom.

“The President is, therefore, no longer at liberty to accept the mere “autonomy” of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-



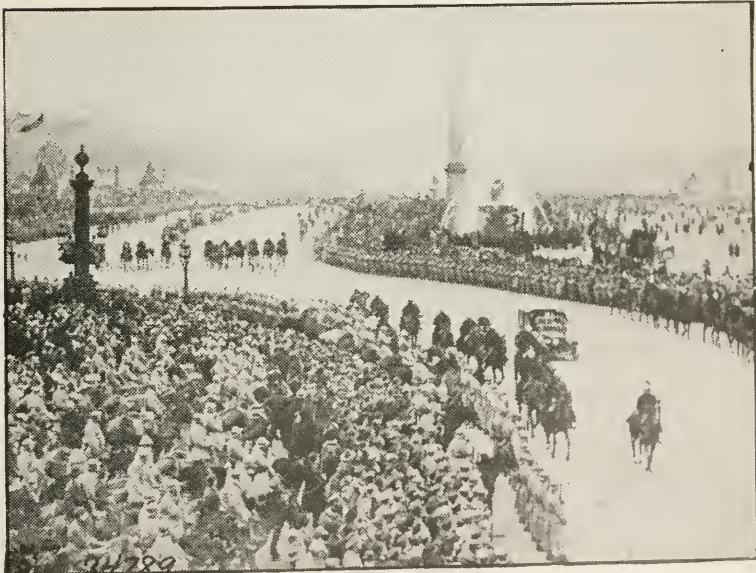
PRESIDENT AND MRS. WOODROW WILSON.



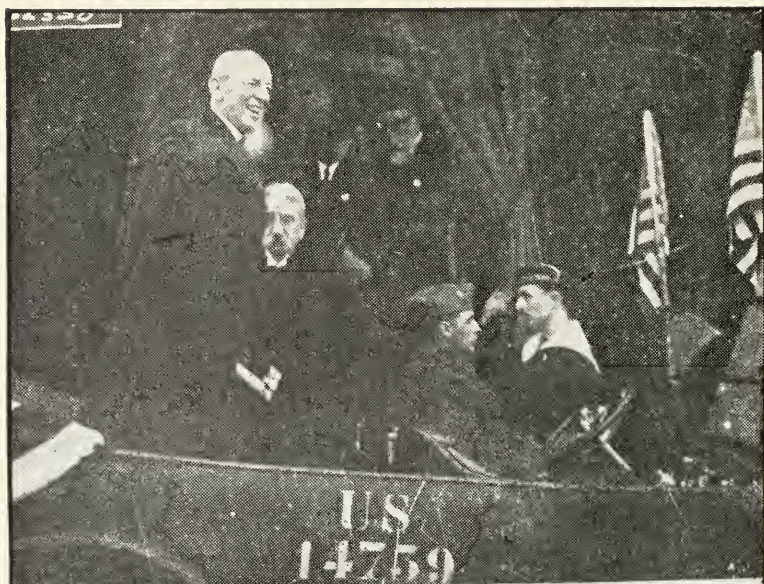
Aerial view of the transport "George Washington," that carried President Wilson and his staff to and from the Peace Conference.



THE PRESIDENT AND EX-PRESIDENT TAFT.



PRESIDENT WILSON AND PARTY ARRIVING IN PLACE DE LA CONCORDE, PARIS, SEINE, FRANCE



PARISIANS AND AMERICANS GREET
THE PRESIDENT IN FRANCE.

Hungarian government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations.'

"Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"ROBERT LANSING."

On November 5th Secretary of State Lansing, by direction of President Wilson, sent the following note to the German government through the Swiss legation in Washington:

"In my note of October 23, 1918, I advised you that the President had transmitted his correspondence with the German authorities to the government with which the government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those governments were disposed to accept peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as would fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German government had agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view.

"The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the allied governments on this correspondence, which is as follows:

"The allied governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German government. Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make peace with the government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent

addresses. They must point out, however, that clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference.

“‘Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress on January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed; the allied governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air.’

“‘I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the government of the United States and the allied governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German government and to communicate to them the terms of an armistice.

“‘ROBERT LANSING.’”

On October 28th Count Julius Andrassy, the new Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, sent the following reply to President Wilson through the Swedish government:

“‘In reply to the note of President Wilson of the 19th of this month, addressed to the Austro-Hungarian government, and giving the decision of the President to speak directly with the Austro-Hungarian government on the question of an armistice and of peace, the Austro-Hungarian government has the honor to declare that equally with the preceding proclamations of the President it ad-

heres also to the same point of view contained in the last note upon the rights of the Austro-Hungarian peoples, especially those of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo Slavs.

“Consequently, Austria-Hungary accepting all the conditions the President has laid down for the entry into negotiations for an armistice and peace, no obstacle exists, according to the judgment of the Austro-Hungarian government, to the beginning of these negotiations.

“The Austro-Hungarian government declares itself ready, in consequence, without awaiting the result of other negotiations, to enter into negotiations upon peace between Austria-Hungary and the states in the opposing group and for an immediate armistice upon all Austro-Hungarian fronts.

“It asks President Wilson to be so kind as to begin overtures on this subject.”

On October 29th Austria-Hungary, through Count Andrassy, sent the following note to Secretary of State Lansing:

“Immediately after having taken direction of the ministry of foreign affairs and after the dispatch of the official answer to your note of October 18, 1918, by which you were able to see that we accept all the points and principles laid down by President Wilson in his various declarations, and are in complete accord with the efforts of President Wilson to prevent future wars and to create a League of Nations, we have taken preparatory measures in order that Austrians and Hungarians may be able, according to their own desire and without being in any way hindered, to make a decision as to their future organization and to rule it.

“Since the accession to power of Emperor-King Charles his immovable purpose has been to bring an end to the war. More than ever this is the desire of the sovereign of all the Austro-Hungarian peoples, who acknowledge that their future destiny can only be accom-

plished in a pacific world, by being freed from all disturbances, privations, and sorrows of war.

“This is why I address you directly, Mr. Secretary of State, praying that you will have the goodness to intervene with the President of the United States in order that in the interest of humanity, as in the interest of all those who live in Austria-Hungary, an immediate armistice may be concluded on all fronts and for an overture that immediate negotiations for peace will follow.”

After several days' delay the Germans were forced to swallow their pride and appeal to Marshal Foch for a cessation of hostilities. The result was that on November 11, 1918, the last American shell was fired at 11 a. m. and the war was over.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ARMISTICE.

President Wilson appeared before Congress November 11th and spoke, as follows:

“Gentlemen of the Congress: In these anxious times of rapid and stupendous change it will in some degree lighten my sense of responsibility to perform in person the duty of communicating to you some of the larger circumstances of the situation with which it is necessary to deal.

“The German authorities who have, at the invitation of the supreme war council, been in communication with Marshal Foch, have accepted and signed the terms of armistice which he was authorized and instructed to communicate to them. Those terms are as follows:

“Article 1. Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

“Article 2. Immediate evacuation of invaded countries, Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

“Article 3. Repatriation, beginning at once and to be completed within fourteen days of all inhabitants of the countries above mentioned, including hostages and persons under trial or convicted.

“Article 4. Surrender in good condition by the Ger-

man armies of the following equipment: Five thousand guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field), 30,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer (mine throwers), 2,000 airplanes (fighters, bombers, first D-73s and night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the allied and the United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the annexed note.

“‘Article 5. Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be determined by allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine—Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne—together with bridgeheads at these points in thirty kilometer radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to it forty kilometers to the east from the frontier of Holland to the parallel of Gernsheim and as far as practicable a distance of thirty kilometers from the east of the stream from this parallel upon the Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine lands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of eleven days, in all nineteen days after the signature of the armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the note annexed.’”

Here the President interrupted his reading to remark that there evidently had been an error in transmission, as the arithmetic was very bad. The “further period” of eleven days is in addition to the fourteen days allowed for evacuation of invaded countries, making twenty-five days given the Germans to get entirely clear of the Rhine lands.

“‘Article 6. In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or

harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be moved. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

“Article 7. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives, 50,000 wagons and 10,000 motor lorries in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the associated powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of Belgium and Luxemburg. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the same period, together with all prewar personnel and material. Further material necessary for the working of railways in the country on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals and repair shops left entire in situ and kept in an efficient state by Germany during the whole period of armistice. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. A note appended regulates the details of these measures.

“Article 8. The German command shall be responsible for revealing all mines or delay acting fuses disposed on territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German command shall also reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs, wells, etc.), under penalty of reprisals.

“Article 9. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allies and the United States armies in all occupied territory. The upkeep of the troops of occupa-

tion in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German government.

“Article 10. An immediate repatriation without reciprocity according to detailed conditions, which shall be fixed, of all allied and United States prisoners of war. The allied powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of these prisoners as they wish.

“Article 11. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

“Article 12. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Russia, Roumania or Turkey shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August 1, 1914.

“Article 13. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once and all German instructors, prisoners and civilians, as well as military agents, now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

“Article 14. German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Roumania and Russia (as defined on August 1, 1914).

“Article 15. Abandonment of the treaties of Bukharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

“Article 16. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier, either through Danzig or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories or for any other purpose.

“Article 17. Unconditional capitulation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month.

“Article 18. Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all civilians interned or deported who may be citizens of other

allied or associated states than those mentioned in clause 3, paragraph 19, with the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and the United States of America remain unaffected.

“Article 19. The following financial conditions are required:

“Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or reparation for war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the National Bank of Belgium and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

“Article 20. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

“Article 21. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

“Article 22. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of America of 160 German submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine-laying submarines), with their complete armament and equipment in ports which will be specified by the Allies and the United States of America. All other submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the allied powers and the United States of America.

“Article 23. The following German surface war-

ships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, for the want of them, in allied ports, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America and placed under the surveillance of the Allies and the United States of America, only caretakers being left on board—namely: Six battle cruisers, ten battle ships, eight light cruisers (including two mine layers), fifty destroyers of the most modern type. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America. All vessels of the auxiliary fleet (trawlers, motor vessels, etc.) are to be disarmed.

“Article 24. The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

“Article 25. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers. To secure this, the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defense works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

“Article 26. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allies and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture.

“Article 27. All naval aircraft are to be concen-

trated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

“Article 28. In evacuating the Belgian coasts and ports, Germany shall abandon all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, cranes, and all other harbor materials, all materials for inland navigation, all aircraft and all materials and stores, all arms and armaments, and all stores and apparatus of all kinds.

“Article 29. All Black sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in clause 28 are to be abandoned.

“Article 30. All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

“Article 31. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender or restoration.

“Article 32. The German government will notify the neutral governments of the world, and particularly the governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the allied and associated countries, whether by the German government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately canceled.

“Article 33. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

“Article 34. The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period, on

failure of execution of any of the above clauses, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties on forty-eight hours' previous notice.

“‘Article 35. This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.’

“The war thus comes to an end; for, having accepted these terms of armistice, it will be impossible for the German command to renew it.

“It is not now possible to assess the consequences of this great consummation. We know only that this tragical war, whose consuming flames swept from one nation to another until all the world was on fire, is at an end and that it was the privilege of our own people to enter it at its most critical juncture in such fashion and in such force as to contribute in a way of which we are all deeply proud to the great result.

“We know, too, that the object of the war is attained; the object upon which all free men had set their hearts, and attained with a sweeping completeness which even now we do not realize.

“Armed imperialism, such as the men conceived who were but yesterday the masters of Germany, is at an end, its illicit ambitions engulfed in black disaster. Who will now seek to revive it? The arbitrary power of the military caste of Germany, which once could secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world, is discredited and destroyed.

“And more than that—much more than that—has been accomplished. The great nations which associated themselves to destroy it have now definitely united in the common purpose to set up such a peace as will satisfy the longing of the whole world for disinterested justice, embodied in settlements which are based upon something much better and much more lasting than the selfish competitive interests of powerful states.

“There is no longer conjecture as to the objects the

victors have in mind. They have a mind in the matter, not only, but a heart also. Their avowed and concerted purpose is to satisfy and protect the weak as well as to accord their just rights to the strong.

“The humane temper and intention of the victorious governments has already been manifested in a very practical way. Their representatives in the supreme war council at Versailles have by unanimous resolution assured the people of the central empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium.

“By the use of the idle tonnage of the central empires it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand. Hunger does not breed reform; it breeds madness and all the ugly distempers that make an ordered life impossible.

“For, with the fall of the ancient governments which rested like an incubus upon the people of the central empires, has come political change not merely, but revolution; and revolution which seems as yet to assume no final and ordered form, but to run from one fluid change to another, until thoughtful men are forced to ask themselves with what governments, and of what sort, are we about to deal in the making of the covenants of peace.

“With what authority will they meet us and with what assurance that their authority will abide and sustain securely the international arrangements into which we are about to enter? There is here matter for no small anxiety and misgiving. When peace is made, upon whose promises and engagements besides our own is it to rest?

“Let us be perfectly frank with ourselves and admit that these questions cannot be satisfactorily answered now or at once. But the moral is not that there is little hope of an early answer that will suffice. It is only that we must be patient and helpful and mindful above all of the great hope and confidence that lie at the heart of what is taking place.

“Excesses accomplish nothing. Unhappy Russia has furnished abundant recent proof of that. Disorder immediately defeats itself. If excesses should occur, if disorder should for a time raise its head, a sober second thought will follow and a day of constructive action if we help and do not hinder.

“The present and all that it holds belongs to the nations and the peoples who preserve their self-control and the orderly processes of their governments; the future to those who prove themselves the true friends of mankind.

“To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is to make permanent conquest. I am confident that the nations that have learned the discipline of freedom and that have settled with self-possession to its ordered practice are now about to make conquest of the world by the sheer power of example and of friendly helpfulness.

“The peoples who have but just come out from under the yoke of arbitrary government and who are now coming at last into their freedom will never find the treasures of liberty they are in search of if they look for them by the light of the torch. They will find that every pathway that is stained with the blood of their own brothers leads to the wilderness, not to the seat of their hope.

“They are now face to face with their initial tests. We must hold the light steady until they find themselves. And in the meantime, if it be possible, we must establish a peace that will justly define their place among the nations, remove all fear of their neighbors and of their former

masters, and enable them to live in security and contentment when they have set their own affairs in order.

“I for one do not doubt their purpose or their capacity. There are some happy signs that they know and will choose the way of self-control and peaceful accommodation. If they do we shall put our aid at their disposal in every way that we can. If they do not we must await with patience and sympathy the awakening and recovery that will assuredly come at last.”

Immediately after the signing of the armistice terms Dr. Solf, the German foreign secretary, sent the following appeal to the American secretary of state, Robert Lansing:

“The armistice being concluded, the German government requests the President of the United States to arrange for the opening of peace negotiations.

“For the purpose of their acceleration the German government proposes first of all to take into view the conclusion of a preliminary peace and asks for a communication as to what place and at what time the negotiations might begin.

“As there is a pressing danger of famine, the German government is particularly anxious for the negotiations to begin immediately.”

To the foregoing appeal Secretary Lansing returned the following reply through the Swiss legation, November 14th:

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of today, transmitting to the President the text of a cable inquiring whether this government is ready to send foodstuffs into Germany without delay if public order is maintained in Germany and an equitable distribution of food is guaranteed.

“I should be grateful if you would transmit the following reply to the German government:

“At a joint session of the two houses of Congress on November 11 the President of the United States an-

nounced that the representatives of the associated governments in the supreme war council at Versailles have, by unanimous resolution, assured the peoples of the central empires that everything that is possible in the circumstances will be done to supply them with food and relieve the distressing want that is in so many places threatening their very lives; and that steps are to be taken immediately to organize these efforts at relief in the same systematic manner that they were organized in the case of Belgium.

“Furthermore, the President expressed the opinion that, by the use of the idle tonnage of the central empires, it ought presently to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed population and set their minds and energies free for the great and hazardous tasks of political reconstruction which now face them on every hand.

“Accordingly, the President now directs me to state that he is ready to consider favorably the supplying of foodstuffs to Germany and to take up the matter immediately with the allied governments, provided he can be assured that public order is being and will continue to be maintained in Germany, and that an equitable distribution of food can be clearly guaranteed.’

“Accept, sir the renewed assurances of my highest consideration,

“ROBERT LANSING.”

CHAPTER XXXII

THE VICTORY MESSAGE.

President Wilson appeared in congress on December 2nd, 1918, and delivered his sixth annual message. It follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress: "The year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfill my constitutional duty to give to the congress from time to time information on the state of the union has been so crowded with great events, great processes and great results, that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the far reaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things, as I have. It is too soon to assess them: and we who stand in the midst of them and are part of them are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean or even what they have been.

"But some great outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute in a sense part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive action which must grow out of them and which we have yet to shape and determine.

"A year ago we had sent 143,918 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month, the number in fact rising in May last to 245,951, in June to 278,760, in July to 307,182 and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September—in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. No such movement of troops ever took place before across 3,000 miles of sea,

followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely through extraordinary dangers of attack—dangers which were alike strange and infinitely difficult to guard against. In all this movement only 758 men were lost by enemy attacks—630 of whom were upon a single British transport which was sunk near the Orkney Islands.

“I need not tell you what lay back of this great movement of men and material. It is not invidious to say that back of it lay a supporting organization of the industries of the country and all its productive activities more complete, more thorough in method and effective in results, more spirited and unanimous in purpose and effort, than any other great belligerent had ever been able to effect.

“We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had already been engaged for nearly three years in the exigent and exacting business, their every resource and every executive proficiency taxed to the utmost. We were the pupils. But we learned quickly and acted with a promptness and a readiness of co-operation that justify our great pride that we were able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplishment.

“But it is not the physical scale and executive efficiency of preparation, supply, equipment and dispatch, that I would dwell upon, but the mettle and quality of the officers and men we sent over and of the sailors who kept the seas and the spirit of the nation that stood behind them. No soldiers or sailors ever proved themselves more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more splendid courage and achievement when put to the test. Those of us who played some part in directing the great processes by which the war was pushed irresistibly forward to the final triumph may now forget all that and delight our thoughts with the story of what our men did.

“Their officers understood the grim and exacting task they had undertaken and performed with audacity, efficiency and unhesitating courage, that touch the story

of convoy and battle with imperishable distinction at every turn, whether the enterprise were great or small—from their chiefs. Pershing and Sims, down to the youngest lieutenant; and their men were worthy of them—such men as hardly need to be commanded and go to their terrible adventure blithely and with the quick intelligence of those who know just what it is they would accomplish.

“I am proud to be the fellow countryman of men of such stuff and valor. Those of us who stayed at home did our duty: the war could not have been won or the gallant men who fought it given their opportunity to win it otherwise; but for many a long day we shall think ourselves ‘accurs’d we were not there, and hold our manhoods cheap while any speaks that fought’ with these at St. Mihiel or Thierry. The memory of those days of triumphant battle will go with these fortunate men to their graves: and each will have his favorite memory. ‘Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot, but he’ll remember with advantages what feats he did that day.’

“What we all thank God for with deepest gratitude is that our men went in force into the line of battle just at the critical moment, when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance, and threw their fresh strength into the ranks of freedom in time to turn the whole tide and sweep of the fateful struggle—turn it once for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back, for their enemies, always back, never again forward! After that it was only a scant four months before the commanders of the central empires knew themselves beaten: and now their very empires are in liquidation!

“And throughout it all how fine the spirit of the nation was! What unity of purpose, what untiring zeal! What elevation of purpose ran through all its splendid display of strength, its untiring accomplishment! I have said that those of us who stayed at home to do the work of organization and supply will always wish that we had been with the men whom we sustained by our labor; but

we can never be ashamed. It has been an inspiring thing to be here in the midst of fine men who had turned aside from every private interest of their own and devoted the whole of their trained capacity to the tasks that supplied the sinews of the whole great undertaking! The patriotism, the unselfishness, the thoroughgoing devotion and distinguished capacity that marked their toilsome labors, day after day, month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of the men in the trenches and on the sea.

“And not the men here in Washington only. They have but directed the vast achievement. Throughout innumerable factories, upon innumerable farms, in the depths of coal mines and iron mines and copper mines, wherever the stuffs of industry were to be obtained and prepared, in the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed to sustain the battle lines, men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well. They can look any man at arms in the face, and say we also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph!

“And what shall we say of the women—of their instant intelligence, quickening every task that they touched: their capacity for organization and co-operation, which gave their action discipline and enhanced the effectiveness of everything they attempted; their aptitude at tasks to which they had never before set their hands; their utter self-sacrifice alike in what they did and what they gave? Their contribution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new luster to the annals of American womanhood.

“The least tribute we can pay them is to make them the equals of men in political right as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement

would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice. Besides the immense practical services they have rendered, the women of the country have been the moving spirits in the systematic economies by which our people have voluntarily assisted to supply the suffering peoples of the world and the armies upon every front with food and everything else that we had that might serve the common cause. The details of such a story can never be fully written, but we carry them at our hearts and thank God that we can say that we are the kinsmen of such.

“And now we are sure of the great triumph for which every sacrifice was made. It has come, come in its completeness, and with the pride and inspiration of these days of achievement quick within us we turn to the tasks of peace again—peace secure against the violence of irresponsible monarchs and ambitious military coteries—and make ready for a new order, for new foundations of justice and fair dealing.

“We are about to give order and organization to this peace not only for ourselves but for the other peoples of the world as well, so far as they will suffer us to serve them. It is international justice that we seek, not domestic safety merely.

“Our thoughts have dwelt of late upon Europe, upon Asia, upon the near and the far east, very little upon the acts of peace and accommodation that wait to be performed at our own doors. While we are adjusting our relations with the rest of the world, is it not of capital importance that we should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our immediate neighbors and give proof of the friendship we really feel? I hope that the members of the senate will permit me to speak once more of the unratified treaty of friendship and adjustment with the republic of Columbia. I very earnestly urge upon them an early and favorable action upon that vital matter. I believe that they will feel with me that the stage of affairs is now set for such action as will be not only just

but generous and in the spirit of the new age upon which we have so happily entered.

“So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, the problem of our return to peace is a problem of economic and industrial readjustment. That problem is less serious for us than it may turn out to be for the nations which have suffered the disarrangements and the losses of war longer than we. Our people, moreover, do not wait to be coached and led. They know their own business, are quick and resourceful at every readjustment, definite in purpose and self-reliant in action.

“Any leading strings we might seek to put them in would speedily become hopelessly tangled, because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there and elsewhere as we may. I have heard much counsel as to the plans that should be formed and personally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no quarter have I seen any general scheme of ‘reconstruction’ emerge which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obedience.

“While the war lasted we set up many agencies by which to direct the industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to render, by which to make sure of an abundant supply of the materials needed, by which to check undertakings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the government a certain control over the prices of essential articles and materials by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping, and systematize financial transactions, both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion, by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country in harness to

draw the common load and make of us one team in the accomplishment of a great task.

“But the moment we knew the armistice to have been signed we took the harness off. Raw materials upon which the government had kept its hand for fear there should not be enough for the industries that supplied the armies have been released and put into the general market again. Great industrial plants whose whole output and machinery had been taken over for the uses of the government have been set free to return to the uses to which they were put before the war. It has not been possible to remove so readily or so quickly the control of foodstuffs and of shipping, because the world has still to be fed from our granaries and the ships are still needed to send supplies to our men overseas and to bring the men back as fast as the disturbed conditions on the other side of the water permit; but even these restraints are being relaxed as much as possible and more and more as the weeks go by.

“Never before have there been agencies in existence in this country which knew so much of the field of supply, of labor and of industry as the war industries board, the war trade board, the labor department, the food administration and the fuel administration have known since their labors became thoroughly systematized; and they have not been isolated agencies; they have been directed by men who represented the permanent departments of the government and so have been the centers of unified and co-operative action. It has been the policy of the executive, therefore, since the armistice was assured (which is in effect a complete submission of the enemy) to put the knowledge of these bodies at the disposal of the business men of the country and to offer their intelligent mediation at every point and in every matter where it was desired. It is surprising how fast the process of return to a peace footing has moved in the three weeks since the fighting stopped. It promises to outrun any inquiry that may be instituted and any aid that may be offered. It will

not be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American business man is of quick initiative.

“The ordinary and normal processes of private initiative will not, however, provide immediate employment for all of the men of our returning armies. Those who are of trained capacity, those who are skilled workmen, those who have acquired familiarity with established businesses, those who are ready and willing to go to the farms, all those whose aptitudes are known or will be sought out by employers will find no difficulty, it is safe to say, in finding place and employment. But there will be others who will be at a loss where to gain a livelihood unless pains are taken to guide them and put them in the way of work. There will be a large floating residuum of labor which should not be left wholly to shift for itself. It seems to me important, therefore, that the development of public works of every sort should be promptly resumed, in order that opportunities should be created for unskilled labor in particular, and that plans should be made for such developments of our unused lands and our natural resources as we have hitherto lacked stimulation to undertake.

“I particularly direct your attention to the very practical plans which the secretary of the interior has developed in his annual report and before your committees for the reclamation of arid, swamp and cut over lands which might, if the states were willing and able to co-operate, redeem some 300,000,000 acres of land for cultivation. There are said to be 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 acres of land in the west, at present arid, for whose reclamation water is available, if properly conserved. There are about 230,000,000 acres from which the forests have been cut, but which have never yet been cleared for the plow and which lie waste and desolate. These lie scattered all over the union. And there are nearly 80,000,000 acres of land that lie under swamps or subject to periodical overflow, or are too wet for anything but grazing, which it is perfectly feasible to drain and protect and redeem. The congress

can at once direct thousands of returning soldiers to the reclamation of the arid lands which it has already undertaken if it will but enlarge the plans and the appropriations which it has intrusted to the department of the interior. It is possible in dealing with our unused land to effect a great rural and agricultural development which will afford the best sort of opportunity to men who want to help themselves; and the secretary of the interior has thought the possible methods out in a way which is worthy of your most friendly attention.

“I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of the priority of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are to save recently liberated peoples from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin. May I not say a special word about the needs of Belgium and northern France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come. Something more must be done than merely find the money. If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not resume their place in the industry of the world—the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. Much of their machinery is destroyed or has been taken away. Their people are scattered and many of their best workmen are dead. Their markets will be taken by others if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their factories and replace their lost instruments of manufacture. They should not be left to the vicissitudes of the sharp competition for materials and for industrial facilities which is now to set in. I hope, therefore, that the congress will not be unwilling, if it should become necessary, to grant to some such agency as the war trade board the right to establish priorities of export and supply for the benefit

of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the German terror and whom we must not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitiless competitive market.

“For the steadying and facilitation of our own domestic business readjustments nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for 1918, 1919, and 1920. As much of the burden of taxation must be lifted from business as sound methods of financing the government will permit, and those who conduct the great essential industries of the country must be told as exactly as possible what obligations to the government they will be expected to meet in the years immediately ahead of them. It will be of serious consequence to the country to delay removing all uncertainties in this matter a single day longer than the right processes of debate justify. It is idle to talk of successful and confident business reconstruction before those uncertainties are resolved.

“If the war had continued it would have been necessary to raise at least \$8,000,000,000 by taxation, payable in the year 1919; but the war has ended and I agree with the secretary of the treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to \$6,000,000,000. An immediate rapid decline in the expenses of the government is not to be looked for. Contracts made for war supplies will, indeed, be rapidly canceled and liquidated, but their immediate liquidation will make heavy drains on the treasury for the months just ahead of us.

“The maintenance of our forces on the other side of the sea is still necessary. A considerable proportion of those forces must remain in Europe during the period of occupation, and those which are brought home will be transported and demobilized at heavy expense for months to come. The interest on our war debt must, of course, be paid, and provision made for the retirement of the obligations of the government which represent it. But

these demands will, of course, fall much below what a continuation of military operations would have entailed and \$6,000,000,000 should suffice to supply a sound foundation for the financial operations of the year.

“I entirely concur with the secretary of the treasury in recommending that the \$2,000,000,000 needed in addition to the \$4,000,000,000 provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contracts and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be confined to the war profits accruing in 1918 or in 1919 from business originating in war contracts. I urge your acceptance of this recommendation that provision be made now, not subsequently, that the taxes to be paid in 1920 should be reduced from \$6,000,000,000 to \$4,000,000,000.

“Any arrangements less definite than these would add elements of doubt and confusion to the critical period of industrial readjustment through which the country must now immediately pass and which no true friend of the nation’s essential business interests can afford to be responsible for creating or prolonging. Clearly determined conditions, clearly and simply charted, are indispensable to the economic revival and rapid industrial development which may confidently be expected if we act now and sweep all interrogation points away.

“I take it for granted that the congress will carry out the naval program which was undertaken before we entered the war. The secretary of the navy has submitted to your committees for authorization that part of the program which covers the building plans of the next three years. These plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with the policy which the congress established, not under the exceptional conditions of the war, but with the intention of adhering to a definite method of development for the navy. I earnestly recommend the uninterrupted pursuit of that policy. It would

clearly be unwise for us to attempt to adjust our programs to a future world policy as yet undetermined.

“The question which causes the greatest concern is the question of the policy to be adopted toward the railroads. I frankly turn to you for counsel upon it. I have no confident judgment of my own. I do not see how any thoughtful man can have who knows anything of the complexity of the problem. It is a problem which must be studied, studied immediately and studied without bias or prejudice. Nothing can be gained by becoming partisans of any particular plan of settlement.

“It was necessary that the administration of the railways should be taken over by the government so long as the war lasted. It would have been impossible otherwise to establish and carry through under a single direction the necessary priorities of shipments. It would have been impossible otherwise to combine maximum production at the factories and mines and farms with the maximum possible car supply to take the products to the ports and markets; impossible to route troop shipments and freight shipments without regard to the advantage or disadvantage of the roads employed; impossible to subordinate, when necessary, all questions of convenience to the public necessity; impossible to give the necessary financial support to the roads from the public treasury. But all these necessities have now been served and the question is, What is best for the railroads and for the public in the future?

“Exceptional circumstances and exceptional methods of administration were not needed to convince us that the railroads were not equal to the immense tasks of transportation imposed upon them by the rapid and continuous development of the industries of the country. We knew that already. And we knew that they were unequal to it, partly because their co-operation was rendered impossible by law and their competition made obligatory, so that it has been impossible to assign to them

severally the traffic which best could be carried by their respective lines in the interest of expedition and national economy.

“We may hope, I believe, for the formal conclusion of the war by treaty by the time spring has come. The twenty-one months to which the present control of the railways is limited after formal proclamation of peace shall have been made will run at the farthest, I take it for granted, only to the January of 1921. The full equipment of the railways which the federal administration had planned could not be completed within any such period. The present law does not permit the use of the revenues of the several roads for the execution of such plans except by formal contract with their directors, some of whom will consent, while some will not, and therefore does not afford sufficient authority to undertake improvements upon the scale upon which it would be necessary to undertake them. Every approach to this difficult subject matter of decision brings us face to face, therefore, with this unanswered question: What is right that we should do with the railroads, in the interest of the public and in fairness to their owners?

“Let me say at once that I have no answer ready. The only thing that is perfectly clear to me is that it is not fair either to the public or to the owners of the railroads to leave the question unanswered and that it will presently become my duty to relinquish control of the roads even before the expiration of the statutory period, unless there should appear some clear prospect in the meantime of a legislative solution. Their release would at least produce one element of a solution, namely, certainty and a quick stimulation of private initiative.

“I believe that it will be serviceable for me to set forth as explicitly as possible the alternative courses that lie open to our choice. We can simply release the roads and go back to the old conditions of private management, unrestricted competition and multiform regulation by

both state and federal authorities, or we can go to the opposite extreme and establish complete government control, accompanied, if necessary, by actual government ownership; or we can adopt an intermediate course of modified private control under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected, as, for example, by regional corporations under which the railways of a definable area would be in effect combined in single systems.

“The one conclusion that I am ready to state with confidence is that it would be a disservice alike to the country and to the owners of the railroads to return to the old conditions unmodified. Those are conditions of restraint without development. There is nothing affirmative or helpful about them. What the country chiefly needs is that all its means of transportation should be developed, its railways, its waterways, its highways, and its countryside roads. Some new element of policy, therefore, is absolutely necessary—necessary for the service of the public, necessary for the release of credit to those who are administering the railways, necessary for the protection of their security holders. The old policy may be changed much or little, but surely it can not wisely be left as it was. I hope that the congress will have a complete and impartial study of the whole problem instituted at once and prosecuted as rapidly as possible. I stand ready and anxious to release the roads from the present control and I must do so at a very early date if by waiting until the statutory limit of time is reached I shall be merely prolonging the period of doubt and uncertainty, which is hurtful to every interest concerned.

“I welcome this occasion to announce to the congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have been associated in the war against the central empires for the purpose of

discussing with them the main features of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconveniences that will attend my leaving the country, particularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by considerations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed to me.

“I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request the French and English governments have absolutely removed the censorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they had maintained, and there is now no censorship whatever exercised at this end except upon attempted trade communications with enemy countries.

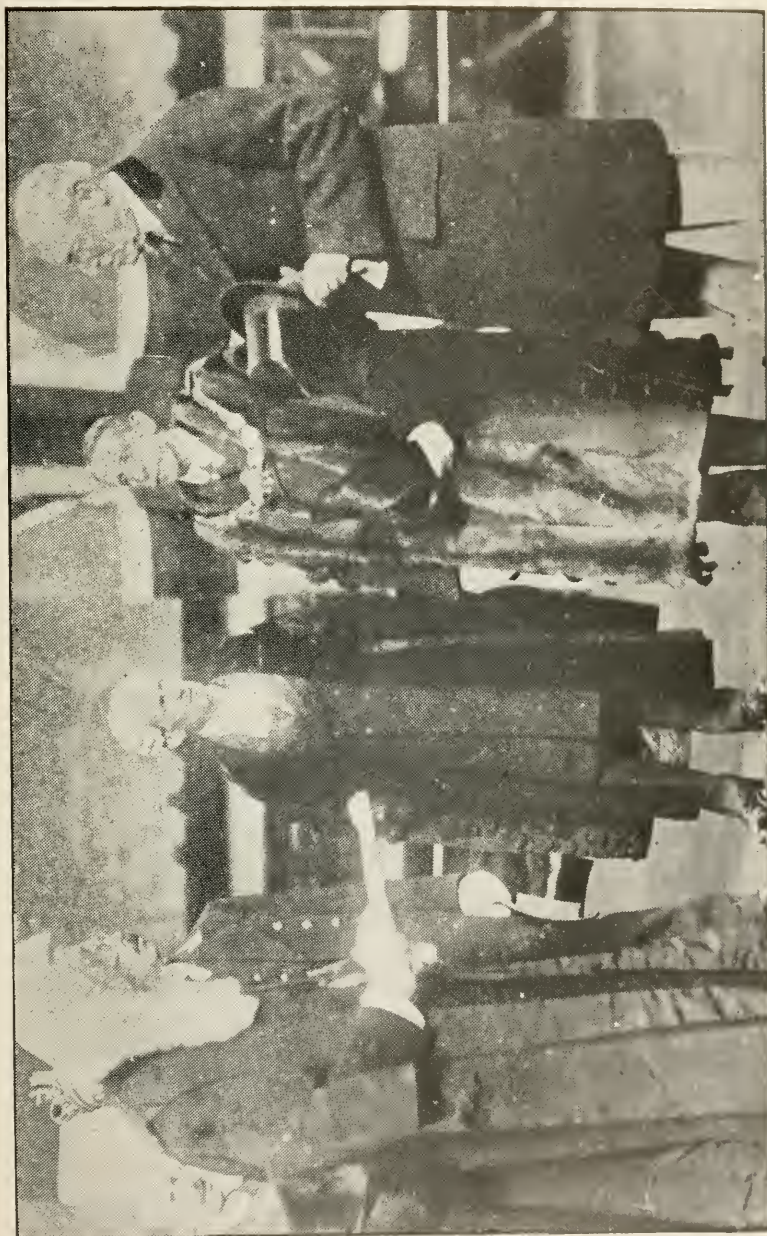
“It has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available between Paris and the department of state and another between France and the department of war. In order that this might be done with the least possible interference with the other uses of the cables, I have temporarily taken over the control of both cables in order that they may be used as a single system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable officials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

“May I not hope, gentlemen of the congress, that in the delicate tasks I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly and faithfully to interpret the principles and purposes of the country we love, I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support? I realize the magnitude and difficulty of the duty I am undertaking; I am poignantly aware of its grave responsibilities.

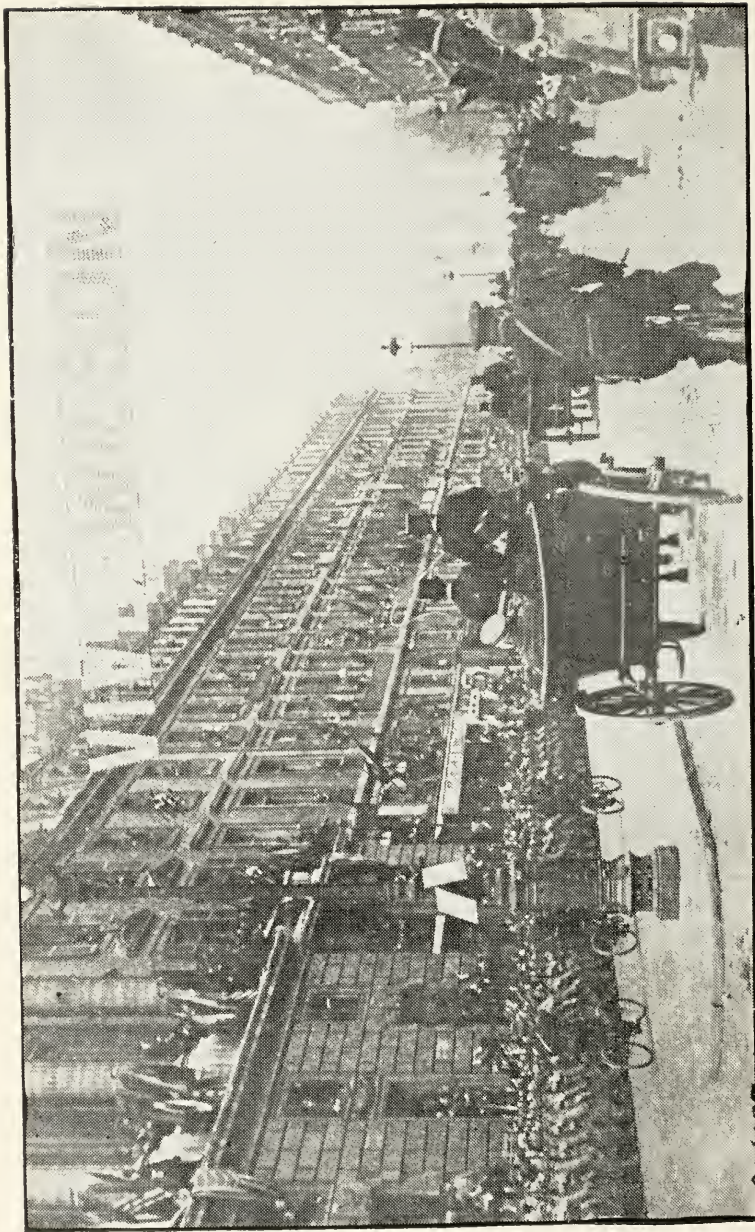
“I am the servant of the nation. I can have no private thought or purpose of my own in performing such an errand. I go to give the best that is in me to the com-

mon settlements which I must now assist in arriving at in conference with the other working heads of the associated governments. I shall count upon your friendly countenance and encouragement.

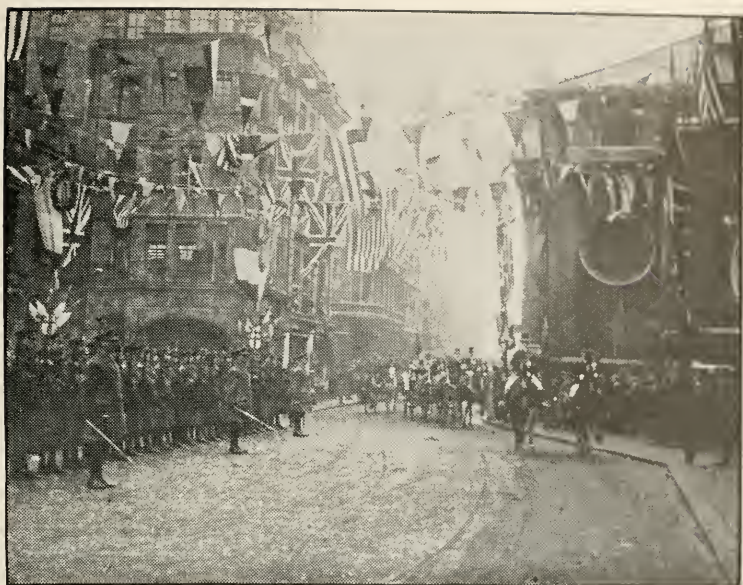
“I shall not be inaccessible. The cables and the wireless will render me available for any counsel or service you may desire of me, and I shall be happy in the thought that I am constantly in touch with the weighty matters of domestic policy with which we shall have to deal. I shall make my absence as brief as possible and shall hope to return with the happy assurance that it has been possible to translate into action the great ideals for which America has striven.”



THE RECORDER OF DOVER, ENGLAND, WELCOMING THE PRESIDENT AT DOVER, ENGLAND.



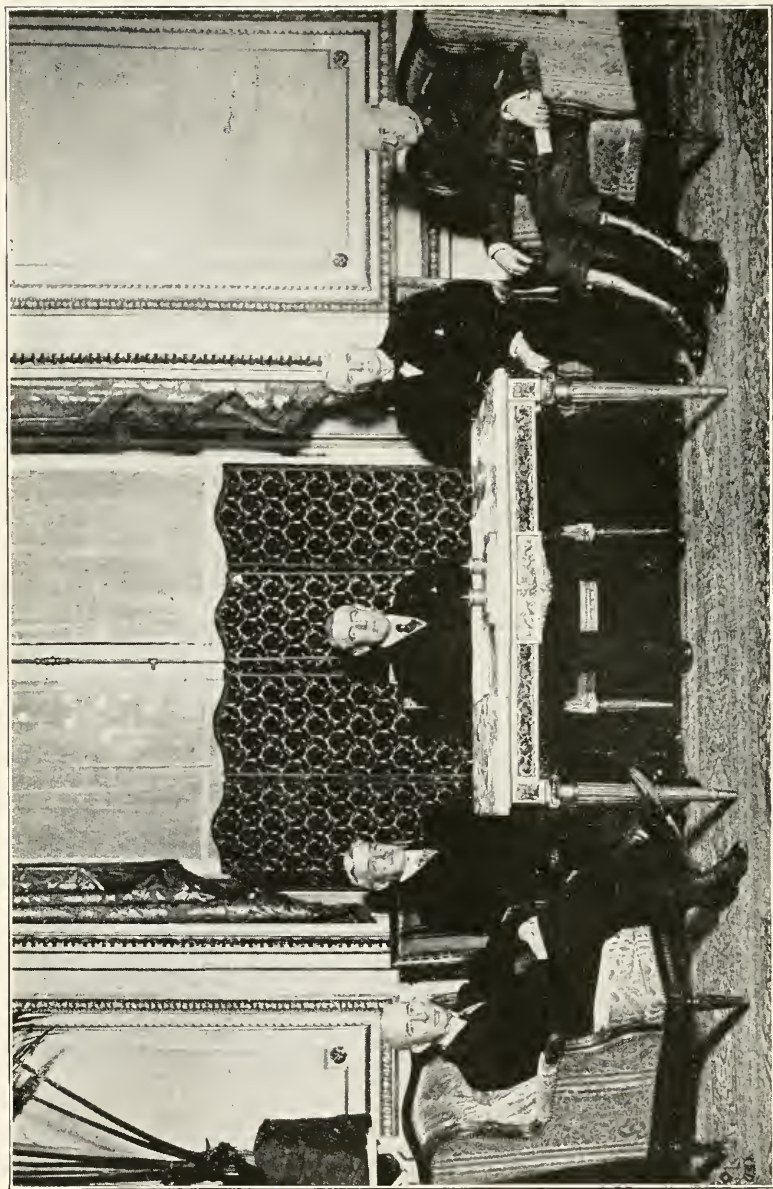
"VIVE WILSON," INCANDESCENT WELCOME BY PARIS TO THE PRESIDENT



THE PRESIDENT VISITS LONDON, ENGLAND.



THOUSANDS GREETING THE PRESIDENT IN PARIS,
FRANCE.



The American Peace Delegates. Left to right—Colonel E. M. House, Robert Lansing, President Wilson, Henry White and General Tasker H. Bliss.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Peace Conference met for the first time in Paris in January, 1919. It was the most notable gathering of national leaders the world had ever seen, and the questions to be decided were more momentous than any in the previous history of the human race.

The dominating figure of the conference was President Wilson, who had decided that the issues at stake demanded his personal attention. He went to Paris, carrying with him a draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, on which he determined the future peace of the world should rest.

The early days of the conference were devoted by the delegates to formulating their demands and completing preparations for considering President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

The President visited London and Rome while abroad. King George of England and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy met him in person on his arrival. His passage through the streets in both these cities was in each case a triumphal procession. Thousands of men, women and children lined the streets and threw flowers on the presidential carriage as it passed. Mixed with the throngs were battle-worn soldiers of the allied armies.

After his return to Paris, President Wilson convened the League of Nations Committee. It was composed of Lloyd George, representing Great Britain; Clemenceau, representing France; Orlando, representing Italy; Viscount Ishii, representing Japan; President Wilson, representing the United States; and representatives of five other nations.

The Committee of the Big Four went into session at once upon the arrival of the President. It was believed the peace treaty would come up first, but President Wilson insisted that the plans for the League of Nations should be drafted immediately. He stated that a lasting peace would have to be made on a basis of justice for all nations, and that a means of enforcing the peace would be pressing while there was danger of Germany rejecting the armistice and proceeding to war again.

The full text of the covenant was announced on February 14, 1919. It follows:

PREAMBLE.—In order to promote international coöperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not through resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized people with one another, the powers signatory to this covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations:

ARTICLE I

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

ARTICLE II

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 within the sphere of action of the league. Meetings of the body of

delegates shall be held at the seat of the league or at such other places 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 representatives.

ARTICLE III

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 on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other states, representatives of (blank left for names) shall be members of the executive council.

Meetings of the council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the league, and any matter 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 any meeting will be binding on such powers unless so invited.

ARTICLE IV

All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or 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 the

executive council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

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 secretary-general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of 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 international bureau of the universal postal union.

ARTICLE VI

Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the league when 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 its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extra-territoriality.

ARTICLE VII

Admission to the league of states not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol as states to be invited to adhere to the covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the states represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No state shall be admitted to the league unless it is able to give effective guaranties of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ARTICLE VIII

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 shall also 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 program of disarmament; and 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 enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the executive council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had 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 conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike 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 programs.

ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the league on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X

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 or danger of such aggression, the executive council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby 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 effectual 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 threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII

The high contracting parties agree that, should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case 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 a recommendation 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 recommendation 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 dispute.

ARTICLE XIII

The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission 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 can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV

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

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between states members of the league any disputes 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 all 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, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the executive council may forthwith direct the publication thereof. Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council thinks just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report 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 necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The executive council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of the delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates all the provisions of this article and of article XII relating to the action and powers of the executive council shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenant under Article XII it shall there, ipso facto, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourses 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 case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect 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 all special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will afford passage thru their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are coöperating to protect the covenants of the league.

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of disputes 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 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 provision shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the league.

Upon such invitation being given, the executive council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of the league, which in the case of a state member of the league would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI 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 XVIII

The high contracting parties agree that the league shall be intrusted 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 XIX

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 governed 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 well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of

this 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 intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories 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 where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or 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 and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories, such as southwest Africa and certain of the south Pacific isles, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or other geo-

graphical continuity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned, in the interests 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 XX

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 XXI

The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made thru 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 XXII

The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the league.

ARTICLE XXIII

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 treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV

It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by states members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV

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 engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the league shall, before becoming a party to the 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 XXVI

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.

A storm of public criticism swept over the United States and Great Britain immediately after the draft of the covenant was made public. The storm in the United States centered in Washington, where a Republican senate had convened after the President's departure for France.

Senator Borah, leader of the opposition, took the ground that the covenant did not guarantee in any way the enforcement by the United States of the Monroe doctrine, by which this country had maintained North and South America for Americans alone since December 2, 1823. Another objection to the covenant was that it bound the United States to preserve law and order in every country on the globe.

"It means that we will be true to our word even when we cannot look to European nations to keep theirs," said Senator Borah. "It behooves us to guard against entangling ourselves in a covenant from which we cannot extricate ourselves in case we should desire to do so."

Other objections voiced on the floor of the senate were that the league of nations covenant, as it stood, would throw open the doors of immigration to Chinese and Japanese, and that the United States would be unable to prevent their entry.

The result was that the senate passed this resolution, opposing the covenant:

"Whereas, The policies thus early announced by Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe, and ever since adhered to by this country, regardless of political parties, have contributed greatly to the peace and happiness of the people of the United States;

“Whereas, We believe any material departure from these policies would be fraught with danger to the peace and happiness of the people of the United States, involving us in all probability in controversies of other nations, Therefore be it

“Resolved, That the senate of the United States reaffirm its faith and confidence in the permanent worth and wisdom of these policies, and shall seek in all matters coming before it touching the interests or affairs of foreign countries to conform its acts to these time honored principles so long and so happily a part of our own policy.”

Senator Borah, in commenting on the resolution, referred to the purchase from Denmark of the St. Thomas islands by the United States.

“Let us illustrate,” he said. “Why did we purchase the St. Thomas islands? They were situated on one of the routes leading to the Panama canal. It was known or feared that Germany wished to secure these islands.

“Suppose she had purchased the islands and had undertaken to take possession of them. Would we have consented for Germany to have those islands on the route to the Panama canal? Would we have submitted to an international court the question of whether or not we should maintain the Monroe doctrine?

“Or, if we had submitted it and it had been decided against us, would we have given up the Monroe doctrine and permitted Germany to acquire the islands?

“Under this league to enforce peace, that would have put us in the wrong and we would have found ourselves a member of a league by the terms of which we invited all the nations of Europe to fight us because we refused to submit the Monroe doctrine to tribunal or refused to give it up.”

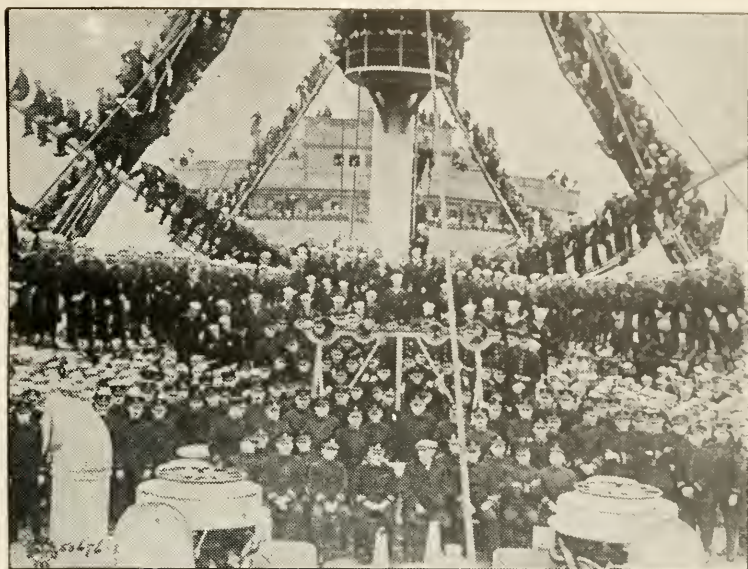
President Wilson continued his efforts to advance the covenant in spite of the obviously hostile attitude of the senate. It was not until that body again voiced its protests against the inclusion of the Japanese equality

clause, that the President was moved to give them attention.

March 25, 1919, he announced in Paris that an amendment to Article X would be made to include the Monroe doctrine, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of North and South America. The amendment was written by former President Taft, at the request of President Wilson. On the same day the executive committee adopted another amendment changing the racial equality clause to conform with the American emigration policy.

On February 19, 1919, the world was startled by news of an attempt to assassinate Clemenceau as he was entering his carriage on his way to the conference. The bullet struck Clemenceau in the chest, but did not deter him from grappling with his assailant, a youth named Emile Cottin. Cottin was rescued with difficulty from an angry mob by gendarmes.

The assault was another phase of the Bolshevik movement. Cottin, frightened at his rough handling by the crowd, waited until he was assured that the premier would recover. He then gave out several revolutionist statements in which he declared that "he was opposed to all constituted authority." Asked to explain in detail exactly what he meant by that, he had nothing to say. He was tried by a military court, and sentenced to death. Clemenceau, who had continued with the peace conference, regardless of his injury, interceded with President Poincaré and had the sentence commuted to ten years' imprisonment.



PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE CREW OF THE
"GEORGE WASHINGTON" EN ROUTE TO FRANCE.



IN GENOA, ITALY, THE PRESIDENT PLACED A
WREATH ON THE STATUE OF CHRIS-
TOPHER COLUMBUS.

FRENCH STENOGRAPHERS

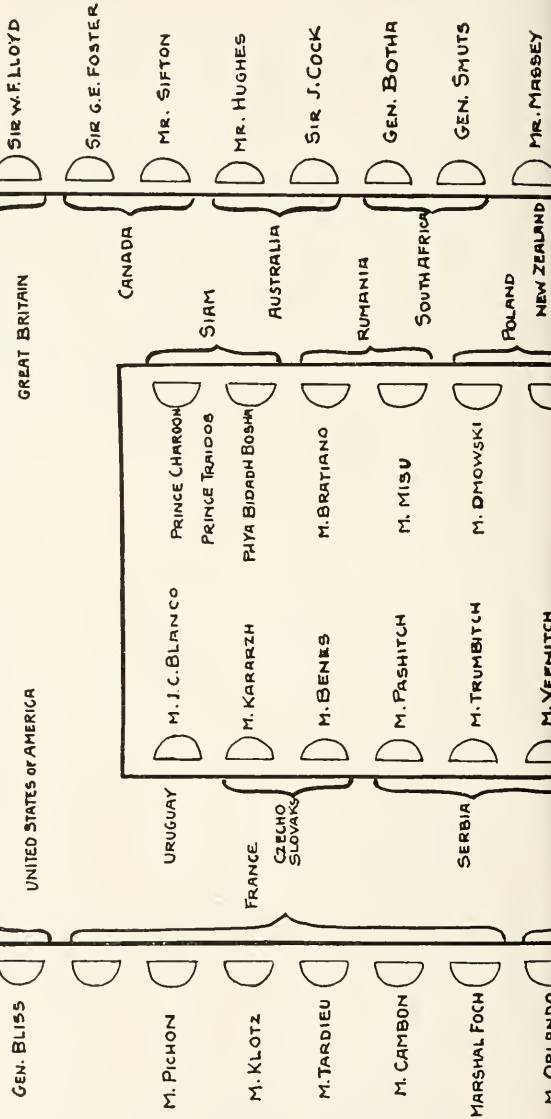
SECRETARIAT OF GREAT BRITAIN

SEC
BRI

MR. J. C. GREW
MR. PAUL GAUTHIER
M. PAUL DUTARBA
COUNT L. DRIVANDI
SIR V. HARVEY
SABURI
M. SAGAO

SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE

MR. BARNES
MR. BONNE LAY
MR. BALFOUR
MR. LLOYD GEORGE
M. CLEHENCEAU
PRES. WILSON
MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
CO. HOUSE



SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECRETARIAT OF FRANCE

FR



FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: GEORGE OF GREECE, DAVID LLOYD, JAMES L. PAYNE, AND ANOTHER MAN.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DEMANDS OF THE VICTORS.

It is well to give at this point a brief statement of the points which each nation sought to bring out as part of its national policies and war demands at the peace conference.

The United States, represented by President Wilson, stood firmly for the principles enunciated during the trying days of the war. The President continued to maintain that America had been drawn into the war against its will and that a great principle, that of self determination and national integrity for all nations, was at stake.

"Our policy is one of no indemnity and no annexation," was President Wilson's statement on many occasions.

He stated that the United States wanted world peace and the guarantee that the smaller nations of the world would remain unexploited by the powers. Beyond that—nothing. America would pay her own war bills, he said, and more too if it was necessary.

The South American countries stood squarely in back of President Wilson. It was to their interest to do so as the protection given by the United States was a sure guarantee of their national integrity. Without that protection they would have been at the mercy of the Central powers more than twenty years ago when the kaiser decided that the "future of Germany lay on the seas."

Great Britain entered the peace conference with many perplexing questions. Looming large was the Irish crisis. Shaen O'Celligh (Shane O'Kelley), the Sein Fein delegate to the peace conference, was in Paris and declared openly that the peace conference would cease to be

what its name betokened if he were not given audience by the leading powers.

The German settlements in South Africa, which had been overrun during the war, were another knotty question for the British to decide. They also proved the basis of Portugal's claims. It was believed, however, that Portugal would follow the lead of Great Britain in the settlement of the African colony question.

Great Britain was also prepared to fight a German protest on the protectorate in Egypt with the argument that Germany, through Turkey, had stirred up an attack on the allies during the war having for its object the wresting of the Suez canal from British hands.

The last problem of Great Britain was the question of damages and indemnities to be paid by Germany to the victims of the ruthless submarine campaign in which many noncombatants were sent to their deaths. The question of Gibraltar and its cession to Spain was rumored at one time, but no mention of it was made when the conference opened.

France was the nation most affected by the peace proceedings. The principal demand of the French representatives was that Germany evacuate the provinces lying west of the Rhine so far as military occupation was concerned. Fortresses were to be dismantled and divisional headquarters removed.

Next came the demand for the return to France of Alsace and Lorraine, which had been under German dominion since the disastrous war of 1871. The French program also demanded that the indemnity paid by France since that war be returned with a further indemnity to recompense France for her war expenditures.

Ranking with these leading questions was that of the ruined mines in France, and the French delegates intimated that they would be satisfied with nothing in lieu thereof but a free hand in the operation of German mines in the Saar valley.

Other French demands were based on the return of machinery, merchandise, patents, designs, plans, and chemicals stolen by the Germans in the invasion. A certain amount of indemnity was to be paid to restore the factory buildings and the homes of workers which had been destroyed by the German artillery.

Italy sought the establishment of a northern frontier which would remove for all time the danger of another Austrian attack. The Trentino was demanded and Italian domination of the Adriatic was necessary, the Italian delegates declared. It was pointed out that the Italian coast lying on the Adriatic was a flat, low country affording no protection for ships, while the east coast was a rocky region abounding in harborage from which an enemy could direct strong military attacks on Italy with little chance of their being defeated.

The Belgian demands were limited to the restoration of the ruined towns and country with indemnity for personal damages inflicted by the enemy. A strong guarantee for future neutrality was included. From the beginning, the Belgian delegates, with true magnanimity, declared that they were concerned more with placing their country in its former prosperous state than trying to wreak their just vengeance on the kaiser through a trial.

Serbia and Montenegro, two of the heaviest sufferers in the war, demanded that the long dreamed of Greater Serbia be made a reality and that the country be given part of Albania with the seacoast on the Adriatic. Demands for the complete self determination of the Czecho-Slavs who had been under the domination of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy also were to be made. In addition, Austria was to pay indemnities for the restoration of the devastated regions and for a guarantee of future peace.

The demands of Greece were for the extension of her frontiers at the expense of Turkey. A strong point in the Grecian claims was the liberation of a large number of

Greeks who were living under foreign rule in Macedonia, Asia Minor and the Island of Cyprus. These were to be repatriated so far as possible by annexation of territory.

Roumania, smarting under the shameful terms inflicted by the Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians and Turks, entered the peace conference prepared to demand guarantees that would leave her safe in the future from the aggression of the Central powers and their eastern allies. The Roumanian delegates also demanded that a suitable government be established in the Ukraine. The internationalization of the Dardanelles and Constantinople also was asked by the Roumanians. It was pointed out that Roumania could be isolated from the world by Turkey in case the Ottoman empire was not curbed in the exercise of sovereign powers or entirely eliminated from the Bosphorus.

The Japanese demands centered about the Shantung peninsula and the German islands in the Pacific, which Japan had occupied after a great military effort. China was opposed to the Japanese program so far as it affected the peninsula and did not hesitate to say so. Japanese aggression was declared by the Chinese delegates to be a move against the open door policy in China. Japan also demanded racial equality.

Beside the individual questions before the conference, there were many problems of international importance. First of these was the peace treaty. Next came the league of nations. Others were the action to be taken against the former kaiser and the leading figures in Germany who precipitated the war. The problem of an autonomous Poland and a Czecho-Slav republic also were pressing. An allied protectorate in Armenia was listed for discussion and it was practically assured that the Kiel canal and Constantinople, including the Dardanelles, would be internationalized. It was suggested early in the proceedings that an international protectorate be set up in the Holy Land, pending the outcome of the Zionist movement

which had for its aim the return to Palestine of the Hebrew race.

On March 26, 1919, the official bulletin of the peace conference stated that President Wilson had advocated the formation of a single peace treaty that would bind the interests of all the belligerent nations into one document so that another violation of treaty rights would affect all.

The following day saw the committee of ten eliminated and the committee of the big four—Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States—acting in its stead. The result was a decision to complete the league of nations covenant and the peace treaty at the same time. Four phases of the business before the conference were taken up by the committee.

It was decided: first, to insure ample security for the future protection of France, especially on her eastern frontier; second, to establish a strong Italy, with a formidable northern barrier against aggression; third, to create a strong Poland; fourth, to found a league of nations pledged on material as well as moral grounds, for the preservation of world peace.

In the meantime the political situation in France was becoming restless. It was erroneously rumored in Paris that Clemenceau was to be removed as premier. But the rumor, though baseless, had the effect of making the envoys of the smaller nations uneasy; and several delegates intimated they would withdraw from the conference and make a separate peace with the Central powers.

On March 28, 1919, the fears of the minor nation representatives were quieted by the announcement that the committee of the big four met and debated the problem of the Saar valley and means of protecting France. Reparation to be made by the enemy states also was up for discussion, but no definite action was taken. The conference was moved to hot debate over an announcement that the Germanic powers had approached the Swiss government on the question of accepting the cession of all Ger-

man Austria. Good feeling was restored when the Swiss minister in Paris announced that his government had declined the offer, and that Switzerland would accept nothing in the way of territorial expansion but the annexation of Lichtenstein, the inhabitants of which state had signified their willingness to join the Swiss federation.

On the day next following it was announced that Geneva would be chosen as the seat of the league of nations. The conclusion was reached after Brussels, Rome, Constantinople, and The Hague had been considered by the committee of the big four. The Latin nations opposed the use of The Hague on the ground that it was too far north; Brussels was eliminated because of possible hostile feeling growing out of the war; Rome, because it was the capital of a big power; and Constantinople, because it was somewhat inaccessible.

Up to this time there had been severe foreign criticisms of the policy of the United States in feeding Germany. On March 22, Henry Wales, Paris correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, called on Herbert Hoover, to whom had been intrusted the task of feeding all Europe, and asked him if he would issue a statement. Mr. Hoover said:

“The only question is, ‘Why are we feeding Germany?’”

“From the point of view of my western upbringing I would say at once because we don’t kick a man in the stomach after we have licked him.

“From the point of view of a government I would say it is because famine breeds anarchy and anarchy is infectious. Infection from such a cesspool would jeopardize France, Great Britain, and thus involve the United States.

“From the point of view of a peace negotiator I would say it is because we must maintain order and a stable government in Germany if we would have some one with whom to sign peace.

“From the point of view of an economist I would

say that it is because the German people must have food in order to maintain a stable government and get back to production. Otherwise there is no hope of their paying the damages they owe to the world.

“From the point of view of a business man I would say it is because we need these damages more than any other form of punishment.

“From the point of view of a humanitarian I would say it is because we have not been fighting women and children and we are not beginning now.

“From the point of view of our secretary of war, I would say it is because we wish to return the American soldiers home, and it is a good bargain to give food for passenger steamers on which our boys may arrive home many months earlier than would otherwise be the case.

“From the point of view of the American treasurer, I would say it is because it saves the United States enormous expenditures in Europe in support of idle men and allows these soldiers to return to productivity in the United States.

“From the point of view of a negotiator of the armistice, I would say it is because we are honor bound to fulfill the implied terms of the armistice that Germany shall have food.

“Let us not befog our minds with the idea that all we have done for Germany is to lift the blockade sufficient to allow her to import a limited amount of food from any market she wishes.

“Taking it by and large, our face is turned forward, not backward, on history. We and our children must live in the world with these 70,000,000 Germans. No matter how bitterly we may feel, our vision must stretch over the next 100 years, and we must write now into history such acts as will stand creditably in the minds of our grandchildren that we may not ourselves have fostered growths of cancer in the vitals of civilization.”

Mr. Hoover's statement brought an end to the criticism which had been directed against the American policy.

The German people, in the meantime, were pursuing the old game of bluff with characteristic avidity. At a public meeting held in Berlin on March 24, Edward Bernstein, a majority socialist, was received with hisses when he attempted to address the audience on the rights of France in Alsace-Lorraine. Meanwhile, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former chief of the German propaganda service in the United States, was talking to newspaper correspondents in Geneva, stating that the German representatives could not sign a peace that was not impartial.

The news that France was to demand concessions in the Saar valley led Dr. Schiffer, minister of finance of the new Berlin cabinet, to declare on March 26 that the German Government would not yield one inch of territory to France. In Berlin the claim of the Poles to Dantzic and the proposed French concessions in the Saar were denounced by street speakers. The statement also was that the Allies were seeking to formulate an "enslaving peace."

In Washington the agitation against the League of Nations continued unabated and public discussions were held all over the country. Charles Evans Hughes, former chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, used the proposed covenant for the subject of an address delivered March 26th before the Union League Club in New York. He voiced the desires of many of his followers in these proposed amendments:

(1) Explicit provision as to the requirement of unanimity of decision.

(2) Suitable limitation as to the field of the league's inquiries and action, so as to leave no doubt that the internal concerns of states, such as immigration and tariff laws, are not embraced.

(3) Providing that no foreign power shall hereafter acquire by conquest, purchase, or in any other way, any

possession on the American continent or the islands adjacent thereto.

(4) Providing that the settlement of purely American questions shall be remitted primarily to the American nations, and that European nations shall not intervene unless requested to do so by the American nations.

(5) Omitting the guaranty (of the existing independence of member nations) of article X.

(6) Providing that no member of the league shall be constituted a mandatory without its consent, and no European or Asiatic power shall be constituted a mandatory of any American people.

(7) Providing that any member of the league may withdraw at its pleasure on a specified notice.

Article X came in for severe criticism at the hands of Hughes. He branded it a "trouble breeder" instead of a "peacemaker," as it was intended to be.

Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois also attacked the proposed covenant. He declared that the adoption of the covenant as it stood would make it necessary for the United States to use its army and navy in every part of the world.

An announcement from Berlin on March 29th that the Polish army would not be allowed to pass through Dantzig once more attracted the attention of the peace conference and the world in general. Upon investigation it was decided there was some essence of truth in the German statement that trouble might ensue between the Polish soldiers and the populace in Dantzig in case the Poles landed. Germany's offer to permit the use of Königsburg or Libau for the purpose satisfied the Allies. Although there was no occasion for it, the German leaders took the opportunity to cast further aspersions on the motives of the Allies and declare that they would not submit to anything that did not please them.

The first week in April passed without incident, owing to the illness of President Wilson, who was ordered to bed

by his physicians as a result of overwork in connection with the peace conference. It was not until April 9th that he was well enough to attend meetings of the committee of the Big Four, and several important questions had been waiting his attention.

On April 11, 1919, it was announced that progress had been made on the league of nations covenant. There was no provision made to racial equality in accordance with the Japanese demands, but Article X was amended to include specific mention of the Monroe Doctrine. It now read:

“ARTICLE X.—Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.”

The amendment was not adopted without opposition from some of the delegates. The Chinese protested on the ground that foreign leaseholds which the Chinese Government might decide to foreclose at some future time would be affected by the amendment. Great Britain had refrained from passing an opinion up until the final meeting, and Lord Robert Cecil made his nation's position clear by stating that he could see no objection to the amendment, including the Monroe Doctrine. He was followed by M. Laurnaude of the French delegation, who also protested.

President Wilson then spoke on the opposition which had been voiced against the amendment. His address closed the discussion, and when he had finished there was complete silence. It was then announced by the chairman that the amendment had been accepted. There was no vote taken and no further opposition was made. It was the first time in history that the great powers officially recognized the Monroe Doctrine as a tangible principle of the United States Government.

On April 14 an announcement was made that the

peace conference had decided on the indemnity to be paid by Germany, and that the German emissaries were notified to be in Paris on April 25. The total amount of the indemnity was placed at 100,000,000,000 marks (\$25,000,000,000) in gold, to be paid in installments. The announcement stated:

“The payment of the 100,000,000,000 gold marks is to be divided into three distinct amounts, as follows:

“First, twenty billions (\$5,000,000,000) within two years.

“Second, forty billions (\$10,000,000,000) during thirty years, beginning in 1921.

“Third, forty billions (\$10,000,000,000) when a commission shall determine how it shall be done.”

In view of the fluctuations through which the negotiations have passed, an authoritative statement was made concerning the final terms of the settlement. This summed up the conditions, as follows:

“Germany is at the outset held generally responsible for losses and damages, in accordance with President Wilson’s Fourteen Points and the allied response at the time the armistice was concluded.

“To determine the extent of the payment under this responsibility, a commission is set up to take testimony, assemble data, and arrange all details of the payments from the enemy and distribution among the allied and associated powers.

“These 40,000,000,000 marks draw 2½ per cent interest from 1921 to 1926 and 5 per cent interest after 1926.

“In addition to the foregoing payments Germany also will be required to deliver additional bonds for 40,000,000,000 marks when the commission determines that this shall be done.

“These three payments of 20,000,000,000, 40,000,000,000, and 40,000,000,000 marks bring the total to 100,000,000,000 gold marks.

“Beyond this total the commission is empowered to

fix anything further that may be required to cover Germany's indebtedness."

The allotment of the indemnity was postponed to a later date.

President Wilson, after the indemnity was announced, made the following statement:

"In view of the fact that the questions which must be settled in the peace with Germany have been brought so near a complete solution that they can now quickly be put through the final process of drafting, those who have been most constantly in conference about them have decided to advise that the German plenipotentiaries be invited to meet the representatives of the associated belligerent nations at Versailles on the 25th of April.

"This does not mean that the many other questions connected with the general peace settlement will be interrupted or that their consideration, which has long been under way, will be retarded. On the contrary, it is expected that rapid progress will now be made with these questions so that they may also presently be expected to be ready for final settlement.

"It is hoped that the questions most directly affecting Italy, especially the Adriatic questions, can now be brought to a speedy agreement. The Adriatic question will be given for the time precedence over other questions and pressed by continual study to its final stage.

"The settlements that belong especially to the treaty with Germany will in this way be got out of the way at the same time that all other settlements are being brought to a complete formulation.

"It is realized that, though this process must be followed, all the questions of the present great settlement are parts of a single whole.

"I have today good hope. The most complicated questions now are solved. Under these conditions I hope that a satisfactory solution will be reached pretty soon."

The semi-official reports of the peace conference pro-

ceedings that penetrated to Berlin caused indignant and somewhat insolent comment by the Junker newspapers. Among those who commented was Prince Lichnowsky of "general denial" fame. He said:

"France forgets that, instead of leading to disarmament, an unjustly extorted peace will bring forth only fresh armaments, throwing into the shade all former armaments, because a mailed fist peace can be maintained only by the mailed fist. Nobody can recommence the war against us. Neither can we be starved out, without the common enemy, communism, and terrorism, throwing all mankind back into its primitive state."

"No German government can sign such terms," the Vorwaerts declared. "The entente statesmen must themselves settle with the inhabitants of the Saar valley, who are thoroughly German, and they may find that the sums proposed as indemnity can not be extracted, even if the last sheet is taken from our beds."

"The solution of the Saar question which is proposed means the covering of naked annexation with a fig leaf," said the Boersen Courier. "Mr. Wilson seems to have approved of a plan that would be the most tremendous political defeat he could experience."

President Ebert of Germany addressed the following Easter message to the national assembly:

"The national assembly expressed unanimously on April 10th the expectation that the government would agree only to a peace based on understanding and reconciliation and would reject any treaty which would sacrifice the present and future of the German people and the world.

"I welcome this pronouncement as a declaration of the inflexible will of the German people that the coming peace shall be a peace of lasting understanding and conciliation among the nations.

"The national assembly and the government are working with devotion and energy to fulfill the great task

of giving peace, bread, work, and a new constitution to a great nation. The task is difficult to fulfill as long as those who have it in their power to give the world peace allow themselves to be dominated by feelings of hatred and revenge and by means of the hunger blockade and by threatening our annihilation are driving the German people to despair.

“Five months ago we accepted our enemies’ terms. We agreed with them on’ the basis for a conclusion of peace. We have fulfilled the hard armistice conditions, disbanded our army, and surrendered enemy prisoners, but peace is still withheld from us. Though defenseless and economically exhausted, we still are cut off by the blockade and our prisoners are still detained, which is equivalent to a continuation of the war. It is a burden such as no nation has as yet been compelled to endure.”

CHAPTER XXXV

LLOYD GEORGE DEFENDS PRESIDENT WILSON.

While the Germans were trying to make the best they could out of a bad situation, Lloyd George returned to England to present to parliament the terms which had been reached. He had been severely criticised by his political enemies over the necessary delay in Paris and his friends had charged his opponents, particularly Lord Northcliffe, with jealousy. They declared that Northcliffe desired to represent Great Britain at the peace conference. Lloyd George said:

“I shall ask the indulgence of the members to make some observations about the present situation. My first impulse, when I returned from the peace conference, was to wait for the much advertised criticism I had been told to expect, but diligent inquiries proved to me that it was not forthcoming.

“The reason assigned in particular quarters is the remarkable one that I must not expect criticism until the house had been informed as to what the delegates were doing. Coming from such quarters, I should not have thought the facts would have been regarded in the slightest, but I am fully aware that there is a good deal of impatience in the world for peace.

“The task with which the peace delegates have been confronted is indeed a gigantic one. No conference that ever assembled in the history of the world has been confronted with problems of such variety, of such perplexity, of such magnitude, and of such gravity.

“The congress of Vienna was the nearest approach to it. It had to settle the affairs of Europe. It took eleven months. But the problems of the congress of Vienna,

great as they were, sink into insignificance when compared with those that we have to settle at the Paris conference. It is not one continent that is engaged. Every continent is affected. With few exceptions every country in Europe has been in this war, every country in Asia is affected by the war except Tibet and Afghanistan. There is not a square mile of Africa which has not been engaged in the war in one way or another. Almost the whole of the nations of America are in the war. Among the far islands of the southern seas, islands have been captured and from those islands hundreds of thousands of men have gone to fight in this great struggle.

“There never has been in the whole history of the globe anything to compare with this.

“Ten new states have sprung into existence, some of them independent, some of them seem dependent, some of them may be protectorates, and at any rate, although we may not define their boundaries, we must give indications of them. The boundaries of fourteen countries have been recast.

“That will give some idea of the difficulties of a purely territorial character that have engaged our attention, but there are other problems equally great, equally important, all affecting the peace of the world, all affecting the well-being of men, all affecting the destiny of the human race, and every one of them of a character where if you make a blunder, humanity may have to pay.

“Armament, the economic question of commerce and trade, questions of international waterways and railways, questions of indemnities, are not easy ones and not ones you can settle by telegrams; international arrangements for labor practically never attempted before, thanks largely to the skill and real statesmanship displayed by my right honorable friend, the member for Glasgow, Barnes. Let me say thanks also to the assistance he had from some honorable and right honorable gentlemen opposite, the Labor party.

“A great world scheme has been advanced. There is the great organization, the great experiment, but an experiment upon which the hope of the world for peace will hang, the society of nations. All of them and each of them separately would occupy months and a blunder might precipitate a universal war. It may be near or may be distant and all the nations, almost every nation on earth, is engaged in the consideration of these problems.

“We were justified in taking some time. In fact, I don't mind saying that it would have been imperative in some respects that we should take more time but for one fact and that was that we are getting up machinery that is capable of readjusting and correcting possible mistakes, and that is why the league of nations, instead of wasting time, has saved time.

“And we have to shorten our labors. Work crowded the hours long and late because, while we were trying to build, we saw in many lands the foundations of society crumbling into dust. We had to make haste. I venture to say no body of men has worked harder and no body of men ever worked with better heart.

“I doubt whether any body of men has worked under greater difficulties; stones cracking on the roof and crashing through the windows and sometimes wild men screaming through keyholes. I have come back to say a few things and I mean to say them—”

A member: “Save you from your friends, prime minister.”

“And when the enormous problems are dependent upon it, you require calm deliberation, and I ask for it for the rest of the journey because the journey is not at an end. It is full of perils, perils for this country, perils for all lands, perils for the people throughout the world. I beg that at any rate men who are doing their best should be left in peace to do it or that other men should be sent there.

“Everywhere are problems to be looked at from a

different angle, and it requires all the tact, all the patience, all the skill that we can command to prevent different interests from conflicting. I want the house and the country to bear that in mind. I believe we have surmounted these difficulties, but it has not been easy.

“There are questions which have almost imperiled the peace of Europe whilst we were sitting there. I should like to put each member of this house through an examination. I am certain I could not have passed it before I went to the peace conference.

“I had never heard of Teschen, but it nearly produced an angry conflict between two allied states, and we had to try and settle the affairs of Teschen, and there are many questions of that kind where missions have been sent and where we had to settle differences in order to get on with the different problems of war, and those questions are of importance to the small states.

“But it was the quarrels of the small states that made the great war. Differences of the Balkans disturbed Europe and created an atmosphere of unrest which began the trouble and roused the military temper, and I am not at all sure it did not incite the blood lust.

“One of the features of the present situation is that central Europe is falling into small states. The greatest care must be taken lest the causes of future unrest be created by the settlement which we make. In addition we had before us the complete breakup of three ancient empires—Russia, Turkey, and Austria.

“I should like to say a few words about Russia. I have heard simple remedies produced on both sides. Some say use force. Some say make peace. It is not as easy as all that. It is one of the most complex problems ever dealt with by any body of men. One difficulty is that there is no Russia. Siberia, the Don, and the Caucasus have broken off, and then there is some organization controlling central Russia, but there is no body of men that can say it is a government for the whole of Russia.

“Apart from all questions, whether you can under any circumstances recognize the bolshevik government, you could not recognize it as the de facto government of Russia, because it is not, and there is no other government you could call the de facto government of Russia.

“You have a vast country in a state of complete confusion. It is just like a volcano which is still in furious eruption, and the best you can do is to provide security for those who are dwelling on its remotest and most accessible slopes and arrest the flow of the lava that it may not scorch other lands.

“It is easy to say about Russia, ‘why do not you do something?’ To begin with, let me say there is no question of recognition. It was never proposed, never discussed. There is no government. The bolshevists have committed crimes against allied subjects and made it impossible to recognize them even as a civilized government, and they are at this moment attacking our friends in Russia.

“What is the alternative? Does anyone propose military intervention? I want you to realize what that means. First of all, there is a fundamental principle of foreign policy in this country that you never interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. Whether Russia is czarist, republican, menshevik, or bolshevik, whether it is reactionary or revolutionary, whether it follows one set of people or another, that is a matter for the Russian people themselves.

“Even the present Russian experiment with its horrible consequences does not justify us in committing this country to a giant military enterprise. Let me speak in al solemnity and with a great sense of responsibility. Russia is a country that is easy to invade but difficult to conquer. It has not been conquered by any foreign foe, though it has been invaded many times. It is a country easy to get into but difficult to get out of.

“You have only to look what happened within the last

few years to the Germans. They captured millions of Russian prisoners and guns. The Russians had no ammunition. There was barely any one to resist them, and at last the Russian armies fled, leaving the guns in the field. Neither Mr. Kerensky nor any of his successors could get together 10,000 disciplined men, and yet the Germans, to the last moment, while their front was broken in France and their country menaced with invasion, had to keep a million men in Russia. They had entangled themselves in a morass and could not get out of it. Let it be a warning.

“If we conquer Russia—and we can conquer Russia—you would be surprised at the military advice given to us as to the number of men that would be required, and I should like to know where they are to come from. Supposing you had them, that you gathered overwhelming armies and conquered Russia, what manner of government are you going to set up there? You must set up a government that the people want. Does anybody know what government they would ask for? It is a government we do not like. Are we to reconquer Russia till we get a government we do like?

“I have read criticisms in this house where the house showed a natural desire to control the expenditure in this country on railways and canals. My right honorable friend, with all his energy, could not spend in a quarter of a century as much money on railways and canals as in a single year on military enterprises in Russia. I share the horror for bolshevik teaching, but I would rather leave Russia bolshevik until she sees her way out of it than see Britain bankrupt. That is the surest road to bolshevism in Britain.

“I only want to put quite frankly to the house my earnest conviction that if we assume military intervention in Russia it would be the greatest act of stupidity that any government could possibly do.

“‘But then,’ they say, ‘if that is the case, why do you

support Koltchak and Denikin and Kharkoff?' I will tell the house with the same frankness. When the Brest-Litovsk treaty was signed there were large territories of population in Russia that would have neither hand nor part in the shameful act, and they revolted against the government that signed it, and, let me say this: they raised armies at our instigation and largely at our expense. It was sound military policy.

"Had it not been for those organizations which we improvised the Germans would have secured all the resources, which would have enabled them to break the blockade. They would have been supplied with almost every essential commodity which four or five years of rigid blockade had deprived them of.

"Bolshevism threatened to impose by force of arms its domination of those populations which had aided us. If we, as soon as they had served our purpose and had taken all the risks, had said: 'Thank you, we are exceedingly obliged to you. You have served our purpose; we no longer need you; now let the bolshevists go their own way,' we should have been mean and thoroughly unworthy.

"The next step in our policy is what I call the arrest of the flow of lava. That is, to prevent the eruption of bolshevism into allied lands. For that reason we are organizing all the forces of the allied countries bordering on bolshevist territory from the Baltic to the Black sea, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Roumania. There is no doubt that those populations are anti-bolshevik.

"We shall be ready for any attempt of the bolsheviki to overrun Europe by force. That is our policy; but we do want peace in Russia. The world will not be pacified as long as Russia is torn and rent by civil war. We made our effort to make peace among the warring sections, not by recognizing anybody, but by inducing them to come together with a view of setting up some authority in Rus-

sia which would be acceptable to the whole of the Russian people and which the Allies could recognize.

“We insisted that they should cease fighting, but with one accord, I regret to say, they refused to accede to this essential condition. Therefore the attempt may not be crowned with success. The soviet republic would not accede to the request that they should cease fighting.

“I do not despair of a solution in time. There are factors in the situation, even now, which are promising. Reliable information indicates that, while the bolshevists are apparently growing in strength, bolshevism itself is rapidly on the wane. It is breaking down before the relentless pressure of economic facts.

“This process must inevitably continue. They can not carry on the great country upon such methods. When bolshevism, as we know it, and as Russia to her sorrow has known it, disappears, then the time will come for another effort at the reëstablishing of peace in Russia, but the time is not yet.

“You are dealing with a nation which, after being misgoverned for centuries, has been defeated and trampled to the ground, largely through the corruption, inefficiency, and treachery of its governments. Its losses have been colossal. All that largely accounts for the frenzy that has seized upon that great people. That is the reason why the nation is going through untold horrors of a fanatic and lunatic experiment, but there are unmistakable signs, that Russia is emerging from the fever, and when the time comes, when she is once more sane and calm and normal, we will make peace in Russia.”

MR. CLYNES—Before the prime minister goes further, can he make any statement with regard to the approaches alleged to have been made to his government by persons acting on behalf of such government as there is in central Russia?

“We have had no approaches at all except what has appeared in the papers,” Mr. Lloyd George replied.

“There are men of all nationalities constantly going to Russia and coming back with assertions, but we have had no approach of any sort or kind. No proposal ever has been brought before the peace conference by any member of that conference and therefore we have not considered any.

“It is reported that an American brought communications to the President. It is not for me to judge the value of those communications, but if the President of the United States had attached any value to them he would have brought them before the conference, and he certainly did not.

“This Russian situation is a question of the first magnitude and great complexity, but on this I am clear. I entreat the house of commons and the country not to contemplate the possibility of another great war. We have had quite enough of fighting.

“I should say something about the general terms of peace. After a long discussion, not an hour of which was wasted, we have arrived at a complete understanding on all the great fundamental questions affecting peace with Germany. We hope that by next week they will be presented to the German delegates.

“I want to say something in view of the very unfortunate attempts that have been made to sow dissension and mistrust and suspicion between the nations that are now engaged in the task of bringing peace to the whole of civilization.

“I can not conceive at the present moment any worse crime than this attempt to sow strife, distrust, and suspicion between these people whose good will, whose coöperation, whose common action and common sacrifice have saved the world from disaster. These things can be done in domestic politics and no great harm ensues, but in this crisis of the world's history, when nothing can save the world but keeping the nations together, this attack is an

outrage. There was never a time when a greater desire was shown to understand each other.

“The idea that America and Europe have been at hopeless variance at the conference is untrue. No one could have treated with more sympathy the peculiar problems and special susceptibilities of Europe, with its long and bitter memories and national conflicts, than President Wilson.

“We have never, during the whole of this conference, forgotten the permanent sufferings and sacrifices in this war of the country in whose capital the conditions of peace are being determined. We have not forgotten that France was rent and torn twice within living memory by the same savage brute. We have not forgotten she is entitled to feel a sense of security against it.

“And upon all questions that have come before us we came to a conclusion in which we were unanimous.

“Now a word about publicity. We considered that question and we concluded that to publish these terms before they are discussed with the enemy would be a first class blunder. I know there has been a lot of silly talk about secrecy, yet no other peace conference has ever been given so much publicity. I am referring now to the official communications, issued by the conference, and, honestly, I would rather a good peace than a good press.

“There are one or two reasons why we came to the conclusion that we would not publish the terms before they were discussed. No peace terms of any kind ever devised or promulgated can satisfy everybody. I am not referring to mere political and personal attacks, but to honest criticisms, inspired by higher and more sincere motives. Some people will think that we have gone too far and others that we have not gone far enough.

“In each country people will suggest that the interests of the country have been sacrificed for some other country, and all that will be published. Supposing there were men in this country who thought the peace terms too

severe. There would be speeches and leading articles. These speeches and articles would be published in Germany, out of all proportion to others, and it would appear in Germany as if British public opinion were against the peace terms being too harsh. That would encourage resistance in Germany and make it impossible for us to handle the Germans.

“I want to make another point: Supposing the terms proposed by Bismarck had been published in France before they were discussed, what would have happened? The communists would have been strengthened by the adherence of men who from patriotic reasons would have supported lawlessness in preference to what they considered hard terms. To publish peace terms prematurely before the enemy has had opportunity to consider them would be to raise difficulties in the way of peace, and we mean to take the action necessary to prevent their publication before the war was over.

“We stand by our peace terms. On behalf of the government I made a statement considered by every member of the cabinet as to what we conceived to be the terms on which we could make peace. That was last year. At that time those terms received the adherence of every section of opinion in this country. There was no protest from any quarter.

“A few days afterwards President Wilson proposed his famous Fourteen Points, which practically embodied my statement. I am referring to my pledges before the last election.

“So far from my coming here to ask for reconsideration, to ask for release from any pledge or promise we have given, I am here to say that all the outlines of peace we have given to the country and asked them to make sacrifices for, every pledge we have given for insertion in the peace demands, are incorporated in the demands which will be put forward by the Allies.

“I observe some of these pledges are being published

[the references being to the Times and Daily Mail]. I am going to issue an invitation to the same enterprising paper that when the peace terms and peace demands put forward by the Allies can be published, they shall publish in parallel columns the pledges and promises made by the government. That is all I am going to say about the peace terms. That is all I feel it wise to say.

“We never swerved one iota from our terms. We stand by them because we think they are just. We want a peace that is just, but not vindictive. We want a peace, a stern peace, because the occasion demands it, the crime demands it, but its severity must be designed not to gratify vengeance but to vindicate justice. Every clause in the terms must be justified on that ground.

“Above all, we want to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the big war by making the wrongdoer repair the wrongs and losses which he has inflicted, by punishing each individual who is responsible, by depriving the nations who menaced the peace of Europe for half a century with the flourishing sword of their weapons.

“And the most permanent security of all is the power of the nations of the earth federated with a firm purpose of maintaining peace.

“I just want to say one other thing, because I am going back, if this house wants me to go back, unless it prefers another. There are many eligible offers, but whoever goes there is going to meet the emissaries of the enemy, the enemy with whom we have been fighting for five years. Whoever goes there must go there feeling he has the fullest confidence of parliament behind him.

“I know that parliament can repudiate the treaty when it is signed, but it will be difficult to do it once the signatures are attached, and so, before anyone goes there, parliament must feel that they know that whoever is there will carry out his pledges to the uttermost of his power.

“I did not object to the telegram the other day. (Sent by the members of the commons demanding the premier

explain his course.) Let me say a word about it. I have the telegram, and you must remember this: These things when they are sent abroad become international in France, America, Italy, and Germany. I am told it was sent because of information which came from a reliable source. I wish my honorable friend had explained that the reliable source was an anonymous article in the Westminster Gazette, but before he gave that answer he ought to have compared opinions with my honorable friend there, Col. Claud Lowther.

“But my honorable friend has given the reliable source. He said it was a telegram from Paris to the Westminster Gazette. [Col. Lowther: ‘Did it do any harm?'] I think it will have done some good before I have done with it.

“I know the reliable source. I will tell the house something about the reliable source.

“There were peace terms published in November as a sort of model. In those peace terms there was not a word about idemnity, not a word about the cost of the war or reparation; in strictest sense of the term, not about reparation for lost lives, not reparation for damaged houses, not even at Broadstairs [this reference is to the damage done Lord Northcliffe’s house on the Kentish coast].

“That was in November. We were not to find anyone responsible for war at that time, but to try those guilty of offenses against the laws of war. That is the reliable source. Now we must have everything, the cost of war, damage of all sorts, hang the kaiser and everybody all around, especially the members of the government.

“In December there were hundreds and thousands of copies of a newspaper circulated freely at somebody’s expense among the soldiers in France asking them to return certain candidates. If these delegates had been returned, the delegates in Paris now would not have been the foreign secretary and myself, but would perhaps have

been Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden. Who was that reliable source? I happen to know, and the honorable gentleman is the man to whom to look for his reliable source, for he knows something about it.

“At the beginning of the conference there were great appeals to everybody to support President Wilson. Where did they come from? From the same reliable sources that are now hysterically attacking all his great ideals. Just a few weeks ago there was a cartoon in one of those papers representing bolshevism as a mere bogey, and I as a person trying to frighten the working classes with a mere bogey. A month ago it was a monster, and I was doing my best to dress it up as an angel, all from the same reliable source.

“Reliable? Now, that is the last adjective I could use. It is jumping there tomorrow, there next day. I would as soon rely on a grasshopper.

“Still I am prepared to make some allowance, even to a great newspaper proprietor, and when the man is suffering under a keen sense of disappointment, however unjustified or however ridiculous his expectations may be. A man under those circumstances is always apt to think the world is badly run.

“When a man has deluded himself and all the people who come near him into the belief that he is the only man who can do all things and is waiting for the clamor of the multitude that is going to demand his presence there to direct their destinies, but there is not a whisper, not a sound, it is rather disappointing, it is unnerving, it is upsetting, and if the war is won without him there must be something wrong. Of course it must be the government.

“Then at any rate he is the only man to make peace. The only people who get near him tell him so, so he publishes the peace terms in advance and he waits for the call. It does not come; he retreats to sunny climes waiting, but not a sound reaches that far, from that distant shore, to call him back to his great task of saving the world.

“What can you expect he must feel? He comes back and says, ‘Well, now, I can’t see the disaster, but I am sure it is there. It is bound to come under these conditions.’

“I am prepared to make allowances, but let me say that when that kind of diseased vanity is carried to the point of sowing dissension between the great nations whose unity is essential to the peace and happiness of the world, when an attempt is made to make France distrust Britain, and France hate America, and America dislike France, and Italy quarrel with everybody, then I say that not even that kind of disease is justification for so black a crime against the world.

“I apologize for taking up the time of the house, but I am bound to do so. I may tell the house why I have been in France for weeks. Here everybody knows, but it is not the same in France. They still believe in France that the Times is a serious organ. They do not know that it is a three-penny edition of the Daily Mail, and on the continent of Europe they really have ideas that it is semi-official. It shows how long these traditions take to die out.

“I want them to know I am doing this in the interests of good will. It is my only object in taking notice of that kind of trash with which these papers have been filled for the last weeks.

“I have talked to many soldiers awaiting demobilization and the general word is—if I can just express it shortly—‘hurry up.’ They want peace badly. I have heard from the French soldiers ‘give us a good peace.’

“Those who think the people of this country are out for revenge do not understand them. They are out for justice. The world wants to get back quickly to work and it wants to get to work under better conditions than it had before the war. I have seen now many men from many lands. Without exception I heard the echo of that resolve on the part of the workers, fixed deep in their hearts,

and I am proud that Britain has been the first to take action.

“A profound impression is created in every country by the quiet way in which Britain is setting her house in order by conference, by conciliation, by legislation, and not by wild lawlessness and force, and they all say it is a characteristic of the British tradition.

“A great labor orator at the labor conference on Friday said there are two methods of dealing with the situation—the Russian method and the English method. I felt a thrill of pride for my country.

“It is essential that the ordinary machinery of commerce and industry be set going. You can not do that without peace. There are men in nearly every trade with their hands on the lever waiting for the announcement. It is essential that the enormous expenditure of war should be cut down ruthlessly and as soon as possible. Peace is necessary, otherwise our effort will be squandered.

“One of the most beneficent results will be that the great continental menace of armaments will be swept away. The country that has kept Europe armed for forty years is to be reduced to an army which is just adequate to police her cities. The fleet which was a source of terror to us, a hidden terror, will now be just enough to protect her commerce.

“But we must profit by that; Europe must profit by that and not Germany alone.

“I know there is a good deal of talk about the recrudescence of the military powers of Germany. You get paragraphs about what Germany is going to do—that she is going to get on her feet again and restore her great armies. That is not the case.

“With great difficulty—that is our military information—can she gather together 80,000 men to preserve order. Her guns and her weapons of offense on sea, on land, and in the air have been taken away.

“A very keen observer, who has just come from central Europe, told me, ‘I have seen a world going to pieces, men helpless, half starved, benumbed. No authority, but no revolution, because men have no heart for it.’

“Two British soldiers crossing a square in Vienna saw a hungry child. They took out a biscuit and gave it to her. You have seen when you throw bits of bread on the ground how birds flock from every part, birds you have not seen before. A hundred children came from nowhere for food. It was with difficulty those two British soldiers escaped with their lives. (A member: ‘The blockade order.’)

“That is the real danger—the gaunt specter of hunger stalking through the land.

“The central powers are lying prostrate and broken and these movements of the Spartacists and bolsheviks and revolutionaries in each of these countries are the convulsions of a broken-backed creature crushed in a savage conflict.

“Europe itself has suffered more in the last five years than ever in its whole blood-stained history. The lesson has been a sharper one than ever. It has been demonstrated to vaster multitudes of human beings than ever what war means.

“For that reason the opportunity of organizing the world on a basis of peace is such as has never been presented to the world before, and in this fateful hour it is the supreme duty of statesmen in every land, of parliaments on whose will the statesmen depend, and those who guide and direct public opinion which has the making of parliaments, not to soil this triumph of right by indulging in the angry passions of the moment, but to consecrate the sacrifice of millions to permanent redemption of the human race from the scourge and agony of war.”

While opponents of Lloyd George were attacking him for the delay in the peace negotiations, the enemies of the league of nations covenant in Washington began another

verbal barrage on the proposals, in the peace conference, that the United States establish protectorates in Armenia, Turkey and other out of the way corners of the world.

It was stated by the friends of President Wilson that the only power which could enforce protectorates of a size necessary for safety would be the United States. They also declared that the expenses would be borne by the Armenians, Turks, or others to whom the protectorate was extended.

The objectors replied with the assertion that it would be necessary for the United States to lend the necessary money to the protected countries and branded the financial transaction as hazardous in the extreme.

An incident which occurred two days after the announcement of the indemnity to be collected showed truly the opinion Germany held of allied statesmanship. Food had been shipped into Germany according to the terms of the armistice, but shipments of raw materials were not forthcoming in payment. For that reason a conference was held between the trade commissions of the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy and Germany to discuss the question.

The wily Germans cleverly evaded being pinned down to the terms of the armistice and failed to reply to the allied demands for coal, dyestuffs and wood. The outcome of the discussion was that the allied representatives were forced to withdraw from the conference with the knowledge that Germany would accede to their demands and furnish raw materials in the nature of 1,000 tons of tissue paper!

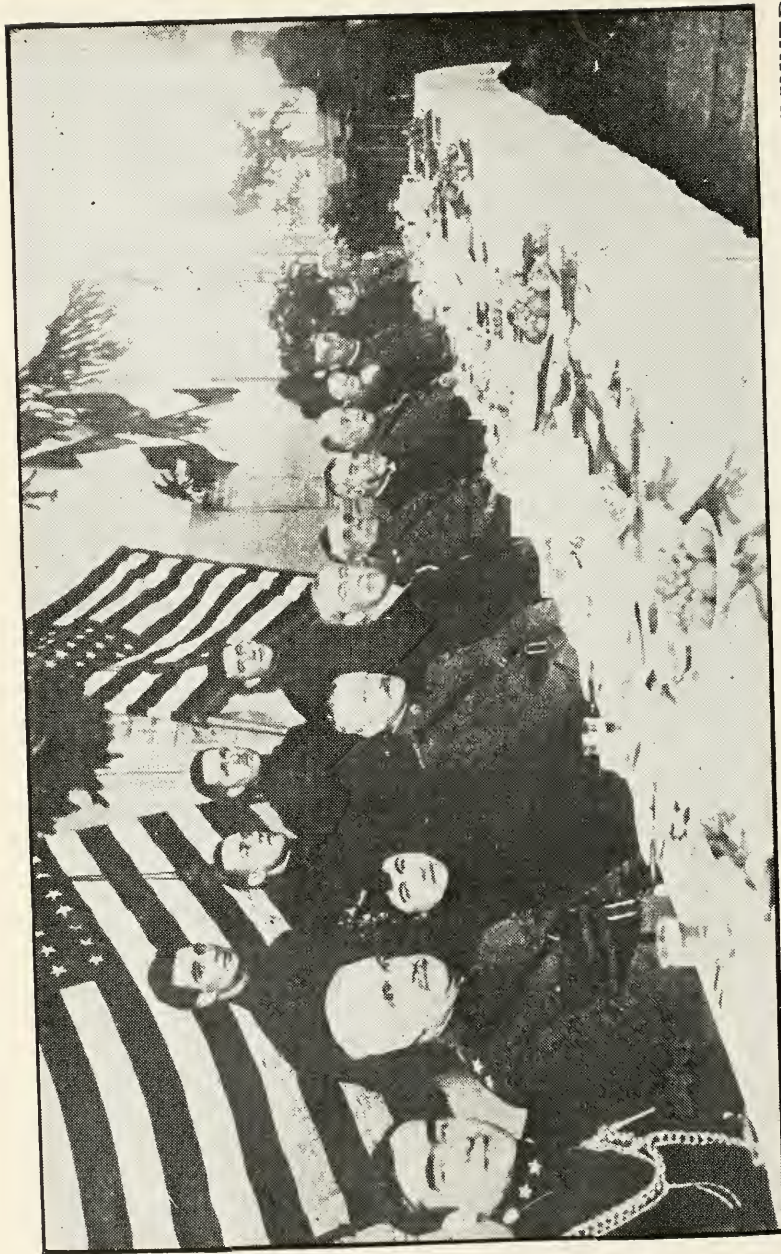
On April 17th delegates from the home rule element in Ireland called on President Wilson and requested that the Irish question be brought before the entire peace conference and settled at once. They declared that the problem was one of sufficient moment to demand the consideration of the large nations instead of being held in abeyance until it could be brought before a meeting of the league.



CLEMENCEAU.



LLOYD GEORGE.



THE PRESIDENT, GENERAL PERSHING AND OTHER NOTABLES AT A DINNER
IN FRANCE.



AMERICA AND FRANCE.
PRESIDENTS WILSON AND POINCARE GOING TO THE PEACE
CONFERENCE.



PRESIDENT WILSON IN ROME, DURING THE WORLD WAR PEACE CONFERENCE

President Wilson replied that he would take the question into consideration and notify the Irish delegates later.

On April 18, 1919, all Paris was busily engaged in the discussion of an offensive and defensive alliance between the United States and France. There was an erroneous rumor declaring that President Wilson and Clemenceau had arrived at an agreement whereby war would be declared at once upon the aggressor of either. It was said that the alliance was decided upon when the French aims to occupy the left bank of the Rhine were frustrated in the peace conference.

Coincidental with the rumor, President Wilson visited Clemenceau and explained to him the nature of the Monroe Doctrine. It was at that time popularly believed in France that the Doctrine was retroactive and that it forbade the United States aiding or sympathizing with any European power. The French premier's ideas were not altogether clear on what the Monroe Doctrine really was, but agreed to President Wilson's statement that the Doctrine meant the peace of the world in more than one respect.

On the following day Marshal Foch declared, in an interview with a correspondent of the Daily Mail in Paris, that the left bank of the Rhine must be guarded against further German activities or France would be in further danger of a German attack, in which the German founded Bolshevik government of Russia probably would aid. His statements had a direct effect on the delegates at the conference and brought about further consideration of French needs.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ITALIAN EMBROGLIO.

The Berlin cabinet met on April 19th to formulate a reply to the invitation from the Paris conference calling the German peace emissaries to Berlin. A general feeling of gloom prevailed and there were no illusions that the emissaries would be able to obtain any mitigation of the terms. It was announced through the German press that the emissaries would be instructed to obtain the treaty and return to Germany, where the cabinet would pass on the document. The statement caused indignation in Paris and one of the delegates declared no subordinate emissary would receive recognition.

The following day, when the conference again convened, a row developed over Italy's demand for Fiume on the Adriatic. A delicate situation developed over the rival claims of the Jugo-Slavs, with some of the delegates contending that Italy's demand should take precedence in view of the fact that the inhabitants of Fiume already had declared their willingness to come under Italian rule and for the further fact that the Jugo-Slav element practically had been enemies of the Allies up to the moment the armistice was signed with Austria.

Orlando, the Italian premier, declared that strict adherence to the Treaty of London would be maintained by the Italians. President Wilson's retort was that the American soldiers did not cross the ocean to fight for the Treaty of London. The tendency of the committee of the big four to delay the proceedings failed when Orlando declared the question was pressing and that a definite settlement would have to be made before Italy would sign a treaty of peace.

On April 21st the Italian delegates failed to attend the afternoon session of the peace conference, and the situation was growing more serious with the passing hours. In spite of the hope that an amicable adjustment of the Fiume dispute would be made, there was no official statement forthcoming from the conference.

The portion of the Treaty of London on which the Italian delegation based its demands reads:

“Article 4—Under the future treaty of peace Italy shall receive the district of Trentino; the entire southern Tyrol to its natural geographic boundary, the Brenner; the city and suburbs of Trieste, Gorizia, and Gradisha, all of Istria to Quarnero, including Voloski and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussino, and also the smaller islands of Piavanik, Union, Kanidol, Palamuolo, St. Peter Nevmeiski, Azinello, Grutzto, together with the neighboring islands.

[This is the article dealing directly with the region to which Fiume lies adjacent. The line of demarkation is clearly drawn west of Fiume by the specific mention of Voloski and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussino. Fiume is not mentioned and also the island of Veglia lying near to the Croatian coast is omitted.]

“Article 5—In the same manner Italy is to receive the province of Dalmatia in its present form with the inclusion within its limit on the north of Lissariki and the Trebino, and on the south of all lands to a line drawn at Cape Plank to the east along the watershed in such a manner that in the Italian domain shall be included all the valleys along the rivers flowing into Sebiniki—that is, Chicollo, Kerka and Butisnitza, with all their branches.

“In the same way Italy is to receive all the islands located to the north and west of the shores of Dalmatia, beginning with Premud, Selva, Ulbo, Skerd, Maon Pago and Puntadura, and farther to the north and to Meled on the south, with inclusion therein of the islands of St. Andrew, Buzzi, Lissi, Lessino, Terkol, Kurzoll, Kaisa and

Lagosta, with all the islands and bluffs belonging to them, as well as Palagozza, but without the islands of Great and Little Oziren, Bui, Solt and Bratz.

“Article 6—Italy is to receive in full right Vallon, the islands of Sassono and a territory sufficiently extensive to safeguard them from the military standpoint, approximately between the River Voyuss on the north and the east and to the boundaries of Schimar district to the south.

“Article 7—On receiving Trentino and Istria, Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands, in accordance with Article 5, and the Bay of Vallon, Italy is obligated, in the event of the formation in Albania of a small autonomous neutralized state, not to oppose the possible desire of France, Great Britain and Russia to redistribute among Montenegro, Serbia and Greece the northern and southern districts of Albania.

“The southern shore of Albania, from the boundary of the Italian district of Vallon to the Cape of Stilos, is subject to neutralization.”

The German cabinet at this point sent a message to Paris stating that the allied invitation to the German emissaries had been received and accepted, and that they could be expected in Paris on April 28th. The German delegation was made up of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, foreign minister; Herr Landsberg, secretary for publicity, art and literature; Dr. Theodor Melchior, general manager of the Warburg bank; Herr Leinert, president of the Prussian assembly and of the national soviet congress; Herr Geisberg, minister of posts and telegraphs; and Herr Schuecking.

Immediately on the receipt of the German reply workmen were sent to prepare the Hotel des Reservoirs, formerly the home of the Marquise de Pompadour, for their reception. A wire enclosure was constructed to safeguard the Germans from attacks by the Parisians, who retained vivid memories of the days when bombs and

artillery shells hurtled down on their historic city, killing scores of women and children.

Further complications in the proceedings came on April 21st, when the demand of the Japanese that a racial equality clause be included in the league of nations covenant. It was peremptorily refused. The feeling in Tokyo was running high at the time and there was no hesitancy on the part of Japanese newspapers to denounce the action of the committee of the big four. The Japan Times declared:

“The refusal of the august congress of white peoples to accept the principle of equality of nonwhites probably will erect a perpetual barrier to the harmonious commingling of the races toward which it was believed the world was tending. It can only tend to accentuate racial prejudices, which will far from realize President Wilson’s ideal lasting peace.

“It is well for Japan to remember this point. The only way of sustaining Japan’s prestige must be sought in preparedness to cope with international situations as they develop. Peace on earth and good will toward men must be considered as still very distant.”

The oriental situation was further complicated by the wrangling between the Japanese and Chinese delegates over the presence in Tsing Tau of Japanese troops and the Japanese demands that the Shantung Peninsula be given to Japan for her part in the war. Charles A. Selden, Paris correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, described the situation in a dispatch, which read:

“Japan is fighting to get admittedly Chinese territory as a reward for letting China enter the war. Japan bases her case on the secret agreement made by England, France, Italy and Russia in February, 1917, that they would support Japan’s claim at the prospective peace conference to the German islands north of the equator in the Pacific and to Chinese territory in Shantung from which Germany has been ousted.

“Evidence that these promises were given to Japan is contained in the hitherto unpublished diplomatic notes which are part of this cable dispatch.

“Neither President Wilson nor the Chinese delegates knew of the existence of these secret agreements when they came to Paris. The disclosure was first made to Mr. Wilson at a meeting of the council when the question of the mandatory system as suggested by the American President was first under discussion.

“It was then proposed that the German islands be disposed of by placing them under mandates. It was an awkward moment. Premier Lloyd George remarked that an arrangement of a definite character had already been reached with reference to the islands. Mr. Wilson asked what it was. Mr. Lloyd George turned to the Japanese delegate, Baron Makino, whereupon Mr. Wilson was informed that Japan had been promised by England, France, Italy and Russia two years before that she should have outright all the islands north of the equator and that she had agreed that Australia have all south of the equator.

“The reason of China’s failure to become a participant makes an interesting phase to the whole Asiatic question. China was barred out in the early part of hostilities because Japan had no desire to let China participate in the military task of recovering her own territory in the Shantung province from the Germans at Kiachow.

“Again in November, 1915, China tried to enter the contest, as desired by European powers. On that occasion, Ishii, then Japanese minister of foreign affairs, said to the European ambassadors in Tokio:

“‘Japan could not view without apprehension the moral awakening of 400,000,000 Chinese which would result from their entering the war.’

“China did not dare to act contrary to the wishes of

Japan, for she knew Europe could not help her in case of need and she feared Japanese aggression. But another opportunity came to China early in 1917 when the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany and invited all the neutral countries to follow her example. Then Japan, like the rest of the world, realized America would soon become an active belligerent and that the defeat of Germany was no longer a matter of doubt.

“Japan also realized then she could no longer keep China neutral, so Motono, then Japanese minister of foreign affairs, immediately set to work to insure Japan’s position in the peace conference in anticipation of China herself being represented at that conference to plead her own case.

“Motono first took up the matter with the British ambassador at Tokio. The ambassador’s reply was the following letter:

“The British Embassy at Tokio, Feb. 16, 1917.—My dear excellency: With reference to the subject of our conversation of the 27th ultimo, when your excellency informed me of the desire of the imperial government to receive an assurance that, in the occasion of a peace conference, his Britannic majesty’s government will support the claims of Japan in regard to the disposal of Germany’s rights in Shantung and the possession in the islands north of the equator, I have the honor, under instruction received from his Britannic majesty’s principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to communicate to you the following message from his Britannic majesty’s government:

“His Britannic majesty’s government accedes with pleasure to the request of the Japanese government for an assurance that they will support Japan’s claims in regard to the disposal of Germany’s rights in Shantung and possession in the islands north of the equator on the occasion of the peace conference, it being understood that the Japanese government will in the eventual peace settle-

ment treaty in the same spirit admit Great Britain's claim to the German islands south of the equator.

“‘CONYMHAN GREEN.

“‘His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador.’

“In his reply to the above communication from British Ambassador Green, after the usual diplomatic exchange of courtesies, Ishii wrote:

“‘The Japanese government is deeply appreciative of the friendly spirit in which your government has given assurance and are happy to note it as a fresh proof of the close ties that unite the two allied powers.

“‘I take pleasure in stating that the Japanese government on its part is fully prepared to support in the spirit the claims which may be put forward at the peace conference by his Britannic majesty's government in regard to the German possessions in the islands south of the equator.’

“‘The date of Montono's above reply to Green is February 21, 1917. On February 19, Montono wrote identic notes to the Russian and French ambassadors at Tokio, as follows:

“‘The imperial Japanese government has not yet formally entered into conversations with the entente powers concerning the conditions of peace I propose to present to Germany because it is guided by the thought that such questions ought to be decided in concert between Japan and the said powers at the moment when the peace negotiations begin.

“‘Nevertheless, in view of the recent development of the general situation and in view of particular arrangements concerning peace conditions, such as the arrangements relative to the disposition of the Bosphorus, Constantinople and the Dardanelles, being already under discussion by the powers interested, the imperial Japanese government believes the moment has come for it also to express its desires relative to certain conditions of peace

essential to Japan and to submit them for the consideration of the government of the French republic.

“Under these conditions the imperial Japanese government proposes to demand from Germany at the time of peace negotiations the surrender of territorial rights Germany possessed before the war in Shantung and the islands situated north of the equator in the Pacific ocean.

“The imperial Japanese government confidently hopes the government of the French republic, realizing the legitimacy of these demands, will give assurance that Japan may count upon their full support in this question.

“It goes without saying that the reparation for damages caused to life and property of the Japanese people by the unjustifiable attacks of the enemy, as well as other conditions of peace of a character common to all the entente powers, are entirely outside the consideration of the present question.’

“Twelve days later the French ambassador replied to the Japanese foreign office as follows:

“The government of the French republic is disposed to give the Japanese government its accord in regulating, at the time of the peace negotiations, questions vital to Japan concerning Shantung and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. It also agrees to support the demands of the imperial Japanese government for the surrender of the rights Germany possessed before the war in this Chinese province and these islands.

“M. Briands demands, on the other hand, that Japan give its support to obtain from China the breaking of its diplomatic relations with Germany and that it give this act desirable significance.

“The consequences of this in China should be the following:

“First, the handing of passports to the German diplomatic agents and consuls.

“Second, the obligation of all under German jurisdiction to leave Chinese territory.

“Third, the internment of German ships in Chinese ports and ultimate requisition of these ships in order to place them at the disposition of the Allies, following the example of Italy and Portugal. According to the information of the French government, there are fifteen German ships in Chinese ports, totaling about 40,000 tons.

“Fourth, the requisition of German commercial houses established in China. Forfeiting the right of Germany in the concessions she possesses in certain parts of China.’”

At the meeting of the conference on April 22nd the tense situation brought about by Italy's determination to obtain Fiume continued, with President Wilson unalterably opposed to the move. At the same time it was announced that hearings on the Japan-China controversy over their respective rights on the Shantung peninsula would be postponed indefinitely as the question concerned only the two nations. It was made clear, however, that German rights would be terminated by the peace treaty.

For several days rumors were growing steadily of German discontent with the terms of the peace treaty which had reached Berlin through unofficial channels. The Berlin newspapers declared that it would be impossible for Germany to sign a peace which went beyond the fourteen points laid down by President Wilson, and insinuated that the treaty presented would be torn up. An American correspondent declared the German policy was the same that brought the United States into the war, and said the German delegates were preparing to wreck the allied peace machine on their arrival in Paris.

Among those who loudly denounced the allied method of procedure was Prince Lichnowsky. He presented a signed statement to Richard Henry Little of the Chicago Tribune which read:

“At the outbreak of the world war, for which neither

the German people nor the reichstag were responsible, but only the stupidity of the chancellors, Caprivi, Prince Buelow, and Von Bethmann-Hollweg, with their mistaken policy of going with Austria instead of with Russia, or England, there were but few Germans who did not accept Von Bethmann-Hollweg's and the kaiser's theory that the war was forced upon Germany.

“Neither our people nor our parliament had been consulted or let into the secret; they were simply faced with the unaccomplished fact and had to join in the false enthusiasm for war or take the odium of being denounced as unpatriotic. The German people as such would never have voted for the war against such heavy odds undertaken with no better motive than saving the military honor of the weak and misled Hapsburg monarchy.

“At present, unfortunately, our enemies are proceeding in their peace preliminaries on the mistaken principle that the German people had a real share in the responsibility of our now discredited leaders, so in the judgment of our enemies our people should receive condign punishment.

“As a logical conclusion our enemies, particularly France, are demanding safeguards against a future breach of the peace, notwithstanding the fact our new democratic form of government is in itself a safeguard against future wars brewed by secret diplomacy and irresponsible cabinets. Our opponents forget any other safeguards are bound to create a new *casus belli*.

“Any peace treaty founded on force alone and resulting in the loss of independence and territory which may form an integral part of the beaten nation must needs call for a further measure of force wherewith to uphold such peace.

“In the same manner that our German annexationists during the war demanded the whole coast of Flanders or even that of Belgium and northern France, while the

more modest ones spoke only of Briey basin or the Courland, so imperialism nowadays is lifting its head in Paris. The only wonder is that the French plans of annexation stop at the Rhine, instead of reaching all the way to the Elbe. Then the rest of Germany might fall to Poland. That would be in accordance with the old frontiers under Charlemagne and Emperor Otho.

“If Poland can now claim a right to Danzig, then the Czechs might claim an analogous right to Hamburg. Why not? Both cities are old Hanseatic ports, and Hamburg lies at the mouth of the Elbe, just as Danzig lies at the mouth of the Weser. In order to be independent from Germany, Bohemia needs Hamburg and needs a strip of Bohemian land along the Elbe all the way to Hamburg.

“The Polish question cannot be satisfactorily solved, if the entente allies really insist on making an independent buffer state out of Poland instead of incorporating Poland, like the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Courland, into the United States of Russia, which are bound to come once bolshevism shall have collapsed. For new Russia will certainly never content herself with her old frontiers of the time of Peter the Great without access to the sea. In the same way new Germany will never be contented with the dismemberment of the old German empire with a zig-zag frontier toward Poland and Bohemia inviting future aggression.

“In regard to Alsace-Lorraine we have a right to demand that its inhabitants should proceed with self-determination as proclaimed by President Wilson. If France does not let the people there determine their own fate, then we surely have no occasion to admit the principle of self-determination on our eastern and northern frontiers since such an unjust discrimination would mean a peace of force and not of justice. If such a peace is imposed on us, then we cannot but regard all the talk about the league of nations founded on the principles of justice as mere hollow sand.

“What we want and what we shall demand at the peace parleys is self-determination, not self-mutilation.”

Mathias Erzberger, head of the German armistice commission, was more temperate in his statements. He disapproved of the suggested Germanic alliance against the Anglo-Saxons (the United States and Great Britain) on the ground that such a union would be a blow at the league of nations. He denounced the authors of the movement and said they represented the old Junker party which had brought about the war. It was also announced in Berlin that the German peace emissaries would propose a revised plan for a league of nations to replace the document prepared by President Wilson and practically adopted by the conference.

On April 23rd, the Italian delegates peremptorily quit the peace conference and announced their intention to return to Rome at once. The news created a profound disturbance among the other delegates, but no comment was made while all eyes were turned to President Wilson, whose opposition to the Italian claims had precipitated the rupture. In support of his stand he issued the following statement:

“In view of the capital importance of the questions affected, and in order to throw all possible light upon what is involved in their settlement, I hope that the following statement will contribute to the final formation of opinion and to a satisfactory solution.

“When Italy entered the war she entered upon the basis of a definite private understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the pact of London. Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered. Many other powers, great and small, have entered the struggle with no knowledge of that private understanding.

“The Austro-Hungarian empire, then the enemy of Europe, and at whose expense the pact of London was to be kept in the event of victory, has gone to pieces and no longer exists. Not only that, but the several parts of that

empire, it is agreed now by Italy and all her associates, are to be erected into independent states and associated in a league of nations, not with those who were recently our enemies, but with Italy herself and the powers that stood with Italy in the great war for liberty.

“We are to establish their liberty as well as our own. They are to be among the smaller states whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as scrupulously as the interests of the most powerful states.

“The war was ended, moreover, by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which set up a new order of right and justice. Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been conceived not only but formulated. Upon those principles it will be effected.

“We cannot ask the great body of powers to propose and effect peace with Austria and establish a new basis of independence and right in the states which originally constituted the Austro-Hungarian empire and in the states of the Balkan group on principles of another kind. We must apply the same principles to the settlement of Europe in those quarters that we have applied in the peace with Germany.

“It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It is upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest.

“If those principles are to be adhered to, Fiume must serve as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and northeast of that part: Hungary, Bohemia, Roumania, and the states of the new Jugo-Slav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put the port upon which all those countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the

regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the pact of London, but there definitely assigned to the Croatians.

“And the reason why the line of the pact of London swept about many of the islands on the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dalmatian coast which lies most open to that sea was not only that here and there on those islands, and here and there on that coast, there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection, but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amidst the channels of the eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary.

“But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed.

“It is part also of the new plan of European order which centers in the league of nations that the new states erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments, which puts aggression out of the question. There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there, because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of the equal and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities.

“In brief, every question associated with this settlement wears a new aspect—a new aspect given it by the very victory for right for which Italy has made the supreme sacrifice of blood and treasure. Italy, along with the four other great powers, has become one of the chief trustees of the new order which she has played so honorable a part in establishing.

“And on the north and northeast her natural frontiers are completely restored, along with the whole sweep of the Alps from northwest to southeast to the very end of the Istrian peninsula, including all the great water-

shed within which Triest and Pola lie; and all the fair regions whose face nature has turned towards the great peninsula upon which the historic life of the Latin people has been worked out through centuries of famous story ever since Rome was first set upon her seven hills.

“Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural defense. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of greatness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interest.

“The nations associated with her, the nations that knew nothing of the pact of London or of any other special understanding that existed at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice also in the interest, not of national advantage or defense, but of the settled peace of the world, are now united with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe.

“America is Italy’s friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy’s own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood, as well as in affection, with the Italian people. Such ties can never be broken. And America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about a consummate—to initiate it upon terms which she had herself formulated and in which I was her spokesman.

“The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles. She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with those sacred obligations.

“The interests are not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of states new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy



PRESIDENT WILSON AND GENERAL PERSHING
REVIEWING THE AMERICAN VETERANS OF THE ARGONNE.



The Italian Royal Family.



PRESIDENT WILSON IN PARIS.
THE PRESIDENT ENTERED THE FRENCH CAPITAL WITH POMP AND CEREMONY.



PRESIDENT IN FRANCE—Relaxing from the arduous duties of the Peace Conference.

of a right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure, are in question.

“These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only upon these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.”

Lloyd George and Clemenceau at that time did not hesitate to make their positions clear in the controversy. Both declared they were ready to stand behind the Treaty of London to which emissaries of both their nations had affixed their signatures. They urged the Italian emissaries to propose arbitration in which Fiume would be left out of the problem. This they resolutely declined to do.

It was suggested that Italy accept the proposition of President Wilson to make the city of Fiume international territory, but the Italians declared they were willing to internationalize the port on condition the city was made Italian territory.

It was declared by several of the delegates that there was merit in the Italian demands. The people of Fiume had indicated by an overwhelming vote that the preponderance of the population was Italian in blood and sympathy and that they were anxious for Italian rule. It was admitted that the Jugo-Slavs in the United States had fought for democracy in the armies of the allies, but it also was charged that many more fought in the armies of Austria. Italy feared a return of Austrian policy dictated by Berlin.

The entire controversy led to a bitter dispute in the United States between the leaders of the Italian and Jugo-Slavonian parties. The Jugo-Slavs were elated at the action of President Wilson, while the Italians were bitterly disappointed.

The announcement of the rupture between the Italian

emissaries and President Wilson caused apprehension in London. The London Chronicle voiced public opinion as follows:

“Whatever be the thought of the merits of the question, it must be admitted Wilson’s appeal from the diplomatic table to the general public of the world is a very grave innovation. It may at first sight commend itself as consonant with democratic statesmanship, but it is obvious that none of the negotiating statesmen, including President Wilson, hitherto understood democratic statesmanship in that sense. On the contrary, their practice in negotiating all other questions has been extremely secretive, too secretive, as we often urged, but the results of making the exception to the practice in Italy’s case is evidently to create danger for the whole league of nations.

“Either the Italian statesmen will reply by a counter manifesto and the most delicate issue is frankly transferred to the novel arbitrament of uninstructed public opinion of the two hemispheres—not exactly a tribunal whose verdicts will command permanent acceptance—or else the Italians may walk out.

“In either case the league of nations, which required a hearty concurrence of at least all the five great powers represented at Paris if it is to become living reality, may find its existence otherwise than on paper practically terminated before it begun.”

On April 24th, 1919, Premier Orlando issued a statement in answer to President Wilson, charging the President with an attempt to turn the Italian people against their government. Orlando’s statement read:

“Yesterday, while the Italian delegation was discussing counter propositions which had been received from the British prime minister and which had for their aim the conciliation of contradictory tendencies which were manifest concerning Italian territorial aspirations, the Paris newspapers published a message from the president of the United States in which he expressed his own

thought on one of the gravest problems which have been submitted to the judgment of the conference.

“The practice of addressing nations directly constitutes surely an innovation in international relations. I do not wish to complain, but I wish to record it as a precedent so that at my own time I may follow it, inasmuch as this new custom doubtless constitutes the granting to nations of larger participations in international questions, and, personally, I have always been of the opinion that such participation was the harbinger of a new order of things.

“Nevertheless, if these appeals are to be considered as addresses to nations outside of the governments which represent them (I might say even against the governments) I should feel deep regret in recalling that this process, heretofore applied to enemy governments, is today applied for the first time to a government which has been and intends to remain a loyal ally of the great American republic, namely, to the Italian government.

“Above all, I should have the right to complain if the declarations of the presidential message have the purpose to oppose the Italian people to the Italian government, because it would misconstrue and deny the high degree of civilization which the Italian people has attained and its democratic and liberal régime. To oppose the Italian people and government would be to admit that this great free nation would submit to the yoke of a will other than its own, and I should be forced to protest strongly against suppositions unjustly offensive to my country.

“I consider as unjustified the application that, in his statement, President Wilson makes of his principles toward the Italian claim. It is impossible for me in a document of this nature to repeat the detailed arguments which have been produced in Italy's behalf. I might simply say that no one will receive without reserve the affirmation that the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire should imply the reduction of Italian aspirations.

“This recognition is of great importance, provided the eastern flank of the wall does not remain open and that the right of Italy should be interpreted to include the line of Mont Nevoso, which separates the waters running toward the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

“Without this protection a dangerous breach is left in this admirable barrier of the Alps, rupturing the unquestionable political, economic, and historical unity of the Istrian peninsula. I contend, furthermore, that he who is entitled to the honor of proclaiming to the world the right of the free determination of peoples should recognize this right for Fiume, an ancient Italian city which proclaimed its Italian nature before the Italian ships arrived, an admirable example of national conscience perpetuated throughout centuries.

“To deny this right only because of the small number concerned would mean the admission that the criterion of justice toward peoples varies according to their territorial extent.

“It is impossible to qualify as excessive the Italian aspirations toward the Dalmatian coast, Italy’s boulevard throughout centuries, which Roman genius and Venetian activity made noble and grand, and whose Italian character, defying for centuries implacable persecutions, still shares the same thrill of patriotism with the Italian people.

“The presidential message ends with a warm declaration of America’s friendship for Italy. I reply in the name of the Italian people and proudly claim the right and honor to do this as one who, in the most tragic hour of this war, proclaimed the cry of resistance at all costs. This cry was heard and replied to with courage and abnegation, of which there are few more striking examples in the world’s history.

“Italy, thanks to the most heroic sacrifices and purest blood of her children, was able to ascend from the abyss of misfortunes to the radiant crest of most glorious vic-

tory. In the name, therefore, of Italy, I express with all my power the sentiment of admiration and profound sympathy which the Italian people profess toward the American people."

Although there was much criticism in Paris over the determined stand of President Wilson, many of the other diplomats at the conference were satisfied with his method of procedure. The decision regarding Fiume had a direct bearing on the Japanese racial equality question that could not be ignored. In spite of Great Britain's alliance with the Nipponese empire, the American stand was important so far as it affected Canada, New Zealand and Australia—an importance that could not be ignored by Great Britain.

While the question was being debated at length in official and unofficial circles, the Mexican government announced the repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine. The announcement caused considerable merriment in all the capitals as Mexico had never been called upon to indorse it. It was a United States tenet, pure and simple, which protected Mexico with or without her acquiescence. The Mexicans were irritated at the delay to which their envoys to France had been subjected by the French government, which thus far had failed to recognize them. The Mexican contingent was ordered to proceed to Spain and there await orders from its government.

An announcement in Paris on April 24th that the Austro-Hungarian navy had been turned over to the new Jugo-Slav government added to the confusion created by Italy's refusal to remain in the peace conference. The official proclamation from Vienna read:

"The minister of war, section of the navy, communicates: By sovereign resolution it is ordered as follows:

"To all the rank and file not belonging to the Jugo-Slav nationality permission to return to the mother country and permanent discharge may be granted upon demand."

“The fleet and naval establishment will be consigned successively to the Jugo-Slav national council of Zagabria at Pola through the local committee. It shall be the duty of the imperial and royal (i. e. r.) authorities and institutions making the transfer expressly to make the right to possession of the non-Jugo-Slav nations effective according to the protocol under the regulations which shall be carried out at the proper time.

“The exchange of flags not being practicable for international reasons immediately after the consignment to the Jugo-Slav national council, no difficulties shall be raised if emblems of distinguishing nationality are hoisted near a vessel of war. Every permanent and free person is to remain in service on board the units of the fleet, and under its authorities after its regular consignment to the Jugo-Slav national council.

“The minister of war, section of the navy, will send a delegate to the Jugo-Slav national council of Zagabria to determine on the final details. The imperial and royal naval authorities and the commands shall take charge of maintaining calm and order and of regulating the transports. Orders will be given to the command of the Danube flotilla to proceed in the same way with the transfer of the flotilla to the royal Hungarian government.”

Rome was in a seething condition following the announcement that the Italian emissaries had withdrawn from the peace conference. The Italian press backed the stand of Orlando and declared that the Italian army backed the Italian demands. An announcement was made by a military attache of Orlando's staff that the Italian army would occupy Fiume and other parts of Dalmatia. The statement caused grave apprehension in Paris and London as the city was the headquarters of the British and French armies in that region, and the Jugo-Slavs had announced that military demonstrations would be held.

All Italy stood united behind Orlando and the other delegates in their desertion of the peace conference. On

his arrival in Rome Orlando went into conference with King Victor Emanuel and explained the attitude of President Wilson and the premiers of France and Great Britain. Crowds surged through the streets shouting "Long live Italy." The Italian newspapers were vehement in their denunciation of the other members of the committee of the big four.

While the withdrawal of the Italian delegates was being discussed in the allied capitals, the vanguard of the German emissaries arrived in Paris.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

In spite of the Italian attitude toward the conference and the proposed allotment of Fiume to the Jugo-Slavs, the opinion in Paris on April 27th was that the question would be settled amicably and all attention was turned to the wrangle between Japan and China over the Shantung peninsula, which had been suddenly revived. The British delegates did not hesitate to admit their desire to break off the secret treaty between Great Britain and Japan and take refuge in a league of nations covenant which would allow them a safe retreat in case of war between Japan and China over the peninsula.

On the same day the league of nations committee announced that the revised form of the covenant was prepared for submission to the legislative bodies of the nations represented at the conference. Its text, with notes illustrating the changes made in the first draft, follows:

PREAMBLE

In order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the league of nations.

[In the original preamble the last sentence read "adopt this constitution" instead of "agree to this covenant."]

ARTICLE I

The original members of the league of nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the league.

Any fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony not named in the annex, may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed upon by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval force and armaments.

Any member of the league may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the league, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

[This article is new, embodying with alterations and additions the old article VII. It provides more specifically the method of admitting new members and adds the entirely new paragraph providing for withdrawal from the league. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.]

ARTICLE II

The action of the league under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with permanent secretariat.

[Originally this was a part of Article I. It gives the

name assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the league, formerly referred to merely as "the body of delegates."]

ARTICLE III.

The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the league.

The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the assembly, each member of the league shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

[This embodies parts of the original Articles I, II, and III, with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the league," where the term "high contracting parties" originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.]

ARTICLE IV

The council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the league. These four members of the league shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the league first selected by the assembly, representatives of _____ shall be members of the council.

With the approval of the majority of the assembly the council may name additional members of the league whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the

number of members of the league to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year, at the seat of the league, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the league or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the league not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the league.

At meetings of the council each member of the league represented on the council shall have one vote, and may not have more than one representative.

[This embodies that part of the original Article III, designating the original members of the council. The paragraph providing for increase in the membership of the council is new.]

ARTICLE V

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council, and may be decided by a majority of the members of the league represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the president of the United States of America.

[The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both assembly and council except where otherwise

provided is new. The other two paragraphs originally were included in Article IV.]

ARTICLE VI

The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the league. The secretariat shall comprise a secretariat general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first secretary general shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the secretary general shall be appointed by the council, with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary general, with the approval of the council.

The secretary general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the members of the league, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the international bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

[This replaces the original Article V. In the original the appointment of the first secretary general was left to the council and approval of the majority of the assembly was not required for subsequent appointments.]

ARTICLE VII

The seat of the league is established at Geneva.

The council may at any time decide that the seat of the league shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the league and officials of the league, when engaged on the business of the league, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the league or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall be inviolable.

[Embodying parts of the old Articles V and VI, this article names Geneva instead of leaving the seat of the league to be chosen later, and adds the provision for changing the seat in the future. The paragraph opening positions to women equally with men is new.]

ARTICLE VIII

The members of the league recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each estate, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

The members of the league agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the league which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the league undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

[This covers the ground of the original Article VIII, but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by nations affected before becoming effective.]

ARTICLE IX

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Article I and on military and naval questions generally.

[Unchanged except for the insertion of the word "article."]

ARTICLE X

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

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole league, and the league shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the secretary general shall, on the request of any member of the league, forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the league to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

[In the original it was provided that the "high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action," etc.,

where the revised draft reads, "the league shall take any action," etc.]

ARTICLE XII

The members of the league agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the council.

In any case under this article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

[Unchanged except that some provisions of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.]

ARTICLE XIII

The members of the league agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the league agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member

of the league which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

[Only minor changes in language.]

ARTICLE XIV

The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the league for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

[Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.]

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between members of the league any dispute likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the league agree that they will submit the matter to the council.

Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary general, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute, terms of settlement thereof, as the council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the council, either unanimously or by a majority vote, shall make and pub-

lish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the league represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with recommendations of the report.

If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the league reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

In any case referred to the assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article XII, relating to the action and powers of the council, shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the league represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the league, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the

council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

[The paragraph specifically excluding matters of "domestic jurisdiction" from action by the council is new. In the last sentence the words "if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the league represented to the council," etc., are added.]

ARTICLE XVI

Should any member of the league resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII, or XV, it shall, ipso facto, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the 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 council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the league shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the league.

The members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are 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 that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the league which are coöperating to protect the covenants of the league.

Any member of the league which has violated any covenant of the league may be declared to be no longer a member of the league by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the league represented thereon.

[Addition of the last sentence.]

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of a dispute between a member of the league and a state which is not a member of the league, or between states not members of the league, the state or states not members of the league shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

Upon such invitation being given, the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the league for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the league, the provisions of Article XVI 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 purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

[Virtually unchanged.]

ARTICLE XVIII

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the league,

shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

[Same as original Article XXIII.]

ARTICLE XIX

The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the league of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

[Virtually same as old Article XXIV.]

ARTICLE XX

The members of the league severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understanding inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case members of the league shall, before becoming a member of the league, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

[Virtually the same as original Article XXV.]

ARTICLE XXI

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

[Entirely new.]

ARTICLE XXII

To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sov-

ereignty of the states which formerly governed 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 well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories 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 condition, and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish empire have reached a stage of development where their existence, as independent nations, can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory peoples, especially those of central Africa, who are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or 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 and naval bases and of military training of the nations for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the league.

There are territories such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centers of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the council 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 shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the league, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to observance of the mandates.

[This is the original Article XIX, virtually except for the insertion of the words "and who are willing to accept," in describing nations to be given mandatories.]

ARTICLE XXIII

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, members of the league (a) 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 for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations.

(b) Undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control.

(c) Will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to

the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs.

(d) Will intrust the league with the 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.

(e) Will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the league. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be in mind.

(f) Will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

[This replaces the original article XX, and embodies parts of the original articles XVIII and XXI. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses (b) and (c).]

ARTICLE XXIV

There shall be placed under the direction of the league all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the league.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the secretariat of the league shall, subject to the consent of the council, and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the league.

[Same as Article XXII, in the original, with the matter after the first two sentences added.]

ARTICLE XXV

The members of the league agree to encourage and promote the establishment and coöperation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and mitigation of suffering throughout the world. [Entirely new.]

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the league whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the league whose representatives compose the assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the league which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the league.

[Same as original, except majority of league, instead of three-fourths, is required for ratification of amendments, with last sentence added.]

As constituted the league contained forty-five nations or dominions. In the first category were the following named thirty-two states which either waged war on Germany or broke relations with her:

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British empire, Canada, China, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, India, Italy, Japan, Libera, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, South Africa, United States, Uruguay.

The following thirteen neutral states were invited to become original members of the league:

Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands,

Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

Countries not mentioned, but which were placed upon probation subject to admission to the league by a two-thirds vote of its members, were:

Austra, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Germany, Hungary, Mexico, Russia, Santo Domingo.

The exclusion of Mexico from the list of charter members was significant. Although President Wilson recognized the Carranza government, the example was not generally followed in Europe, except by the Teutonic allies. The entente governments were of the opinion that Mexico must mend its ways before being entitled to membership in the society of nations.

Costa Rica was excluded at the instance of President Wilson, who refused recognition of the existing government on the ground that President Tinoco won his office by a coup d'état.

One of the most important questions raised in the conference was that of union labor. While the peace delegates were debating the terms to be presented to the German emissaries, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor and chairman of the peace conference commission on international labor, completed his report to the conference.

The commission drew up its conclusions in two parts, the first part being a draft convention providing for the establishment of a permanent world labor conference to be linked with the league of nations.

The second part was in the form of clauses containing declarations of principle regarding the rights of workers the world over, which, it was suggested, should be included in the treaty of peace.

The commission agreed to ask the United States to call the first meeting of the labor conference, which was to be held annually.

The matters scheduled to be taken up were:

1—Application of the principle of an eight-hour day for a forty-eight hour week.

2—Question of preventing or providing against unemployment.

3—Women's employment—[a] before and after childbirth, including the question of maternity benefit; [b] during the night; [c] in unhealthy processes.

4—Employment of children—[a] minimum age of employment; [b] during the night [c] in unhealthy processes.

5—Extension and application of the international conventions accepted at Berne in 1906 on the prohibition of night work for women employed in industry and the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches.

The international organizing committee for the convention consisted of seven members, appointed by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Switzerland. The committee might, if it thought necessary, invite other states to appoint representatives. Any of the high contracting parties had a right to file a complaint with the international labor office if it was not satisfied that any other of the high contracting parties was obtaining the effective observance of any convention which both ratified in accordance with the articles of the convention.

Amendments might be adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present and took effect when ratified by the states whose representatives composed the executive council of the league of nations and by three-fourths of the states whose representatives composed the body of delegates of the league.

Among these clauses proposed for insertion in the peace treaty were the following:

“The labor of a human being should not be treated as merchandise or as an article of commerce; no child should be permitted to be employed in industry before the age of

14; between the ages of 14 and 18 young persons may be employed on work which is not harmful to their physical development; employers and workers should be allowed the right of association for all lawful purposes; equal pay to women and men for work of equal value in quantity and quality; every worker has a right to a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, having regard to the civilization of his time and country; limitation of the hours of work in industry on the basis of eight hours a day or forty-eight hours a week, subject to an exception for countries in which climatic conditions, the imperfect development of industrial organization, or other special circumstances render the industrial efficiency of the workers substantially different."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PRESIDENT WILSON SPEAKS.

On April 28th, 1919, President Wilson addressed the assembled conference on the revised covenant. He said:

“Mr. President: When the text of the covenant of the league of nations was last laid before you I had the honor of reading the covenant in extenso. I will not detain you today to read the covenant as it has now been altered, but will merely take the liberty of explaining to you some of the alterations that have been made.

“The report of the commission has been circulated. You yourself have in hand the text of the covenant, and will no doubt have noticed that most of the changes that have been made are mere changes of phraseology, not changes of substance, and besides that most of the changes are intended to clarify the document, or rather, to make explicit what we all have assumed was implicit in the document as it was originally presented to you.

“But I shall take the liberty of calling your attention to the new features, such as they are. Some of them are considerable, the rest trivial.

“The first paragraph of Article I is new. In view of the insertion of the covenant in the peace treaty, specific provision as to the signatories of the treaty who would become members of the league and also as to neutral states to be invited to accede to the covenant, were obviously necessary. The paragraph also provides for the method by which a neutral state may accede to the covenant.

“The third paragraph of Article I is new, providing for the withdrawal of any member of the league on a notice given of two years.

“The second paragraph of Article IV is new, providing for a possible increase in the council, should other powers be added to the league of nations whose present accession is not anticipated.

“The last two paragraphs of Article IV are new, providing specifically for one vote for each member of the league in the council, which was understood before, and providing also for one representative of each member of the league.

“The first paragraph of Article V is new, expressly incorporating the provision as to the unanimity of voting, which was at first taken for granted.

“The second paragraph of Article VI has had added to it that a majority of the assembly must approve the appointment of the secretary general.

“The first paragraph of Article VII names Geneva as the seat of the league, and is followed by a second paragraph which gives the council power to establish the seat of the league elsewhere, should it subsequently deem it necessary.

“The third paragraph of Article VII is new, establishing equality of employment of men and women, that is to say, by the league.

“The second paragraph of Article XIII is new, inasmuch as it undertakes to give instances of disputes which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration, instances of what have latterly been called ‘justiciable’ questions.

“The eighth paragraph of Article XV is new. This is the amendment regarding domestic jurisdiction, that where the council finds a question arising out of an international dispute affects matters which are clearly under the domestic jurisdiction of one or other of the parties, it is to report to that effect and make no recommendation.

“The last paragraph of Article XVI is new, providing for an expulsion from the league in certain extraordinary circumstances.

“Article XXI is new.

“The second paragraph of Article XXII inserts the words, with regard to mandatories, ‘and who are willing to accept it,’ thus explicitly introducing the principle that a mandate can not be forced upon a nation unwilling to accept it.

“Article XXIII is a combination of several former articles, and also contains the following: A clause providing for the just treatment of aborigines; a clause looking toward a prevention of the white slave traffic and the traffic in opium, and a clause looking toward progress in international prevention and control of disease.

“Article XXV specifically mentions the Red Cross as one of the international organizations which are to connect their work with the work of the league.

“Article XXVI permits the amendment of the covenant by a majority of the states composing the assembly, instead of three-fourths of the states, though it does not change the requirements in that matter with regard to the vote in the council.

“The second paragraph of Article XXVI is also new and was added at the request of the Brazilian delegation, in order to avoid certain constitutional difficulties. It permits any member of the league to dissent from an amendment, the effect of such dissent being withdrawal from the league.

“And the annex is added, giving the names of the signatories of the treaty, who become members, and the names of the states invited to accede to the covenant. These are all the changes, I believe, which are of moment.

“Mr. President: I take the opportunity to move the following resolutions in order to carry out the provisions of the covenant. You will notice that the covenant provides that the first secretary general shall be chosen by this conference. It also provides that the first choice of the four member states who are to be added to the five great powers on the council is left to this conference.

“I move, therefore, that the first secretary general of the council shall be the Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond, and, second, that until such time as the assembly shall have selected the first four members of the league to be represented on the council in accordance with Article IV of the covenant, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be members; and, third, that the powers to be represented on the council of the league of nations are requested to name representatives who shall form a committee of nine to prepare plans for the organization of the league and for the establishment of the seat of the league and to make arrangements and to prepare the agenda for the first meeting of the assembly, this committee to report both to the council and to the assembly of the league.

“I think it not necessary to call your attention to other matters we have previously discussed—the capital significance of this covenant; the hopes which are entertained as to the effect it will have upon steadying the affairs of the world and the obvious necessity that there should be a concert of the free nations of the world to maintain justice in international relations, the relations between people and between the nations of the world.

“If Baron Makino will pardon me for introducing a matter which I absentmindedly overlooked, it is necessary for me to propose the alteration of several words in the first line of Article V. Let me say that in several parts of the treaty, of which this covenant will form a part, certain duties are assigned to the council of the league of nations.

“In some instances it is provided that the action they shall take shall be by a majority vote. It is therefore necessary to make the covenant conform with the other portions of the treaty by adding these words. I will read the first line and add the words:

““Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any

meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

“‘Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant,’ is the present reading, and I move the addition ‘or by the terms of this treaty.’ With that addition I move the adoption of the covenant.”

The covenant of the league of nations in revised form, moved by President Wilson, was adopted by the peace conference in plenary session without a dissenting vote. The President’s motion naming Sir James Eric Drummond as secretary general of the league also was adopted.

Thus one of the notable works of the conference passes its final stage and was incorporated in the peace treaty.

The French and Japanese amendments, after a brief discussion, were not pressed, and the way was cleared for unanimous acceptance of the league.

Italy was not represented at the session, but the name of Italy appeared as one of the members of the league in the covenant finally adopted. Nine labor principles, including an eight-hour day, were adopted for insertion in the treaty.

The session adjourned without considering the report on war responsibilities, providing for the trial of the former German emperor by five judges from the great powers. This report was handed in by the committee of the big four and embodied in the peace treaty a provision for the former emperor’s prosecution.

President Wilson was looked to at the outset for a detailed explanation of the new covenant of the league. His speech was without oratorical effect and confirmed the explanation of the textual changes, most of which have already been noted, and named Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain on the league council and also on the committee to prepare plans for the first meeting of the league.

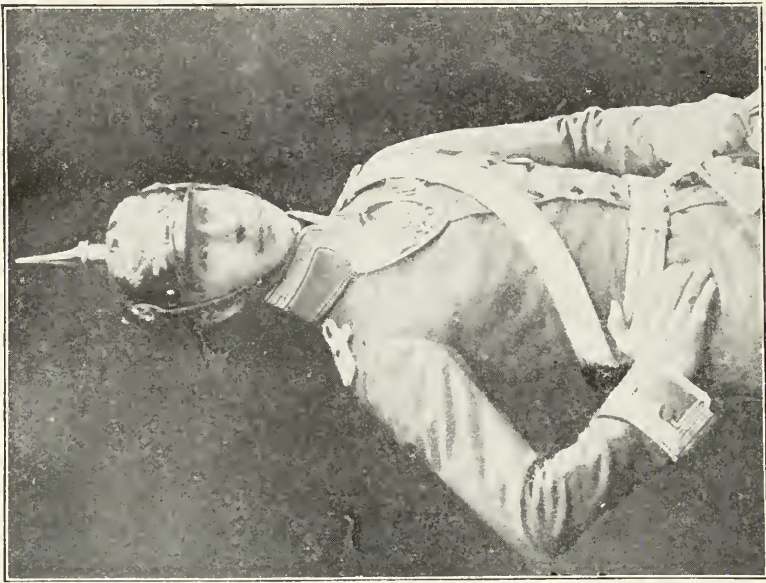
Baron Makino, head of the Japanese delegation, in a



The Ex-Kaiser, Ex-Crown Prince, Ex-Princess Eitel Frederick, Adelburt, Oscar, Augustus and Joachim, who were perfectly comfortable behind the lines reveling in debauchery and having others do their bidding.



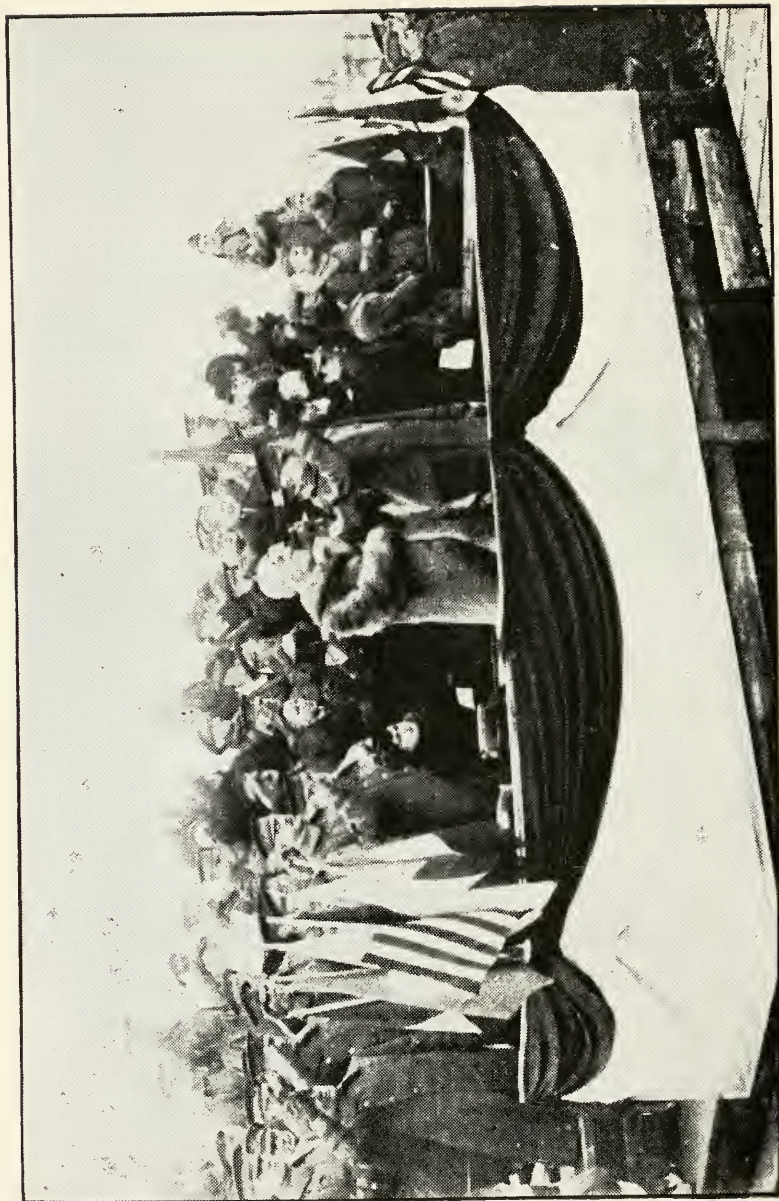
Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the brutal commanders of the German Armies



Ex-Crown Prince of Germany, whose cowardly flight showed his weak character.



The ex-Kaiser William II in exile in Holland.



PRESIDENT WILSON AND GEN. PERSHING REVIEWING TROOPS IN FRANCE

brief speech called renewed attention to the Japanese amendment on racial equality. He said that the race question was a standing grievance, which might become a dangerous issue at any time. The Japanese government and people, Baron Makino declared, felt poignant regret that the amendment had not been incorporated in the covenant, and announced that an effort would be made to have the principle of racial equality adopted as part of the document.

Paul Hymans, representing Belgium, expressed the regret of the Belgian people at the selection of Geneva as the seat of the league of nations, while approving the high aims of the league.

The Uruguayan delegate announced the adhesion of his country to the league.

Leon Bourgeois, for France, renewed two amendments tending to give France additional security. One provided for the creation of a committee to ascertain and exchange military and naval programs, information regarding armaments, and similar matters. The other provided for "a permanent organization for the purpose of considering and providing for naval and military measures to enforce obligations arising for the high contracting parties under the covenant making it immediately operative in all cases of emergency."

M. Bourgeois argued that such security was essential to France because of the extended frontiers of that country, which, as President Wilson had declared in the French senate, were the frontiers of the world's liberties.

The amendments of M. Bourgeois were not passed. Premier Clemenceau then put the question of the adoption of President Wilson's motion, which prevailed without a formal vote.

Although the peace conference in plenary session failed to take up the question of responsibility for the war, officials in Washington were unanimous in their belief that the peace treaty, as delivered to the German

plenipotentiaries, should call for the trial of William Hohenzollern, former emperor of Germany, before a court of the associated powers.

Trial of the former emperor for "a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," the State Department announced, was included in the recommendations of the peace conference commission on responsibility. These recommendations were embodied in four articles, which were made public by the State Department without comment and which the commission proposed to insert in the final treaty.

The articles specified that the former emperor was not to be tried "for an offense against criminal law," and that the international court should be composed of five judges, one to be appointed by each of the five great powers—Great Britain, United States, Japan, Italy and France. It was further provided that the associated governments should request Holland to deliver up the former emperor.

The commission's recommendations provided that all persons accused of acts in violation of the international rules of warfare should be brought before international tribunals, and if found guilty should be given the penalties of international law.

Some officials said this provision would include such leaders of extreme German militarism and cruelty as Admiral von Tirpitz, who conceived and advocated the submarine campaign.

The amendment issued by the State Department follows:

"Following are the proposed articles regarding penalties for insertion in treaty of peace to be considered at a plenary session of conference today:

"Article I—The Allies and associated powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern, formerly German emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but

for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

“A special tribunal will be constituted to try the accused, thereby assuring him the guarantees essential to the right of defense. It will be composed of five judges, one appointed by each of the following five powers—namely: the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

“In its decision the tribunal will be guided by the highest motives of international policy, with a view to vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality. It will be its duty to fix the punishment which it considers should be imposed.

“The allied and associated powers will address a request to the government of The Netherlands for the surrender to them of the ex-emperor in order that he may be put on trial.

“Article II—The German government not having insured the punishment of the persons accused of having exercised acts in violation of the laws and customs of war, such persons will be brought before military tribunals by the allied and associated powers, and if found guilty, sentenced to the punishments laid down by military law.

“The German government shall hand over to the allied and associated powers, or to such of them as shall so request, all persons accused of having committed an act in violation of the laws and customs of war who are specified either by name or by the rank, office, or employment which they held under the German authorities.

“Article III—Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of one of the allied and associated powers will be brought before the military tribunal of that power.

“Persons guilty of criminal acts against the nationals of more than one of the allied and associated powers will be brought before military tribunals composed of

members of the military tribunals of the powers concerned.

““In every case the accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

““Article IV—The German government undertakes to furnish all documents and information of every kind, the production of which may be considered necessary to insure the full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, the just appreciation of the responsibility.’”

Specific provision for punishment of individual enemy officers and officials who order or permit violations of the established rules of war was found in “rules of land warfare,” the official handbook of the United States government on this subject. Under the head of “Punishment of Individuals,” the following passage occurred:

“Commanders ordering commission of such acts or under whose authority they are committed may be punished by the belligerent into whose hands they fall.”

Offenses listed against the military forces of the central powers included the employing of “projectiles which have for their object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases,” mushroom bullets, destruction of Red Cross and hospital personnel and material, pollution of water supply sources, and misuse of flags of truce.

Republican senators began to gather in Washington for a series of conferences to formulate their position and outline a program of action with regard to the revised league of nations.

Those who reached the capital discussed the new league covenant. They denounced “propaganda,” as they stamped it, representing them as weakening in their opinions on the league. Even as revised, they declared it unacceptable and there was a unanimity of belief that the covenant would have to be radically revised before it could be ratified by the Senate.

The attitude of returned senators was summed up by

Senator Sherman of Illinois, who had been absent on an extended visit among his constituents. He said:

“The league has been improved somewhat, but not nearly sufficiently to justify my voting for it.”

Senator Sherman added that he was convinced the majority of the people of Illinois supported his position.

“Round robin” signers expressed themselves pleased with the reception they had been given by their constituents. Almost without exception they regarded the amendments written into the league covenant as wholly inadequate.

West coast senators, where the Japanese immigration question was a vital issue, were displeased with the failure of the revised covenant to specifically reserve the sovereignty of the United States over immigration. As they interpreted the amended covenant, the power to decide whether an issue was of a domestic nature was taken away from nations and placed in the hands of the league council.

Advocates of the revised covenant predicted that not more than fifteen votes will be cast against it. With all senators present and voting this would mean eighty-one votes in favor of the league plan, or seventeen votes more than two-thirds of the membership.

Opponents of the covenant made no predictions, but centered their fire upon four parts of the revised draft which they would seek to remove by amendments or separate resolutions qualifying American adhesion to the treaty. These objections were:

1. That Article XXI, recognizing the Monroe Doctrine, was inadequate.

2. That domestic questions, such as exclusion of immigrants on racial grounds, were not wholly exempted from the jurisdiction of the league.

3. That Article X, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of members of the league from external aggression, would put the world in a strait-jacket.

4. That Article XI conferred on the league a dangerous power to deal with any "threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the league or not."

Inasmuch as only a majority was necessary to adopt an amendment or qualifying resolution, opponents of the revised league plan were confident that some, if not all, of these changes could be effected.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE GERMAN EMISSARIES.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, German foreign minister; Herr Landsberg, secretary for publicity, art and literature; Dr. Theodor Melchoir, general manager of the Warburg bank; Herr Leinert, president of the Prussian assembly; Herr Giesberts, minister of posts and telegraphs, and Herr Schuecking, Germany's plenipotentiaries to the peace congress, reached the little station at Vaucresson, five miles from Versailles, on April 29, 1919. They were lodged in a Versailles hotel.

The German delegates, accompanied by sixty experts, assistants and journalists, traveled in two special trains from Germany.

Several windows of the second train, which brought journalists and other attachés, were broken as a result of a minor demonstration during the trip.

Uplifted in spirit by prospects of peace and newspaper reports that the German peace delegates had passed Cologne en route to Versailles, five Coblenz civilians hoisted German flags. The colors fluttered from their staffs only a short time, all being lowered by the military police almost as soon as they appeared.

A crowd of two hundred American soldiers on leave assembled in the street near a downtown building where a large German flag was flying, but a military policeman relieved the situation by hauling down the flag himself.

Army regulations prohibited the flying of German colors except by special permission, which was granted upon only one occasion after the Americans came. That was in January, when the burgomaster of Coblenz died.

In the neutral zone opposite Coblenz there were German flags flying over most houses and the enemy colors were displayed in all villages as far as the outposts could see with glasses. It indicated that the Germans believed peace soon would be signed and the suspense which prevailed since the armistice would be broken.

On April 29th, the Italian chamber of deputies passed a vote of confidence in the efforts of Premier Orlando and his associates, who quit the peace conference abruptly when President Wilson insisted that Fiume was to be given to the Jugo-Slavs. The vote followed an address by the premier in which he stated that Italy could yield nothing. He was constantly interrupted by applause and ended in a wild ovation. His address follows:

“This statement aims to be only an impartial declaration of facts so the parliament may have all the elements necessary to pass judgment on the work of the government and of the Italian delegation at the peace conference as well as on the situation created by the last painful events.

“I think it opportune to recall briefly the attitude of the Italian delegation in that phase of the negotiations which began about the middle of March. At that time the preparatory work was finished and a program for definite deliberations had to be decided upon. Questions concerning peace with Germany were given precedence, but it was agreed that those regarding Italy should follow immediately.”

Premier Orlando went on to say that Italy believed that her claims were founded on such high reasons of justice and right that any international treaty or agreement should be set aside so that they might be accepted.

He also said that all through the period of negotiation to frame peace terms with the Germans the relations of the Italian delegation with the allied and associated powers could not have been more amicable or cordial, adding:

“If it was possible to deduce from our conversations the divergencies of views between the governments and above all between the Italians and Americans there never had been reason to believe these divergencies were absolutely irreconcilable but up to the time of handing over the memorandum on April 14 by President Wilson, setting forth the American view, assurances had been given that the American delegation had not reached a definite decision regarding the Italian question.

“Several times I stated with firmness consistent with courtesy that the program of the Italian territorial claims was based on essential cardinal points of acceptance, which was an absolute condition for the Italian government.”

“This is synthetically the history of the activity of the Italian delegation from the middle of March to April 13, when the convocation of the German delegates was agreed upon with a reserve provision. On April 14 I had two long conversations with President Wilson in which the whole Italian territorial question was profoundly discussed. Mr. Wilson concluded by handing me a memorandum, saying it represented the decision of the American government on the question and authorizing me to communicate the same to the Italian parliament. I have distributed it today to all members.

“President Wilson’s message prevented us from refusing, as well as accepting, any proposal without first appealing to the Italian people and parliament, which alone, and nobody else, are entitled to pass judgment on the conduct and responsibility of the Italian government. This, therefore, is my duty—to ask before this national assembly whether the Italian government and delegation, acting as they did, were faithful interpreters of the thought and will of parliament and the country.

“The point of view of England and France can be summed up as follows: They have always recognized with perfect loyalty the pledge of honor contained in the

treaty of alliance between them and Italy, intending faithfully to respect it, but they have declared that as that treaty does not include and indeed excludes Fiume from the Italian claims, they do not concur with Italy in this question.

“They would only admit the principle of making Fiume an independent free state, on condition, however, that this would occur as a compromise and not as an addition to the integral execution of the conditions of the treaty.

“It only remains for me to further expound the Italian viewpoint. Italy firmly believes, before all, that her aspirations as I set them forth in my answer to President Wilson’s message are founded on such high and solemn reasons of justice and right that they should be integrally accepted, even putting aside any international treaty or agreement.

“I wish, however, to repeat a simple fact, to wit: That if all Italy’s aspirations were accepted in their entirety Italy would have in proportion to her population a number of inhabitants inferior to those assigned to other states as a consequence of the war. Therefore the accusation of entertaining imperialistic sentiments grieves and offends us.

“This nation, which certainly has given no proofs of cupidity in discussing the billions requested for reparations and which has shown no excessive signs of emotion one way or another, even when vast and rich territories had to be distributed in Africa and Asia among belligerents, and which has demonstrated that she prefers sentiment to utility until her attitude was a fault, has given the highest proof that she was fighting for her sacred rights.

“Regaining in this hour all her energies and will and finding her reserves of enthusiasm and sacrifice inexhaustible, Italy has made it not a question of billions, nor

colonies, nor rich territories, but the suffering cry of her own brothers.

“Regarding relations between us and our allies we esteem and love the generous people of France and England and the governments which represent them. Perhaps we love and esteem them too much so that we may not be sure that we will realize our rights which come from contracts which pledge them and their honor. It must also be considered that in making these relations there is a sentiment which must be maintained between friend and friend. Did Italy, perhaps, measure according to her contract the extent of the sacrifices which the war imposed?”

Following Premier Orlando, Prof. Luigi Luzzatti, as spokesman for the majority party in the chamber, declared that the allies had never rewarded Italy's sacrifice as they deserved to be rewarded. Italy's restoration, he added, ought at least to be equal to that of the other allies.

The speaker said President Wilson's message had hurt every Italian heart, and that the chamber must give a firm and clear reply, which would constitute a renewed expression of its confidence in the government.

“Too much blood has been shed and too many sacrifices, both for the present and for the future, have we made,” continued Prof. Luzzatti, “for us not to be entitled to demand that our sons along the Adriatic shall be able to feel themselves under the protection of their longed-for motherland.”

The speaker declared that it was the duty of all the deputies to support the government.

Deputy Turati, the official leader of the Socialist party, declared that the Socialists would not only be defenders of the sacred right of self-determination in the case of Fiume, but also of the equally sacred right of revolutionary Russia.

“For the same reason,” continued Sig. Turati, “we cannot range ourselves with the Socialists of other states

who in accordance with the entente ideology have applauded the new African and Asiatic empire of Great Britain, American domination in Europe, and the occupation of the Saar region, where there is not a soul who speaks French, just as in Fiume there is not a soul who does not speak Italian."

President Wilson issued another statement on his stand in the Fiume dispute on the same day the Italian chamber of deputies commanded the course pursued by Premier Orlando. It read:

"There is no question to which I have given more careful or anxious thought than I have given to this, because, in common with all my colleagues, it is my earnest desire to see the utmost justice done to Italy.

"Throughout my consideration of it, however, I have felt that there was one matter in which I had no choice and could wish to have none. I felt bound to square every conclusion that I should reach as accurately as possible with the fourteen principles of peace which I set forth in my address to the congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in subsequent addresses.

"These fourteen points and the principles laid down in the subsequent addresses were formally adopted with only a single reservation by the powers associated against Germany and will constitute the basis of peace with Germany. I do not feel at liberty to suggest one basis for peace with Germany and another peace with Austria.

"It will be remembered that in reply to a communication from the Austrian government offering to enter into negotiations for an armistice and peace on the basis of the fourteen points to which I have alluded I said that there was one matter to which those points no longer applied. They had demanded autonomy for the several states which had constituted parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire and I pointed out that it must now be left to the choice of the people of these several countries what their destinies and political relations should be.

“They have chosen, with the sympathy of the whole world, to be set up as independent states. Their complete separation from Austria and the complete dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire has given a new aspect and significance to the settlements which may be effected with regard at any rate to the eastern boundaries of Italy.

“Personally I am quite willing that Italy should be accorded, along the whole front of her northern frontier and wherever she comes into contact with Austrian territory, all that was accorded her in the so-called pact of London, but I am of the clear opinion that the pact of London can no longer apply to the settlement of her eastern boundaries.

“The line drawn in the pact of London conceived for the purpose of establishing an absolutely adequate frontier of safety for Italy against any possible hostility or aggression on the part of Austria.

“But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. These eastern frontiers will touch countries stripped of the military and naval power of Austria, settled in interdependence of Austria, and organized for the purpose of satisfying legitimate national aspirations and created states not hostile to the new European order, but arising out of it, interested in its maintenance, dependent upon the cultivation of friendships and bound to a common policy of peace and accommodation by the covenant of the league of nations.

“It is with these facts in mind that I have approached the Adriatic question. It is commonly agreed, and I very heartily adhere to the agreement, that the ports of Trieste and Pola, and with them the greater part of the Istrian peninsula, should be ceded to Italy, her eastern frontier running along the natural strategic line established by the physical conformation of the country.

“Within this line on the Italian side will lie considerable bodies of non-Italian populations, but their fortunes are so naturally linked by the nature of the coun-

try itself with the rest of the Italian people that I think their inclusion is fully justified.

“There would be no justification, in my judgment, in including Fiume or any part of the coast line to the south of Fiume within the boundaries of the Italian kingdom. Fiume is, by situation and by all the circumstances of its development, not Italian, but an international port serving the countries to the east and north of the Gulf of Fiume.

“Just because it is an international port and cannot with justice be subordinated to any one sovereignty, it is my clear judgment that it should enjoy a very considerable degree of genuine autonomy, and while it should be included no doubt within the customs system of the new Jugo-Slavic state, it should, nevertheless, be left free in its own interest and in the interest of the states lying about it, to devote itself to the service of the commerce which naturally and inevitably seeks an outlet or inlet at its port.

“The states which it serves will be new states. They will have complete confidence in their access to an outlet on the sea. The friendship and the connections of the future will largely depend upon such an arrangement as I have suggested and friendship, co-operation, and freedom of action must underlie every arrangement of peace if peace is to be lasting.

“I believe there will be common agreement that the island of Lissa should be ceded to Italy and that she should retain the port of Volpna. I believe that it will be generally agreed that the fortifications which the Austrian government established upon the islands near the eastern coast of the Adriatic should be permanently dispensed with under international guarantee and that the disarmament which is to be arranged under the league of nations should limit the states on the eastern coast of the Adriatic to only such minor naval forces as are necessary for policing the waters of the islands and the coast.

“These are conclusions which I am forced to by compulsion of the understandings which underlie the whole initiation of the present peace.

“No other conclusions seem to be acceptable to being made concise with these understandings. They were understandings accepted by the whole world and bear with peculiar compulsion upon the United States because the privilege was accorded her of taking the initiative of bringing about the negotiations for peace and her plans underlie the whole difficult business.

“And certainly Italy obtains, under such a settlement, the great historic object which her people have so long had in mind. The historical wrongs inflicted upon her by Austria-Hungary and by a long series of unjust transactions which I hope will before long sink out of the memory of man, are completely redressed. Nothing is denied her which will complete her national unity.

“Here and there upon the islands of the Adriatic and upon the eastern coast of that sea there are settlements containing large Italian elements of population, but the pledge under which the new states enter the family of nations will abundantly safeguard the liberty, the development, and all the just rights of national and racial minorities, and back of these safeguards will always lie the watchful authority of the league of nations.

“And at the very outset we shall have avoided the fatal error of making Italy’s nearest neighbors on her east her enemies and nursing just such a sense of injustice as has disturbed the peace of Europe for generations together and played no small part in bringing on the terrible conflict through which we have just passed.”

CHAPTER XL

JAPANESE AIMS ATTAINED.

On April 30th, the Chinese objections to Japanese occupation of the Shantung peninsula went down to defeat with President Wilson holding forth to the last in favor of the Chinese. He declared that Japan was bound by a prior agreement to withdraw from the peninsula and expressed surprise when they failed to do so.

Although it had been fondly explained that Great Britain had welcomed the league of nations as an excuse for disentangling herself from the hampering alliance with Japan, which caused bad blood between England and Canada, Australia, and the United States it developed that Lloyd George stood solidly behind Baron Makino on the Japanese demands for the former German colonies.

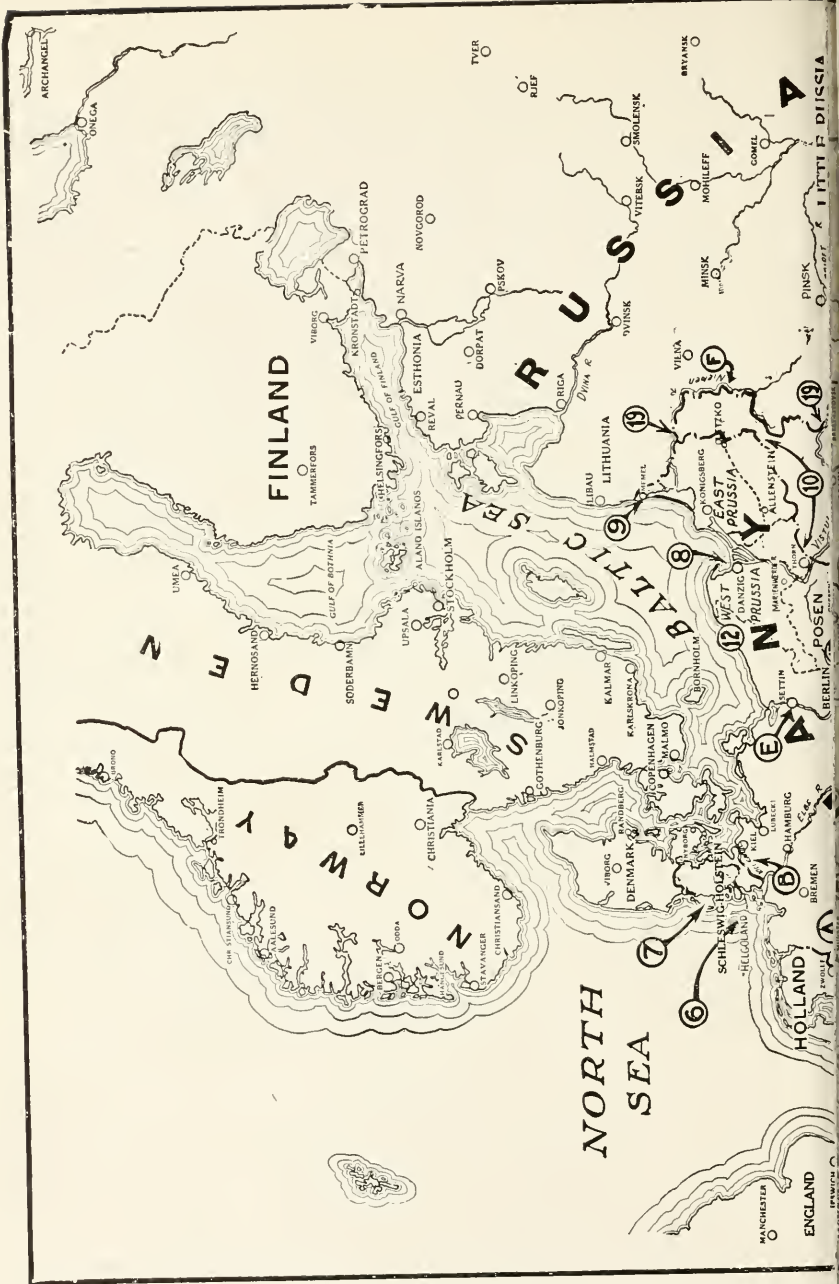
Premier Clemenceau, on behalf of France, stood by without coming to President Wilson's assistance and let China be mulcted of all her rights in Shangtung—one of her richest provinces.

The Japanese delegation played the craftiest game at the peace conference from the very beginning. While the European, American, and Asiatic delegations were wrangling among themselves over points in which Japan was disinterested, Viscount Chinda, Matsui, and the other Tokio delegates sat by placidly, mutely—listening always, speaking never.

Then Japan began erecting camouflage, which was to hide her gobbling of Shantung. Equality of all races, as an article in the league of nations covenant, was the pretext seized upon by Japan. Although China was equally interested in lifting the Asiatic exclusion bills,



LATEST KNOWN PHOTOGRAPH OF THE FORMER KAISER AND THE CROWN PRINCE



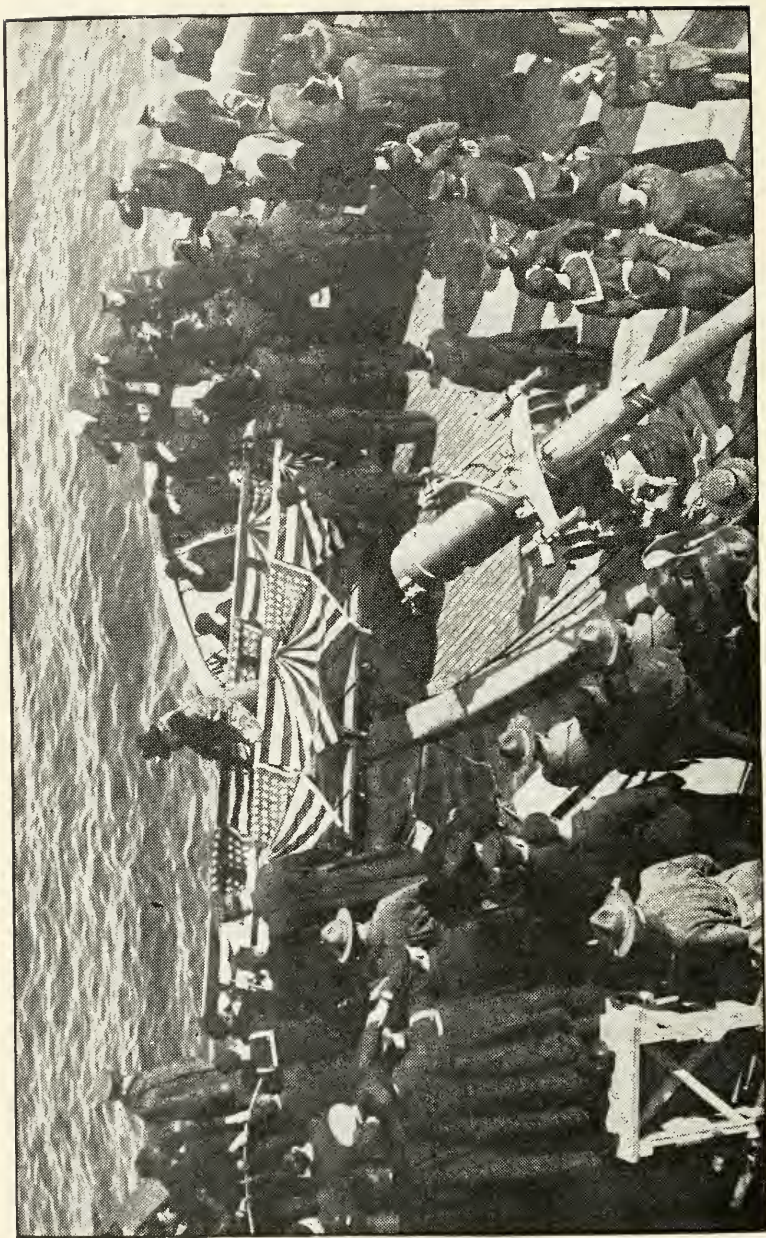
THE R

(1) ALSACE-LORRAINE. (2) THE SEAR VALLEY. (3) LUXEMBOURG.
 (7) PROVINCES CEDED TO DENMARK. (8) DANZIG. (9) MEMEL. (10) TERRITORIES CEDED TO POLAND. (13) POSEN. (14) SILESIA CEDED TO POLAND. (15) WEST PRUSSIA. (16) EAST PRUSSIA. (17) INDEPENDENT RUTHENIANS. (19) RUSSIAN TERRITORY CEDED TO POLAND.
 (C) THE ELBE INTERNATIONALIZED. (D) THE VITAVA OPENED TO GRODNO. (G) THE DANUBE INTERNATIONALIZED.



OF EUROPE

CES CEDED TO BELGIUM. (5) NEUTRAL ZONE. (6) HELGOLAND AND
 A FRONTIERS. (11) INDEPENDENT POLAND. (12) PROVINCE CEDED
 RKEY. (A) THE RHINE INTERNATIONALIZED. (B) THE KILN
 ALIZED. (E) THE ODER OPENED TO OPPA. (F) THE NIEMEN
 E INTERNATIONALIZED.



PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON RETURN FROM FRANCE.

the Chinese delegation refused to become an accomplice with Japan, while Chinda and Makino drafted the demands, and argued the points over embodying a clause in the covenant providing merely innocuously, "nationals of all countries members of this league will be treated as equals in fact and in law."

Japan was prepared to spring the trap several weeks prior when the Italian dissatisfaction became apparent. The Japanese, however, delayed action, hoping to profit by events.

The Italians delivered their ultimatum, it was rejected, and the Italian delegation quit the peace conference.

It was on the eve of the German delegates' arrival at Versailles—indeed the advance guard of the German delegates already had arrived at the Hotel de Reservoirs. It was Japan's time to strike—opportunity knocked at the door of the Hotel Bristol in the Place Vendome, where the Japanese delegation was housed.

Every one realized that the crisis, arising when the Italians withdrew from the peace conference, might possibly be averted through the rest of the allied and associated powers sticking together and presenting a firm front against the enemy. Every one realized, likewise, that a further split among the allies, especially if another one of the big five quit, would present serious difficulties.

Then Japan struck.

At the plenary session of the peace conference, when the league of nations was adopted Makino read the proposed Japanese amendment. But he removed the sting from the amendment by admitting that Japan would not press the point and did not intend to leave the peace conference if the amendment was overruled.

That permitted the Japanese delegation to appear before the big three—Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau—the following morning with clean hands. They had not threatened to break up the conference—they had made no

threats—had never openly or flatly demanded anything.

But they did demand something. They demanded immediate acquiescence in all their claims upon Kiau-Chau forthwith, upon pain of quitting the conference, with the advance guard of the German peace delegates at Versailles, and Brockdorff Rantzau due upon the morrow.

Although the 40,000,000 Chinese in the Shantung peninsula were clamoring against the Japanese invasion, every right and every concession in this province, and despite the "fourteen points" requiring self-determination, President Wilson was forced to give in before the united stand of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Japan. Rather than see the peace conference blown up by the Japanese quitting, he agreed to the spoliation of China and the transfer of the German rights and added concessions in Shantung to Japan.

It has been told in the preceding pages how Japan tricked Great Britain and France in acquiescence in her plan of occupying Chinese territory. When the peace conference agreed to the Japanese demands, other secret agreements came to light.

This is dated Feb. 20, 1917, Russian embassy in Tokio:

"Responding to the Japanese minister of foreign affairs, the Russian ambassador is charged to give to the Japanese government assurance that it can entirely count upon the support of the Russian government in the eventual cession to Japan of rights belonging to Germany in Shantung and the German islands north of the equator, occupied by Japanese forces.

The Italian government merely instructed its minister of foreign affairs to tell Japan that the Italians had no objection regarding the matter.

Here is the demand the Japanese ambassador at Rome made upon Italy, dated March 28, 1917:

"The Imperial Japanese government intends to demand from the German government during the negotia-

tions of peace the cession of the territorial rights and special interests that Germany possessed before the war in Shantung and the Pacific islands, situated north of the equator. In view of the present phase of events the Japanese government believes it is well to assure itself of the entire support of the English, French, and Russian governments when its demands, above mentioned, are presented to the German government at the peace negotiations.

“In making the Italian government acquainted with these very confidential Japanese demands, and in disclosing that the arrangement has recently been made between the imperial Japanese government and the British, French, and Russian governments, the Japanese government has the firm conviction that the Italian government will be inspired by the sentiments of friendship, which animate two countries, and in consideration of the necessity of mutual agreement for triumphing in the common cause.”

The above facsimile documents, passing between the foreign ministers and the ambassadors, indicate how, with Russia and Italy out, France and England both were tightly sewed up by secret treaties to support the Japanese claims. While neither Lloyd George nor Clemenceau openly espoused Makino's cause, they dared not oppose it, and could not back up President Wilson in his attempt to aid China, according to his “fourteen points.”

There was evidence in the hands of the Chinese secret service indicating that Japan and Germany reached an unofficial agreement shortly after the armistice in Copenhagen regarding the transfer of German rights and concessions in Shantung to Japan. It was recalled that in 1916 a Japanese representative named Ota met certain German representatives at Stockholm, and again in 1918, when Ota was again at Stockholm.

Japan assured France and England that Germany would not oppose transferring her rights in Shantung to

Japan, which gave rise to the opinion in certain quarters that the entire affair was cut and dried between German and Japanese agents beforehand.

The Chinese peace delegation announced it had no intention of quitting the peace conference, despite the grievous wrong done it, but there was a strong feeling among certain delegates to appeal the big three's decision to the United States senate, as China counted several strong friends among the most powerful senators, including Lodge.

Senator Lodge studied the situation and issued warnings of Japan's probable policy in grabbing the old German concessions, despite Count Okuma's statement Aug. 24th, 1914, that "As a premier of Japan I have stated and I now again state to the people of America and the world that Japan has no ulterior motive, no desire to secure more territory, no thought of depriving China or other people of anything which they now possess. My government and my people have given their word and pledge which will be as honorably kept as Japan always keeps its promises."

Despite Okuma's promise, however, Japan made its infamous twenty-one demands upon China the following January, insisting that China keep the matter secret, and demanded the recognition of special interests of Japan in China.

American military and naval opinion in the United States foresaw a grave menace against the Philippines by giving Japan a naval base at Palaos and the Caroline islands, which cover both the southern flanks of the Philippines, and might enable Japanese submarines to operate from every angle against the Philippines.

"The peace conference concessions to Japan of all the Japanese claims against China in Shantung marked a tragic and overwhelming defeat of the high-minded American principles as heretofore expounded and carried to victory by President Wilson," remarked a member

of the Chinese peace delegation. "President Wilson won out upon his principles regarding Fiume and Danzig, but was forced to sacrifice the Shantung peninsula with 40,000,000 Chinese to Japanese domination."

In a session beginning at 3:10 p. m., May 1st, 1919, and lasting barely five minutes, the German plenipotentiaries to the peace congress presented their credentials.

It was the first step in the peace negotiations. The credentials were presented to representatives of the allies and the United States.

Pale and almost fainting from emotion, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German foreign secretary and head of the delegation, passed through what evidently was one of the bitterest moments of his life. He was barely able to sustain himself through the brief ceremony and reach the waiting automobile, which had brought him to the gathering.

The meeting took place in the room of the Trianon hotel, formerly used for the sessions of the supreme military council. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau on entering was accompanied by Herr Landsberg, Prof. Schuecking, and two secretaries, and waiting for him were the allied representatives, grouped around Jules Cambon, the former French ambassador to Berlin, who is chairman of the commission.

Other members of the allied party included Henry White of the United States, Lord Harding, Great Britain, and Ambassador Matsui, Japan.

M. Cambon immediately addressed Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, stating that he was chairman of the commission entrusted by the allied powers to receive and examine the credentials of the German delegates as the first step in a conference which, it was hoped, would lead to *peace*.

"Here are ours," continued M. Cambon, extending as he spoke the formal credentials of the allied commission as plenipotentiaries to the congress.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau surrendered the German credentials, with even less of a formal address, his emotion being too great to enable him to deliver an extended discourse.

After these brief ceremonies the Germans turned and left the hall, walking a few steps to the cars in waiting. They were followed immediately by the allied representatives.

The whole ceremony was over by 3:20 o'clock. The allied delegates then rode to the chateau to inspect the hall of mirrors, where the treaty will be signed, and eventually returned to the hotel for tea.

With the time at hand for acceptance or refusal of the peace terms, Germany was in a helpless position from a military standpoint. Authentic information collected systematically after the armistice and compiled by the American army of occupation showed the government had only 225,000 troops available for service, and, even including remnants of the old army units in garrison, which were partly useless, the total under arms was not more than 325,000.

On the eastern front were 140,000, mostly volunteers. The Luettwitz corps in and near Berlin totaled 40,000. Good free will or volunteer units in Westphalia did not include more than 25,000 men, and similar units elsewhere no more than 20,000.

May 1st officially marked the end of the German demobilization, which began immediately after the armistice, first releasing the 1920 class, which was still in training, and then the old classes successively down to the 1899 class, the last men of which should have been and probably were discharged on April 30.

In January, when it became clear the old army must go, but that troops were needed to preserve order and for the eastern front, numerous enterprising officers began organizing volunteer units, no two alike, except that all ostensibly were for the eastern front. Later these units,

usually termed *freiwilligers*, or volunteers, began combining, and proved their worth in suppressing disorders. They were almost without exception officially adopted by the Ebert-Scheidemann government, and were still the main strength of the new army.

In addition to these units, almost every old army regiment was trying to save something out of the wreck by recruiting a volunteer detachment to pass over into the *reichswehr* or new army. It was unsettled how far these units could keep up their old regimental identities, but apparently all were to be absorbed into the new *reichswehr* organizations. Few of these volunteer detachments proved of much value.

The national assembly at Weimar officially established a new army or *reichswehr* until May 1, 1920, and permitted the administration to arrange the details. The war ministry ordered an army of approximately 250,000, with 50,000 good additional home guards, entirely volunteers. Roughly speaking, there was one brigade of each old corps in the various districts throughout Germany.

One important change from the old system was the creation of the *Luettwitz* group or army with headquarters in Berlin. This recruited from all Germany, and practically was the national government army, directly under the war minister, with about 50,000 men. This great *freiwilliger* unit had strength and was Noske's great reliance in suppressing all Spartacan disorders.

President Wilson, Premier Clemenceau, and Premier Lloyd George, composing the council of three, on May 4th, sent a communication to the Italian government inviting it to resume its place at the peace conference.

The council's invitation was of such a nature that Italy accepted it and that the relations temporarily broken by the departure from Paris of Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino were restored by the presence of Italian delegates at the conference before the treaty was delivered to the German delegates. The

council of three considered the Italian situation in its deliberations and finally determined upon an initiative of the friendliest nature.

The council of three agreed to give Belgium full war costs, plus damages, the total amounting to between five and six billion dollars. The United States and the allies waived direct payment of Belgium's indebtedness to them, and accepted German securities to be paid in reparation.

The council held the settlement no violation of the Wilson formula that Germany be not compelled to pay war costs to the allies, because Belgium's case was exceptional. Her integrity was violated without a hostile act on her part.

The peace treaty was adopted by the allied representatives in plenary council on May 6th, after a five hour session, when the articles concerning the trial of the kaiser for responsibility for crimes perpetrated during the war were adopted. The subject of the sinking of the German fleet was left open, as in any event the high seas fleet would not be returned to Germany.

Signor Crespi represented Italy at the secret session and raised no objection throughout.

Everything was in readiness to submit the peace treaty to the German delegates. Two hundred copies were to be handed to the enemy delegation.

The press was to be present at Versailles only through the personal insistence of President Wilson, who was antagonized by Lloyd George and Clemenceau, both claiming that the presence of newspaper correspondents would detract from the dignity of the affair.

The president insisted it would not, and when France and Britain declared there was no room for reporters the president asserted he would meet with the Big Three at Trianon Palace hotel and demonstrate to them that there was plenty of space for the journalists. Thus the president convoked Clemenceau and Lloyd George at Ver-

sailles and the trio inspected the dining room of the Petit Trianon. President Wilson proved that there was room for at least forty-five reporters.

Although the session was secret, there was dissent in some quarters on the treaty.

Marshal Foch declared that the security given France was inadequate from a military point of view, and said it was his personal conviction that the treaty should not be signed.

The marshal emphasized the necessity of France holding the bridgeheads along the Rhine, and said that occupation limited to fifteen years was not sufficient.

Italy was represented at the session by Sig. Crespi. The Italian spokesman said he desired to make reservations concerning any provision in the treaty not acceptable to Italy.

The Chinese delegates presented a brief, formal, and dignified protest concerning the disposition of Kiau-Chau.

Lu Cheng-Hsiang, the Chinese foreign minister, asked for reconsideration of the decision regarding Shantung and Kiau-Chau. The Chinese foreign minister said that in the opinion of the Chinese delegation the decision had been made without regard for justice or for the protection of the territorial integrity of China. He said that if reconsideration was impossible, he desired to make reservations on behalf of China.

The Portuguese delegates expressed dissatisfaction regarding the treatment accorded Portugal.

Following a protest by delegates of nations not originally included among those to be present at the Versailles ceremony, it was decided that the following additional delegations would be admitted: China, Siam, Cuba, Gautemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Panama, Liberia, and Honduras.

These supplemented the powers originally designated, which comprised the United States, Great

Britain and her dominions, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, Serbia, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, and Czecho-Slovakia.

The first list was drawn on the theory that only those of the powers which had rendered efficient aid in prosecuting the war were to attend the ceremony. The other allies, it was intended, would be permitted a position outside the palace at the time the ceremony took place, but the Chinese and other participants in the war were not willing to attend unless allowed representation within the hall.

The Chinese delegation appealed to President Wilson to intercede with the conference officials.

CHAPTER XLI

THE GERMANS RECEIVE THE TREATY.

The peace treaty was handed to the German emissaries on May 7th, 1919, in the Trianon Palace in Paris by Premier Clemenceau. Standing at the head of the table with the premier were President Wilson and Lloyd George.

Premier Clemenceau, as chairman of the congress, in addressing the enemy plenipotentiaries, said:

“Gentlemen, plenipotentiaries of the German empire: It is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our account.

“You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace.

“We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will be given every facility to examine these conditions, and the time necessary for it. Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilized nations.

“To give you my thought completely you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one.

“I will give you notice of the procedure that has been adopted by the conference for discussion, and if any

one has any observations to offer he will have the right to do so.

“No oral discussion is to take place, and the observations of the German delegation will have to be submitted in writing.

“The German plenipotentiaries will know that they have the maximum period of fifteen days within which to present in English and French their written observations on the whole of the treaty.

“Before the expiration of the aforesaid period of fifteen days, the German delegates will be entitled to send their reply on particular headings of the treaty, or to ask questions in regard to them.

“After having examined the observations presented within the aforementioned period, the supreme council will send their answer in writing to the German delegation and determine the period within which the final global (world wide) answer must be given by this delegation.

“The president wishes to add that when we receive, after two or three or four or five days, any observations from the German delegation on any point of the treaty, we shall not wait until the end of the fifteen days to give our answer. We shall at once proceed in the way indicated by this document.”

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, speaking in German, said:

“Gentlemen: We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusions as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German arms is broken.

“We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the vanquishers make us pay as the vanquished, and shall punish those who are worthy of being punished.

“It is demanded from us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a con-

fession in my mouth would be a lie. We are from from declining any responsibility for this great war of the world or that it was made in the way in which it was made.

“The attitude of the former German government at The Hague peace conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty.

“Nobody will want to contend that the disaster took its course only in the disastrous moment when the successor to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last fifty years, the imperialism of all the European states has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion and the disregard of the rights of people to determine their own destiny have contributed to the illness of Europe, which saw its crisis in the world war.

“Russian mobilization took from the statesmen the possibility of healing, and gave the decision into the hands of the military powers. Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here also we are ready to confess wrong that may have been done.

“We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who have waged the war, politically and economically, or to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples.

“We repeat the declaration which has been made in the German reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say ‘wrong has been done to Belgium,’ and we are willing to repair it.

“But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty one. Every nation knows the deeds of people which the best nationals only remember with regret. I do not want to answer reproaches by re-

proaches, but I ask them to remember, when reparation is demanded, not to forget the armistice.

“It took us six weeks until we got it at last, and six more until we came to know your conditions of peace.

“Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of people blunt.

“The hundreds of thousands of non-combatants who have perished since Nov. 11 by reason of the blockades were killed with cold deliberation after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and of punishment.

“The measure of the guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by an impartial inquest before a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest and we repeat this demand.

“In this conference also, where we stand toward our adversaries alone and without any allies, we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally—namely: the right which is guaranteed by the treaty and by the principles of peace.

“The allies and associated governments have fore-sworn, in the time between the fifth of October and the fifth of November, 1918, a peace of violence and have written a peace of justice on their banner.

“On the fifth of October, 1918, the German government proposed the principles of the president of the United States of North America as the basis of peace and on the fifth of November their secretary of state, Mr. Lansing, declared that the allied and associated powers agreed to this basis with two definite deviations.

“The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding to both parties to the war—for you, as well as for us, and also for our former allies. The various

principles demand from us heavy national and economical sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

“You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us, with a firm intention of rebuilding in common work with you that which has been destroyed and repairing any wrong that may have been committed, principally the wrong to Belgium, and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

“Considering the tremendous quantity of problems which arise, we ought as soon as possible, to make an examination of the principal tasks by special commissions of experts, on the basis of the treaty which you have proposed to us.

“In this it will be our chief task to reëstablish the devastated vigor of mankind and of all the people who have taken part by international protection of the life, health and liberty of the working classes.

“As our next aim, I consider the reconstruction of the territories of Belgium and of northern France which have been occupied by us and which have been destroyed by the war.

“To do so we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which shall have been agreed upon between us. This task we cannot do without the coöperation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples and you cannot execute that without us.

“Impoverished Europe must desire that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success and with as little expense as in any way possible. This desire can only be fulfilled by a clear understanding about the best methods to be employed.

“It would be the worst method to go on and have the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair shall seize the German people when they consider that their brothers, sons, and fathers who are prisoners are kept prisoners beyond the preliminary peace in former penal work.

“Without any immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace.

“Experts of both sides will have to examine how the German people may come up to their financial obligations to repair, without succumbing under their heavy burden. A crash would bereave those who have a right to repair, to the advantages to which they have a claim, and would draw after it irretrievable disorder of the whole European economical system.

“The vanquisher as well as the vanquished peoples must guard against this menacing danger, with its incalculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited confessions of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising league of nations.

“Gentlemen: The sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the league of nations. The greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced and will make its way. Only if the gates of the league of nations are thrown open to all who are of good will can the aim be attained, and only then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

“The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy lot, if the bases of peace which have been established are not any more shaken.

“The peace which may not be defended in the name of right before the world always calls forth new resistance against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it

with good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfillment. Nobody could be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature.

“We shall examine the document handed to us with good will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us.”

Immediately after Brockdorff-Rantzau concluded his speech, the German emissaries were accompanied from the rooms by the aides assigned to protect them and the session of the peace conference came to a close for the time being.

The entire peace treaty contained 80,000 words, but for the sake of facility, an official summary was published by the peace conference. It follows:

CHAPTER XLII

THE PEACE TREATY.

“The preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British empire, France, Italy, and Japan, described as the five allied and associated powers, and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay, who with the five above are described as the allied and associated powers, and on the other part Germany.

“It states that: Bearing in mind that on the request of the then imperial German government, an armistice was granted on Nov. 11, 1918, by the five allied and associated powers in order that a treaty of peace might be concluded with her, and whereas the allied and associated powers being equally desirous that the war in which they were successfully involved, directly or indirectly, and which originated in the declaration of war by Austria-Hungary on July 28, 1914, against Serbia, the declaration of war by Germany against Russia on Aug. 1, 1914, and against France on Aug. 3, 1914, and in the invasion of Belgium, should be replaced by a firm, just, and durable peace, the plenipotentiaries (having communicated their full powers found in good and due form) have agreed as follows:

“From the coming into force of the present treaty, the state of war will terminate. From the moment and subject to the provisions of this treaty official relations with Germany, and with each of the German states, will be resumed by the allied and associated powers.

SECTION I

“The covenant of the league of nations constitutes section 1 of the peace treaty, which places upon the league many specific duties in addition to its general duties.

“It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world’s peace.

“It will appoint three of the five members of the Saar commission, oversee its régime, and carry out the plebiscite.

“It will appoint the high commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland.

“It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites of the Belgian-German frontier and in disputes as to the Kiel canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems.

“An international conference on labor is to be held in October under its direction, and another on the international control of ports, waterways, and railways is foreshadowed.

“The members of the league will be the signatories of the covenant and other states invited to accede, who must lodge a declaration of accession without reservation within two months.

“A new state, dominion, or colony may be admitted provided its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the assembly.

“A state may withdraw upon giving two years’ notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

SECTION II

“A permanent secretariat will be established at the seat of the league, which will be at Geneva.

“Assembly—The assembly will consist of represen-

tatives of the members of the league, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by states. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

“Council—The council will consist of representatives of the five great allied powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the assembly from time to time; it may co-operate with additional states and will meet at least once a year. Members not represented will be invited to send a representative when questions affecting their interests are discussed. Voting will be by states. Each state will have one vote and not more than one representative. Decisions taken by the assembly and council must be unanimous, except in regard to procedure and in certain cases specified in the covenant and in the treaty, where decisions will be by a majority.

“Armaments—The council will formulate plans for a reduction of armaments for consideration and adoption. These plans will be revised every ten years. Once they are adopted, no member must exceed the armaments text without the concurrence of the council. All members will exchange full information as to armaments and programs, and a permanent commission will advise the council on military and naval questions.

“Preventing of War—Upon any war or threat of war the council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award.

“Members agree to carry out an arbitral award and not to go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with it; if a member fails to carry out the award the council will propose the necessary measures.

“The council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions.

“Members who do not submit their cases to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the assembly. If the council, less the parties to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations. In this case a recommendation by the assembly, concurred in by all its members represented, less the parties to the dispute, will have the force of a unanimous recommendation by the council.

“In either case if the necessary agreement cannot be secured the members reserve the right to take such action as may be necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

“Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members. The council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the league collectively for the protection of the covenants and will afford facilities to members coöperating in this enterprise.

“Validity of Treaties—All treaties or international engagements concluded after the institution of the league will be registered with the secretariat and published.

“The assembly may from time to time advise members to reconsider treaties which have become inapplicable or involve danger of peace.

“The covenant abrogates all obligations between members inconsistent with its terms, but nothing in it shall affect the validity of international engagement, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings, like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

“The Mandatory System—The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be intrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it.

“The covenant recognizes three different stages of development, requiring different kinds of mandatories:

“Communities like those belonging to the Turkish empire, which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from a mandatory in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

“Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory, under conditions generally approved by the members of the league, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members; certain abuses, such as trade in slaves, arms and liquor, will be prohibited, and the construction of military and naval bases and the introduction of compulsory military training will be disallowed.

“Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the south Pacific islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory. In every case the mandatory will render an annual report, and the degree of its authority will be defined.

“Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing, or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the league will, in general, endeavor through the international organization established by the labor convention to secure and maintain fair conditions of labor for men, women, and children in their own countries and other countries, and undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; they will intrust the league with the general supervision over the execution of agreements for the suppression of traffic in women and children, etc.; and the control of the trade in arms and ammunition with countries in which control is necessary; they will make provision for freedom of communications and transit and equitable treatment for commerce of all members of the league, with special reference to the necessities of regions devastated during the war; and they will endeavor to take steps for international prevention and control of disease.

“International bureaus and commissions already es-

tablished will be placed under the league, as well as those to be established in the future.

“Amendments to the covenant will take effect when ratified by the council and by a majority of the assembly.

“Boundaries of Germany—Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles, it to be southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland totaling 382 square miles.

“She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia, beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 27,686 square miles, East Prussia being isolated from the main body by a part of Poland.

“She loses sovereignty over the northeasternmost tip of East Prussia, forty square miles north of the river Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the basin of the Saar, 738 square miles, between the western border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg.

“The Danzig area consists of the V between the Nogat and Vistula rivers made by a W by the addition of a similar V on the west, including the city of Danzig.

“The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,785 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

SECTION III

“Belgium—Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral state, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the allied and associated powers may determine to replace them.

“Germany is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Morenet and over part of Prussian Morenet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights of the circles of Eupen and Malmédy.

the inhabitants of which are to be entitled, within six months, to protest against this change of sovereignty, either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the league of nations.

“A commission is to settle the details of the frontier, and various regulations for change of nationality are laid down.

“Luxemburg — Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January 1, last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it, reached by the allied and associated powers.

“Left Bank of the Rhine—As provided in the military (armistice) clauses, Germany will not maintain any fortifications or armed forces less than fifty kilometers to the east of the Rhine, hold any maneuvers, nor maintain any works to facilitate mobilization.

“In case of violation, ‘she shall be regarded as committing a hostile act against the powers who sign the present treaty and as intending to disturb the peace of the world.’

“By virtue of the present treaty, Germany shall be bound to respond to any request for an explanation which the council of the league of nations may think it necessary to address to her.

“Alsace-Lorraine—After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the treaty of Frankfort are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871, to date from the signing of the armistice, and to be free of all public debts.

“Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full

French citizenship, those who have to make formal applications therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open for three years.

“The last named class includes German residents in Alsace-Lorraine, as distinguished from those who acquire the position of Alsace-Lorrainers as defined in the treaty.

“All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to France without payment or credit, France is substituted for Germany as regards ownership of the railroads and rights over concessions of tramways.

“The Rhine bridges pass to France with the obligation for their upkeep.

“For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to a total amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war, and textile materials may be imported from Germany to Alsace-Lorraine and reexported free of duty. Contracts for electric power from the right bank must be continued for ten years.

“For seven years, with possible extension to ten, the ports of Kehae and Strasbourg shall be administered as a single unit by a French administrator appointed and supervised by the Central Rhine commission.

“Property rights will be safeguarded in both ports and equality of treatment as respects traffic assured the nationals, vessels, and goods of every country.

“Contracts between Alsace-Lorrainers and Germans are maintained, except for France’s right to annul on grounds of public interest judgments of courts held in certain classes of cases, while in others a judicial exequatur is first required.

“Political condemnations during the war are null and void and the obligation to repay war fines is established as in other parts of allied territory.

“Various clauses adjust the general provisions of the treaty to the special conditions of Alsace-Lorraine, certain

matters of execution being left to conventions to be made between France and Germany.

“The Saar—In compensation for the destruction of coal mines for northern France and as payment on account of reparation, Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar basin with their subsidiaries, accessories, and facilities.

“The value will be estimated by the reparation commission and credited against that account. The French rights will be governed by German law in force at the armistice excepting war legislation, France replacing the present owners whom Germany undertakes to indemnify. France will continue to furnish the present proportion of coal for local needs and contribute in just proportion to local taxes.

“The basin extends from the frontier of Lorraine as reannexed to France north as far as St. Wendel, including on the west the valley of the Saar as far as Saarkolzbach and on the east the town of Homburg.

“In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and to guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines, the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the league of nations and consisting of five members, one French, one a native inhabitant of the Saar and three representing three different countries other than France and Germany.

“The league will appoint a member of the commission as chairman to act as executive of the commission. The commission will have all powers of government formerly belonging to the German empire.

“Prussia and Bavaria will administer the railroads and other public services and have full power to interpret the treaty clauses.

“The local courts will continue, but subject to the commission. Existing German legislation will remain the basis of the law, but the commission may make modification after consulting a local representative assembly

which it will organize. It will have the taxing power, but for local purposes only. New taxes must be approved by this assembly.

“Labor legislation will consider the wishes of the local labor organizations and the labor program of the league. French and other labor may be freely utilized, the former being free to belong to French unions. All rights acquired as to pensions and social insurance will be maintained by Germany and the Saar commission.

“There will be no military service, but only a local gendarmerie to preserve order.

“The people will preserve their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools, and language, but may vote only for local assemblies. They will keep their present nationality except so far as individuals may change it. Those wishing to leave will have every facility with respect to their property.

“The territory will form part of the French customs system, with no export tax on coal and metallurgical products going to Germany nor on German products entering the basin, and for five years no import duties on products of the basin going to Germany or German products coming into the basin for local consumption.

“French money may circulate without restriction. After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing régime under the league of nations, union with France, or union with Germany. The right to vote will belong to all inhabitants over 20 resident therein at the signature.

“Taking into account the opinions thus expressed, the league will decide the ultimate sovereignty. In any portion restored to Germany the German government must buy out the French mines at an appraised valuation.

“If the price is not paid within six months thereafter this portion passes finally to France. If Germany buys

back the mines, the league will determine how much of the coal shall be annually sold to France.

SECTION IV

“German-Austria—Germany recognizes the total independence of German-Austria in the boundaries traced.

“Czecho-Slovakia—Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak state, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this state as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914. The usual stipulations as to acquisition and change of nationality follow:

“Poland—Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field boundary commission of seven—five representing the allied and associated powers and one each representing Poland and Germany—shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary. Such special provisions as are necessary to protect racial, linguistic, or religious minority and to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of commerce of other nations shall be laid down in a subsequent treaty between the five allied and associated powers and Poland.

“East Prussia—The southern and the western frontier of East Prussia, north and east of Poland is to be fixed by plebiscite, the first in the regency of Allenstein between the southern frontier of East Prussia and the northern frontier of Regierungsbesirk Allenstein, from where it meets the boundary between East and West Prussia to its junction with the boundary between the circles of Oletsko and Augersburg, thence the northern boundary of Oletsko to its junction with the present frontier, and the second in the area comprising the circles of Stuhm and Rosenberg and the parts of the circles of Marienburg and Marienwerder east of the Vistula.

“In each case German troops and authorities will move out within fifteen days of the peace and the territories be placed under an international commission of five members appointed by the five allied and associated powers, with the particular duty of arranging for a free, fair, and secret vote. The commission will report the results of the plebiscites to the five powers with a recommendation for the boundary, and will terminate its work as soon as the boundary has been laid down and new authorities set up.

“The five allied and associated powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany, and Danzig, to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

“The northeastern corner of East Prussia, about Memel, is to be ceded by Germany to the associated powers, the former agreeing to accept the settlement made, especially as regards the nationality of the inhabitants.

“Danzig—Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the ‘free city of Danzig,’ under the guarantee of the league of nations. A high commissioner, appointed by the league and president, at Danzig shall draw up a constitution in agreement with the duly appointed representatives of the city, and shall deal in the first instance with all differences arising between the city and Poland.

“The actual boundaries of the city shall be delimited by a commission appointed within six months from the peace and to include three representatives chosen by the allied and associated powers and one each by Germany and Poland.

“A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the five allied and associated powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig, which shall include Danzig within the Polish custom frontiers, though a free area in the port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city’s waterways, docks, and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway systems within the city and postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; provide against discrimination against Poles within the city and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

“Denmark—The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be fixed by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichstadt, along the Eider to the North sea, south of Tonning; the workmen and soldiers’ councils shall be dissolved; and the territory administered by an international commission of five, of whom Norway and Sweden shall be invited to name two.

“The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones. That between the German-Danish frontier and a line running south of the Island of Alsen, north of Flensburg and south of Tondern, to the North sea, north of the Island of Sylt, will vote as a unit within three weeks after the evacuation. Within five weeks after this vote the second zone, whose southern boundary runs from the North sea south of the Island of Fehr to the Baltic, south of Sygum, will vote by communes.

“Two weeks after that vote the third zone, running to the limit of evacuation, also will vote by communes. The international commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and economic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line

in favor of the associate governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

“Helgoland—The fortifications, military establishments, and harbors of the islands of Helgoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the allies by German labor and at Germany’s expense. They may not be reconstructed for any similar fortification built in the future.

“Russia—Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independency of all territories which were part of the former Russian empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the allied and associated powers with states which were a part of the former Russian empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon.

“The allied and associated powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation of the principles of the present treaty.

SECTION V

“Outside Europe, Germany renounces all rights, titles, and privileges as to her own or her allies’ territories to all the allied and associated powers and undertakes to accept whatever measures are taken by the five allied powers in relation thereto.

“Colonies and Overseas Possessions—Germany renounces in favor of the allied and associated powers her overseas possessions, with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German empire or to any German state shall pass to the government exercising authority therein.

“These governments may make whatever provisions seem suitable for the repatriation of German nationals and as to the conditions on which German subjects of

European origin shall reside, hold property, or carry on business.

“Germany undertakes to pay reparation for damage suffered by French nationals in the Cameroons or its frontier zone through the acts of German civil and military authorities and of individual Germans from January 1, 1900, to August 1, 1914.

“Germany renounces all rights under the convention of November 4, 1911, and September 29, 1912, and undertakes to pay to France in accordance with an estimate presented and approved by the repatriation commission all deposits, credits, advances, etc., thereby secured.

“Germany undertakes to accept and observe any provisions by the allied and associated powers as to the trade in arms and spirits in Africa, as well as to the general act of Berlin of 1885 and the general act of Brussels of 1890. Diplomatic protection to inhabitants of former German colonies is to be given by the governments exercising authority.

“China—Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer protocol of 1901, and all buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, munitions of warships, wireless plants, and other public property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory except Kiau-Chau, and agrees to return to China, at its own expense, all the astronomical instruments seized in 1901.

“China will, however, take no measures for disposal of German property in the legation quarter at Peking without the consent of the powers signatory to the Boxer protocol.

“Germany accepts the abrogation of the concessions at Hankow and Tientsin, China agreeing to open them to international use.

“Germany renounces all claims against China or any allied and associated government for the internment or

repatriation of her citizens in China and for the seizure or liquidation of German interests there since August 14, 1917.

“She renounces in favor of Great Britain her state property in the British concession at Canton and of France and China jointly of the property of the German school in the French concession at Shanghai.

“Siam—Germany recognizes that all agreements between herself and Siam, including the right of extra-territoriality ceased July 22, 1917. All German public property except consular and diplomatic premises passes without compensation to Siam, German private property to be dealt with in accordance with the economic clauses. Germany waives all claims against Siam for the seizure and condemnation of her ships, liquidation of her property, or internment of her nationals.

“Liberia—Germany renounces all rights under the international arrangements of 1911 and 1912 regarding Liberia, more particularly the right to nominate a receiver of the customs, and disinterest herself in any further negotiations for the rehabilitation of Liberia.

“She regards as abrogated all commercial treaties and agreements between herself and Liberia, and recognizes Liberia’s right to determine the status and conditions of the reestablishment of Germans in Liberia.

“Morocco—Germany renounces all her rights, titles and privileges under the act of Algeciras and the Franco-German agreements of 1909 and 1911, and under all treaties and arrangements with the Sherifian empire.

“She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations as to Morocco between France and other powers, accepts all the consequences of the French protectorate and renounces the capitulations. The Sherifian government shall have complete liberty of action in regard to German nationals, and all German protected persons shall be subject to the common law.

“All movable and immovable German property, in-

cluding mining rights, may be sold at public auction, the proceeds to be paid to the Sherifian government and deducted from the reparation account. Germany is also required to relinquish her interests in the state bank of Morocco. All Moroccan goods entering Germany shall have the same privilege as French goods.

“Egypt—Germany recognizes the British protectorate over Egypt declared on December 18, 1914, and renounces as from August 4, 1914, the capitulation and all the treaties, agreements, etc., concluded by her with Egypt. She undertakes not to intervene in any negotiations about Egypt between Great Britain and other powers. There are provisions for jurisdiction over German nationals and property, and for German consent to any changes which may be made in relation to the commission of public debt.

“Germany consents to the transfer to Great Britain of the powers given to the late sultan of Turkey for securing the free navigation of the Suez canal.

“Arrangements for property belonging to German nationals in Egypt are made similar to those in the case of Morocco and other countries. Anglo-Egyptian goods entering Germany shall enjoy the same treatment as British goods.

“Turkey and Bulgaria—Germany accepts all arrangements which the allied and associated powers make with Turkey and Bulgaria with reference to any right, privileges, or interests claimed in those countries by Germany or her nationals and not dealt with elsewhere.

“Shantung—Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles, and privileges, notably as to Kiau-Chau and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, and other agreements as to Shantung.

“All German rights to the railroad from Tsingtao to Tsinaufu, including all facilities and mining rights and rights of exploitation, pass equally to Japan and the

cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and Chefoo, the cables free of all charges.

“All German state property, movable and immovable, in Kiau-Chau is acquired by Japan free of all charges.

SECTION VI

“In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations Germany undertakes directly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow:

“Military Forces—The demobilization of the German army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4,000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry, and three of cavalry, to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers. Divisions may not be grouped under more than two army corps headquarters staffs.

“The great German general staff is abolished. The army administrative service, consisting of civilian personnel not included in the number of effectives, is reduced to one-tenth the total in the 1913 budget.

“Employes of the German states such as customs officers, first guards and coast guards may not exceed the number in 1913. Gendarmes and local police may be increased only in accordance with the growth of population. None of these may be assembled for military training.

“Armaments—All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage, or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace and their personnel dismissed.

“The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detail tables, all in excess to be surrendered or rendered useless.

“The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating,

poisonous, or other gases and all analogous liquids is forbidden as well as the importation of arms, munitions, and war materials. Germany may not manufacture such materials for foreign governments.

“Conscription—Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of twelve consecutive years, the number of discharges before the expiration of that term not in any years to exceed 5 per cent of the total effectives.

“Officers remaining in the service must agree to serve to the age of 45 years and newly appointed officers must agree to serve actively for twenty-five years.

“No military schools, except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed, shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations, such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities, may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

“Fortresses—All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

“Control—Interallied commissions of control will see to the execution of the provisions, for which a time limit is set, the maximum named being three months. They may establish headquarters at the German seat of government and go to any part of Germany desired.

“Germany must give them complete facilities, pay their expenses, and also the expenses of execution of the treaty, including the labor and material necessary in demolition, destruction, or surrender of war equipment.

“Naval—The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will

be allowed six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats, and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of 15,000 men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character.

“Conscription is abolished, only voluntary service being permitted, with a minimum period of twenty-five years’ service for officers and twelve for men. No member of the German mercantile marine will be permitted any naval training.

“All German vessels of war in foreign ports and the German high sea fleet interned at Scapa Flow, will be surrendered, the final disposition of these ships to be decided upon by the allied and associated powers. Germany must surrender forty-two modern destroyers, fifty modern torpedo boats and all submarines, with their salvage vessels, all war vessels under construction, including submarines, must be broken up.

“War vessels not otherwise provided for are to be placed in reserve or used for commercial purposes. Replacement of ships, except those lost, can take place only at the end of twenty years for battleships and fifteen years for destroyers. The largest armored ship Germany will be permitted will be 10,000 tons.

“Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North sea and the Baltic sea, as decided upon by the allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic defending passages through the Dodels must be demolished. Other coast defenses are permitted, but the number and caliber of the guns must not be increased.

“During a period of three months after the peace, German high power wireless stations at Nauen, Hanover, and Berlin will not be permitted to send any messages except for commercial purposes and under supervision of the allied and associated governments, nor may any more be constructed.

“Germany will be allowed to repair German subma-

rine cables which have been cut but are not being utilized by the allied powers, and also portions of cables which after having been cut have been removed, or at any rate not being utilized by any one of the allied and associated powers. In such cases the cables or portions of cables removed or utilized remain the property of allied and associated powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables are specified, which will not be restored to Germany.

“Air—The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over 100 unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1 to search for submarine mines. No dirigible shall be kept.

“The entire air personnel is to be demobilized within two months, except for 1,000 officers and men retained till October.

“No aviation grounds or dirigible sheds are to be allowed within 150 kilometers of the Rhine or the eastern or southern frontiers, existing installations within these limits to be destroyed.

“The manufacture of aircraft and parts of aircraft is forbidden for six months. All military and naval aeronautical material under a most exhaustive definition must be surrendered within three months, except for the 100 seaplanes already specified.

“Prisoners of War—The repatriation of German prisoners and interned civilians is to be carried out without delay and at Germany’s expense by a commission composed of representatives of the allies and Germany. Those under sentence for offenses against discipline are to be repatriated without regard to the completion of their sentence.

“Until Germany has surrendered persons guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war, the allies have the right to retain selected German officers.

“The allies may deal at their own discretion with German nationals who do not desire to be repatriated, all

repatriation being conditional on the immediate release of any allied subjects still in Germany.

“Germany is to accord facilities to commissions of inquiry in collecting information in regard to missing prisoners of war and of imposing penalties on German officials who have concealed allied nationals.

“Germany is to restore all property belonging to allied prisoners. There is to be a reciprocal exchange of information as to dead prisoners and their graves.

“Graves—Both parties will respect and maintain the graves of soldiers and sailors buried on their territories, agree to recognize and assist any commission charged by any allied or associated government with identifying, registering, maintaining, or erecting suitable monuments over the graves, and to afford to each other all facilities for the repatriation of the remains of their soldiers.

“Responsibilities—The allied and associated powers publicly arraign William Second of Hohenzollern, formerly German emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.

“The ex-emperor’s surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up composed of one judge from each of the five great powers. With full guarantees of the right of defense, it is to be guided ‘by the highest of international policy with a view of vindicating the solemn obligations of international undertakings and the validity of international morality’ and will fix the punishment it feels should be imposed.

“Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. If the charges affect nationals of one state they will be tried before a tribunal of that state; if they affect nationals of several states, they will be tried before joint tribunals of the states concerned.

“Germany shall hand over to the associated govern-

ments, either jointly or severally, all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts, the discovery of the offenders, and the just appreciation of the responsibility.

“The accused will be entitled to name his own counsel.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE PEACE TREATY (Continued).

SECTION VII

“Reparations—The allied and associated governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and other allies.

“While the allied and associated governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not adequate after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven main categories:

“A—Damage by personal injury to civilians caused by acts of war, directly or indirectly, including bombardments from the air.

“B—Damage caused to civilians, including exposure at sea, resulting from acts of cruelty ordered by the enemy and to civilians in the occupied territories.

“C—Damages caused by maltreatment of prisoners.

“D—Damages to the allied peoples represented by pensions and separation allowances, capitalized at the signature of this treaty.

“E—Damages to property other than naval or military materials.

“F—Damages to civilians by being forced to labor.

“G—Damages in the form of levies or fines imposed by the enemy.

“Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her allies as a result of Germany’s violation of the treaty of 1839 up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue at once and hand over to the reparation commission 5 per cent gold bonds falling due in 1926.

“The total obligations of Germany to pay as defined in the category of damages is to be determined and notified to her after a fair hearing and not later than May 1, 1921, by an interallied reparation commission.

“At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. These payments are subject to postponement in certain contingencies.

“Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. She further agrees to restore to the allies cash and certain articles which can be identified.

“As an immediate step toward restoration Germany shall pay within two years one thousand million pounds sterling (\$5,000,000,000), in either gold, goods, ships, or other specific forms of payment, this sum being included in and not additional to first thousand million bond issue referred to below, with the understanding that certain expenses, such as those of the armies of occupation and payments for food and raw materials, may be deducted at the discretion of the allies.

“In periodically estimating Germany’s capacity to pay, the reparation commission shall examine the German system of taxation, to the end that the sums for reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues, prior to that for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and secondly, so as to satisfy itself that, in general, the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the powers represented on the commission.

“The measures which the allied and associated powers shall have the right to take, in case of voluntary default by Germany and which Germany agrees not to regard as acts of war, may include economic and financial prohibitions and reprisals and in general such other measures as the respective governments may determine to be necessary in the circumstances.

“The commission shall consist of one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, a representative of Serbia or Japan taking the place of the Belgian representative when the interests of either country are particularly affected, with all other allied powers entitled when their claims are under consideration to the right of representation without voting power. It shall permit Germany to give evidence regarding her capacity to pay and shall assure a just opportunity to be heard.

“It shall make its headquarters at Paris, establish its own procedure and personnel, have general control of the whole reparation problem, and become the exclusive agency of the allies for receiving, upholding, selling, and distributing reparation payments.

“Majority vote shall prevail except that unanimity is required on questions involving the sovereignty of any of the allies, the cancellation of all or part of Germany's obligations, the time and manner of selling, distributing, and negotiating bonds issued by Germany, any postponement between 1921 and 1926 of annual payments beyond 1930, and any postponement after 1926 for a period of more than three years of the application of a different method of measuring damage than in a similar form or case and the interpretation of provisions.

“Withdrawal from representation on the commission is permitted upon twelve months' notice. The commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guarantee, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied.

“In this connection and on account of the total amount of claims, bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows:

“One thousand million pounds sterling (\$5,000,000,000) payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest; \$10,000,000,000, bearing 2½ per cent interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent, with a 1 per cent sinking fund payment beginning in 1926, and an undertaking to deliver bonds to an additional amount of \$10,000,000,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent.

“Under terms to be fixed by the commission, interest on Germany’s debt will be 5 per cent, unless otherwise determined by the commission in the future, and payments that are not made in gold may be accepted by the commission in the form of properties, commodities, businesses, rights, concessions, etc.

“Certificates of beneficial interest, representing either bonds or goods delivered by Germany may be issued by the commission to the interested powers. As bonds are distributed and pass from the control of the commission an amount of Germany’s debt equivalent to their par value is to be considered as liquidated.

“Shipping—The German government recognizes the right of the allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upwards, one-half of her ships between 1,000 and 1,600 tons gross, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and other fishing boats. These ships are to be delivered within two months to the reparation commission, together with documents of title evidencing the transfer of the ships from incumbrance.

“‘As an additional part of reparation’ the German government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

“All ships used for inland navigation taken by Germany from the allies are to be restored within two months, the amount of loss not covered by such restitution to be made up by the cession of the German river fleet up to 20 per cent thereof.

SECTION VIII

“Devastated Areas—Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The reparation commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany and to manufacture materials required for reconstruction purposes, with due consideration for Germany’s essential domestic requirements.

“Coal, Etc.—Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between annual pre-war output of Nord and Pas de Calais mines and annual production during above ten years. Germany, further, gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons coal per year to France, in addition to the above; of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium, and of an amount rising from 4,500,000 tons in 1919 to 1920 to 8,500,000 tons in 1923 to 1924 to Italy at prices to be fixed as prescribed in the treaty. Coke may be taken in place of coal in ration of three tons to four. Provision is also made for delivery to France over three years of benzol, coal tar, and sulphate of ammonia. The commission has powers to postpone or annul the above deliveries should they interfere unduly with industrial requirements of Germany.

“Dyestuffs—Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent of total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes in force and similar options during each six months to end of 1924 and up to 25 per cent of previous six months’ output.

“Cables—Germany renounces all title to specified

cables, value of such as were privately owned being credited to her against reparation indebtedness.

“Special Provisions—As reparation for the destruction of the library of Louvain, Germany is to hand over manuscripts, early printed books, prints, etc., to be equivalent to those destroyed.

“In addition to the above Germany is to hand over to Belgium wings now at Berlin belonging to the altar piece of the ‘Adoration of the Lamb,’ by Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, the center of which is now in the church of St. Bavo at Ghent, and the wings now at Berlin and Munich, of the altar piece of ‘Last Supper,’ by Dirk Bouts, the center of which belongs to the church of St. Peter at Louvain.

“Germany is to restore within six months the koran of the Caliph Othman, formerly at Medina to the king of the Hedjaz I., and the skull of the Sultan Mkwawa, formerly in German East Africa to his Brittanic majesty’s government.

SECTION IX

“Finance—Powers to which German territory is ceded will assume a certain amount of the German pre-war debt, the amount to be fixed by the reparations commission on the basis of the ratio between the revenue and of the ceded territory and Germany’s total revenues for the three years preceding the war.

“In view, however, of the special circumstances under which Alsace-Lorraine was separated from France in 1871, when Germany refused to accept any part of the French public debt, France will not assume any part of Germany’s pre-war debt there, nor will Poland share in certain German debts incurred for the oppression of Poland.

“If the value of the German public property in ceded territory exceeds the amount of debt assumed, the states

to which property is ceded give credit on reparation for the excess, with the exception of Alsace-Lorraine.

“Mandatory powers will not assume any German debts or give any credit for German government property.

“Germany renounces all right of representation on, or control of, state banks, commission, or other similar international financial and economic organizations.

“Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after making such provisions for payments for imports as the allies may deem necessary.

“Germany is to deliver to the allied and associated powers all sums deposited in Germany by Turkey and Austria-Hungary in connection with the financial support extended by her to them during the war, and to transfer to the allies all claims against Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey in connection with agreements made during the war.

“Germany confirms the renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

“On the request of the reparations commission, Germany will expropriate any right, rights, or interests of her nationals in public utilities in ceded territories or those administered by mandatories, and in Turkey, China, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Bulgaria, and transfer them to the reparations commission, which will credit her with their value.

“Germany guarantees to repay to Brazil the fund arising from the sale of Sao Paulo coffee which she refused to allow Brazil to withdraw from Germany.

SECTION X

“Customs—For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in

force in 1914, and for certain agricultural products, wines, vegetables, oils, artificial silk, and washed or scoured wool this restriction obtains for two and a half years, or for five years unless further extended by the league of nations.

“Germany must give most favored nation treatment to the allied and associated powers. She shall impose no customs tariff for five years on goods originating in Alsace-Lorraine and for three years on goods originating in former German territory ceded to Poland with the right of observation of a similar exception for Luxemburg.

“Shipping—Ships of the allied and associated powers shall for five years, and thereafter under condition of reciprocity, unless the league of nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels and have most favored nation treatment in fishing, coasting trade, and towage even in territorial waters. Ships of a country having no sea coast may be registered at some one place within its territory.

“Unfair Competition—Germany undertakes to give the trade of the allied and associated powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition and in particular to suppress the use of false wrappings and markings and on condition of reciprocity to respect the laws and judicial decisions of allied and associated states, in respect of regional appellations of wines and spirits.

“Treatment of Nationals—Germany shall impose no exceptional taxes or restriction upon the nationals of the allied and associated states for a period of five years and unless the league of nations acts for an additional five years. German nationality shall not continue to attach to a person who has become a national of an allied or associated state.

“Conventions—Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the allied and asso-

ciated powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several.

"As to postal and telegraphic conventions Germany must not refuse to make reciprocal agreements with the new states. She must agree as respects the radiotelegraphic convention to provisional rules to be communicated to it and adheres to the new convention when formulated.

"In the North Sea fisheries and North Sea liquor traffic convention, rights of inspection and police over associated fishing boats shall be exercised for at least five years only by vessels of these powers. As to the international railway union Germany shall adhere to the new convention when formulated.

"As to the Chinese customs tariff arrangement, the arrangement of 1905 regarding Whangpoo and the Boxer indemnity of 1901; France, Portugal, and Roumania, as to The Hague convention of 1903 relating to civil procedure; and Great Britain and the United States, as to article 3 of the Samoan treaty of 1899, are relieved of all obligation toward Germany.

"Each allied and associated state may renew any treaty with Germany insofar as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy states and before or since that date with Roumania, Russia, and governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated and any concession granted under pressure by Russia to German subjects annulled.

"The allied and associated states are to enjoy most favored nation treatment under treaties entered into by Germany and other enemy states before August 1, 1914, and under treaties entered into by Germany and neutral states during the war.

"Pre-War Debts—A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each allied and associated states which adopts the plan

for the payment of pre-war debts, including those arising from contracts suspended by the war, for the adjustment of the proceeds of the liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations.

“Each participating state assumes responsibility for the payment of all debts owing by its nationals to nationals of the enemy states except in cases of pre-war insolvency of the debtor.

“The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating state may be used to pay the debts owed to the nationals of that state, direct payment from debtor to creditor and all communications relating thereto being prohibited.

“Disputes may be settled by arbitration by the courts of the debtor country or by the mixed arbitral tribunal. Any ally or associated power may, however, decline to participate in this system by giving Germany six months’ notice.

“Enemy Property—Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The allied and associated states may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for property of their nationals not restored or paid for by Germany, for debts owed to their nationals by German nationals, and for other claims against Germany.

“Germany is to compensate its nationals for such losses and to deliver within six months all documents relating to property held by its nationals in allied and associated states.

“All war legislation as to enemy property rights and interests is confirmed and all claims by Germany against the allied or associated governments for acts under exceptional war measures abandoned.

“Contracts—Pre-war contracts between allied and associated nationals, excepting the United States, Japan, and Brazil, and German nationals are cancelled, except

for debts for accounts already performed, agreements for the transfer of property where the property had already passed, leases of land and houses, contracts of mortgage pledge of lien, mining concessions, contracts with governments, and insurance contracts.

“Mixed arbitral tribunals shall be established, of three members, one chosen by Germany, one by the associated states, and the third by agreement, or, failing which, by the president of Switzerland. They shall have jurisdiction over all disputes as to contracts concluded before the present peace treaty.

“Fire insurance contracts are not considered dissolved by the war, even if premiums have not been paid, but lapse at the date of the first annual premium falling due three months after the peace.

“Life insurance contracts may be restored by payments of accumulated premiums with interest, sums falling due on such contracts during the war to be recoverable with interest. Marine insurance contracts are dissolved by the outbreak of war, except where the risk insured against had already been incurred.

“Where the risk had not attached, premiums paid are recoverable; otherwise, premiums due and sums due on losses are recoverable. Reinsurance treaties are abrogated unless invasion had made it impossible for the reinsured to find another reinsurer.

“Any allied or associated power, however, may cancel all the contracts running between its nations and a German life insurance company, the latter being obligated to hand over the proportion of its assets attributable to such policies.

“Industrial Property—Rights as to industrial, literary and artistic property are reestablished, the special war measures of the allied and associated powers are ratified and the right reserved to impose conditions on the use of German patents and copyrights when in the public interest. Except as between the United States and

Germany, pre-war licenses and rights to sue for infringements committed during the war are cancelled.

“Opium—The contracting powers agree, whether or not they have signed and ratified the opium convention of January 23, 1912, or signed the special protocol opened at The Hague in accordance with resolutions adopted by the third opium conference in 1914, to bring the said convention into force by enacting within twelve months of the peace the necessary legislation.

“Religious Missions—The allied and associated powers agree that the properties of religious missions in territories belonging or ceded to them shall continue in their work under the control of the powers, Germany renouncing all claims in their behalf.

SECTION XI

“Aerial Navigation—Aircraft of the allied and associated powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most favored nation planes as to internal commercial traffic in Germany.

“Germany agrees to accept allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the allied and associated powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923 unless Germany has since been admitted to the league of nations or to the above convention.

“Freedom of Transit—Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by rail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the allied or associated powers, without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations based on nationality, means of transport, or place of entry or departure.

“Goods in transit shall be assured all possible speed of journey, especially perishable goods.

“Germany may not divert traffic from its normal course in favor of her own transport routes or maintain ‘control stations’ in connection with transmigration traffic. She may not establish any tax discrimination against the ports of allied or associated powers; must grant the latter’s seaports all factors and reduced tariffs granted her own or other nationals, and afford the allied and associated powers equal rights with those of her own nationals in her ports and waterways, save that she is free to open or close her maritime coasting trade.

“Free Zones in Ports—Free zones existing in German ports on August 1, 1914, must be maintained with due facilities as to warehouses and packing, without discrimination and without charges except for expenses of administration and use. Goods leaving the free zones for consumption in Germany and goods brought into the free zones from Germany shall be subject to the ordinary import and export taxes.

SECTION XII

“International Rivers—The Elbe from the junction of the Vltava, the Vltava from Prague, the Oder from Oppa, the Niemen from Grodno, and the Danube from Ulm are declared international, together with their connections. The riparian states must ensure good conditions of navigation within their territories unless a special organization exists therefor. Otherwise appeal may be had to a special tribunal of the league of nations, which also may arrange for a general international waterways convention.

“The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions to meet within three months, that for the Elbe composed of four representatives of Germany, two from Czecho-Slovakia, and one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, and that for

the Oder composed of one each from Poland, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden.

“If any riparian state on the Niemen should so request of the league of nations a similar commission shall be established there. These commissions shall, upon request of any riparian state, meet within three months to revise existing international agreement.

“The Danube—The European Danube commission reassumes its pre-war powers, for the time being, with representatives of only Great Britain, Italy, and Roumania. The upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission until a definitive state be drawn up at a conference of the powers nominated by the allied and associated governments within one year after the peace.

“The enemy governments shall make full reparations for all war damages caused to the European commission; shall cede their river facilities in surrendered territory, and give Czecho-Slovakia, Serbia, and Roumania any rights necessary on their shores for carrying out improvements in navigation.

“Rhine and Moselle—The Rhine is placed under the central commission to meet at Strasbourg within six months after the peace and to be composed of four representatives of France, which shall in addition select the president; four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

“Germany must give France on the course of the Rhine included between the two extreme points of her frontiers all rights to take water to feed canals, while herself agreeing not to make canals on the right bank opposite France. She must also hand over to France all her drafts and designs for this part of the river.

“Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part

within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium; similarly, the interested allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission.

“Germany may not object if the central Rhine commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

“Germany must cede to the allied and associated governments certain tugs, vessels, and facilities for navigation on all these rivers, the specific details to be established by an arbiter named by the United States. Decision will be based on the legitimate needs of the parties concerned and on the shipping traffic during the five years before the war. The value will be included in the regular reparation account. In the case of the Rhine shares in the German navigation companies and property such as wharves and warehouses held by Germany in Rotterdam at the outbreak of war must be handed over.

“Railways—Germany, in addition to most favored nation treatment on her railways, agrees to cooperate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage; to ensure communication by rail between the allied, associated and other states; to allow the construction or improvement within twenty-five years of such lines as necessary, and to conform her rolling stock to enable its incorporation in trains of the allied or associated powers.

“She also agrees to accept the denunciation of the St. Gothard convention if Switzerland and Italy so request, and temporarily to execute instructions as to the transport of troops and supplies and the establishment of postal and telegraphic service, as provided.

“Czecho-Slovakia—To assure Czecho-Slovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Towards the Adriatic, she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for ninety-nine years spaces in

Hamburg and Stettin, the details to be worked out by a commission of three representing Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, and Great Britain.

“The Kiel Canal—The Kiel canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany. Goods and ships of all states are to be treated on terms of absolute equality, and no taxes to be imposed beyond those necessary for upkeep and improvement for which Germany is responsible.

“In case of violation of or disagreement as to these provisions, any state may appeal to the league of nations and may demand the appointment of an international commission. For preliminary hearing of complaints Germany shall establish a local authority at Kiel.

SECTION XIII

“Members of the league of nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of an annual international labor conference and an international labor office.

“The former is composed of four representatives of each state, two from the government and one each from the employers and the employed; each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative, legislative body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which, if passed by two-thirds vote, must be submitted to the law-making authority in every state participating.

“Each government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation, in case of a federal state, to local legislatures; or reject the convention altogether, without further obligation.

“The international labor office is established at the seat of the league of nations, as part of its organization. It is to collect and distribute information on labor

throughout the world and prepare agenda for the conference. It will publish a periodical in French and English, and possibly other languages.

“Each state agrees to make to it, for presentation to the conference, an annual report of measures taken to execute accepted conventions; the governing body is its executive. It consists of twenty-four members, twelve representing the governments, six the employers, and six the employes, to serve for three years.

“On complaint that any government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that government, and, in case the reply is unsatisfactory, may publish the complaint with comment.

“A complaint by one government against another may be referred by the governing body to a commission of inquiry nominated by the secretary general of the league.

“If the commission report fails to bring satisfactory action, the matter may be taken to a permanent court of international justice for final decision. The chief reliance for securing enforcement of the law will be publicity, with a possibility of economic action in the background.

“The first meeting of the conference will take place in October, 1919, at Washington, to discuss the eight hour day, or forty-eight hour week; prevention of unemployment; extension and application of the international conventions adopted at Berne in 1906, prohibiting night work for women and the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches; and employment of women and children at night or in unhealthy work, of women before and after childbirth, including maternity benefit, and of children as regards minimum age.

“Nine principles of labor conditions we recognize on the ground that ‘the well being, physical and moral, of the industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance.’ With exceptions necessitated by differences

of climate, habits, and economic development, they include: The guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce; right of association of employers and employes; a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life; the eight hour day, or forty-eight hour week; a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable; abolition of child labor and assurance of the continuation of the education and proper physical development of children; equal pay for equal work as between men and women; equitable treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein, including foreigners, and a system of inspection in which women should take part.

SECTION XIV

“Guarantees—Western Europe as a guarantee for the execution of the treaty; German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by allied and associated troops for fifteen years.

“If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier, will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after fifteen years.

“In case the interallied reparation commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

“Eastern Europe—All German troops at present in

territories to the east of the new frontier shall return as soon as the allied and associated governments deem wise. They are to abstain from all requisitions and are in no way to interfere with measures for national defense taken by the government concerned.

“All questions regarding occupation not provided for by the treaty will be regulated by a subsequent convention or conventions which will have similar force and effect.

SECTION XV

“Miscellaneous—Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers allied with Germany; to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, and to recognize the new states in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

“Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

“Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts. The present treaty, of which the French and British texts are both authentic, shall be ratified and the depositions of ratifications made in Paris as soon as possible. The treaty is to become effective in all respects for each power on the date of deposition of its ratification.”

CHAPTER XLIV
GERMANY CRUSHED.

The German people were stricken dumb when the terms of peace were announced. It was apparent they had planned on escaping the just punishment that was due the nation and its rulers. For that reason the effect was more terrible.

An official proclamation was issued by the provisional government as follows:

“In deep distress and weighed down by cares, the German people have waited through the months of the armistice for the peace conditions. Their publication has brought the bitterest disappointment and unspeakable grief to the entire people. A public expression ought to be given these feelings by all Germans.

“The imperial government requests that the free states have public amusement suspended for a week and allow in the theaters only such productions as correspond to the seriousness of these grievous days.”

After a five hour session of the German cabinet, Philip Scheidemann, the chancellor, delivered a speech to the committee appointed to consider the treaty. After comparing the most important conditions laid down by the allies in connection with President Wilson's fourteen points, Scheidemann said:

“These conditions are nothing else than death for Germany, but the government must discuss this document of hatred and madness with sobriety.”

The chancellor said the German delegation at Versailles had been instructed to hand a note to the allies showing the difference between the treaty terms and President Wilson's fourteen points and submit counter

proposals and endeavor to start an oral discussion. He expressed the hope that the peace conditions would be considered with good will by both parties and that a satisfactory result would be reached.

The *Vossische Zeitung* estimated that the indemnity would total \$45,000,000,000 gold, and complained that the entente had not taken into account the war material and the navy delivered up. The writer declared that a smaller and weaker Germany would be unable to pay.

The parliamentary leaders of all factions who were in Berlin to attend committee meetings, admitted they were stunned by the severity of the proposed peace terms. Beyond casual comment, however, they declined to discuss the entente's conditions or details or to forecast the assembly's probable attitude.

States, municipalities, districts, organizations of various sorts, business men's and women's clubs, and the political parties through their spokesmen vied with each other in finding words in which to express scorn and condemnation for the document.

For perhaps the first time in history all the German parties were united in opinion, each of them assailing the terms Germany was asked to sign, for the body of the independent Socialist party did not appear to agree with its organ, *Die Freiheit*, that Germany should sign the peace on the terms presented.

The newspapers were utterly swamped with the protests, being able to print but a fraction of them. They were urged to this by the *Tageblatt*, which said the unfriendly attitude towards the treaty taken by the Socialists of other countries would not be of assistance, because they were in the minority in their countries and the Germans must protest for themselves.

The government was overwhelmed with telegrams which it was unable to answer save by public announcement of its gratitude.

Maximilian Harden, editor of the Berlin *Die Zukunft*, writing on the peace treaty, said:

“The peace conditions are not harder than I expected. They were unpleasant to the greater part of the people. But could one really have expected them otherwise?”

“The Germans have not given very convincing mental guarantees during the six months since the revolution that they have changed their system; on the contrary, the present government and the press have used the same methods of incitement, the same tricks of bluff, as under the old rule of the petty nobility.

“The government’s proclamations are only bad copies of the kaiser’s time. The whole press resounds in protests and has started a campaign of incitement against the allies, couched in violent language. It is agitating for refusal to sign the treaty, and to what use? All must know that the allies, by keeping up the blockade and occupying the coal districts, can force Germany to sign whatever they want.

“The allies have been threatened that Germany would join the bolsheviki. But that would be suicidal. The only way to rescue the country is by openness and honesty. The revolution has been a great disappointment.

“Germany should have sent men who would have laid their cards on the table and got the allies to understand that some of the conditions were unacceptable.

“If Germany showed its good will to do what is in its power to comply with the allies’ requests, the allies would see that conditions were changed in favor of Germany, because they know there must be a Germany and that it is impossible to destroy the German people.”

The first interchange of notes on the peace treaty took place on May 9th. The first official note from the German contingent protested against the rigorous terms laid down in the document. It follows:

“The German peace delegation has finished the first perusal of the peace conditions which have been handed over to them. They have had to realize that, on essential points, the basis of the peace of right agreed upon between the belligerents has been abandoned.

“They were not prepared to find that the promise, explicitly given to the German people and the whole of mankind, is in this way to be made illusory.

“The draft of the treaty contains demands which no nation could endure. Moreover, our experts hold that many of them could not possibly be carried out.

“The German peace delegation will substantiate these statements in detail and transmit to the allied and associated governments their observations and their material continuously.

“BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.”

To this letter the following reply was made by the allies and associated powers:

“The representatives of the allied and associated powers have received the statement of objections of the German plenipotentiaries to the draft conditions of peace.

“In reply they wish to remind the German delegation that they have formulated the terms of the treaty with constant thought of the principles on which the armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. They can admit no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of the peace substantially as drafted. They can consider only such practical suggestions as the German plenipotentiaries may have to submit.”

The second letter from the German representatives read:

“The German peace delegation has the honor to pronounce its attitude on the question of the league of nations by herewith transmitting a German program, which in the opinion of the delegation, contains important suggestions on the league of nations problem.

“The German peace delegation reserves for itself the liberty of stating its opinions on the draft of the allied and associated governments in detail. In the meantime it begs to call attention to the discrepancy lying in the fact that Germany is called on to sign the statute of the league of nations as an inherent part of the treaty draft handed to us, and, on the other hand, is not mentioned among the states which are invited to join the league of nations.

“The German peace delegation begs to inquire whether and, if so, under what circumstances, such invitation is intended.

“BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.”

The reply of the allies to this is as follows:

“The receipt of the German program of the league of nations is acknowledged. The program will be referred to the appropriate committee of the allied and associated powers.

“The German plenipotentiaries will find, on reëxamination of the covenant of the league of nations, that the matter of the admission of additional member states has not been overlooked, but is explicitly provided for in the second paragraph of article 1.”

[Article 1, paragraph 3, of the league of nations covenant says: “Any fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the league if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe international obligations and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the league in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.”]

It was announced that President Wilson would personally direct such answers as might be decided upon concerning German inquiries on the peace treaty differing from the president's fourteen points.

The President announced on May 11th that he would remain in Paris to affix his signature to the peace treaty in case the Germans decided to accept the dictates of the Allies and associated powers.

The Committee of the Big Four convened again on May 12th and, at the insistence of President Wilson, began drawing up the treaty to be submitted to the Austrian envoys. Many of the points in the document were identical with those handed Germany and caused gloom in Vienna, which expressed its opinion by referring to the German treaty as "severe."

The Austrian envoys arrived in Paris on May 14th and were taken to the suburb of St. Germain en Laye, where they were housed in a hotel. They were not restricted as were the German delegates, but were permitted to walk the streets at will. There was no expression of hostility toward them on the part of the townspeople. The Austrians were told on their arrival that they would not be permitted to communicate with the German emissaries and announced that they had no intention of doing so.

German indignation against the treaty grew steadily. On May 12th President Ebert termed it a "monstrous document." There were public demonstrations in Berlin, Breslau, Konigsburg, Danzig, Cassel and Bochum under the auspices of the National People's party, to all of which the Committee of the Big Four paid not the slightest heed. The International Socialists' organization termed the treaty unjust. This amused the American delegation at the conference when the part the Socialists played in the war was recalled.

A clash almost occurred in the occupied regions over the order of the German government for a week of mourning. It happened in a hotel dining room in Coblenz, where several American officers were present. As the orchestra began playing a German policeman entered and ordered it stopped. The American officers ordered the orchestra to proceed and silenced the objections of the

policeman with the remark that Coblenz was bona fide American territory and not subject to orders from the Berlin government.

One of the demands that created great indignation in Germany was the one concerning the restoration of cattle to Belgium and northern France. The spokesmen declared that the Allies were endeavoring to starve the German children by depriving them of milk. Although the cattle were to replace those seized by the Germany army in the invaded sections, and the removal of which had caused the death of thousands of French and Belgium children, the Germans refused to concede that the Allies were entitled to the cattle. Their attitude brought caustic comments from the French press, which referred to the protests as "comical."

On May 14th Chancellor Scheidemann referred to the treaty as "unacceptable, dreadful and murderous." He declared it would make of Germany a vast prison with 60,000,000 inmates. He followed up this declaration with an appeal to the British people to prevent their representatives from reducing the German people to slavery.

On the night of May 13th a great crowd of Germans, led by men carrying red flags, congregated in front of the Reichstag building in Berlin and marched to the Hotel Adlon, where the American officers were quartered. There they denounced the peace treaty and called to those inside the building to "throw the Americans out." The American officers in the hotel were ordered to report to the senior officer present and on the arrival of German troops the crowd was dispersed.

President Wilson was the chief object of scorn to the German mobs that were meeting nightly in Berlin. There was a rumor that a secret call to arms had been sent out by the government and that a fight would be made to the last against the allied armies in the event they tried to move farther into Germany.

The peace conference remained unmoved by the

events in Germany. Every eye was turned to the German emissaries in Paris, and between times the conference considered problems aside from those in which the central empires were involved.

President Wilson remained steadfast in his stand on Fiume and declared he had not been convinced of the justice of the Italian demands. The Italian delegation did not press the question, but announced that Italian troops had been sent to occupy Dalmatia.

Relations among the four big powers were most cordial at this time. Several weeks prior the United States and Great Britain had entered into an agreement with France to come to her assistance in case of another invasion by the Germans. Italy now signified an inclination to become a partner in the transaction, and the request was taken under advisement.

On May 15th Brockdorff-Rantzau, the head of the German commission, intimated that Germany would refuse to sign the treaty. The French met the announcement by at once sending Marshal Foch to the occupied regions with instructions to prepare at once for an advance into Germany in the event the refusal became a fact. At the same time the economic committee of the peace conference began considering the economic measures to be taken against Germany and announced that the blockade would be imposed to a greater extent than during the war, as Germany was without ships or sailors and for that reason could get no supplies from the Scandinavian countries.

A semi-official announcement in Berlin confirmed the rumor that the Germans would reject the peace treaty, but President Wilson remained unmoved by the report.

On May 17th, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau left Paris for Berlin to hold a conference with the cabinet. He returned on May 18th and it was then announced by a member of the German delegation that the treaty would be signed.

CHAPTER XLV

THE PRESIDENT CALLS CONGRESS.

Congress met in special session on May 20, 1919, pursuant to the President's special request from Paris. The first question taken up was the reading of the President's message, the first he had not delivered in person: It follows:

"Gentlemen of the Congress: I deeply regret my inability to be present at the opening of the extraordinary session of Congress. It still seems to be my duty to take part in the counsels of the peace conference and contribute what I can to the solution of the innumerable questions to whose settlement it has had to address itself. For they are questions which affect the peace of the whole world, and from there, therefore, the United States cannot stand apart.

"I deemed it my duty to call the Congress together at this time because it was not wise to postpone longer the provisions which must be made for the support of the government. Many of the appropriations which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the government and the fulfilment of its varied obligations for the fiscal year 1919-1920 have not yet been made; the end of the present fiscal year is at hand; and action upon these appropriations can no longer be prudently delayed.

"The question which stands at the front of all others in every country amidst the present great awakening is the question of labor; and perhaps I can speak of it with as great advantage while engrossed in the consideration of interests which affect all countries alike as I could at home and amidst the interests which naturally most affect

my thought, because they are the interests of our own people.

“By the question of labor I do not mean the question of efficient industrial production, the question of how labor is to be obtained and made effective in the great process of sustaining populations and winning success amidst commercial and industrial rivalries.

“I mean that much greater and more vital question, How are the men and women who do the daily labor of the world to obtain progressive improvement in the conditions of their labor, to be made happier, and to be served better by the communities and the industries which their labor sustains and advances? How are they to be given their right advantage as citizens and human beings?

“There is now in fact a real community of interest between capital and labor, but it has never been made evident in action. It can be made operative and manifest only in a new organization of industry. The genius of our business men and the sound practical sense of our workers can certainly work out such a partnership when once they realize and sincerely adopt a common purpose with regard to it.

“Those who really desire a new relationship between capital and labor can readily find a way to bring it about, and perhaps federal legislation can help more than state legislation could.

“The object of all reform in this essential matter must be the genuine democratization of industry, based upon a full recognition of the right of those who work, in whatever rank, to participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in industry. Some positive legislation is practicable. The Congress has already shown the way to one reform which should be world wide, by establishing the eight-hour day as the standard day in every field of labor over which it can exercise control.

“It has sought to find the way to prevent child labor,

and will, I hope and believe, presently find it. It has served the whole country by leading the way in developing the means of preserving and safeguarding life and health in dangerous industries.

“It can now help in the difficult task of giving a new form and spirit to industrial organization by coördinating the several agencies of conciliation and adjustment which have been brought into existence by the difficulties and mistaken policies of the present management of industry and by setting up and developing new federal agencies of advice and information which may serve as a clearing house for the best experiments and the best thought on this great matter, upon which every thinking man must be aware that the future development of society directly depends.

“Agencies of international counsel and suggestion are presently to be created in connection with the League of Nations in this very field; but it is national action and the enlightened policy of individuals, corporations and societies within each nation that must bring about the actual reforms.

“I am sure that it is not necessary for me to remind you that there is one immediate and very practical question of labor that we should meet in the most liberal spirit. We must see to it that our returning soldiers are assisted in every practicable way to find the places for which they are fitted in the daily work of the country.

“This can be done by developing and maintaining upon an adequate scale the admirable organization created by the Department of Labor for placing men seeking work; and it can also be done, in at least one very great field, by creating new opportunities for individual enterprise.

“The secretary of the interior has pointed out the way by which returning soldiers may be helped to find and take up land in the hitherto undeveloped regions of the country which the federal government has prepared or

can readily prepare for cultivation, and for many of the cut-over or neglected areas which lie within the limits of the older States; and I once more take the liberty of recommending very urgently that his plans shall receive the immediate and substantial support of the congress.

“Peculiar and very stimulating conditions await our commerce and industrial enterprise in the immediate future. Unusual opportunities will presently present themselves to our merchants and producers in foreign markets, and large fields for profitable investment will be opened to our free capital. But it is not only of that that I am thinking; it is not chiefly of that that I am thinking. Many great industries prostrated by the war wait to be rehabilitated, in many parts of the world where what will be lacking is not brains, or willing hands, or organizing capacity, or experienced skill, but machinery, and raw materials, and capital.

“I believe that our business men, our merchants, our manufacturers, and our capitalists will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere; that there is in a very true sense a solidarity of interest throughout the world of enterprise, and that our dealings with the countries that have need of our products and our money will teach them to deem us more than ever friends whose necessities we seek in in the right way to serve.

“Our new merchant ships, which have in some quarters been feared as destructive rivals, may prove helpful rivals, rather, and common servants, very much needed and very welcome. Our great shipyards, new and old, will be so opened to the use of the world that they will prove immensely serviceable to every maritime people in restoring, much more rapidly than would otherwise have been possible, the tonnage wantonly destroyed in the war.

“I have only to suggest that there are many points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation and make it easy for

American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends rather than as dreaded antagonists.

“America has a great and honorable service to perform in bringing the commercial and industrial undertakings of the world back to their old scope and swing again and putting a solid structure of credit under them. All our legislation should be friendly to such plans and purposes.

“And credit and enterprise alike will be quickened by timely and helpful legislation with regard to taxation. I hope that the congress will find it possible to undertake an early reconsideration of federal taxes in order to make our system of taxation more simple and easy of administration and the taxes themselves as little burdensome as they can be made and yet suffice to support the government and meet all its obligations.

“The figures to which those obligations have risen are very great indeed, but they are not so great as to make it difficult for the nation to meet them, and meet them, perhaps, in a single generation, by taxes which will neither crush nor discourage.

“These are not so great as they seem, not so great as the immense sums we have had to borrow, added to the immense sums we have had to raise by taxation would seem to indicate; for a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our taxpayers.

“The main thing we shall have to care for is that our taxation shall rest as lightly as possible on the productive resources of the country, that its rates shall be stable, and that it shall be constant in its revenue yielding power. We have found the main sources from which it must be drawn.

“I take it for granted that its mainstays will henceforth be the income tax, the excess profits tax, and the estate tax. All these can be adjusted to yield constant and adequate returns and yet not constitute a too grievous burden on the taxpayer. A revision of the income tax has already been provided for by the act of 1918, but I think you will find that further changes can be made to advantage both in the rates of tax and the method of its collection.

“The excess profits tax need not long be maintained or the rates which were necessary while the enormous expenses of the war had to be borne; but it should be made the basis of a permanent system which will reach undue profits without discouraging the enterprise and activity of our business men. The tax on inheritances ought, no doubt, to be reconsidered in its relation to the fiscal systems of the several states, but it certainly ought to remain a permanent part of the fiscal system of the federal government also.

“Many of the minor taxes provided for in the revenue legislation of 1917 and 1918, though no doubt made necessary by the pressing necessities of wartime, could hardly find sufficient justification under the easier circumstances of peace, and can now happily be got rid of.

“Among these, I hope you will agree, are the excises upon various manufacturers and the taxes upon retail sales. They are unequal in the incidence on different industries and on different individuals. Their collection is difficult and expensive. Those which are levied upon articles sold at retail are largely evaded by the readjustment of retail prices.

“On the other hand, I should assume that it is expedient to maintain a considerable range of indirect taxes, and the fact that alcoholic liquors will presently no longer afford a source of revenue by taxation makes it the more necessary that the field should be carefully restudied in order that equivalent sources of revenue may be found

which it will be legitimate and not burdensome to draw upon.

“There is, fortunately, no occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties. No serious danger of foreign competition now threatens American industries. Our country has emerged from the war less disturbed and less weakened than any of the European countries which are our competitors in manufacture. Their industrial establishments have been subjected to greater strain than ours, their labor force to a more serious disorganization, and this is clearly not the time to seek an organized advantage.

“The work of mere reconstruction will, I am afraid, tax the capacity and the resources of their people for years to come.

“So far from there being any danger or need of accentuated foreign competition, it is likely that the conditions of the next few years will greatly facilitate the marketing of American manufactures abroad.

“Least of all should we depart from the policy adopted in the tariff act of 1913 of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies.

“Nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention. The experiences of the war have made it plain that in some cases too great reliance on foreign supply is dangerous and that in determining certain parts of our tariff policy domestic considerations must be borne in mind which are political as well as economic.

“Among the industries to which special consideration should be given is that of the manufacture of dyestuffs and related chemicals. Our complete dependence upon German supplies before the war made the interruption of trade a cause of exceptional economic disturbance.

“The close relation between the manufacturer of dyestuffs, on the one hand, and of explosives and poison-

ous gases, on the other, moreover, has given the industry an exceptional significance and value. Although the United States will gladly and unhesitatingly join in the program of international disarmament, it will, nevertheless, be a policy of obvious prudence to make certain of the successful maintenance of many strong and well equipped chemical plants. The German chemical industry, with which we will be brought into competition, was, and may well be again, a thoroughly knit monopoly capable of exercising a competition of a peculiarly insidious and dangerous kind.

“The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws as they now stand provide no weapon of retaliation in case other governments should enact legislation unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries.

“Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation, we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility and that it may have to be met by counter legislation.

“This subject has, fortunately been exhaustively investigated by the United States tariff commission. A recent report of that commission has shown very clearly that we lack and that we ought to have the instruments necessary for the assurance of equal and equitable treatment.

“The attention of the congress has been called to this matter on past occasions and the measures which are now recommended by the tariff commission are substantially the same that have been suggested by previous administrations. I recommend that this phase of the tariff question receive the early attention of the congress.

“Will you not permit me, turning from these matters, to speak once more and very earnestly of the proposed amendment to the constitution which would extend the suffrage to women and which passed the house of representatives at the last session of the congress? It seems to me that every consideration of justice and of public advantage calls for the intimate adoption of that amendment and its submission forthwith to the legislatures of the several states.

“Throughout all the world this long delayed extension of the suffrage is looked for; in the United States, longer, I believe, than anywhere else, the necessity for it, and the immense advantage of it to the national life, has been urged and debated, by women and men who saw the need for it and urged the policy of it when it required steadfast courage to be so much beforehand with the common conviction; and I, for one, covet for our country the distinction of being among the first to act in a great reform.

“The telegraph and telephone lines will, of course, be returned to their owners so soon as the retransfer can be effected without administrative confusion, so soon, that is, as the change can be made with least possible inconvenience to the public and to the owners themselves.

“The railroads will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year; if I were in immediate contact with the administrative questions which must govern the retransfer of the telegraph and telephone lines I could name the exact date for their return also.

“The demobilization of the military forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions.

“I therefore recommend that the act approved Nov. 21, 1918, entitled ‘An act to enable the secretary of agri-

culture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products" and for other purposes,' be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

The request of the President for repeal of the prohibition law created a storm of protest and he was severely criticized by reformers throughout the country. He refused to make any comment on the verbal attacks of his enemies and continued his work with the peace conference.

One of his main problems was the effort of the German delegation to dodge the clause in the treaty laying the responsibility for the war at Germany's door. The correspondence follows:

"At Versailles, May 13.—To His Excellency, M. Clemenceau, president of the peace conference.—Sir: In the draft of the peace treaty submitted to the German delegates, part VIII., concerning reparation, begins with article 231, which reads as follows:

"The allied and associated governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the allied and associated governments and their nationals have been subjected as consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.'

"Now the obligation to make reparation has been accepted by Germany by virtue of the note from Secretary of State Lansing of November 5, 1918; independently of the question of responsibility for the war. The German delegation cannot admit that there could arise out of a responsibility incurred by the former German government in regard to the origin of the world war any right for the allied and associated powers to be indemnified by Germany for losses suffered during the war.

“The representatives of the allied and associated states have, moreover, declared several times that the German people should not be held responsible for the faults committed by their governments. The German people did not will the war and would not have undertaken a war of aggression. They have always remained convinced that this war was for them a defensive war.

“The German delegates also do not share the view of the allied and associated governments in regard to the origin of the war. They cannot consider the former German government as the party which was solely or chiefly to blame for the war. The draft of the treaty of peace transmitted by you contains no facts in support of this view; no proof on the subject is furnished therein.

“The German delegates therefore beg you to be so good as to communicate to them the report of the commission set up by the allied and associated governments for the purpose of establishing the responsibility of the authors of the war.

“Pray accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my high consideration. Brockdorff-Rantzau.”

The text of the reply of Premier Clemenceau was dated May 20, 1919, and read as follows:

“Mr. Chairman: In your note of May 13 you state that Germany, while ‘accepting’ in November, 1918, ‘the obligation to make reparation,’ did not understand such an acceptance to mean that her responsibility was involved either for the war or for the acts of the former German government and that it is only possible to conceive of such an obligation if its origin and cause is the responsibility of the authors of the damage. You add that the German people would never have undertaken a war of aggression.

“Yet, in the note from Secretary of State Lansing of Nov. 5, 1918, which you approve of and advise in favor of your contention, it is stated that the obligation to make

reparation arises out of 'Germany's aggression by land, sea, and air.'

"As the German government did not at the time make any protest against this allegation, it thereby recognized it as well founded. Therefore Germany recognized in 1918, implicitly but clearly, both the aggression and her responsibility.

"It is too late to seek to deny them today.

"It would be impossible, you state further, that the German people should be regarded as the accomplices of the faults committed by the 'former German government.' However, Germany has never claimed, and such a declaration would have been contrary to all principles of international law that a modification of its political régime or a change in the governing personalities would be sufficient to extinguish an obligation already undertaken by any nation. She did not act upon the principle she now contends for either in 1871 as regards France after the proclamation of the republic nor in 1917 in regard to Russia after the revolution which abolished the czarist régime.

"Finally you ask that the report of the commission on responsibility be communicated to you. In reply we beg to say that the allied and associated powers consider the reports of the commissions set up by the peace conference as documents of an internal character which cannot be transmitted to you. G. Clemenceau."

On the same day this reply was sent to the German delegation. Brockdorff-Rantzau asked for more time to consider certain questions in connection with the treaty. His note follows:

"The German peace delegation intends during the next days to submit communications to the allied and associated governments on the following points, which, in the eyes of the delegation, fall under the definition of suggestions of a practical nature:

“First, a note concerning territorial questions in the east.

“Second, a note concerning Alsace-Lorraine.

“Third, a note concerning the occupied territories.

“Fourth, a note concerning the extent and discharge of the obligation undertaken by Germany in view of separation.

“Fifth, a note concerning the further practical treatment of the question of labor laws.

“Sixth, a note concerning the treatment of German private property in enemy countries.

“Besides this a syllabus is being prepared of the observations which are called for from the German government by the draft of the treaty of peace in its detailed provisions. The problem hereby involved being, in part, of a very complicated nature and it having been necessary to discuss them extensively with the experts in Versailles, as well as with those in Berlin, it will not be possible to dispose of them within the time limit of fifteen days notified by your excellency on the 7th inst., although the delegation will take pains to transmit as many notes as possible within the limit.

“Having regard to this, I beg, in the name of the German peace delegation, to move that the contents of the intended notes be regarded as having already been made the subject of discussion in writing and that the requisite time be granted to us for a more detailed exposition.

“Brockdorff-Rantzau.”

The German request was taken as an indication that Germany meant to sign the treaty and Clemenceau wasted no time in granting the request. His reply follows:

“I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 20 stating that the subjects of which the German delegation wishes to offer suggestions are so complicated that the memoranda of the German delegation cannot be completed within the fifteen days granted on the 7th inst.

and asking, in consequence, for an extension of the time limit.

“In reply, I beg to inform your excellency that the allied and associated governments are willing to grant an extension until Thursday, May 29.

“Clemenceau.”









LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 900 907 1

