WOODROW WILSON

DISCIPLE OF REVOLUTION

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"The Call of the Republic," "The Great Crusade,"
"The Red Man In the New World Drama," etc.

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PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

AT THE TIME when the Publishers were first privileged, some two years ago, to read the rough draft of Colonel Wise's monumental study of Wilson, the work was plentifully documented with footnotes—so much so as to make consecutive reading difficult. While there are cases where this is necessary and unavoidable, we believed that the contemporary importance to a wide public of the author's message, made the use of such elaborate documentation inadvisable. At our suggestion—for which we assume complete responsibility—in order to make reading easy, and to keep the price a popular one, the author has confined himself to a bibliography, with textual reference by numbers to the works therein contained.

As some justification of our attitude, we quote a delightful paragraph from the Preface to The Road to Xanadu: "There are those who find the notes in a book more interesting than the text. I often do myself. But for the sake of others otherwise inclined, the notes in this book are, for the most part, securely kennelled in the rear! There they will molest no incurious reader, who is circumspect enough to let them lie. Their objects, for those who care to turn to them, are two: to make possible the verification of all statements which rest in any way upon authority; and to sketch in, through details which would have violated the unity of an ordered treatment, the complex and often vividly human background. . . . But the text may be read, by those who will, as if the notes did not exist."

We have here gone a step further than Mr. Lowes, omitted the notes altogether, and referred merely to the author's sources. We believe both students and public will, in this case, consider the action justified by the reasons cited above.

PREFACE

WOODROW WILSON. A name to conjure with! Still evoking the most diverse passions, the mere mention of it stirs the memory of more than a president. At once it summons before the mind's eye the countless tragic events making up the great drama in which Woodrow Wilson played a leading role. Nor has the common accord among his biographers that, notwithstanding any defects he may have possessed, he was a great "humanitarian idealist," served to make him a less mystifying figure than he appeared to many of his contemporaries.

"Great men are by nature what they are, never reminding us of others—bundles of relations, knots of roots, their flower and fruitage is the world." Ignoring the truth couched by Emerson in these words, biographers often attempt to portray their subjects without relating them to the realities of the world about them. On the other hand, it is believed that only the audience of posterity may see an actor on the stage of history as he really was. So the idea prevails that it is still too soon to write a story of Woodrow Wilson's life with even approximate truth. This may be true as to some aspects, but it is not true with respect to the convictions and the motives behind the public expressions and acts, with which, alone, this work attempts to deal.

The author is aware, of course, that whenever an industrious seeker for truth pieces together the dominoes of fact to form a pattern unlike the popular misconception, partisans posing as historians, will cry out in self-defense: "This is not history—it's sheer sensational romance!"

But the author has paid full regard to the words of Emerson. He has made the world the mise en scene of the great mystery play here presented. The dramatis personae include not merely those with whom the leading actor was

known to be associated, but the countless intellectuals, publicists, professors, statesmen, politicians, and political agents of this interest or that, who contributed directly, indirectly, and often secretly, to the action of the play. Thus he has made use not only of the six political works and the numerous articles and essays in which President Wilson wrote his own lines, but he has brought upon the stage to speak for themselves the three men who did most to make Wilson President of the United States—Harvey, Page and Mc-Combs. Along with them appears Edward M. House, often erroneously spoken of as the President's "silent partner," while characterized by Wilson himself as his "alter ego"; and a host of other actors, some with minor parts, but all, like those named above, allowed to write their own lines. Among them are Thomas R. Marshall, Vice President during both of Wilson's administrations; seven members of his Cabinet—Lansing, Houston, McAdoo, Lane, Daniels, Baker, and Redfield; his Counsellor of State, John Bassett Moore; six of his principal foreign representatives—Walter Hines Page, Gerard, Herrick, Marye, Marburg and Morgenthau; Gibson, Counsellor of the Embassy in Belgium; O'Shaugh-nessy, in Mexico; four of his Chiefs-of-Staff—Wood, Scott, Bliss and March; the generals who commanded the American Expeditionary Force and the Army of Occupation, respectively—Pershing and Allen; White, who served with him at the Versailles Peace Conference; two of his self-appointed and specially privileged contemporary historians—Lawrence and Baker; and William Bayard Hale, who was, for a time, his personal friend and literary confidant.

Then there are the contemporary letters and despatches of the three most important foreign ambassadors to Washington during the Wilson regime—Cecil Spring-Rice, Jus-serand, and Bernstorff. We cannot be misled by their official correspondence, when it is examined along with the writings or published statements of Bryan, Roosevelt, Taft, Knox, Root, Choate, Bacon, Hughes, Lodge, Borah, Coolidge, Carnegie, Butler, Beck, Abbott, Eliot, Lowell, Wheeler, Jordan, Angell, Holt, Gompers, Ford, Jane Addams and Viereck, in America; of Asquith, Winston

Churchill, Lloyd-George, Lords Curzon, Grey, Roberts, Northcliffe, and Beaverbrook, Viscounts Haldane and Bryce, Field Marshals Wilson and Robertson, Lawrence, Frederick Harrison, Gilbert Parker, Plunkett, Waechter, Nicolson, Wiseman, Stead, Steed, Gremer, Shaw, Wells, and Reppington in England; of Clemenceau, Foch, Petain, Briand, Millerand, Poincare, Caillaux, Belloc, Paleologue, and Tardieu in France; of the Kaiser, Prince Von Bulow, Prince Lichnowsky, Prince Max of Baden, Von Tirpitz, Von Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Falkenhayn, Moltke, Von der Goltz, Bernhardi, Frobenius, Von Sanders, the Countess Eppinghoven, Ballin, Dernburg, and Ludwig in Germany; Count Witte, Baron Rosen, the Grand Duchess Marie, Princess Cantacuzene, Prince Yussoupoff, Brasol, Malevsky-Malevitch, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin in Russia; Cardinal Mercier in Belgium; Bela Kun, Counts Czernin and Karolyi in Austria-Hungary; Orlando, Baron Sonnino, d'Annunzio, and Mussolini in Italy; Take Jonescu and Queen Marie in Roumania; Ferrara in Cuba; and the pronunciamentos of the Vatican.

Surely this is an amazing array of material! But as if it were not enough, Sir Gilbert Parker, Frobenius, Yardley, Johnson, Aston, Russell, Jones, Hollister, Goricar and Stowe have left few secrets of importance in the Back Chambers of the world's chancelleries. Indeed, so full, so rich is the historical material already available to the seeker after truth that, when the facts are assembled, the truth spells itself out so clearly that no room is left for doubt as to Wilson's convictions and motives. As the many varying and often conflicting influences that were brought to bear upon him, disclose themselves, the mystery surrounding him will be dissipated. It will be evident that, like most men who have occupied posts of real importance, he has not only been credited with imaginary virtues, but charged with a guilt that others must share.

Sensational? Ah yes! It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that the fertile imaginations of Dumas, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Anthony Hope, Ryder Haggard, Jules Verne, Oppenheim and Mary Roberts Rinehart together could have

conceived of nothing more inherently sensational than the truth about Woodrow Wilson. This, however, does not make the vast experience of this extraordinary man, bitter though it may have been, less fruitful of lessons for the leaders of thought who, in the present crisis of civilization, grope in a wilderness of uncertainty. These are lessons the so-called statesmen who stagger hopelessly under the burden of countless materialistic "isms" and "ologies," may well pause and consider.

In conclusion, the author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to his friend, the late James M. Beck, who not only read the manuscript in its formative state, but had planned to write an introduction to the work. He also wishes to express his thanks to Col. Peter Malevsky-Malevitch, the distinguished commander of the 1st Pre-obrazhensky Guards during the World War, and author of Russia--U.S.S.R., who, having read the manuscript from the Russian point of view, made many valuable suggestions; and to Dr. Herbert Putnam and his assistants who made research in the Library of Congress both easy and delightful.

JENNINGS C. WISE.

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CHAPTER I

Woodrow Wilson's Early Education and The Evolution of His Political Philosophy

WHEN, ON MARCH 30, 1856, the Treaty of Paris, bringing to an end the Crimean War, was signed, little did the assembled diplomats suspect that there had been born in Staunton, Virginia, just nine days before, a future President who would, in later years, exert a powerful influence upon the destiny of Europe.

It was, in truth, a momentous year. For while a momentary peace had been established in Europe, the violence provoked in Kansas by a murderous band of Free-Soilers led by the fanatic John Brown, had merely been suspended. Nevertheless, the saner elements of both the North and South were hoping that the election of James Buchanan in the Autumn might avert a fratricidal war.

Having been despatched to the West in command of a newly formed regiment to assist in preventing further disorders there, Colonel Robert E. Lee, a Virginian by birth, well expressed the sentiments of a majority of his people. Condemning the institution of slavery, he pointed out that its greatest evil was the harm it did to the master race. Upon learning that Buchanan was elected, he fervently thanked God that the Republic of Washington had been preserved.*

Doubtless Dr. Thomas Wilson, the father of the twenty-eighth president at this time swaddled in his crib, was equally grateful. A much respected preacher-pedagogue, and, like his wife, a native of Ohio, he had but lately removed with her to Staunton. Both of Scotch-Irish blood, they were typical of the more highly educated people of the

* Life and Letters of Robert E. Lee, by R. E. Lee, Jr.

Middle West. A good woman and a devoted wife, the lineage of Mrs. Wilson was more aristocratic in the Virginian sense than that of her husband. Moreover, her father had been a far more distinguished divine. Therefore, in order to preserve her family name, the child was christened Thomas Woodrow Wilson. Although none of the forebears of Dr. Wilson and his wife were of Southern origin, they were both ardent Southern sympathizers. Undoubtedly the differences which had arisen on account of this between them and their Ohio kinsmen, had much to do with their removal to Virginia. If, however, the migrants expected to find a more congenial atmosphere in Staunton, they were disappointed. For the truth is the people of the Shenandoah Valley, at the head of which Staunton is located, were much more like those of Ohio than like the Virginians beyond the Blue Ridge. In the main Scotch-Irish Presbyterians and German Baptists, their forebears had migrated from Pennsylvania during the half century preceding the Revolution. Equally thrifty, the two groups had not yet merged to any great extent, nor had they, because of strong racial and religious differences, absorbed much of the older colonial blood of the state.

Socially, perhaps, "the Valley" was as different from Piedmont and Tidewater Virginia, as the Highlands are from the Lowlands of Scotland. Possessing few slaves, the purely agricultural people of "the Valley" were dependent on grazing and their vast crops of grain, while their limited commerce was almost wholly with the regions to the North and West. On the other hand, the staple crops of Piedmont and Tidewater Virginia, were tobacco and cotton, and here the dominant class were Episcopalians, who still clung to the social traditions of colonial days. Strongly Puritanical, neither the Scottish nor Rhenish peoples of "the Valley" liked Episcopalians. The less they saw of them, the better they were pleased.

When the Wilsons arrived in Staunton, Virginia was still the richest and most populous state in the Union. Like the Cotton States, the Old Dominion still smarted under the outrages recently perpetrated by John Brown, with the

obvious encouragement of Abolitionists in the North. In reaction to these excesses, and to the ceaseless propaganda of which Uncle Tom's Cabin was a sample, even the people of the Valley, long notable for their devotion to the Republic of Washington, had begun to turn against the Whig party. Nevertheless, the old Whig sentiment was still sufficiently strong in 1855 to make the gubernatorial campaign of that year one of the bitterest in history. "I have met the Black Knight with his vizor down, and his lance and shield are broken." So cried Henry A. Wise, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, on the eve of his unexpected election. In these words, Virginia sounded the death knell of the American or so-called Know-Nothing party, a secret organization. In vain its leaders had sought to gain control of Congress through a combination of nativist, anti-Catholic, abolitionist, and Whig sentiment. With decisive might the Old Dominion, true to her traditions of religious freedom, had struck at the bigotry threatening to destroy the democratic institutions of the country.

But the "Black Knight" himself had not been destroyed, only his weapons of 1855 had been broken.

The greatest evil in introducing religion into politics is, perhaps, the consequent bitterness that inevitably lingers after the polls are closed. Certainly this was true in the case of the Know-Nothing campaign of 1855. To be sure, the Democratic party had upheld the ideal of Jefferson. But the Republican party had unfurled its banner. Upon his defeat in 1856, Fremont, the Republican candidate, expressed his purpose "to shoot the Democratic leaders of Virginia off the political map." Wisely abjuring religious appeals, the Republican party openly espoused the cause of abolition and the maintenance of the Union by force if necessary. Therefore it quickly succeeded the hopelessly paralyzed Know-Nothings as the dominant party of the North, while drawing the irrepressible issue between the major sections of the country. Moreover, notwithstanding the avowed purposes of this new party, so strong was the sentiment of the non-slave holding element in Western Virginia that many people in the Valley at once attached

themselves to it. Consequently, the Ohio preacher who had migrated to Virginia largely on account of his Southern sympathies, again found himself at the head of a flock that included many persons hostile to his own convictions. In this situation there was but one practical thing for him to do—trek on Southward. So it was that when "Tommy" was less than two and a half years old, his father removed to Augusta, Georgia, in the heart of King Cotton's domain, assured that he would find there a more sympathetic following.

Although it is true that Woodrow Wilson was the eighth president born in Virginia, he himself not only entertained no particular affection for the Old Dominion, but recognized no debt whatever to the State of his birth. Well he knew that his own case was different from that of William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor, the sixth and seventh Virginia-born presidents, whose intellectual eyes had opened before their removal to Indiana and Louisiana, respectively. Manifestly he was no more of a Virginian because of the accident of his birth in Staunton, than Napoleon Bonaparte was a Turk because he was born on a Smyrna rug in his Corsican father's library. Therefore, upon his portrait still to be seen in the White House, he himself caused to be placed the inscription: "Woodrow Wilson, New Jersey."

Imaginative biographers are wont to seek nuggets of wisdom in the youth of their subjects. When found, even the smallest of them are apt to be stressed as early signs of an unusual character. In the case of Woodrow Wilson, his biographers have been hard put to it even to manufacture a nugget or two out of certain very well defined characteristics. Nor have they been able to construct an idyllic environment for his childhood. For notwithstanding their efforts, it is impossible to convert the home of a poor Presbyterian preacher, fresh from the frontier and endowed with strong opinion that often led to conflict with his neighbors, into a warm and generous playground for a child.

In fact Dr. Wilson's home in Augusta seems to have been typically austere and cold, with no ameliorating influ-

ences beyond the undoubted affection and solicitude of kindly parents. The parsonage was a small frame affair. The furniture was upholstered with black haircloth. There were dark-framed sombre religious engravings on the wall, rag rugs on the floor, and a small upright organ in the parlor, where cold china ornaments adorned the mantle and tables. The study was cluttered with musty books. A free negro woman did the household chores. Now and then there was a visitor for whom, except on Sunday, the shades were raised. Such appears to have been the characteristically gloomy aspect of the parson's home.

Physically unrobust from the first, "Tommy" was early deemed by both his father and mother, introspective, self-centered, excessively sensitive, more than ordinarily self-conscious. Because he was unresponsive to the usual methods of training and education, and displayed a marked restiveness under the will of others, he was subject to a good deal of spoiling by his elders. Eager to overcome his backwardness both physically and mentally, far from seeing in him a paragon of precocity, they were not happy over "Tommy" when he first began to take notice of his surroundings.

His earliest memories were those of the strangers among whom his parents had settled but recently, and of the ceaseless discussion by his father of sectional politics of the most bitter character. The John Brown Raid of 1859 had made good the threat of Fremont. Until now the Democratic leader who had overthrown the "Know-Nothings" had been making a strong bid for Northern support as a champion of union, and for that of the South as an uncompromising exponent of States Rights. Everywhere he had been recognized as a possible successor to the timid Buchanan. Just as expected by the Abolitionists, he had not hesitated, however, to uphold the majesty of Virginia by the trial and execution of John Brown. This and the unqualified approval of his course by every Southern leader, had ended all chance of a Democratic victory in 1860. Dr. Wilson like all his neighbors now deemed the secession of Georgia inevitable.

In his fifth year, the boy heard everyone talking about President Davis and the Confederacy that had been formed, with its capital at Montgomery. "Jeff Davis will soon put Old Abe in his place." It was not long before he saw a large number of young men marching off, after much parading amid the jubilant blare of trumpets, to engage in the Sumter affair. On the lips of everybody around him were the words "Damn Yankees." Clad in red shirts, armed with bowie knives and muskets, the soldiers, he was told, were going off to settle an old score of injustice, to pay "Old Abe" and his "Damn Yankees" back for the John Brown outrage. The "Yankees" would not fight long. "One good Georgian with a cornstalk could chase a dozen of them." Soon the victors would return. The glorification over the seizure of Fort Sumter followed. Even the large negro population of Augusta seemed overjoyed. How his father did despise "Old Abe"! The lad heard much to lead him to believe that Lincoln was a veritable baboon of a man.

In the Spring of 1861, there was in Augusta a thriving arsenal that seethed with activity. Before the Winter came, however, there were teeming hospitals. During the months of disillusionment that followed, Dr. Wilson became more and more bitter. It had never been his habit to rely solely upon local or even American periodicals for his knowledge of affairs. So intensely interested was he in political events, that he had long been wont to relieve the daily routine of a highly religious household by reading aloud to his wife of an evening the Edinburgh Review. Most of the hard pressed people of the South, cut off as they soon were from the outer world by the Federal blockade, knew little about what was taking place beyond their ever-contracting frontiers. Nevertheless the Edinburgh Review continued to find its way to Doctor Wilson's library. As the war progressed, the boy found the great events with which it dealt, far more interesting than the Scriptures. Naturally these nightly political readings, with the running comments of his father, not only tended to divert his mind from religious teachings but developed in him a taste for politics. Long before the wreck of Southern manhood began to drift

homeward, he had found that his homeland had no monopoly of fratricidal strife. The great religious upheaval in India, and the Crimean War, had been followed quickly by the Franco-Austrian War. Now there was a revolution going on in Mexico. So inhumane had warfare become by 1863 that, pursuant to the plea of a Swiss, the Red Cross Society was made an international institution. This ameliorating influence, however, did not allay the passions of men. Karl Marx's second volume of Capital had only recently appeared. Before the end of 1864, the Universal German Laborers' Union, the Social Democratic Party of Germany headed by Liebknecht, and the International Workmen's Association had all been formed. While fratricidal strife was raging in America, the reactionaries of Europe, to offset the rising tide of liberalism, staged the rape of Denmark by Prussia.

Dr. Wilson found it, meanwhile, more and more difficult to explain the situation to his son, to say nothing of his flock. All he could say was that it was the part of good Christians to accept with fortitude the trials that had been imposed upon them. Soon occurred the surrenders of Johnston and Lee, and the fateful assassination of Lincoln. Why was he, once the bitter enemy of "Old Abe," so worried about the latter's death? What did General Lee and 'Joe" Johnston mean by saying it was the worst calamity that had yet befallen the South?

Again the Doctor was hard pressed by his son when President Davis was captured and imprisoned. As far as the boy could see, the whole world was tottering upon its foundations. Nothing he had heard seemed to be coming true.

Yes, these days his father was talking quite differently. The Edinburgh Review told how the Latin Monetary Union of France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland had been formed for the purpose of stabilizing the money markets of the world. Young Wilson, now nine years old, understood little about capitalism and liberalism. Yet, amid the screeching of the excited negroes under the influence of the Loyal Legion and the Freedmen's Bureau set up in Au-

gusta following the assassination of "Old Abe," he did not fail to hear his father lamenting bitterly the state of anarchy that existed elsewhere as well as in the South. He was told, among other things, that the old voluntary union of Washington had been replaced by a tyrannical federalized state, that the "Yankees" not only meant to execute President Davis and General Lee, but to give the former slaves the vote, so that they could govern the South. They were also going to take all the money that was left in the South by passing the "plutocratic tariff" they had had in mind ever since they had been blocked by Calhoun.

Such was the situation when a virtual state of warfare broke out in Georgia between the Loyal Legion and the Freedmen's Bureaus that had been set up there by the carpet baggers and the Ku Klux Klan. The hooded night riders were terrifying not alone to the negroes. Young Wilson shuddered at sight of them. He had been told that President Davis and General Lee were martyrs to free government. Yet all about him there were suffering, bitterness, hatred, intolerance, lawlessness. To say the least, the atmosphere of Augusta was not healthy for a child. Ashes and the odor of burning things, even though they be figurative, are not stimulating to the growth of the soul. The beautiful things that childhood should know, were utterly lacking in Augusta. What can there be more calculated to harden the heart than a joyless youth?

It was in truth because the very being of the sensitive lad shuddered and shivered at all the unloveliness around him, that he clung more closely to his parents, longing unconsciously for the sweetness and the warmth that his environment did not afford.

While the Ku Klux Klan was at the height of its unbridled power, the National Grange and the Farmer's Alliance were formed. They too, said his father, were super-governments, as bad, if possible, as the Loyal Legion. Moreover he deemed it all wrong, because eventually it would bring new punishment upon the South. In this many of the neighbors did not agree. Even in the Doctor's flock there were those who, blinded by passion, condoned the

effort to intimidate the Freedmen. The Doctor, however, did not hesitate to express openly the hope that General Forrest and the Invisible Empire would, soon or late, upon the demand of General Lee and the more enlightened element of the South, end the prevailing anarchy.

But what of the rape of Austria by Prussia and the continued war between Germany and France? Who was going to end the violence of Bismarck?

People in Augusta were now condemning even General Lee for proposing that the South unite with the better element of the North, and elect the much abused Andrew Johnson. "Why does General Lee do this? Is he really a traitor to the South?"

"Oh no, my boy. He has merely recognized the inevitable. He wants to see the Republic restored as quickly as possible, in order to prevent the passage of the pending Reconstruction Act."

But General Lee's counsel went unheeded. In vain had Sherman tried to help the South. Before the end of 1867, the odious Reconstruction Act had been passed by Congress with the avowed purpose of punishing the South. More than once Dr. Wilson shook his finger at some member of his congregation. "I told you so," he was wont to say bitterly. Naturally he was becoming unpopular with many of his flock.

He read Bagehot's great work on the English Constitution, and Herbert Spencer's latest political treatise, Man Versus the State. Over and over he declared that the English Constitution was vastly superior to what remained of the American Constitution. According to him, Jefferson as well as Washington had been betrayed. The old voluntary Union of the States had given way to a federalized state dominated by a tyrannical Congress. Apparently he hated Congress even more than Bismarck, Napoleon III, or Maximilian. Upon it he poured the daily vials of his wrath.

"Who is Maximilian?" his son would ask.

"Why, he is the newly created Mexican Emperor." The Doctor would then explain that Napoleon, in concert with Rome, and as a representative of the Holy Alliance, had

taken advantage of the civil war in America to defy the Monroe Doctrine by setting up a reactionary Empire under French protection.

"Were the Yankees going to allow this?"

"No. Bad as they were, they had no idea of tolerating the French in Mexico." The boy then learned that after Johnston's surrender to the "vile Sherman," the latter had despatched Sheridan to the Mexican border preliminary to the ousting of the French by force, if need be. Then, marching his army straight to Washington, he had paraded it in the full panoply of war before the French Ambassador. In the face of his own brother—a Senator from Ohio—this same terrible Sherman had exclaimed threateningly: "Congress shall not give the negro the vote." In the Doctor's eyes there was a look, in the tone of his voice a note of approval, even for Sherman.

Meantime, unaware of Napoleon's purpose, many Confederate veterans had found employment under Maximilian. Obedient to the appeals of General Lee, they were now returning to their homes. "Yes, General Lee, notwithstanding the treatment he has received, is doing all he can to reestablish the Union, and save the South from further punishment. There are many people down here, however, who will not take his advice. They are still determined to try to cure one wrong with another."

So the chastened Doctor explained the aftermath of the collapse of the Confederacy. He was doing much to crystallize certain anti-Southern convictions in the mind of his son. Gradually the boy came to believe that both Congress and the Southern extremists were wrong. He was glad to hear Grant, in 1868, call on the French to abandon Maximilian, glad when he learned that the French were leaving Mexico, not sorry even at Maximilian's execution.

The inevitable Franco-Prussian War had just commenced when General Lee visited Augusta. But when Woodrow gazed into the great Virginian's noble face, it was without emotion, or the least sympathy for the so-called "Lost Cause." Over and over he asked himself: Were Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and the other Yankee generals as bad

as they had been painted? How could they be if they agreed with Lee about the Union and the Monroe Doctrine? Had not Lee himself declared the abolition of slavery a blessing?

By this time, however, his father's teachings had made him rebellious in spirit against Congress and the victorious Republican war party, held responsible by his elders for the degradation of the South. But his father condemned also the "Iron Chancellor" for a ruthlessness that shocked the conscience of the world. Poor France—raped by Prussia, like Denmark and Austria before her, like the South by the North. The boy wondered if there was any justice in the world.

At this juncture there occurred an event which undoubtedly exerted a profound influence upon Woodrow's later life. Just as he reached the age when, in all probability, he would have formed those youthful acquaintances that would have tended to make him overcome his early backwardness, his parents decided to remove from Augusta to Columbia, South Carolina. By nature timid, it was difficult for the lad to mingle with strangers, and form new acquaintances among them. When he should have been playing marbles, leap-frog, spinning tops, engaging in mock Indian warfare, fighting cocks, robbing bird's nests, and frequenting a swimming hole in company with boys of his own age, he spent most of his time reading indoors, pampered and petted by an adoring mother.

In South Carolina, he was still among the ashes in the wake of Sherman's army; nor were his new neighbors less bitter than the Georgians. The boy still found his greatest pleasure in the nightly readings of the Endinburgh Review. At this time, in 1871, almost concurrently with the lamented passing of Lee, and the appearance of the Paris Commune, the First International was formed. "More travesties on democracy," scornfully observed Dr. Wilson. "The British are far more democratic than either the French or that mob of Yankee tyrants in Washington, who are oppressing us with their reconstruction laws and bayonets. As for the Socialists and Communists—in fact they are near anarchists." Under the influence of such teachings young Wilson

had naturally formed a great admiration for Gladstone, and had come to look askance upon all but the British democracy.

The hateful Sumner, arch enemy of the South, presently introduced a resolution in the Senate favoring the establishment of an international tribunal clothed with authority to make it "a complete substitute for war." He wished all the nations to unite in declaring a refusal to abide by the judgment of this tribunal "hostile to civilization." Thus the man who had favored the employment of Yankee bayonets to subdue the South!

Dr. Wilson thought it was a good thing. Henry of Navarre, the Czar Alexander I, and Napoleon, while a prisoner at St. Helena, had all urged the formation of such a league. Sumner had invented nothing new. He was but following the lead of the English. As shown by the Edinburgh Review and the Alabama claims decision, they were leading the world in the effort to establish the principle of International Arbitration.

International Arbitration! It was a sounding term. Would it really end war? "Yes. For ages the so-called savages of North America had employed successfully a league to enforce peace. The trouble was that the civilized people of the North, greedy for money and power, were more barbarous than the Indians. Not until Congress was emancipated from the plutocratic interests of the North, who were making capital out of war, would it take the Eng-glish proposals seriously."

Thus the boy whose parents intended him to be a minister of the gospel, had hatred of war, Congress, and plutocracy, coupled with admiration for the idea of universal peace, and for the British parliamentary system, drummed into his head. The result was inevitable. One day in 1872, while sitting beneath a picture of Gladstone much cherished by his father, a little cousin asked him the name of the subject. "That," said the boy with an air of superior knowledge, "is Gladstone—the greatest statesman who ever lived! I too mean to be a statesman some day."

The episode is of the greatest significance. Woodrow

had already made up his mind not to gratify the wishes of his parents. The church was not for him! The preacher-pedagogue with his ceaseless talk of world politics, had, all unaware, diverted his son from a clerical career. Thereafter, like many parents, he would charge his son with stubbornness, for indulging the ruling bent of his mind.

Admitted to the Church in 1873, during the autumn of this year young Wilson was sent to Davidson College in North Carolina. An old Scotch-Presbyterian classical college, it was well calculated to prepare the lad for a clerical career. But it did not suit him. He knew his father was attempting to constrain him, contrary to his wishes. Interested only in oratory, debating, and English political history, he was deemed an indifferent student. In the spring Dr. Wilson was called from the uncongenial environment of Columbia to Wilmington, North Carolina. Anxious to escape from Davidson, his son had pleaded illness. Always pampered by his mother, he was allowed to join his parents in their new home. Here again he found himself among strangers, having apparently made not a single lasting friendship at college. In Wilmington he lolled about the house most of the time, reading at random. When he did venture forth among his neighbors, he learned only to hate Congress and the Republican party the more. For of all people on earth, none were more violently prejudiced than the almost purely Scottish element of Wilmington in 1873!

It was about this time that Prince Kropotkin began to feed the flames of Anarchy that were sweeping over Russia. According to modern standards, the Russian anarchists of 1873 were no more than liberal minded Republicans, in no wise akin to the growing following of Karl Marx in Germany and Europe generally. Bagehot had but lately shown in his Lombard Street that England, too, was suffering from plutocracy, that the reactionary capitalistic interests were operating in the same way in every country. "Wall Street" was sucking the life-blood of the South and West in Amer-ica, just as Lombard Street was monopolizing the wealth of the British Empire. In short, popular government everywhere was being perverted to the selfish advantage of a

greedy few! No one knew better than Gladstone, said Dr. Wilson, that this was the real cause of the spreading radicalism. Manifestly, he insisted, the Greenback party—another democratic excess—was the direct product of it. Was it not evident that Congress could not continue to starve the West while looting the South, and yet hold the country loyal to the capitalistic order? Sooner or later the West and South would unite under a radical leader. Then they would resort to radical measures. Evil produces evil—wrong produces wrong. Eventually the North would be robbed in turn of all ill-gotten gains a plutocratic tariff and Yankee pensions had yielded it. Meanwhile Woodrow was probably already thinking what a wonderful thing it would be, as the leader of the American masses, to correct all these abuses. Unwilling to return to Davidson, he persuaded his father to send him to the more Democratic Princeton, where many of the more liberal minded Southerners were again sending their sons.

We possess a vivid picture of him at this time. In appearance, he was unpolished to the point of gawkiness. Those who knew him before he attained eminence, realized keenly his notable defects of character. There seems to have been nothing peculiarly broad, magnanimous, or lovely in his make-up at this time, though much of the angular, harsh, and stubborn. More than once he was to give offense at Princeton with the gasconade not uncommon in the South, of arrogating to oneself a social superiority because of Southern origin. By nature he was moody. In spirit he was not a radical, but a rebel. A typical Scotch-Irishman, he longed to assail the things he disliked. Yet he was not sure this could be done through the Democratic party, for it was after all the party of slavery and secession, of the Ku Klux Klan, and of nullification. He deemed it democratic in name only.

With tremendous ideas and equal doubts in his mind, he was a ravenous reader. During the next four years he revelled in Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Bagehot, and Lecky, the most talked of English writers of the time. He learned with interest of the establishment of Johns Hopkins Uni-

versity in 1876. An institution frankly modelled after the German universities, it was to be devoted to the study of the higher learning, and particularly social and economic theories. Devouring Adam Smith, Macaulay, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Locke, Carlyle, Burke, The Federalist, and John Stuart Mill, he came to love Hamilton rather than Jefferson, to despise Disraeli as the enemy of Gladstone. Gladstone, Bright, and Hamilton—they were his heroes!

Poor lad! With his eyes wholly averted from the spiritual aspects of life, he seems, no more than the materialistic philosophers, to have suspected that there were human ills for which there was no politico-economic cure-all. He failed to see that material man must inevitably pay a penalty in one form or another for his willful blindness. Enlarging his stock of information, he committed the common error of imagining that mere knowledge is wisdom. Like the Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, as well as the philosophic materialists, commonly called liberals, conservatives, or reactionaries, he was searching for an elixir that would avoid the unavoidable. He did not know that the American people, and nations generally, were all subject to what the Hindu mystics called the law of Karma —the law of retribution. Moreover, like most Western scholars and their pupils, he dismissed the seemingly new philosophy called Theosophy as an absurdity. Surely no serious minded man would concern himself with the weird teachings of Madame Blavatsky, the strange Russian woman who, in 1875, set up her cult in America. In him there was enough of devotion to Presbyterianism to cause him to look upon Theosophists and Positivists alike as little better than atheists. Such was his mental attitude when, in 1876, or the year following the Congress of Scientists in Philadelphia, and the founding of the Theosophic Society by Madame Blavatsky, Tucker's translation of Proudhon's Anarchy was published in the Free Enquirer, while Huxley was still lecturing in the United States on the materialistic superman and the Evolution of Species through Natural Selection.

Were the evolutionists also atheists? Along with the Theosophists who denied this whole theory, the Church, irate and rampant, was so branding them. He was far more interested in Proudhon's economic theories than in religion. The Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876, and the stealing of the presidency by the Republican party, merely confirmed his hatred of the latter. He doubted not that the whole system of American government was faulty. Accordingly, as an editor of the Princetonian, he succeeded in expounding his own political theories in an article entitled Cabinet Government in the United States. Published later in the International Review, it is proof of his deep interest in the British parliamentary system, that he held it superior to the American system; believing a premier like Gladstone far more effective than a constitutional executive like Jefferson, Jackson, or Grant. To give further expression to his ideas, he organized not a Democratic but a liberal debating club, naming it The Whig.

Much intrigued by the Serbian War of 1876 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877, he saw in them the means by which Russia, blocked by Britain in the Himalayas, sought to reach the Mediterranean via the Balkans. The Russian Government was said by the press to have killed half of its poor mujik conscripts by feeding them sawdust for bread. Even Turkey was shocked by the increasing barbarity of war. So the Red Crescent was formed, while Florence Nightingale again labored on behalf of humanity in Stam-boul. The Church clutched at these slender reeds, and at the recent abolition of slavery by the Western world, as conclusive evidence that the trunk of Christendom was sound, that under its influence mankind was evolving to a higher humanity. This was denied by the Theosophists. In her first great book—Isis Unveiled—Madame Blavatsky, the alleged atheist, shocked by the increasing materialism of the West, collected an immense amount of evidence to prove that history had been deliberately falsified to support the numerous conflicting theological dogmas; then, invoking science, exposed the purely empirical character of the Darwin-Vogt-Hegel-Huxley school of thought. "There is

no religion higher than truth," she insisted. "The truth alone shall set man free. Look not to material achievements alone. There are things material, and there are things spiritual. Already Western civilization is in decline. Those who do not look to the Divine Father for guidance must perish of their folly." Thus, despite her comprehensive condemnation of the Church, and the sneers of the materialistic scientists, did this so-called atheist seek to direct the minds of the West back to the fundamental doctrines of Jesus Christ.

There is no evidence that the young Princeton student of political science and economics ever read Isis Unveiled. The charges of atheism being brought against Robert G. Ingersoll, were sufficient to suggest to him that a young man with political aspirations should avoid taking an unorthodox stand on religion. It seemed wiser for him to leave the whole question of the apparent conflict between religion and science alone, to deal only with politico-economic matters. Apparently, therefore, his attachment to the Presbyterian doctrine of predestination remained unshaken.

A materialist himself, by the test of his writings, what he wanted to know was the economic causes of the great struggle between the railway and mine operators and the laborers of Pittsburgh during the summer of 1877. Were the strikes in truth merely the consequence of the economic depression following the shocking revelry of greed that Congress had encouraged?

His studies showed that doctrines strange to most Americans were current among the alien strikers. Their protest against the ever growing capitalist monopoly was perhaps the first indication in America of the spreading influence of the doctrines of Kropotkin and of Marx.

By 1878, commercial interests demanded American absorption of Samoa as a stepping stone to the East—an unthinkable policy to the Democrats. Increasing popular unrest, meanwhile, produced the socialistic Greenback-Labor party. Grant and Schurz might appeal for the Indians, but Wall Street, backing the construction of the new trans-

continental railroads, insisted on acquisition of Indian lands.

The "land of the free and the home of the brave" seethed with discontent, despite growing wealth and increasing population. Something was supplanting the old popular ideas, while radicalism increased. In all this, there was cause for much reflection by the moralists.

The small things in life are often fraught with utmost importance. Democracy has, in practice, been ever hostile to the instincts of ordinary men. American colleges early developed the aristocratic institution of the Greek letter fraternity, while democratic Princeton substituted eating clubs, early monopolized nonetheless by the elite. Young Wilson was not invited to join, a stigma poisonous to a high tempered youth of his character, which turned him against the social system of his alma mater. Years afterwards it was to exert a profound influence upon his career by throwing him into opposition to the social order of the college, with the most direful consequences to himself.

By the end of his Senior year, he had become the leading debater in college. So set was his character, and so firmly developed his prejudices, that he refused to take the tariff side in a college debate against Free Trade, because of his admiration for Gladstone and British free trade policies. Already dubbed by his comrades a "lonehunter,"[61] who could never be depended on for team work, he felt his isolation keenly. But, young as he was at graduation, no personal sensitiveness could swerve him from the predetermined course that already held within it the seeds of both his future triumphs, and his ultimate tragedies.

CHAPTER II

Wilson Studies Law. Hostile to the Southern Political Tradition, He Attempts Practice in Atlanta. Enters Johns Hopkins. Publishes "Congressional Government." Enters the Faculty of Bryn Mawr. Goes to Wesleyan. Deems Both Parties Moribund. Publishes "The State," and "Division and Reunion." Denies Southern Origin, and Claims to be a Federalist. Seeks to Create a Third Party. The Rise of Anarchy and Socialism. Carnegie and Bryce Versus Proudhon and Kropotkin. Populism. Bryanism. William of Hohenzollern Succeeds to the Throne of Germany. Fall of Bismarck.

WILSON RETURNED to Wilmington after graduation. He now dropped the name of Thomas, in favor of the more distinguished Woodrow. He had abandoned all thought of the ministry; nor did he like law, despite its being the surest stepping stone to a political career in the South. Nevertheless, he decided to enter the University of Virginia Law School.

Disliking Jefferson as lacking in force, he was out of harmony from the beginning with "the University" where the once despised Jefferson was held almost a divinity. In Woodrow's own words, he had become "something of a Federalist," looking upon Hamilton as "the greatest American statesman, not excepting Washington."

We have no record of his position in the current controversy regarding the attempt of a French syndicate, headed by Ferdinand De Lesseps, to construct a canal on the Isthmus of Panama, at that time Colombian territory. President Hayes opposed the undertaking as an infringement of the Monroe Doctrine, but failed of the South American support essential to his contentions. Fortunately

for the United States, the De Lesseps undertaking ended in financial disaster.

Woodrow had by now come to dislike almost equally both the Democratic and Republican parties, as having abandoned their cardinal principles. His already conspicuous unpopularity at the University, was intensified at this time by a public speech in which he displayed a complete lack of sympathy for the Southern cause in the late Civil War, and its subsequent policy of Sectionalism. He was for the Union above all else.

The softening of his early Presbyterianism is indicated by his acceptance, at this time, of an invitation from the Jefferson Society to uphold against the future Senator from Maryland, William Cabell Bruce, the negative of the question: "Is the Roman Catholic element in the United States a menace to American Institutions?" The inability of the judges in this public debate to decide on the victor, resulted in their awarding medals to Bruce as the best debater, and to Wilson as the best orator!

Meanwhile even his admirers, like Bruce, considered him to be "swelled-headed," and his unpopularity and consequent discontent increased. As a result of this situation, coupled with recurrent illness, he finally left the University, and continued his reading, in somewhat desultory fashion, for a year and a half more in his father's library.[17,61,119]

While his parents and friends were discouraged at his lack of concrete accomplishment, we must realize that he was too stubborn in character ever to degenerate into a mere idler. Rather, he was feeling his way toward an outlet from an uncongenial rut. While he was safe enough in rejoicing at this time over England's acquisition of the Suez Canal, and of Egypt, over her consolidation of her rule in India, and over Beaconsfield's final defeat, he was less fortunate in his position as to American affairs. In fact, an address on Confederate Memorial Day, 1881, reasserting his opposition to the traditional "Confederate" position, so exasperated all of Wilmington that he was generally denounced as a "Damn Yankee Lover," and advised to "go

back North, where he and his anti-American, anti-Southern ideas belong!"

Having thus made home too hot for himself, and recognizing, moreover, the necessity of making a living, he repaired to Atlanta and formed the law firm of Renick and Wilson, an undertaking which met with little success. A far more important event was his meeting with Walter Hines Page, a fellow North Carolinian, who had, after attending Johns Hopkins, become a reporter on the New York World. Page shared Wilson's anti-sectional views, and encouraged Woodrow in his desire to write, as well as in his political ambitions. The important result was the beginning of work on Congressional Government, a book which reflects Wilson's enthusiasm for the British Parliamentary system, and which he completed in the fall of 1884. It was to make his reputation, going through fourteen editions between its publication in 1885 and the close of the century.

Wilson seems to have been little affected by the increasing spread of radical doctrines, marked by the publication abroad of Proudhon's God and the State, and commemorated in this country by the warnings of Ely at Johns Hopkins in his French and German Socialism. Yet these influences were felt so strongly abroad, as to cause Switzerland, in the interest of international Government solidarity, to propose, on April 1, 1883, to the United States, a general treaty for international arbitration. The idea was encouraged by Secretary Frelinghuysen and President Arthur, but never came to fruition.

The influences that were beginning to shape Wood-row's choice of a permanent career, were brought to a head by his meeting Ellen Axson, with whom he promptly fell in love. To marry her, necessitated a permanent career, and he had already recognized that his mind was not a legal one, and that the law held out no prospects of success. His parents had become impatient with his dubious prospects, and he could not continue to depend on their permanent support. He determined, therefore, to prepare himself at Johns Hopkins for a career as a writer and teacher, with possible eventual political opportunities in addition.

Entering the still youthful institution at Baltimore in 1883, he specialized first in political economy, philosophy, history and government. He studied intensively the works of Adam Smith, and John Stuart Mill, as well as the later Ely. He read deeply the most advanced German and other continental writers. And, most important of all to his later career, he met here Theodore Marburg, six years his junior, but in every way a kindred spirit.

Marburg has, in some respects, no counterpart in history. At times even Machiavelli seems, compared to him, like a novice at the game of politics. Of German extraction, he was born in Baltimore, July 10, 1862. In 1881, he attended Johns Hopkins and formed the acquaintance of Walter Hines Page. Like a number of his brothers, he soon became a wealthy tobacconist. It is a peculiarly significant fact that their business success commenced with the novel enterprise of the exhibition by Theodore Marburg, in North Carolina, of an elephant to advertise the family product. All his life, the originator of this idea was to appeal with his gigantic schemes to the imaginations of his fellowmen. In a sense he was always the victim of a "mental elephantiasis."

But though a born organizer, advertiser, promoter, he was nothing of a charlatan. With unusual intellectual gifts, studious by nature, he was, even as a young man, a patron of learning. Noting his peculiar bent of mind, those among whom he came to intellectual maturity, deemed him an impractical visionary. Like most young men who think and dare to express themselves, he was not taken seriously. Those who heard him, declared, with something of a sneer, that he would do better to devote himself, along with his brothers, to the manufacture of smoking tobacco than to economics and political science, socialism and international finance. What had a Baltimorean tobacconist to do with such things? Most certainly the police were competent to take care of the radicals. Apparently it was just some more of the strange jargon which Adams, Jamison, Ely and other young professors at Johns Hopkins had brought back from Germany. This was the popular attitude of the mid

eighties toward the "new learning." Such was the man whose intellectual development was to proceed concurrently with that of Wilson, and who was, indirectly at least, to dictate much of the latter's political philosophy.

While it was to be another ten years or more before Marburg "burst into print," the cultivation of literary style now became an obsession with Wilson. He deemed art in writing a source of power. He began to expand Congressional Government to submit it as a graduation thesis. In the autumn of 1884, the Democratic party was swept into control of the country upon the wave of a great popular revolt. But although Wilson preferred Cleveland to Blaine, he was still an anti-Republican rather than a Democrat. Referring, after the election, to a certain presidential appointment, he wrote: "The dismemberment of the Democratic party is a consummation devoutly to be wished, and, if this appointment, which must delight every true advocate of civil service reform, every wisher for good government, is to have any influence, let us pray that it may effect that dismemberment. Then my November hopes, for the rise of a new party to which one could belong with self-respect and enthusiasm, might be realized." *

These views were identical with those of Page and Marburg. At heart Wilson too seemed to be a non-partisan Nationalist. He believed the time had come to express his political views, thus to set in train the movement which he had long had in mind. Congressional Government was accepted by a publisher, and appeared in the winter of 1885. It evidenced his characteristic dislike of the restraints of precedent.

"The Constitution is not honored by blind worship. The more open-minded we become, as a nation, to its defects, and the prompter we grow in applying, with the unhesitating courage of conviction, all thoroughly tested or well-considered expedients necessary to make self-government among us a straightforward thing of simple method, single, unstinted power, and clear responsibility,

* Italics added.

the nearer will we approach to the sound sense and practical genius of the great and honorable statesmen of 1787." Plainly he chafed under the bonds of the Constitution.

Gamaliel Bradford of Boston, an advanced thinker, praised the book in the Nation. Despite much sneering criticism from Republicans and Democrats alike, it won for its author the John Marshall prize given by Johns Hopkins. With his pen Wilson was becoming a marked man, marked not only as a writer, but as an independent political thinker.

While he was serving as an assistant instructor, professorial opportunities at the Universities of Arkansas and Tulane opened to him. But he had no idea of burying himself in the "hidebound South." Although he loathed the idea of teaching women, he accepted in 1885 the professorship of political science at the newly founded Bryn Mawr College. For this he actually felt compelled to apologize! At least it was a rung on the ladder, and a means of getting married.

The Bryn Mawr girls assumed he was a minister. "There seems to be something about the cut of my jib that leads a great many people to conclude that I am a missionary craft of some sort—though I could myself never discover what it is."

In spite of the eager energy which he applied to the new work, in spite of the complete happiness of his married life, it was not long before his impatient and ambitious spirit began to chafe at the limitations of his surroundings. His aspirations reached the stars. It became more and more irksome to him to teach women, to say nothing of being directed by a woman. Dean Thomas, with all her brilliance and her genius, proved to be difficult for him to work with. Moreover, his salary was barely enough for two to live on.

About the youthful nonchalance of America at this time, there was something astonishingly impertinent. Sick of her miseries, Europe had, in her old age, contemplated silently the expansive energy of a polyglot civilization, still, in its ignorance, calling itself Anglo-Saxon! Perhaps after all, with her ancient distempers, her continuing prejudices,

Europe had missed the secret of life. Wisely, therefore, the European statesmen made no effort to curb the human out-pourings from their shores. With the blood of Europe being purged of many impurities, they were content to beat the toll of an enormous tariff to this irresistible New World civilization, which was all the while nearing a crisis.

Thoroughly schooled in the social and economic theories of Johns Hopkins, the studies of Wilson's new friend, Marburg, had shown him the trend of events, and particularly the significance of the vanishing frontier. He saw that the radicalisms being borne to America upon the flood tide of an unprecedented immigration, by the disciples of Marx, Kropotkin, and Most, could no more be destroyed in Zangwill's "melting pot," than the irony of Voltaire and the anarchistic teachings of Kropotkin could be confined to a dungeon in France, or the social evil controlled by the singing of psalms. Surely there would come a day of reckoning, when, having reached its saturation point, American society would no longer be able to assimilate the blood of a horde of strangers each year. He believed that a social revolution threatened America. Whatever may be said of the self-satisfied, bombastic provincialism, at this time, of Americans generally, it was impossible for thinkers like the men at Johns Hopkins to close their eyes to the facts of what was going on in Europe, as well as in America.

The British Tories or Imperialists had had their way under Disraeli, undeterred save by the threat of Russia. Social Democracy, or a perversion of Socialism which Marx himself had loathed, had been making great headway in Germany and Russia. Moreover the Socialists had about overcome Most and the Anarchists. But still another party had formed in Germany. With William of Hohenzollern as its spokesman, it wanted not only to crush the Socialists, but to share with the other Powers in the division of Asia and Africa, by force if necessary. From this it was only restrained by Bismarck who, having erected the German Empire, wished to avoid a conflict with either Russia or Britain while consolidating it upon its existing foundations.

No one could fail to see that the militarists of Germany and the Dual Monarchy on the one side, and of France and Russia on the other, were converting Europe into an armed camp, while the German expansionists were ever more loudly demanding a place in the sun for the Vaterland. Anarchists, Socialists, and Social Democrats, naturally Internationalists and Pacifists, were arraying themselves more threateningly against the capitalistic order every year.

While the proletarian revolution constantly gathered force, while the autocracies of Europe prepared to disturb the peace of the world, Andrew Carnegie, a naturalized Scotch-American, and one of the richest men of the age, suddenly turned philanthropist. Like Marburg and the professors at Johns Hopkins, like the Rothschilds, like Lombard Street and Wall Street, he saw the capitalistic order imperilled. How could he utilize his vast wealth to save it? Was not the way through democracy, through a compromise with the proletarians? So concluding, he voiced his theories in Democracy Triumphant. It was a plain plea for the democratization of the world, which, as he saw it, could be saved only through those liberal reforms urged long ago by Mill, Spencer, and Bagehot, and more recently by Ely.

With Carnegie's object, there was no fault to find. But he was, like Kropotkin, unable to outline a plan for the realization of his ideal. Of course, if Democracy could be universally established, Socialism and Anarchy would be avoided. But how was this to be done? This was the question asked by thinking persons, while Kropotkin, who had always proclaimed the war of the Anarchists upon the existing order, published, in direct answer to Carnegie, his Law and Authority.

Seeing that woman suffrage must come, Wilson favored it, along with many other reforms. He pressed Page and his classmates, Cleveland H. Dodge and Robert Bridges, to help him forward. While Carnegie assumed the leadership of democracy in the fight of capital against anarchy, Bridges arranged for Wilson to address the Princeton Alumni. His speech was a complete failure.

Following him, Chauncey Depew, a typical capitalist, and railroad president, poked good-humored fun at the deadly seriousness of the young professor; and the audience laughed with him. This cut Wilson to the quick.

"It can be imagined," says Ray Baker in his biography, "what such a failure meant to a man of Wilson's temperament. It was the only time in his entire career that an audience laughed at him." . . . He considered it a far worse failure than it really was, and did not recover for years from his chagrin. He felt that one of the possible doors of his liberation—by way of oratory, to which he had given so much labor—was definitely closed.[17]

Two weeks later he went to Washington to see his old friend and former law partner, Renick, who had intimated that he might find a place for him in the Department of State, with freedom to look into the "inside of the government." They visited various bureau chiefs—found several who had been interested in Congressional Government— but no place for an impecunious young professor, without so much as a single political acquaintance to give him standing with the Administration. With his head full of the great affairs of the world, and an ultimate ambition to be "senator from Virginia," he knew little of the fierce struggle going on for every office that paid even a trifling salary in a new Democratic administration. One significant thing he did on this trip: he visited for the first time that Congress, about which he had been writing so long.

James Bryce, friend and disciple of Gladstone, now re-introduced the American political system to Europe, in a work which attracted more attention abroad than any since the appearance of de Tocqueville's half a century before. In The American Commonwealth he quoted Congressional Government. This was very flattering to Wilson. An instant response to Carnegie, The American Commonwealth was the first real effort of a British statesman to appeal to the kinship of Britain and America, to seek an alliance between them in the struggle between capital and the proletariat.

But what Europe saw in America was not encouraging.

At the very moment Carnegie and Bryce were preaching the virtues of democracy, following the Grange, Greenback, and Labor movements, there commenced the radical Populist movement in the West. With radical, social, and economic theories of his own, William Jennings Bryan appeared upon the political stage. Coincidentally Grover Cleveland, a great conservative, and a Democrat on principle who had achieved vast reforms, was defeated for reelection.

At Johns Hopkins, the nostrum of Free Silver which, in his ignorance of economic principles, the "Boy Orator of the Platte" was proffering the country along with his anti-foreign sentiments, seemed the sheerest quackery. There Bryan was looked upon, not as a mere political mountebank, but as a real menace. In this circle of advanced thinkers, one heard both American and European politics discussed with far greater breadth than elsewhere. With minds transcending insularity, the young professors were thinking like Carnegie and Bryce in international terms. With the same clarity of vision that characterized his preceptors, Marburg too saw the essential social and economic unity of the modern world, in which cables and ocean greyhounds had all but eliminated factors of time and distance. Alarmed by the turn American politics were taking under a radical demagogic leadership, convinced like his intellectual associates that Bryan was but the product of a dangerous nationalism, the idea had fixed itself in his mind that Carnegie was right, that America must be led away from the traditional policy of isolation characteristic[18] of both national parties.

A petition signed by two hundred and thirty-five members of the British Parliament, urging a treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, re-enforced by a multitude of individuals and associations from Maine to California, was shortly presented to President Cleveland and to Congress. Carnegie had also organized many of the most eminent citizens of New York to back it. The Interparliamentary Union was formed, and, on June 13, 1888, John Sherman of the Senate Committee

on Foreign Relations, reported a joint Resolution requesting the President to institute negotiations looking to treaties of arbitration. In this way were the rising dangers to the Capitalistic order to be met.

Wilson, also under the Johns Hopkins influence, had now come to believe in the necessity of an Anglo-American alliance. He further averred that both national parties were moribund, and urged the formation of a third party. Plainly he had in mind one that would abandon the old American Isolationism, which, he felt, had become a threat to the world. Being but an unknown professor, he naturally made no headway with this proposal. Meanwhile, soon after the presidential election, an opportunity to escape from his unpleasant situation at Bryn Mawr, offered itself. He accepted a professorship at Wesleyan as a step toward Princeton. There he made a great reputation as a teacher of politics. His ideas of Hamilton, Jefferson, Jackson, Clay, Webster, Calhoun and Lincoln were not those of a Democrat. He was, however, now an avowed exponent of the capitalistic order.

Wilson now published The State as a protest against Socialism. It shows him much under the influence of Adam Smith, Mill, Spencer, Bagehot, Bryce, and Carnegie. It is evident from his three books that he, too, saw democracy as a growth, not as an invention; a life, not a machine; an effect, not a cause.

"Democracy," he wrote, "is of course wrongly conceived when treated as merely a body of doctrine, or as simply a form of government. It is a stage of development. It is not created by aspirations or by new faith; it is built up by slow habit. Its process is experience, its basis old wont, its meaning national organic unity and effectual life. It comes, like manhood, as the fruit of youth; immature peoples cannot have it, and the maturity to which it is vouchsafed is the maturity of freedom and self-control, and no other. It is conduct, and its only stable foundation is character. America has democracy because she is free; she is not free because she has democracy. A particular form of government may no more be adopted than a particular form of character may

be adopted; both institutions and character must be developed by conscious effort and through transmitted aptitudes."

Elsewhere he pointed out that the English alone had approached popular institutions through habit. "All other races have rushed prematurely into them through mere impatience with habit; have adopted democracy, instead of cultivating it."

He agreed entirely with Burke's attitude toward the French Revolution: "Monarchies may be made, but democracies must grow."

These were sound ideas. "The government which we founded one hundred years ago was no type of an experiment in advance democracy, as we allowed Europe and even ourselves to suppose; it was simply an adaptation of English constitutional government."

The mistake which he made, here, was fundamental and permanent. Characteristically provincial in his knowledge of history other than ancient and British, like most American historians, he traced everything of a democratic nature in America back to Magna Charta. But, like Carnegie and Bryce, he foresaw the dangers threatening the New World democracy.

"America," he wrote, "is now sauntering through her resources, and through the mazes of her politics with easy nonchalance; but presently there will come a time when she will be surprised to find herself grown old,—a country crowded, strained, perplexed—when she will be obliged to fall back upon her conservatism, obliged to pull herself together, adopt a new regime of life, husband her resources, concentrate her strength, steady her methods, sober her views, restrict her vagaries, trust her best, not her average, members. That will be the time of change."

Thus he recommended himself to the country as a safe leader through whom to effect the changes in Government which he had in mind, changes that would bind Britain and America together, and save the capitalistic order!

Notwithstanding Carnegie's and Bryce's laudation of democracy, the recent experiences of the Latin Americans

in the Chilean and Brazilian episodes with the great Republic of the North, coupled with the memory of the Mexican War, had completely destroyed their confidence in it. Among them the conviction was fixed that the Monroe Doctrine was but a sham to fix Gringo control over them. To counteract this impression, and to gain their cooperation in enforcing the Monroe Doctrine, Blaine, Secretary of State in Harrison's cabinet, again invited the International American Conference to assemble in Washington. Attended by representatives of all the American states except Santo Domingo, the Congress of 1889-90 agreed to establish "a voluntary organization of the twenty-one American Republics with a governing board established in Washington," to be devoted to the development and conservation of "peace, friendship, and commerce."

"We hold up this new Magna Charta, which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American Republics," said Blaine, "as the first great fruit of the International American Conference." Thereupon Congress adopted the Sherman Resolution of 1888.

All this was a step well calculated to fortify the Monroe Doctrine against a violation by a non-American state. But while Wilson noted its evidence of a growing tendency toward international association, he was far less interested at this time in international politics and the world peace movement, than in the great good fortune which now came to him. The devoted Bridges had contrived at last to have him elected a professor at Princeton, where, under the inspiration of Johns Hopkins, new ideas were finally being welcomed.

When Woodrow Wilson entered the faculty at Princeton, a world-revolution of both a social and economic nature, was already in progress. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the activities of Bryan and Carnegie, and the new school of thought at Johns Hopkins but reflected the influence of the revolutionists. Woodrow Wilson commenced his professorship thoroughly aware of these profound changes and of others that were inevitably impending.

CHAPTER III

Bryan and Free Silver. Marburg at Oxford. The Rise of Japan. Wilson Takes Up Writing History for Political Purposes. His "George Washington." Marburg and "The World's Money Problem." Bryan Defeated. "Despairing Democracy." The Spanish-American War and American Imperialism.

LIKE PEARLY CLOUDS, the hopes of the Pacifists were drifting across the sky of reality, when in the autumn of 1890 Wilson assumed his duties at Princeton. It was only now and then that they caught the glint of Michael's blade, that the distant rumbling of some minor war broke the ominous silence. Looking back, it is plain that, in the midst of the war on capital by the proletariat, a conflict between the nationalist states of the world was inevitable.

With a brilliant faculty, Princeton was in process of transformation from an old college to a new university. Here also, with his novel ideas, Wilson proved to be a popular lecturer. By some he was even deemed "an inspired teacher." He took a leading role among the progressive element of the faculty. His purpose was plain, for now he began to make extended speaking tours, always talking politics, always hinting at the need of changes in the old order; but he rarely dealt with world economics. There was nothing concrete, in a party sense, in his criticisms of the existing order, though he apparently loathed Bryan and all of his radicalisms. Nor did he yet appear to have taken any particular notice of the world peace movement.

In 1892, Harrison submitted the Bering Sea controversy with Great Britain to arbitration. In 1893, Engels published Marx's third volume of "Kapital"; coincidentally

Wilson published a series of essays—Epochs of History. He had long since discovered the distrust of Southern Democrats in the North, as well as the anti-British sentiment there. To show that he had no sympathy with the Southern political tradition, he next published Division and Reunion. In a letter to his Boston publisher, he was careful to explain that he was not of Southern origin as so often supposed, that he was not a Democrat but a Federalist![17] Plainly he had learned much about practical politics in the short time since he had ceased seeking the support of the South, and begun looking to Northern conservatives. Instead of trying to force the facts of life to fit his own philosophy, he was now adjusting his public utterances to fit his purpose, and taking the first steps which a political philosopher, who aspires to be a statesman, must always take to reach the political stage. Probably both Page and Marburg had given him practical advice!

Wilson's last book had just appeared when, on July 16, 1893, under the influence of such thinkers as Bryce and Lecky with whom Carnegie was actively cooperating to suppress anti-European sentiment in America, the House of Commons passed a resolution expressing its cordial sympathy with the recent joint Resolution of Congress favoring arbitration. If there was to be a Pan-American Union, why not also an Anglo-American Union to uphold democracy? Accordingly, in December, 1893, Cleveland referred the British resolution to the Senate, and soon, amid the plaudits of the Internationalists, an Anglo-American treaty of arbitration was executed.

It is significant that just at this moment, at the very height of a financial panic in the United States, Marburg decided to take a special course in economics and political science at Oxford. There he proposed to acquaint himself with the Fabians, intellectual leaders of political Socialism in England. In England, he soon met Bryce, William T. Stead of the Pall Mall Gazette, Bernard Shaw, and Lecky who was, next to Bryce, the foremost political writer in England. Under these influences, supplemented by the views of English bankers, it was not long before he reached

certain definite conclusions as to the causes of the panic in America, and the monetary troubles of other countries.[145]

While he was in England, an event occurred which, almost unperceived, affected world politics profoundly. With a national army patterned after the Prussian model and trained by German drillmasters, and a navy trained by the British, Japan had become, through the sudden defeat of China, a world power to be reckoned with by Europe, and especially Britain and Russia. America was determined to share in the trade of China. This very year an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the United States to acquire the Hawaiian Islands, which, under American influence, had formed themselves into a Republic, as the American stepping stone to the Orient. The race between Japan and America to dominate the Pacific had begun.[69]

Marburg sensed the meaning of all this. America was headed for trouble, was likely to become involved in the impending general conflict, unless something were done to prevent it. Yet, although he found no one at home but Carnegie particularly alarmed, he was not yet prepared to take up the program of political education he had in mind. He decided accordingly to attend the Ecole de la Science Politique in Paris during the session of 1895, the better to acquaint himself with Continental points of view, and particularly with the theories of Saint-Simon, Blanc, Jaures, Millerand, and the French political Socialists. It is not unlikely that, before his departure, he discussed the economic situation with Wilson, in the hope of directing the latter's polished pen against Bryan.

Presently there occurred the Venezuela boundary incident, and the now famous defiance to England, in support of the Monroe Doctrine, on the part of Grover Cleveland. The leaders of both parties were seeking to overcome their domestic economic difficulties by resort to the old trick of diverting the mind of the country to foreign affairs. A wave of anti-British sentiment swept over the country, in which Bryan took a leading part. In response to this, the Anglo-American arbitration treaty was suspended, Cleveland appointed a Commission to determine by an ex parte

investigation what were America's rights. He proposed that the country should stand on the report without regard to the ideas of others. At this the British not unnaturally also became excited. War was a possibility, when Lord Salisbury, with great poise, prevented a threatened rupture by refusing to become angry. At this juncture the International Law Association met at Brussels, and proposed the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration to which the nations should bind themselves by treaty to submit their disputes.

Wilson had long since seen in the danger of Bryanism a great political opportunity for himself. Moreover, he had learned that, in an age of American imperialism, he must stop talking about the superiority of the British over the American system of government; that there are some things best left unsaid. To show that he was prepared to offer conservative leadership as opposed to the radicals who were shouting in Bryan's train, he decided in 1895 to write a popular life of Washington, who had previously occupied a secondary place to Hamilton and Gladstone in his regard. Having thoroughly established his political principles in his previous writings, he was now ready to make a popular appeal to the country by glorifying the Patriot Father.

So far the historians had done nothing to prevent, and much to promote, warfare. There had been few writers like Tolstoi. For centuries youthful minds had been introduced to history through glamorous fables like Homer's. Indeed, "the historian of his country's woes" had depicted war with such imperishable art, that he had immortalized the barbaric warriors of the heroic age. Patterning their narratives after his, successors in the field of history had made their records little more than narratives of perpetual strife among peoples. Whether they had written of Hector and Achilles, of Hannibal and Scipio, of Cassar and Pompey, of Marlborough, Gustavus, and Frederick, of Clive and Dupleix, of Bonaparte, Blucher, Suvarov and Wellington, of Grant and Lee, of Von Moltke or Skobelev, little had been said of the unheroic aspect of the wars in which the military chieftains had distinguished themselves. Always

it had been the same. Resounding through their pages, one heard the shrill clarions and the clashing cymbals of AEschylus. The rush and the rumble of Olympian chariots had merely been succeeded by the peal of modern artillery. This being so, it was not strange that in every country, little boys with wooden staves and cocked hats made of their father's newspapers, were still playing in the scented gardens of their youth at the game of generals and admirals, just as Tommy Wilson had done, while little girls applauded the prowess of the mock warriors. Still beyond the empurpled horizon of the rising generation lay the heroic myth of Valhalla, still, despite all the pacifists had done, the children of America were taught by historians to look upon Bunker Hill and Yorktown, Alamo and Palo Alto, Chickamauga and Cemetery Hill, as the glory of American manhood. In the recent Chilean, Brazilian, and Venezuelan incidents, the Nation had shown itself just as willing to fight—the weak Latin Americans or the powerful Britons, it made no difference—as it had always been when aroused.

Here was a great opportunity for a brilliant intellect like Wilson's to penetrate with translucent thought to the very core of American character, to tell "the whole truth," to appeal to a higher patriotism, to assail the Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, Nationalists, Imperialists alike, to make the truths of history scintillate in the sunshine of an incisive logic, and shimmer like spangles in the moonlight of the strong Washingtonian national sentiment of the country. Surely the task might inspire any one capable of writing, especially Wilson, for nothing could serve to call attention to sound political principles and to his own availability at such a time, more than a glowing encomium of the founder of the Republic. Now it was not merely a question of the rising tide of color, but of thoroughbred or mongrel—mongrelized political principles as well as blood.[193,205]

Wilson took up his new work with a will, in order that the new book might be published before the Democratic convention. When, in the spring of 1896, he turned the

manuscript over to his publisher, he was on the verge of a complete physical breakdown. It is especially significant that he called attention to the fact that there were thirteen letters in the names of both Geo. Washington and Woodrow
Wilson!

Despite the great effort he had made, it was too late for the book to be published before autumn. His right arm was now crippled with neuritis. Was it in fact a partial paralysis? Upon the urgent advice of friends, he decided to seek rest during the summer, and go abroad for the first time.

It was just at this time that a great book appeared in England. Since the appearance of Carnegie's, Marx's and Kropotkin's works, Lecky had been thinking deeply upon democracy. To what extent was it really a guarantee of human happiness? This question he attempted to answer in Liberty and Democracy. His conclusion was that while popular government offered the best prospect of happiness, it might also prove an intolerable tyranny where the government was controlled by selfish interests, as in many of the existing so-called democratic states. When this occurred, radicalism was as inevitable as in the case of autocratic states.

Marburg was all the more convinced that great reforms must be accomplished in America. Having returned to America early in 1896, he had, like Carnegie, been laboring ceaselessly to prevent any recurrence of such an incident as that which had taken place the year before between Britain and America. As the temper of the Nation cooled, thinking men everywhere saw that a conflict between the English speaking peoples would be fatal. Thus, in April, 1896, following the recommendation of the International Law Association, the Bar Association of the State of New York adopted, at a special meeting in Albany, a plan for the establishment of a permanent international tribunal such as that which had been first proposed in Massachusetts in 1832 by the Pacifists, and eight years later by Victor Hugo. Great minds were behind all this, including Joseph

H. Choate and Elihu Root, perhaps the foremost lawyers in America, to whom Carnegie had ready access.

Meantime it had been easy for a man of Marburg's wealth to ally himself with the Republican organization. Having fortified his theories by studies abroad, he took the field as a pamphleteer early in the presidential campaign. In a striking article entitled The World's Money Problem which appeared in the Baltimore American, he tore asunder Bryan's half-baked monetary theories. His arguments plainly reflected the influences of Johns Hopkins, of Oxford, of the Bank of England, of the Ecole Politique and of Carnegie. Reprinted over and over in the press, Bryan saw in it the forces being arrayed against him. It was, he believed, the old story of Lombard Street, over again.[12]

In Thierry's Socialistic France, his practiced eye had unearthed the glittering phrase of an obscure Socialist delegate to the Convention preceding the French Revolution— "Thou shalt not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." With that same phrase, addressed to the Republican Bourbons of America, "The Boy Orator of the Platte" was to sweep the Democratic Convention off its feet, and secure the presidential nomination.

Printed in booklet form, Marburg's gold plea was widely distributed at a popular price by the Republican National Committee. At once it marked him as one of the foremost monetary experts in America, as well as one of the world's leading economists and internationalists. How much had he to do with the split in the Democratic party resulting in the Palmer-Buckner Democratic gold ticket?

Although Wilson's mind was not that of an economist, and he never mastered the theory of bi-metallism, no one read The World's Money Problem more approvingly. It served to draw him to Marburg more closely. Visiting the British Isles, he spent much of his vacation searching out the homes of his ancestors in Scotland. Nevertheless one might assume from the diary he wrote with his left hand that he was a native of England. George Washington appeared soon after his return from Europe in the early autumn. A beautiful piece of writing, it was, as a historical

work, disappointing. An out and out appeal to the Nationalism invoked by Harrison and Cleveland, it was weak in its sentimentality. It closed with a quotation from the Happy Warrior, by means of which William Bayard Hale, who knew Wilson intimately, but did not know his purpose in writing the book, claims that Wilson undertook to glorify the virtues in Washington which he thought himself to possess. In an exhaustive analysis of Wilson's writings, he rated him not as a pathological case, but as abnormally egotistical. He also insisted that Wilson was writing to sound rather than to reason.[96] Be this as it may, the book was shot through with egregious errors of fact. On the other hand, it reflected Wilson's old misconceptions of American origins. He even committed the almost grotesque blunder of making Washington long, at one time, to return to his home in England! Nor did he deal in any way with the perplexing social and economic situations which were of such deep concern to Marburg, Bryce, Lecky, and others.

But whatever his motives, and his defects as a historian, George Washington proved that, like Marburg, he was no supine pacifist. Still an ardent Federalist, he had not hesitated to ridicule some of Jefferson's humanistic theories as illusory vaporings. Plainly he was preaching against Bryan, disputing his leadership. Consequently his first historical work served to make him more popular at Princeton, where he was now deemed a conservative, as compared with Bryan and the Southern and Western Democrats.

Nor did he fail to see, in the invitation to deliver the oration at the Princeton Sesqui-Centennial during the autumn, a new opportunity to appeal to the country by exalting the ideals of "Old Nassau" in language that was superb. Everywhere the address was printed and reprinted by the alumni, who began to hail "Woody" as the lion of the Princeton world. Here was the man, Bridges and Wilson's other friends declared, to lead the Democratic party away from Bryanism. Once fixed among the alumni, the idea that he was "an idealist" expanded like a rolling snowball. It seemed to indicate that this "Professor on Horseback" was something above the ordinary run of men.

CHAPTER IV

The War with Spain and the End of American Isolation. Imperialism Rampant. Marburg Plans to Enforce Peace. The First Hague Peace Conference. The Boer War. "The United States of Europe" Proposed. The Principle of International Cooperation Applied in China. Marburg's Theory of Expansion. Bryan as the "Apostle of Peace." Wilson Contemplates Attending Heidelberg with Marburg. Cleveland Comes to Princeton. Wilson Elected President of Princeton.

THE EGLANTINE of today is the cultivated rose of tomorrow. Only the law of change is changeless. Even the celestial universe finds a record of its habits in the pyramids. As the world ages, along with the enduring monuments to human wisdom, more and more are men prone to enquire if there be anything new under the sun. High up in the hills of Macedon at the dawn of European history, a little boy had sat at the knee of Aristotle, imbibing the knowledge which made of him a greater conqueror than his father. The efforts of Alexander to reduce the universe to his sway were futile. It was but a few centuries before a humble Jew, endowed with more wisdom than the wisest Greeks, proclaimed that there could be but one universal kingdom—a kingdom of the spirit. Still, however, as the Nineteenth Century drew to a close, the minds of men remained unconquered by the words of Jesus, just as in the days when William the Silent, Raleigh, and Henry of Navarre sat at the knee of Coligny, just as when Alexander I listened to the teachings of Laharpe. Long before it was ever imagined that Woodrow Wilson would prove the human instrument for the salvation of mankind, others had begun to formulate a scheme not

merely for the encouragement but for the enforcement of universal peace.

As society becomes more civilized, the charm of gold seems to enhance, its power to increase. It is something no one can combat successfully. Bryan's was indeed a hopeless task—the defeat of McKinley, ably supported by Mark Hanna at the head of the capitalists, while his own party was split asunder by the Gold Democrats. His following was a peculiarly noisy one, but the more hullabuloo the anarchists, socialists, populists and other radicals raised, the harder and more silently the great banks, brokerage houses, insurance companies, and corporate interests, now thoroughly alarmed, worked through their countless agencies against Bryanism. The instant encouragement with which Carnegie and Marburg met in organizing international finance to make it an articulate force in world politics, is evidenced by the monetary reforms in Russia and in Austria, immediately following Bryan's defeat. These were significant events in the world of finance, intimately connected, of course, with those in America.

Wilson was much pleased by the defeat of Bryan. Weary of teaching, and yearning even more ardently for a political opportunity, he saw a better prospect for himself. Accordingly, he now set out to write his long contemplated History of the American People. In it, he proposed to present his whole political philosophy to the enlarged audience he now commanded.

Under the pressure of the Internationalists, Cleveland, soon after the election, opened negotiations with Downing Street, resulting on January 11, 1897, in the execution of a new Anglo-American treaty; and in his inaugural address, McKinley urged its ratification. Arbitration, the latter declared, was the way to end war. Then, with a powerful, capitalistic minded cabinet headed by Day, he set out at once to deal with the complicated South American, Cuban, and Pacific situations. Despite his efforts, however, the Senate, responsive to anti-British sentiment, refused to ratify the new treaty.

Meantime the Pacifists of the world had called the

Interparliamentary Conference on Arbitration, to meet in Brussels during the summer of 1897. Weary of talk about peace, Stead now published his Despairing Democracy—a startling sequel to Carnegie, Bryce, and Lecky, in the form of a satire on democracy as it was being practiced. Pointing to "its utter ineffectiveness" in the face of Anarchist and proletarian activities, he insisted that it was contributing nothing to peace and good will on earth. As if to support his arguments, while Kitchener was engaged in "pacifying" the Soudan, and Britain and France were fixing their hold more firmly upon Africa, the United States, in 1898, declared war upon Spain, the situation in Cuba having become a menace to civilization.

By force of circumstances, an unavoidable war with Spain had launched the Republic irrevocably upon a career of imperialism. Now at last with John Hay as Secretary of State, and Henry White as Ambassador to St. James, negotiations were renewed with Great Britain, resulting in the submission of the Venezuela dispute to arbitration under the original treaty, on March 5, 1898.

Knowing that Salisbury and not democracy had averted an Anglo-American war in 1895, Marburg had asked himself over and over why it was that, despite the great peace movement of the past century, the efforts of the Pacifists had proved abortive, why war was still marching hand in hand with Pacifism? He discussed it fruitlessly with Bryce, Lecky, and Stead.

Like Sumner, Stead favored declaring war on war. As he saw it, international politics merely reflected the underlying economic ills, while much of the warfare that was going on, was directly due to the economic jealousies which found expression in the narrowing nationalisms of the Nineteenth Century.* In other words, he believed that varying tariffs and monetary systems favoring one country at the expense of others, were the sole source of international troubles, and that so long as they remained, warfare would continue; that because they had become more com-

* Foreign Trade and World Politics, Fraser.

plex, national jealousies had intensified, wars had become more frequent, more highly organized, and, with the advance of science, more terrible and destructive.

Looking at the recorded history of five thousand years, he concluded that peace had been established by mankind, and its area widened in one way only. First, individuals had combined their efforts to suppress violence in the local community. Then communities had cooperated to maintain the authoritative state, and to preserve peace within its borders. Finally, states had formed leagues or confederations, or had otherwise cooperated to establish peace among themselves; and always peace had been made and kept, when made and kept at all, by the power of superior numbers acting in unison for the common good. Surely, thought Marburg, Napoleon was right when he said that peace in Europe could only be reestablished and maintained by a league of nations to enforce peace, such as that which the Swiss, the Iroquois, and the Patriot Fathers in America had founded. Therefore he deemed it absurd merely to go on theorizing like Carnegie, Bryce, and Lecky about the democratization of the world as the means of establishing universal peace. Obviously the South American Republics, despite their names, were among the most autocratic and militaristic states in existence. Was real democracy not necessarily, as declared by Wilson, a matter of slow growth?

These arguments seemed, as far as they went, irrefutable, but they advanced peace no further than Carnegie had done by pleading for the democratization of the world. Napoleon and Alexander I had both failed to coerce the world into an acceptance of their theories of what was best for it. The question was, therefore, how could Marburg and Stead do this?

It was then that a great thought came to Marburg. Was it not useless to think of war and peace, these days, merely in the old terms? What of the war which Owen, Proudhon, Marx and Kropotkin had, each in turn, declared upon society? Had experience not shown that La Revolte, the Anarchist war on the capitalistic order, and the proletarian

revolution proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto, were spreading faster than democracy? Were nationalistic wars greater cause for alarm? Even if a league of capitalistic states were formed to enforce peace on other capitalistic states, as proposed by Stead, would not anarchy and the proletarian revolution continue within the league until Capitalism were overthrown?

Now it was that Marburg saw the light. Neither Napoleon nor Alexander I had the aids presently available to those who would form a league to enforce peace. Where was the man who could define the exact boundary between democracy, as practiced in England and America, and the political socialism of the Fabians, Jaures, and Millerand? Was not this thing called political socialism, as distinguished from the Social Democracy or the Communism of Germany, and the Menshevism of Russia, like a jack-rabbit—always a jump ahead? Had not the British and American states already been socialized to an extent never dreamed of by Saint-Simon, Comte and Blanc? And was not the anarchy of Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, the radicalism of Marx, and of this new Russian exile in England—Lenin—who was one of the most learned men in the world, more the reaction of autocracy than the result of political socialism? France seemed to prove this. Surely the way for the capitalists to democratize the world was to cease branding the Socialists proper, who were essentially internationalists, as anarchists and communists, and instead to enlist their aid in a joint fight against the Reds just as the French had done.

Then there were the Jews, an all pervasive and increasingly powerful race, who could no longer be ignored politically. Ignorance and the prejudices born of it, intolerance and repression, had also made them a danger which only an intelligent compromise could overcome. During the past two thousand years, social processes had not only scattered them widely over the world, but had tended to consolidate them in racial blocs within the states where they were to be found in large numbers. Moreover, under the social and economic systems of Europe which

encouraged continued persecution, especially in Russia, few pursuits had been left open to them. These had principally to do with trade and money. Consequently, they had come to devote themselves in the course of time, more, perhaps, than any other race to the business of finance. Centuries of experience had made it peculiarly congenial to them. It was, naturally, in the more democratic societies of England, France, and America, where legalized or open persecution was not possible, that they had thriven the most, and come to exercise the greatest influence. Lacking, nevertheless, a separate political organization that might be called a Jewish state, these intellectually gifted people were inherently internationalists like the Socialists, while peculiarly powerful in the world of international finance. Their interest in peace was deep, since they suffered most from the economic wastefulness of useless wars. Therefore they could, by proper direction, be made to exert a commanding influence upon the world. Governments such as those of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, might be able to sustain themselves against each other, while suppressing the radicals with the aid of militarism. But were they not, in maintaining vast armaments, dependent upon the bankers of the world?

What then if Carnegie and his unlimited wealth, the international financiers, and the Socialists could be organized in a movement to compel the formation of a league to enforce peace? Surely it would not be difficult to bring about a union of these forces with the Pacifists, through the medium of a great humanist propaganda carried on with Carnegie's money, which would appeal to them all alike! If this were done, how could there be any more gold levies like that of 1871 by the victors on the vanquished? Would not the money markets of the world then be stabilized? And how could any one Power finance a really destructive war against another? How could Great Britain, or Russia, or Germany, or Japan make a grand appropriation of Chinese territory, Japan undertake to seize America's Pacific possessions or gain a footing on the Western Hemisphere, or the United States encroach further upon Latin America?

Would there not be an end to Russian pogroms, and to the periodic massacres of Armenians by the Turks? Think of the countless millions of capital that would gradually be transferred from the maintenance of competing national armaments, and put to useful work in the field of productive industry! Surely then the capitalistic order would be secure. In short, Marburg concluded that the liberalization of the governments of the world through the medium of a league of nations, with power residing in the hands of the international financiers to control its councils and enforce peace, would prove a specific for all the political ills of mankind!

This plan which unfolds from the numerous writings of Marburg, was one which could not be concretely expressed, since it required a certain amount of secrecy in its execution. Apparently, too, there was a fatal inconsistency in trying to combine international finance, essentially conservative, with Socialism. Moreover, neither the Socialists nor the Russian reactionaries, were prepared for Jewish leadership in the field of international politics. It was imperative, therefore, that its financial aspects be screened, that the money interests behind it be held under cover, that the whole movement be cloaked with the guise of pure humanism. In other words, much must be said of humanity, of human rights, of peace and democracy, since in these the Pacifists, the Socialists, and the masses generally would find their motives; little of Socialism, money or finance. In short, the scheme must be whispered only to those whose knowledge of history and international politics would enable them to grasp its practicability, who could recognize the need of appearing to be working only for universal peace, while educating the world up to an internationalism that would demand political sacrifices on the part of the nations. Obviously, for any man like Bryan to get hold of it, would be fatal to the project.

It was a truly grand conception, even if only a banker's dream. In his enthusiasm, Marburg, like Napoleon who set out to conquer the world, or Alexander I who essayed to pacify it, did not foresee the obstacles which human na-

ture, with its rapacity and varying ambitions, would interpose in the way of its realization. Particularly, he failed to foresee the danger of consolidating the radicals by giving them an international unity of purpose.

In addition to the Hawaiian Islands, the United States had finally acquired Porto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and, nominally, Tutuila. Thus it had in a trice become inextricably involved with the Orient. In intimate contact with Japan and the European Powers at a score of points, all the old economic and political barriers upon which its traditional isolation had depended, had fallen with amazing suddenness. Conscious that they were a great world power but unconscious of their danger, the American people gloried in what they now conceived to be their destiny. Well might the Pacifists have despaired of democracy.

But the battle of Manila Bay, in which the last vestige of Spanish seapower in the Pacific was destroyed by Dewey, was attended by an event of peculiar significance. Not only did the land of Amerigo Vespucci now take possession of the remote region which Magellan had seized in the name of Philip, but again the British were to stand by America against Germany, as they had previously done in Samoa. When a powerful German warship deliberately placed itself between Dewey's obsolete flagship and the Spanish fleet, a British cruiser at once cleared for action to support Dewey. Again the "Limeys" had voluntarily come to the aid of the "Gobs"—a small thing as the historians see it, but in fact an event of tremendous import.

To one who understood such things, the "itching" of the Kaiser to oppose Britain and America in the Pacific, and to dispute the growth of French and Russian power in the East, seemed obvious. Marburg made the best possible use of the incident. Was it not evident that Britain, America, and France, must act at once?

Apparently it did not take him long to convince Carnegie, Stead, Bryce, and the Fabians and Internationalists generally. A plan of procedure was rapidly evolved. It being evident that both Germany and Japan were

likely to assail Russia which, with the Siberian railway and the railways to the German border uncompleted, was not prepared for war, the Czar might easily be persuaded through self-interest to call for a world peace conference. No effort was to be made to break through the cordon of reactionaries which surrounded him, or to open his eyes to the fact that, in the event of a great war, the Radicals would almost certainly cooperate with his enemies to overthrow the established order in Russia. He was to be urged not merely to prevent a great capitalistic war, but to save the capitalistic system! Meanwhile the British, American, and French Governments were to be prepared to give the Czar the fullest possible moral support against Germany and Japan, and thereby either compel them and their allies to unite in the general effort, or suffer moral isolation. The Hague, capitol of Holland, and the home of Grotius, the father of International Law, was selected as the appropriate place for the conference.

The Internationalists worked rapidly. McKinley, Hay, Cleveland, Olney, Bryan, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia and of the American Peace Society, Charles Eliot, President of Harvard, Lyman Abbott, Editor of The Outlook, and a host of other eminent workers for peace, had been secretly prepared for the Czar's call. On August 24, 1899, the Imperial Rescript was, with dramatic suddenness, published to the diplomatic corps in St. Petersburg by Count Mouraviev, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs.

"The maintenance of general peace, and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations, present themselves, in the existing condition of the whole world, as the ideal towards which the endeavors of all Governments should be directed.

"The humanitarian and magnanimous ideas of His Majesty the Emperor, my august Master, have been won over to this view. In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate views of all Powers, the Imperial Government thinks that the present moment would be very favorable

for seeking, by means of international discussion, the most effectual means of insuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments.

"In the course of the last twenty years, the longings for a general appeasement have become especially pronounced in the consciences of civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy; in its name, great States have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed, in proportions hitherto unprecedented, their military forces, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

"All these efforts have, nevertheless, not yet been able to bring about the beneficent result of the desired pacification. The financial charges following an upward march strike at the public prosperity at its very source.

"The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application, and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though today regarded as the last word of science, are destined tomorrow to lose all value, in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.

"National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase, so do they less and less fulfill the object which the Governments have set before themselves.

"The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments a l'outrance, and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged, it would inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance.*

* Italics added.

"To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is today imposed on all States.

"Filled with this idea, His Majesty has been pleased to order me to propose to all the Governments whose representatives are accredited to the Imperial Court, the meeting of a conference which would have to occupy itself with this grave problem.

"This conference should be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge in one powerful focus, the efforts of all States which are sincerely seeking to make the great idea of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord.

"It would, at the same time, confirm their agreement by the solemn establishment of the principles of justice and right, upon which repose the security of States and the welfare of peoples."

This proclamation indicated not only the parties who had been arguing with the Czar, and winning him over, but the economic as well as the humanitarian arguments which had been employed.

Coming as a complete surprise, the Czar's appeal made a profound impression upon the world. He was hailed by the Capitalistic interests with applause everywhere except in Germany. There Prussian Junkers and Militarists denounced what they deemed a mere trick. To them the abandonment of militarism meant the turning over of the Government to the Socialists and Social Democrats. "Is it not manifest," they cried, "that this is but a scheme to disarm the Empire, and place it at the mercy of those who are jealous of its power?" Therefore the War Lord, under pressure of the Militarists, set out to defeat, by obstructionist tactics, the program of the Internationalists. The new Internationalism, with the Vatican squarely behind it, had nevertheless been promulgated with the utmost eclat.

Marburg's next move was the publication, late in 1898, of his War With Spain, in which he combated with char-

acteristic skill, the arguments of the anti-Imperialists. American Imperialism was, like gravity, a force for which no party, no individual, was responsible. The nation was determined to expand for economic reasons, and this could not be prevented. Therefore the thing to do was to recognize this as a fact, and expand with as little danger as possible—in other words, with the whole force of the nation behind the Government. The new dependencies must be developed, given the power of self-defense, and won over to the United States in every reasonable way. The independence of the Philippines was a matter to be considered in the future, when they were fitted for self-government, and would no longer be the mere prey of other powers. Meantime they must not be exploited, lest they become a source of danger. Thus cogently he argued, pointing out that the time had come for America to take its appropriate part, as a great world power, in international affairs, and especially in the movement for peace. The present narrow Nationalism, he concluded, was a positive danger to the Republic.

On January 11, 1899, Muraviev, referring to the cordial reception of the Czar's appeal, issued a circular outlining a plan of procedure, designed to overcome Germany's objections to the proposed conference, by excluding the political relations of the Powers from consideration. The anticipated result was obtained. The Militarists of Germany might have been able to resist the demands of the Socialists alone, but not the combination of bankers and Socialists which now demanded that the Kaiser cooperate. May 18th, the Czar's birthday, was set for the meeting of the Conference at the Hague, and, on April 18th, Hay designated Andrew D. White, Seth Low, Stanford Newell, Captain Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. N., Captain William Crozier, U. S. A., and Frederick W. Holls, as the American representatives, and gave them their instructions. At the appointed time, one hundred delegates assembled at the Hague, representing twenty-six nations, including Germany. Italy objected to the representation of the Vatican, and Great Britain to that of the Transvaal, as separate Powers, while among

the Latin American states, only Mexico responded. Baron de Stael of Russia was elected presiding officer.

On this very day the Kaiser attended a banquet in Wiesbaden, to which the Russian Ambassador, Count Osten-Sacken was invited.

"Every year I offer my toast," said William of Hohenzollern, "to the health of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, with deep feeling. Today I add to it my heartiest good wishes for the success of the conference which owes its inception to his Majesty's initiative." He then expressed the hope that Baron de Stael and Count Munster—his own representative—might conduct the conference according to the "established tradition" which he declared united his house to that of the Czar, the German to the Russian people. He closed with three hurrahs for the Emperor Nicholas.[84]

Things seemed to be going well for the Internationalists. Was it accidental that Wilson again visited Europe while the Conference was in session?

Its conclusions were embodied in a final act, which included three conventions and three declarations. A Permanent Court for the pacific adjustment of international disputes, a Commission of Enquiry, good offices, and mediation were established. But Germany would enter into no disarmament pact, no peace agreement. Thereupon another conference was recommended, and, on July the 29th, the proceedings came to an end; at least a general war had been postponed, and the foundations of an international association had been laid.* It now remained to educate Germany, and thereby generate such pressure upon the Kaiser for a general accord, that he would be unable to resist the growing demand.

Hardly had the Conference dissolved, when the Boer war commenced. Now the Kaiser disclosed his real feelings toward Britain in a speech appealing for a more powerful fleet.[84] Obviously his previous words were but rhetoric. The purpose of Germany seemed plain. The words of Heine-last of the German romanticists—were still ringing in the

* For details see The Hague, Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1897, Scott, etc.

ears of the German Militarists. "Not only Alsace and Lorraine must be ours, but France must be crushed!"

With Joseph H. Choate, as Ambassador to St. James, and Elihu Root, another great corporation lawyer, as Secretary of War, Hay protested vigorously the evident purpose of the Powers to divide up China. The Americans, too, wanted the door of trade left open to them, hence Hay's new doctrine of the "open door."

Stead was disgusted with this kind of democracy, and particularly with Germany. If she would not accept peace, she ought to be forced to do so. Therefore, borrowing Victor Hugo's title of United States of Europe, he outlined to the world, in a remarkable article first published in the Nation, Marburg's scheme of a league of nations to enforce peace. Only through a World Court backed by an international police, could justice be done, he declared. It was Sumner all over again!

Ten years before, Wilson had noted in the growth of arbitration, a political tendency toward international association. In this new internationalism, he discerned great promise. Like many others, he believed that in the realm of international peace lay a great opportunity for an American statesman.[209] Nor did he fail to detect that the peace which the Capitalistic Internationalists were really seeking, involved, though they dared not say it, the suppression of radicalism. With this object in mind, Bryce now declared that Roosevelt was the hope of American politics, for it had long since been evident that the "Hero of San Juan Hill" would never compromise with Bryan, Anarchism, Socialism or Pacifism.[211]

In 1900, Tutuila was finally acquired by the United States—another step to the "open door." As to the significance of this, the Chinese and Japanese were not deceived. It may well have helped to incite the popular uprising this same year, in which the Boxers undertook to expel the "Foreign Devils," and close the door of China to them. This, of course, the Great Powers did not propose to permit. Therefore, in as much as each was jealous of the others, they all, including the United States, despatched separate

military expeditions to China to cooperate in the restoration of order, make the world safe for their trade in the East, and at the same time guard against the others. The Europeans and Americans were never quite sure about Japan's part in trying to turn them out of China.

At any rate, this was the first modern application of the principle advocated by Stead of enforcing peace. The manner in which it was initiated was scarcely auspicious for the Chinese, from the standpoint of International altruism. After the German Minister had been killed by the Boxers, the Kaiser, addressing the troops which he was despatching to Peking, said, in July, 1900: "Use your weapons in such a way that for a thousand years no Chinese shall dare to look askance upon a German. Show your manliness." To one regiment, he added: "On the strength of the oath to the flag which you have sworn, I demand that you give no quarter, that no prisoners be taken, for you shall be the avengers of the abomination which has been committed in this present time." [84]

So were the European troops, nineteen hundred years after Christ, urged by a Christian potentate to emulate those who followed Richard of the Lion Heart to Palestine in the days of Saladin, and to outdo Attila. The Hohenzol-lern proposal was almost as inhumane as that of Jefferson to destroy London through the arson of traitors.

The "Boy Orator of the Platte" was no longer enthusiastic over Free Silver. He was now the great anti-Imperialist and exponent of the Socialistic principle of government ownership. Having resigned the commission of colonel in the National Guard in 1898, conscious of his grotesque failure as a military man, he had come to cherish the title of "Apostle of Peace." He too had sensed the political implications of both the proletarian revolution and the world peace movement.

In this year, Wilson was first discussed as likely Presidential timber by a small group of intellectuals, including his old friends Page and Bridges. As a mere professor, the political leaders paid little attention to him. McKinley and Bryan were renominated. Roosevelt, the hero of San Juan

Hill, an imperialist and exponent of a large army and navy, was the former's running mate.

It was during the ensuing campaign that Marburg published his Expansion. America's new dependencies, he insisted, must be retained. Was it not the Nation's duty to hold the Philippines in trust for their people, rather than abandon them as urged by Bryan? Abandonment would only mean their seizure by Japan or Germany, and a consequent war.

While the Bryanites and Socialists made considerable noise, McKinley and Roosevelt were elected easily. Thereupon William Howard Taft was appointed President of the United States Philippine Commission, charged with the task of establishing a civil administration, and making this new dependency safe for democracy. Little more than a year had elapsed when an anarchistic madman assassinated McKinley. Amidst great popular outcry against the radicals, Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency, and at once set out to make more effective the Interstate Commerce and Sherman Anti-Trust Acts of Cleveland and Harrison, to curb monopolies, to make the government more responsive to the people, and to conserve the national resources. Determined to hold on to the Philippines at all costs, he appointed Taft Civil Governor in 1901. While Root was reorganizing and modernizing the Army, the Navy was also modernized. Nor had Roosevelt any idea of leaving the Pacific coast and possessions exposed. Therefore, Hay, together with Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, secured the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, and substituted a new treaty with provisions permitting the United States to proceed with the building of the Panama Canal. This, of course, had the approval of all trade interests.

Wilson witnessed these events with mingled feelings. For himself, he saw no present political opportunity whatever. Marburg was at Heidelberg where, with his insatiable craving for knowledge, he had gone to study German Socialism and Social Democracy. Returning to his old plan of studying politics in Germany, Wilson was on the point of

applying for a year's leave of absence from Princeton to go to Heidelberg too. Had Marburg, who was afraid of Roosevelt and did not like him much more than Bryan, been urging Wilson to join him?

At this juncture, Grover Cleveland was induced to accept appointment on the Princeton Board of Trustees, and take up his residence at Princeton. A change in the presidency of the university was being more and more insistently demanded by the Progressives, who had brought Cleveland there. Word had gone out among the Democrats that Bryan would never be nominated again. Perhaps Cleveland could be induced to help Wilson. Therefore Page, Bridges, and other friends dissuaded Wilson from absenting himself at such a time.

Cleveland had left a great record as a conservative of unimpeachable integrity. As ex-President he was much beloved. An immense asset to Princeton, he had made it a sort of Mecca for Republicans and Independents of eminence, as well as Democrats. From the first, he and Wilson were friendly, but never intimate. Some said that Wilson felt he was being overshadowed. Suddenly the long desired change came. In 1902, Patton resigned as President, and, with the support of Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson was elected, at the age of forty-five, President of Princeton University! The South, ignorant of Wilson's verbal and written denials of Southern affiliations, applauded the choice. Davidson College, the University of Virginia, and Johns Hopkins all claimed him as an alumnus, Staunton, Augusta, Columbia, Wilmington, and Atlanta as a native son! All celebrated vociferously the rise of "this true son of the South." Cleveland and the Princetonians smiled and accepted him as the pure product of "Old Nassau." So the country contended for this man but lately obscure, and despairing of advancement!

CHAPTER V

Harvey's Plan to Make Wilson President. Carnegie Donates the Peace Palace. The Lake Mohonk Peace Conference. The Principle of Arbitration Established. The South Hostile to Wilson. The Position of Japan. Harvey Proclaims Wilson as the Democratic Moses. The Conciliation Internationale and the American Association for International Conciliation. Roosevelt Sends the Fleet to the Orient. The Second Hague Peace Conference. The Central American Court of Justice. Wilson's Troubles at Princeton. Branded "Intellectually Dishonest" by Cleveland. His Dismissal Demanded. Homer Lea and the Yellow Peril. Fearful of War and Still Hoping for a Third Party, Wilson Hesitates to Commit Himself to the Democratic "Boss" of New Jersey. The American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. Taft Advocates a World Court. Roosevelt and Knox Propose a League to Enforce Peace. Wilson Elected Governor.

THE SUCCESS of the Internationalists' project depended largely upon its leader. Marburg might conceive it, might direct it from behind the scenes, but he was not the one to stand before the world as its authoritative sponsor. So too, Carnegie might support it with his vast wealth, but his character as a capitalist disqualified him for the post. The movement demanded neither an autocrat of the Napoleon or Alexander type, nor the Czar who had first successfully sponsored it. It called for a great democratic humanitarian with the soul of a Spinoza or a Kant, who might, with the golden words of another Jefferson, appeal to the heart as well as to the mind of mankind. Not in the spirit of Vattel but in that of Grotius must he set up

new standards, formulate new laws for humanity—make the old humanities more human!

Knowing Wilson's political ambitions, the devoted Page and Bridges, both now editors of eminence, had begun to work for his political advancement. Without being parties to the Internationalist scheme, they saw that Wilson's inauguration as President of Princeton—stronghold of conservative democracy and home of Grover Cleveland, the greatest Democrat of his age—was the psychological moment for him to assume a leading role as educator and statesman.' He must displace forever the "Great Commoner" who, with his unsound economy, socialistic proposals, and supine pacifism, had all but destroyed the party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland. At the end of three months, they had, aided by other friends, prepared the world to listen to Wilson.

George Harvey, brilliant editor of Harper's Weekly, and, with Page, a former reporter on the New York World under Pulitzer, the friend of international finance, had been seeking for years a leader to succeed Bryan. Harvey was an out and out Nationalist, and definitely anti-Socialist. "Better take a look at Wilson. We are going to publish his new work this Autumn. He's a spell-binder." So said Harper, the owner of the magazine, to Harvey. Accordingly, the latter read the advance sheets of Wilson's History of the American People. Then he joined the throng assembled at Princeton to hear the brilliant intellectual, whom Page, in the World's Work, and other conservative Democratic editors were praising so loudly.

Wilson knew, of course, that the political as well as the intellectual world was awaiting his words. He discerned the type of leader the Internationalists required, but realized, also, the difficulties in their way. There were dyed-in-the-wool Nationalists like Roosevelt in the Republican party, Bryanites in numbers among the Democrats. It was to the great mass of Independents, therefore, that the Internationalists must look for the success of their project. Believing that both parties were moribund as to principles, he had, himself, long been an independent. Yet it would be

palpably fatal for him to commit himself outright to the Internationalists, or to estrange the Nationalists and Pacifists of either party, since it would take time to educate the country up to Carnegie's internationalism. Accordingly, keyed up by careful preparation to the opportunity which his anti-Bryanist Democratic friends had made for him, he pitched his address in tones high above the ordinary political appeal.

"New standards in the national life as well as in education must be set up," he reiterated. "The old humanities must be made more human."

Wilson was both wise and shrewd. This was a declaration well calculated to satisfy Democrats and Republicans alike. Was it not what both Roosevelt and the Anti-Bryan Democrats had been saying?

Yet nobody seemed to grasp that it was also what Carnegie, Marburg, and the Internationalists had been saying!

Carnegie and Marburg heard Wilson's words. They had already noted him as a rising political figure. Yet he still rested under the disability of not belonging to the dominant political party. Since it seemed destined long to control the Government, it was through this party that they must seek to achieve their ends. For the present, at least, they must look elsewhere for a leader of the Internationalist project. Should Wilson definitely ally himself with the Republicans, he might, in time, prove useful to them.

Harvey, on the other hand, heard Wilson's speech with a thrill of delight. "Real first page stuff," he remarked to Harper upon his return from Princeton. Thereupon he sent for all that Wilson had written, and found in it no pacifism of the supine Bryan type. Wilson differed in no way from the ordinary nationalistic historians—he had even written of the Mexican War, deliberately concocted and forced upon a weaker neighbor by the Southern Oligarchy of "Slavers," as a heroic episode. There could be no complaint of him by the Jingoes! The fact that he was not, and never had been, a Democrat troubled Harvey not at all. He was particularly glad that Wilson was not a Southerner.

It would be easier for Page, Bridges, and himself to "put him over." His third party idea was, of course, as impractical as Marburg's notion of carrying the United States into a league of nations that would divest it of its independence. Transmogrified into a liberal Democrat, he would be the very man to lead the Democratic party away from its radicalisms, and out of the wilderness of its present despair. At the end of a week, Harvey said to Harper: "He'll do." [108]

But Harvey recognized the impossibility of "putting Wilson over" at once. There was not a chance of defeating Roosevelt in 1904, even through the overthrow of Bryan. As he figured it, Taft would almost certainly succeed Roosevelt in 1908, unless the "cow-boy" President elected to run again. Therefore, it was upon 1912 that he fixed his mind. That would give him just ten years in which to transmogrify and popularize Wilson. Meantime he proposed to make the governorship of New Jersey Wilson's stepping stone to the presidency.[108]

The presidency of Princeton came to Wilson as a great relief. It released him from the incessant labor of the past twenty years. His latest works, like George Washington and his History of the United States, would not live. "They are not history," said the critics,' "but what Wilson thinks of history." They contained no great lessons for the future. Yet they showed that he was strongly capitalistic in sentiment, and neither a pacifist, a Democrat, nor a Southerner in feeling.

The year 1912 seemed a long way off to Wilson, nor was he willing to abandon the idea of a third party to commit himself to Harvey's scheme. Nevertheless he was altogether willing to have Harvey continue his brilliant publicity. Like that of Page and Bridges, it could not fail to popularize him with the Independents. True to his inaugural promises, he set out immediately upon a course of precedent smashing and educational reform at Princeton.[17] Cooperating with Harvey, Page, and Bridges, he began reaching for larger and larger political audiences, going further and further afield under the auspices of the alumni.[18,138] Cleve-

land, who was watching him carefully, and who was not in accord with all of his proposals, soon saw that his real object was more than that of a mere educational reformer.

Although the Internationalists were now plainly dominating the world, Organized Labor was becoming more and more restless, especially in America. Numerous great strikes occurred. At the instance of Roosevelt, one of the most serious was settled by arbitration between the railway operators and the strikers. Yet any one could see that the Anarchists and other radicals of Europe, were behind much of the unrest. Samuel Gompers, a British-born Jew, who had formed the first international trade union, was, as President of the American Federation of Labor, becoming one of the powers in the land. Labor was learning much from the Internationalists—they too saw the power that came from united action along Socialistic lines. Surely it was not to be supposed that they would let the Capitalists monopolize the principle of federation.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague having been at last constituted, with Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, the Hon. John W. Griggs, former Attorney General, Judge George Gray of the Circuit Court of Appeals, and Oscar S. Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, as America's members, it received, in September, 1902, its first reference—a Mexican-American dispute. The following year, Daniel and Alfred K. Smiley, the great philanthropists, sent out a call for the First American Peace Conference to assemble at Lake Mohonk, where all manner of intellectual gatherings were wont to be held. The American Association for International Arbitration was at once formed, and delegates despatched to Washington to urge Roosevelt to approve the arbitral agreements with Great Britain and France, actually executed later in that year. It had been known even in 1899, that Carnegie, much impressed with the work of the First Hague Peace Conference, was prepared to establish a library of international law for the Hague Court. He now extended his original plan, and offered to place at the disposal of the Dutch $1,500,000 to build a home for the Court, in addition to the donation of

the library, the two to constitute the Palace of Peace.* It was a magnificent gift, one which made Carnegie the outstanding worker for universal peace.

Roosevelt had other ideas as to maintaining peace. The Colombian Government had refused to accept his offer for a ninety-nine year lease of the necessary strip for the Panama Canal. A convenient revolution occurred with his connivance in November, 1903, resulting in the formation of the Republic of Panama, and the prompt execution of the treaty requisite for building the canal!

Hardly had this been done, when the Kishinev massacres in Russia shocked the world, and aroused the Jews of Western Europe and America. Knowing that the reactionaries surrounding the Czar would never present the Jewish petitions, Roosevelt sent them to the American Ambassador in St. Petersburg, with an accompaning letter in which their contents were recited, enquiring if the Czar would receive them. The latter was published and the Czar, of course, informed of what was going on. Thereupon the massacres ceased.

Work on the Panama Canal had meanwhile commenced. Seeing that between Roosevelt and the Internationalists, she was about to lose her own opportunity to expand, Japan, without declaring war, assailed Russia in February, 1904. Some historians, however, believe Russia equally to blame for the war. The danger of allowing a Yellow Race to overthrow a powerful European state, a condition which a continuous succession of Japanese victories indicated as probable, influenced Congress to pass a resolution on April 28, 1904, calling on Roosevelt to take such action as he might deem best, to insure an understanding among the maritime Powers relative to the exemption of neutral shipping and of private property, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction at sea by belligerents.

This same year the Interparliamentary Union made the St. Louis World's Fair the occasion of another session in September, at which it passed resolutions calling on Roose-

* The trust was eventually executed October 7, 1903. See the History of Peace, Beales, p. 273.

velt to summon a second peace conference at the Hague. Thereupon Hay set out in October to sound out the neutral powers.

As anticipated by Harvey, Roosevelt was elected in 1904. The Democrats having thus received a third practical demonstration of the futility of Bryanism, Harvey visited Georgia—Wilson's quondam home—late in November, and, in a clever speech, called upon the South to repudiate the "Great Commoner." He suggested Wilson as the Moses who could lead them out of the Wilderness and back into the Union. But the South, still blinded by prejudice, and bound hand and foot by bossism, was not interested in the proposals of a "Vermont Yankee" for its regeneration.

The response to Hay's enquiries was so favorable that in December, 1904, the Powers all awaited the calling of the Second Hague Peace Conference, which Roosevelt considered should also come from the Czar.

Early in 1905, Choate was succeeded as Ambassador to St. James by Whitelaw Reid, while, by spring, Japan had almost worn herself out defeating Russian armies which, in spite of terrible disasters, seemed actually growing stronger. Seeing that a threatened revolution in Russia might prove a terrible menace in its encouragement to general radicalism, Roosevelt now directed George von L. Meyer, American Ambassador at Rome, to proceed forthwith to Petro-grad, and deliver to the Czar a note offering the President's services as Intermediator. At the same time he urged the Kaiser to second his efforts. He was further motivated by a real sympathy for Japan, defrauded by the Powers of the legitimate fruits of previous wars. The Japanese were only too glad to respond, so that, the following summer, Peace was signed at the Portsmouth Conference in America, behind which Roosevelt stood as Intermediary. For this practical contribution, he was presently awarded the Nobel Peace prize. It was too late, however, to prevent attempts at revolution in Russia, during which Lenin first attained to eminence. Although this revolution was quickly suppressed, it compelled the Czar to form a popular Duma. Moreover, it stirred Germany profoundly.

How were the Kaiser and the Militarists to save the Empire from the Social Democrats unless by war? So the Kaiser invited Roosevelt to help him block France in Morocco, which Roosevelt promptly declined to do. Moreover, he served notice on the Kaiser that he would deem a war declared upon France a crime, thus helping to prevent the outbreak of a general European conflict.

The Internationalists now formed the Conciliation Internationale in Paris with many of the leading statesmen, financiers and Socialists of France, including Leon Bourgeois and Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, (members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration) on its council; while in England the Fabian Society took up the work of conciliation. Marburg hurried home to found the Maryland Peace Society, and the American Association for International Conciliation, with himself as President, and with Secretary Root, Knox, Bryan, Carnegie, Nicholas Murray Butler, Lyman Abbott, Charles Eliot, Daniel Smiley, Cardinal Gibbons, Rabbi Wise, Oscar Straus, Paul Warburg, Otto Kahn, Bernard Baruch, Clarence Mackay and numerous other statesmen, scholars, philanthropists, and international bankers on its council. It was then that this indefatigable man published his Toward An Enduring Peace in which he virtually outlined to the world what was expected of the Powers.[146]

It was everywhere known that Taft was Roosevelt's choice as his successor, though he acknowledged Root as an abler man. Root's intimate association in the past with the great corporate interests, combined with an unpopular personality, made him impossible as a candidate. Harvey deemed it, therefore, time to commit Wilson for 1912, and to get the Democratic press behind him. Pulitzer, owner of the New York World, Page, and Bridges, cooperated with him in a clever scheme. In March, 1906, a dinner was arranged at the Lotos Club in New York, at which Harvey declared to the country at large just as he had intimated to the South in 1904, that Wilson was the Democratic Moses! Instantly the World endorsed Harvey's "nomination,"

while the New York Times admitted that Harvey's prediction might come true.[108]

Bryan heard these tidings with alarm. In the President of Princeton, he saw a possibly dangerous opponent. The Internationalists, fearing Bryan more than Wilson, also be-stirred themselves. The extent to which they were direct-ing the political affairs of the world, is manifest from the thirteen treaties of arbitration negotiated by the United States, and the forty-five by other powers during the preceding five years.

Just after Harvey's "nomination" of Wilson, the call for the Second Hague Peace Conference to assemble June 15, 1907, was issued by Baron Rosen of Russia, on April 12, 1906. Thereupon Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, Uriah M. Rose, David Jayne Hill, Rear Admiral Charles S. Sperry, Brig. Gen. George B. Davis, William I. Buchanan, James Brown Scott, and Charles Henry Butler, with a large secretariat, were designated as the American delegates. The following December, Elihu Root, as Honorary Chairman of the Pan-American Union, publicly suggested to Carnegie that he donate the funds for a suitable home for the Union, as a monument to the principle of arbitration. This was done at once.*

During the past decade or more, some able representatives had been sent to the Court of St. James—Bayard, Hay, White, Choate and Reid. They had enhanced America's prestige there enormously. In 1907 James Bryce, after revising The American Commonwealth, was appointed British Ambassador to Washington, preparatory to the Second Hague Peace Conference, and, in April, the National Arbitration and Peace Congress met in New York. The following month, at the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, in an address entitled The Progress of Real Internationalism, Nicholas Murray Butler outlined what was to be expected at the Hague.

"Disarmament," he declared in pointed answer to Bryan, and as a pledge to the Kaiser, "will follow peace as an effect, not precede it as a cause."

* The building was dedicated April 26, 1910.

At this the "Apostle of Peace" took high offense. Separating himself from Marburg's Association for International Conciliation, which he now saw was but part of the general Internationalist scheme, he set out to commit the Democratic party with his famous lecture in the Chautauqua tents and elsewhere—The Prince of Peace—to a program of Nationalism, coupled with immediate disarmament. Seeing the danger of this, in the very midst of the Second Hague Conference, Wilson wrote Senator Joline, a power within the Democratic party, in July, 1907, enquiring if there were no way "to knock Bryan into a cocked hat in a dignified and effective manner."

With fifty-five nations represented, including Germany, the Second Hague Conference was an amazing success. Among the conventions adopted were those establishing rules of land and naval warfare, a Commission of Enquiry for the investigation of facts relating to international disputes, and the institution of good offices and mediation. But although the cornerstone of Carnegie's "Temple of Peace" was laid at this time, there was still no World Court established, nor was any obligation to arbitrate imposed upon the signatory powers. Above all else the Internationalists wanted a World Court.[146] It was arranged, therefore, through Root, to assemble the Central American Peace Conference in Washington in December, 1907, for the purpose of establishing the principle of obligatory arbitration.

Now was created the Central American Court of Justice; and for the erection of its home in Costa Rica, Carnegie made further donations.* The first international court of the kind, it was indeed a world landmark. How could the great Powers be induced to follow suit?

The year 1908 opened with tactless statements by the Kaiser in a press interview concerning the Boer War, which gave Britain high offense,[84] and with a new and stronger treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. Upon Pulitzer's return from Europe, where he had attended the Second Hague Peace Conference, and become

* The first building in Cartagena was destroyed by earthquake in 1910. The present one is in San Jose.

much interested in the international movement, he agreed, at Harvey's solicitation, to back Wilson with the New York World in the New Jersey gubernatorial campaign of 1910, and later for president. Thereupon an editorial by Harvey appeared in The World, placing Wilson before the country in a way which indicated that he had been definitely committed to the world peace movement. It was proposed that he be nominated by the Democratic party in 1912 upon "an anti-imperialistic, anti-militaristic, anti-Bryan platform." [108]

It is incredible that all this could have occurred without cooperation between Wilson and Harvey. Nevertheless Wilson had still in no way publicly committed himself to run for the Presidency on a Democratic ticket, although he was soon to repudiate with scorn the suggestion that he run that year for Vice President on the ticket with Bryan, against Taft.

He was by no means prepared as yet to seek a nomination at the hands of the Democratic party, even though he might have accepted it, if offered to him. He knew that thousands of Democrats had been voting the Republican national ticket since Bryan's seduction of the party, that thousands of others had voted for Bryan while praying for his opponent to be elected. He did not believe it possible for the demoralized Democratic party to defeat Taft, who would, with Carnegie's support, attach to himself all the Internationalists. On the other hand, he believed it possible that if Bryan should be nominated again, a third party might be formed, just as in 1896, and that it might nominate him, and he left for Europe that summer with that hope, despite Harvey's discouragement.[108] Taft was duly nominated with the help of the Internationalists, and, in support of his candidacy, Butler published The American As He Is, a new plea for the Internationalism of Carnegie.

The Democratic party had, however, learned its lesson from Bryan's three defeats. It had no idea of splitting again. Instead it nominated Parker, a Conservative, on a conservative platform, and, upon Wilson's return, he voted for Parker, though much disappointed, not because he was

as yet a Democrat, but because he deemed this the best way to use his vote.[108]

The presidency of Taft opened with a "love feast" between Britain and America. Straightway, to seal the fine accord between the two English speaking empires which Bryce and Root were bringing about, the Internationalists began planning for a huge jubiliation in London in 1914, to mark the centennial anniversary of peace between the two nations. A statue to Washington was actually to be unveiled in the British capitol. Britons began declaring that Washington had perhaps, after all, saved the British Empire! The whole tone of things was beginning to change, to the utter consternation of the Irish agitators and the German-American population, so that Bryan's tirades against the English were received among them with applause.

The period which followed was one of bitter controversy at Princeton. In what seemed to many a truly headlong course, Wilson at last assailed the eating clubs. He thus attacked the social system of the university in a way that necessarily involved the alumni, many of whom did not share his own democratic ideals. "What right has he," they demanded, "to touch the private life of the student body?" Students, faculty, trustees, alumni, and residents of the town, were soon hopelessly divided into hostile camps; thereupon the fight among the Trustees over the idea of a Graduate College came to a head. Then occurred the incident which was to prove the most potent weapon in the hands of his enemies. Grover Cleveland had supported Wilson up to this time. Now they came into conflict. Cleveland was sure he divined Wilson's real purpose. The rugged old Democrat did not trust him. If Wilson were not a Democrat, why was he allowing Harvey, Page, and others to misrepresent him? And so, in the heat of temper, he branded Wilson "intellectually dishonest."[119] Looking back, it seems certain that Wilson was doomed as President of Princeton from this moment.

Naturally Wilson was much embittered. This was a terrible characterization to come from the greatest living Dem-

ocrat, one noted for his straight thinking and rugged integ-rity, at the end of Wilson's years of ceaseless preparation. His political prospects within the Democratic party now seemed dim indeed. Cleveland died during the summer of 1008, while Wilson was in Europe. To make matters worse, Wilson, on his return, omitted to hold a memorial service. At once his enemies claimed that he was merely making use of Princeton, as declared by Cleveland, to advance his political fortunes, whereupon the demand for his dismissal, among the once devoted alumni, grew louder and louder. The New York chapter came near refusing to hear him speak, after extending him an invitation.[138]

The fascinating story of how Harvey, despite all this, proceeded to make Wilson, a self-professed Federalist, the Democratic governor of New Jersey, would fill a book in it-self.[108] It was not an easy task.

The New Year of 1909 saw the election of Root to the Senate, and the appointment of Philander C. Knox to succeed him as Secretary of State. Soon followed the publication of Homer Lea's sensational and alarming Valour of Ignorance. The country learned with amazement of the possible nearness of war with Japan. Could it be avoided?

Butler dealt at length with the question of the world's armaments. It was public opinion, not disarmament, he declared, that must be organized to prevent war. Wilson himself was terribly alarmed. Now he no longer wished to accept the gubernatorial nomination, coupled with a view to running for President in 1912. Was it not obvious that Cleveland's friends would defeat him? Even if elected, he might have a war on his hands.

He was not the only one to be alarmed. Marburg believed that the Socialists and bankers jointly, had alone restrained the setting in motion of the German war machine.[90] "Der Tag" was now the open toast of the German Navy. Was not war the way to end Socialism? Here was the first step of the new Frankenstein! War was likely to come out of the very encouragement which the world peace movement had given Socialism! Any dispute might be made the pretext for it.[95]

Having founded the Maryland Peace Society since the Second Hague Peace Conference, Marburg next set about the formation of the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, as an agency through which to popularize the idea of a World Court, for which the Central American Court of Justice was a successful precedent. Early in 1910, he published his Salient Thoughts on Judicial Settlement. On January 31st, Taft, who had, since Roosevelt's departure for Africa, become an avowed candidate for reelection, with the support of Carnegie and Root, wrote Marburg: "I have learned with interest of your plan. . . . The leaflets which you propose to publish, together with the meetings of national scope which you are planning to hold from time to time, may have a very great influence on the development of public opinion on this important subject. If the proposed Court of Arbitral Justice at The Hague becomes an accomplished fact, there will still remain the task of securing the adhesion of a number of Powers to the Court, and the very important task of so cultivating opinion in various countries as to incline Governments to resort to the Court, when occasion calls for it. There is no other single way in which the cause of peace and disarmament can be so effectively promoted, as by the firm establishment of a permanent international Court of Justice."[142]

Armed with this endorsement, and supported by the active sympathy of Knox, Marburg succeeded, in February, 1910, in founding the society, with himself as President and Taft as Honorary President.

Upon the death of Chief Justice Fuller, Root succeeded him as a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. In April, when the Pan-American building was dedicated in Washington, Root declared it, in the speech of dedication on the occasion, to be "a confession of faith, a covenant of fraternal duty, a declaration of allegiance to an ideal." The gift, he declared, had been inspired by enthusiasm for the good of humanity. It was evidence of a spirit that would solve all disputed questions of the future and preserve the peace of the Western World.

Roosevelt realized that the Internationalists now all op-osed him. He was becoming more and more impatient with Taft, Knox, Root, Butler, and their theories. Believ-ing that he knew the real purpose of both Japan and the Kaiser, he now undertook, on his way home from Africa, to noint out what should be done. Thus, at Christiania, on May 5, 1910, he stirred the world by declaring that the Great Powers should, without surrendering their political independence in any way, form a "League of Peace" for the purpose "not only of keeping the peace among themselves but to prevent, by force, if necessary, its being broken by others."

The Internationalists were, of course, furious. Here was Roosevelt striking at their proposed World Court. At Lake Mohonk, a fortnight later, under the title Are We Our Mothers' Keepers, Butler answered Roosevelt with new arguments for a World Court. A month later, speaking at the University of Pennsylvania, Knox, thoroughly under the influence of Root, went so far as to say: "The time will come when the nations of the world shall realize a federation as real and vital as that now subsisting between component parts of a single state." Finally, in the Peace Movement Practical which Marburg now published, he showed himself to be behind all the Internationalist declarations. In him, both Roosevelt and Bryan were to find an implacable opponent. When the former reached New York in June, he realized how bitterly the Internationalists would oppose any effort of his to claim the nomination from Taft, and for the time being abandoned the idea of doing so.[211]

The International School of Peace was now endowed by Edwin Ginn, of Boston, as The World Peace Foundation. The income of a million dollars was to be used to educate the people "to a full knowledge of the waste and destruc-tiveness of war, and by every practical means to promote international peace, justice, and good will." Sixty thousand dollars can accomplish much in national elections. Such a foundation was bound to become a power by reason of its solidarity and permanence.

Such was the situation when Wilson's affairs reached a crisis. A demand had arisen among the alumni for his dismissal, and the utmost pressure was exerted upon the Trustees to request his resignation.

David Lawrence, the biographer, tells us that, at this time, Wilson was still hopeful of the formation of a third party in 1912, of which he might be the candidate.[119] Was he playing fair with Harvey? Some there were who thought not. But they themselves were not fair to Wilson.

Much water had flowed over the dam since Harvey's editorial in 1908. The break with the Board of Trustees at Princeton, and with Cleveland and his large following among the alumni and in the Democratic party, had both occurred. Wilson could not fail to see that his criticisms of Bryan and the Democratic party in the past, his published statements that he was a Hamiltonian Federalist and not a Democrat, and that he was not in sympathy with the South, had alienated many voters. Would mud be thrown in his face by those who formerly might have supported him? In addition to all this, he had failed to capture any part of the Internationalists. While Carnegie's great following was squarely lined up behind Taft, Bryan was determined to claim the Democratic nomination. Was it strange that Wilson did not see how it was possible for him to obtain the Democratic nomination, even had he wanted it as the sole means of serving the country? This combination of reasons alone would suffice to explain why Harvey and ex-Senator Smith—the great Democratic boss of New Jersey—had been unable, as the gubernatorial contest approached, to commit Wilson to the proposed candidacy, which Smith, for reasons of his own, was quite willing to forego.

As the time for the nominating convention approached, Harvey and Smith could no longer permit Wilson to postpone a final decision. Events were playing into their hands. It seems certain that, in June, the Trustees were importuned by Wilson's friends to take no action on Wilson, until after Harvey and Smith had again offered him the gubernatorial nomination.[138] Should he accept, the prob-

lem at Princeton would be solved. It was, at any rate, whispered about during the final exercises at Princeton in June that "Woody" might be disposed of without being dismissed. It was even said that some of his friends on the Board of Trustees had agreed to put up the necessary money to insure his nomination by the New Jersey machine.[138]

When, however, Harvey and Smith conferred with him after the close of the session, he was still unwilling to accept their offer. It was thereupon arranged that he should seek the counsel of his friends among the Trustees.[108] Harvey and Smith must have known that McCormick and others would discourage his lingering hope of a third party in 1912, and would tell him the truth about the situation at Princeton, which it appeared he had not fully grasped. Then he must face the choice between allowing Smith to have him nominated, and running the risk of a virtual dismissal from Princeton, which would end his political prospects forever.

It was upon his return from Chicago where he consulted McCormick, Jones, and others, and before he had given Harvey and Smith a final answer, that the devoted Page, obviously in cooperation with Harvey, sought Wilson out." The Fourth of July was at hand. What a day in American history! That day American soil had been first sighted by Raleigh's hopeful colonists; the Continental Congress had proclaimed the Independence of the Colonies on July 4, 1776. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams had both died on July 4, 1826. California had declared her independence of Mexico, July 4, 1846. Vicksburg was captured by Grant, and Lee hurled back by Meade at Gettysburg, July 4, 1863, whereby the Republic was saved! Now a great appeal was to be made to Wilson on behalf of the country by one who was, like Harvey, a passionate patriot.

Page, the humanitarian, and Harvey, the practical politician, though both editors, intellectuals, Democrats violently opposed to Bryan, and future ambassadors at the Court of St. James, were two very different men.

Harvey was a Vermont Yankee of the old copperhead type. Page was a North Carolinian of the Anglican type,

and above all else an anti-sectionalist and Unionist on principle—so much so that there was no place for him in the political society of his native state. He had sought for years to emancipate the South from the bondage of its prejudices, and had ridiculed the travesty of southern politics in his Southerner. In no sense an anglomaniac, the anglophobia of Bryan and his followers aroused his ire above all else. The Internationalists of the Carnegie and Taft school might educate the world for peace, but the security of America in the face of the Yellow Peril demanded a thorough understanding and cooperation between Britain and America. Determined to save the friend whose political career he had nursed since that far-off day in 1883 when he had first noted Wilson's great political ambition, he was the man of all men to make the final appeal to him.

As he now listened to Page, it must have seemed to Wilson that he had erected the vast structure of his high-soaring hopes of a third party upon a veritable foundation of sand. Could it be that all those years of ceaseless toil and preparation had gone for naught, had slipped like quicksilver through the hands of time? Surely it must have been with bitterness of heart that he had waked, not only to see the crumbling edifice of his cherished dreams, but to find himself facing actual disgrace. Abstracted, unresponsive, apparently heedless of the future, he had nevertheless to hear Page declare categorically, that he must accept Smith's offer or take the consequences; it was, moreover, the only way that he could ever become President.

It was only now that Page discovered the great question in Wilson's mind. Was not war with Japan at hand, along with all the terrible social upheavals which Proud-hon, Kropotkin, and Lenin had been hopefully predicting?

Undoubtedly the general situation was discussed at length. Undoubtedly, too, Page minimized the dangers, while seeking to bolster up Wilson's courage, pointing out to him the need of a better understanding with the British as the means of overcoming them. Did he even then suggest that if Wilson were elected, he would, as his Ambassador, help in this? It is not unlikely.

"If war does not come before 1913, it may never come. If it does, it is you who must save mankind. Humanity is crying for you!" So this ardent patriot must have argued.

Wilson's final decision to cast his lot with the Democratic party, was more than mere opportunism. In the struggle between ambition and fear which had been wrack-ing his soul these past years, the pride born of a deep religious sense of duty to which Page had appealed, overmastered, momentarily at least, his misgivings. Page had won. The next day, with revived courage, Wilson authorized Harvey to tell Smith to proceed![108]

The idea of Wilson's nomination was bitterly opposed by Tumulty, Mark Sullivan, and other young Jersey Democrats, but the organization was solidly behind Smith. Although Wilson had made no promises to Smith, Smith had some right to feel that Wilson would be so much in his debt, that he might safely rely on the Governor's support for his reelection to the United States Senate that year, and on being taken into his confidence. Wilson was accordingly nominated and elected Governor of New Jersey by the most out and out machine politics, amid a great Democratic uproar about his idealism.

"Wilson—that's all!" was the cry. "They said 'let George do it' and by God he did it."[108]

Now again the South, despite Wilson's repudiation of it, hailed him as its son. Verily too, the Hamiltonian Federalist of yesterday was now the foremost Jeffersonian Democrat! The Southern people never even suspected Wilson's true sentiments. The Democratic politicians saw to that. They were hungry, and they saw a chance to be fed!

"What did I tell you?" chuckled Harvey to the New Jersey bosses. "The South would support Lincoln on a Democratic ticket, let alone Wilson!"

The Democrats who had been unable to determine from Wilson's attitude exactly what he was, now escaped from their dilemma by crediting Harvey with having discovered for the Democratic party the greatest "humanitarian ideal-ist of the age." Whatever that might mean politically, it was a fascinating title, one that vied well with "Apostle of

Peace," and the title of "Humanist" which Carnegie had of late bestowed upon Taft. What cared they about Wilson's past professions? Did not all great men change to meet the times?

But Harvey knew how ceaselessly Wilson had been working toward this opportunity. Therefore he insisted that Wilson had discovered himself.[108]

CHAPTER VI

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Wilson Turns on the New Jersey Bosses. Bryan Brands Wilson "an Autocrat." McCombs Becomes Wilson's Campaign Manager. Enter Colonel House, Exponent of Revolution. The Mexican Revolution. House Meets Wilson and Captivates Him. Enter also Houston. The Conversion of Wilson Begins. Harvey Dropped by Wilson. Watterson Infuriated, Sets the South Against Wilson. Morgenthau, Aspirant for Secretary of the Treasury, Becomes Chairman of Wilson's Finance Committee. McAdoo Joins Wilson. Mexico and the Haldane Commission. Marburg Publishes "The Backward Nation." House Predicts the Nomination of Bryan. Wilson Seeks to Withdraw his Candidacy. The Duplicity of House. Wilson Nominated by The "Bosses."

GOVERNOR WILSON was among the outstanding figures in American public life at the time of his taking up his new task. Politically, New Jersey was an Augean stable, a veritable pigsty of filth, vying with Tammany for the dishonor of first place in the category of disreputable politics. What could an idealist, beholden to the bosses for his election, do to set up in New Jersey the "new standards" about which he had been talking so long?

An immense amount of foolishness had been written about democracy during the past century. Apparently Wilson had been reading it all. He would have done better to devote more time and thought to ancient conceptions of government. With a vast intellectual experience, Confucius had pointed out the true purpose of government. It finds its justification, he had taught, in the service it renders the governed. This did not mean that a good government was merely a Christmas tree. As the Sages saw it,

there was a fundamental principle that no political society could ignore. Human nature being what it is, a balance must be struck between individual freedom of action, and the authority necessarily reposed in those entrusted with the tasks which a vast experience of mankind has shown the people cannot do for themselves. The same principles applied to political societies, that applied to individuals. All human progress is the result of the interaction of opposing forces. Therefore, on the one side, the force of tradition from which comes that respect for authority, which alone will make government endurable, must be upheld. In opposition to this, there must be enthroned and encouraged, the intuitive force of man, if he is to preserve the freedom of thought and action that will give play to his God-given instincts. The Sages well knew that if the former were over-accentuated, government would pass from monarchy to autocracy, to the cramping order of dictatorship and tyranny, and finally on to chaos. Democracy in the hands of demagogues, however, would just as certainly degenerate into socialism, communism, anarchy, and final chaos, were respect for tradition and authority weakened too greatly. No one had better defined democracy in its true political sense than Parson John Wise, founder of the Congregational Church, who, according to Madison, Morgan, Fiske, and Coolidge, had written the text-book of American liberty, and sounded the first note of the American Revolution. "Democracy," wrote this self-confessed disciple of Puffendorf, "is Christ's government in state as well as Church."

Jefferson had written that all his ideas of human liberty had been derived from the Congregational Church. But in practice he had never concerned himself with the spiritual aspect of government. Nor had Wilson found much consideration of the spiritual in the writings of the Socialists. It had apparently never occurred to him that the increasing atheism of the world was the direct product of the materialism of his age, that the increasing complexity of life in the face of that materialism, was inevitable. He did not see that mankind for centuries had been building up

vast material structure that was becoming insupportable, that, like the Tower of Babel, it must topple and fall to the earth sooner or later, crushing its builders under its weight. Having devoted himself to the study of economic theories and sociology, reflecting the materialism of a gross age in which God was being eliminated more and more from the consideration of political as well as other scientists, he did not understand the symbols the Patriot Father had placed upon the seal of the Republic. He did not understand why the founders had copied the peculiar form of the Republic from the sacred Hodenosaunne or Iroquois League, in whose written constitution had been embodied since time immemorial the fundamental principles symbolized by the spread eagle and the pyramid. Had he been more interested in things spiritual, he would have seen that the former was not the symbol of mere political power, that it represented the Great Spirit in whom the native peoples of ancient America had placed their trust. He would have seen that the pyramid symbolized the basic principle of government already mentioned, that it was only through a perfect balance between authority and individual liberty that the ideal of human happiness, collectively as well as individually, could be attained. He would have had less patience with the materialistic theories that were substituting "In Gold We Trust" for the motto of Washington—"In God We Trust."

Let us not blame Woodrow Wilson for his lack of understanding. He was the logical product of a materialistic age. Even those seeking earnestly to ameliorate the hard lot of man by lessening the strife in which the Nations of the earth were becoming more hopelessly involved, were resorting to economics rather than spiritual teachings to achieve their ends. They too deemed God a minor factor in their problem. Many of the Internationalists had seen from the first the necessity of preventing both Bryan and Roosevelt from being elected in 1912. What were they to do about this strange man Wilson whom, so far, they had not captured?

In this situation Carnegie did not hesitate. All the assa[79]

ciations working for universal peace were well enough in their way, but they lacked the solidity of a permanent direction. On the other hand, it was not well for an association pleading a special interest to be endowed. Therefore, hardly had Wilson entered the Executive Mansion of New Jersey, when, on December 14, 1910, Carnegie donated ten of his countless millions to found the "Carnegie Endowment for International Peace," ostensibly merely as an agency for the enlightenment of the world by education. With Root as its President, and James Brown Scott as its permanent Secretary, this great institution virtually absorbed the personnel of the old American Peace Society which, however, was to continue as a separate organization, while the American Association for International Conciliation was disbanded.

The Board of Trustees named by Carnegie was peculiarly significant.

President, Elihu Root
Vice President, Joseph H. Choate
Secretary, James Brown Scott

Robert S. Brookings	Henry S. Pritchett
Thomas Burke	George W. Perkins
Nicholas Murray Butler	James G. Schmidlapp
John L. Cadwalader	James L. Slayden
Cleveland H. Dodge	Albert K. Smiley
Charles W. Eliot	Oscar S. Straus
Arthur William Foster	Charles L. Taylor
John W. Foster	Charlemagne Tower
Austin C. Fox	Andrew D. White
Robert A. Franks	John Sharp Williams
William M. Howard	Robert S. Woodward
Samuel Mather	Luke E. Wright
	Andrew J. Montague

Root and Butler with three others constituted the Executive Committee, while Butler was made director of Intercourse and Education.

It was an irresistible directorate, one that would have done credit to any banking house in the world. With its unlimited resources, the Anarchists and Socialists must look

to themselves—so also Roosevelt and "The Apostle of Peace." Ex-Governor Montague of Virginia, Senator Williams of Mississippi, and Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, ex-Secretary of War, the three Southerners, were included, of course, as anti-Bryanites to capture the South.* Cleveland H. Dodge was one of Wilson's closest friends and warmest admirers, who, as one of the Princeton Trustees, is supposed to have advanced Smith funds for Wilson's gubernatorial campaign. Should Wilson be elected in 1912, this would give Root and Butler an approach to him. Possessing the aspect of a non-partisan public institution, the Carnegie Endowment could use its vast resources to back Taft and Marburg to better advantage than if they had been officers, and would not attract opposition while carrying on a general propaganda.

Three days after this epochal event in the history of the world, Taft said: "If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what is involved, whether honour, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations, at least, to establish, as between them, the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government." Moreover, in his opinion, disarmament would merely rob America of her prestige in the Council of Nations. This is conclusive that he had Marburg's scheme of enforcing peace in mind.[209]

No one can read the writings of Root, Marburg, Taft, Butler, and others at this time, without seeing how truly alarmed they were over Japan's intentions. Plainly Wilson was, like Taft and Butler, less fearful of the European war which the whole world knew was impending, than of the seemingly more immediate danger. It was fear of war with Japan that was still giving him serious pause.

Roosevelt, however, was more fearful of the purpose of

* In numerous school histories the endowment is not mentioned.

Taft, Root, and the Internationalists, than of Japan. Moreover, while he had proved his belief in the general principle of arbitration, and applied it both to international and domestic social disputes, the idea that the Republic of Washington should submit questions involving the national territory to the decision of others, was no less an amazing proposition to him than to Bryan. This alone would have sufficed to end his faith in Taft, and those who were exploiting him. He had come to the conclusion that they would yield their souls in fear of Japan. It was this more than anything else that caused the rapidly widening breach between him and Root, and made him listen with more willingness to the urgings of the Progressives to save the country from another Taft regime.

It is not difficult to determine the influence the Internationalists were exerting upon Woodrow Wilson at this time. Tumulty tells the story.

"The brilliant intellectual who has lately been elected Governor of New Jersey, sits pensively at his desk in the executive offices at Trenton. His visage is not that of a happy man. No man is spiritually content who, like Woodrow Wilson, is wedded to the star of an all-absorbing, urgent, tantalizing ambition. Something is disturbing the restless mind of the Governor today. While approaching the zenith of success after a toilsome life of preparation, a great fear has possessed his soul. Sitting there in a deeply reflective mood, gazing out upon the greying world of an early winter, he can almost see, through the scurrying snowflakes, the pall of murk that a thriving industry spreads above the neighboring 'City of Brotherly Love.' He can almost feel the pant of countless bellows, hear the clangor of as many anvils. He is wondering what use will be made of the massive keels, the mighty engines that are being forged in the nearby metropolis. Is it in truth a city of peace, or is it but another Vulcan's workshop?

"Suddenly his revery comes to an end.

" 'I do not know,' he says to the man opposite him, 'that I would care to be President during the next four years.'

"A look of surprise comes over the ruddy face of the little Irish politician who, until lately opposed to Wilson, had foregone the more lucrative office of a state judgeship to become the

Governor's confidential secretary. Having staked his political fortunes upon 'The Professor On Horseback,' he is not yet accustomed to the moods which sweep like varying winds over the man in whose service he has enlisted. With pencil poised, he pauses in his writing.

" 'For the next President,' continues the Governor, dramatically, looking about as if fearful of uninvited ears, 'will have a great war on his hands, and I am not sure I should make a good war President.' "

Senator Smith and the lesser Democratic bosses of New Jersey whom Joseph P. Tumulty had abandoned, and on whom Wilson had turned after they had secured his nomination and election, are the only enemies whom the little secretary fears.

" 'With what nation do you think we will have war?' he enquires in a tone of incredulity.

"Again the Governor glances about furtively.

" 'I do not care to say.' " With this non-committal, puzzling reply, he addresses himself energetically to the business of state awaiting him.

"So Woodrow Wilson commences his political career with the conviction rooted in his mind that Bryan's long heralded reign of universal peace is not at hand; that the Republic in whose democracy the seers of the past saw the hope of humanity, is on the verge of war; and with a self-appraisal that indicates lack of confidence in himself as a political leader under the present circumstances of the world.

" 'A Pacifist,' mused Tumulty, 'with an innate fear and hatred of war.' " [217]

So concluded the shrewd politician who, having accepted the post of confidence offered him by Governor Wilson, was watching this strange man with the eyes of a lynx. Was he mistaken? Had he been deliberately deceived? These are questions the reader must answer for himself. Certain it is, Tumulty did not have Wilson fooled for a minute.

In New Jersey, the situation with respect to Senator James Smith was indeed difficult. But however mistaken Wilson may have been in dealing with him in the first instance, he saw now that to support him for the Senate, while trying to reform New Jersey politics, was out of the ques-

tion. How could he do this and smash the old machine? Therefore, unquestionably upon the advice of Dodge, Page, and Harvey, in the senatorial contest which soon occurred, he repudiated Smith as his choice, and excluded all the bosses from his confidence.

The politicians generally were dumbfounded. "There! That's what we got for fooling with professors, editors, and non-professionals," they whispered among themselves. "Harvey's put one over on you, sure as Dick Croker's a dead man!" So spake Charlie Murphy, the great Tammany sachem, momentarily amused by the predicament in which his outwitted neighbors found themselves.

Smith was defeated. Nugent, the State Chairman, at once began branding Wilson "a liar and a base ingrate," citing Cleveland in his support. Harvey shrewdly turned the incident to Wilson's advantage. "He has won a great victory over the bosses!" he declared in his papers, and so the country generally proclaimed Wilson a "boss buster," although he had owed his election to the head boss of New Jersey.[108]

The legislative program put forward by Wilson was superb. As the glorious cathedral-like spires of the peace palace raised themselves like the hopes of the Internationalists to the high heavens, gleaming in the sunshine of the "new enlightenment," the politicians did not fail to see the seemingly irresistible momentum which Carnegie's money was giving the world peace movement. Moreover, with a taste of public service, and the prospect that Roosevelt would oppose Taft, Wilson's courage strengthened. In any case, war was unthinkable, Carnegie, Bryan, Butler, and scores of others protested, though most of them were merely whistling in the dark.

Harvey and Page, of course, had no idea of letting the fear of war deter Wilson. Democratic stock was now high, with Roosevelt hostile to Taft. But Harvey tried in vain to capture Bryan for Wilson. The "Great Commoner," also, saw that 1912 was likely to be a Democratic year. Then too, despite Wilson's splendid record as Governor,

Bryan deemed him "an autocrat by nature," and no Democrat in principle.[108]

Experience of the South, a section still bent on bombarding Fort Sumter, had convinced Harvey that it was likely to support even Bryan again, if the prospect of elect-ing him seemed bright. It had abandoned Cleveland for much less than Wilson had said in Division and Reunion. Moreover, Wilson had, in his youth, even assailed the Confederacy in two public addresses. He believed it almost useless to appeal to the reason of the South. Certainly it would not support him unless the Southern bosses and their vassal press were captured. This was Harvey's first great task.

Wilson had already tired somewhat of Harvey. The "Passionate Patriot" had done a lot of writing, but, like Page, he had left to Wilson entirely the arrangements for the financing and management of his presidential campaign. With few close friends, and even fewer wealthy ones, Wilson had received, up to February, 1911, not a single offer of the necessary financial support. Therefore, while Harvey was in the South proselytizing among the Southern editors, Wilson appealed to Page for help. Referring to Harvey, he said that an "indiscreet" person was booming him for president. He did not want a "big man" for his manager. Thereupon Page and Bridges suggested that Wilson consider William F. McCombs.[99] An Arkansan by birth, but now a New York lawyer, and a former pupil of Wilson's at Princeton, he was devoted to the Governor. Though physically somewhat incapacitated by lameness, he was a high-strung natural fighter. Toward the end of February, Wilson finally enlisted him for the job. McCombs' story, like Harvey's, fills a book which reads like a romance.[138]

Harvey had, by this time, succeeded in capturing Colonel Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, whose wife was a cousin of Mrs. Wilson; Colonel J. C. Hemphill, editor of the leading Charleston paper; and Clark Howell, editor of the Atlanta Constitution. Straightway McCombs set energetically to work, raising

money for Wilson's campaign among his Princeton friends. Only a little was obtained. Soon he was deeply in debt, so that on his western tour of the spring, Wilson had to borrow money from Bryan's brother to get home.[119]

Now occurred a revolution, led by Madero against Porfirio Diaz, "The Grand Old Man of Mexico." Disorders along the border followed. Louder and louder rose the demands for military preparedness and intervention. Diaz was soon compelled to abdicate. Believing that Japan had designs on Mexico, as suggested by Homer Lea, Taft assembled a regular army division in Texas, ostensibly for maneuver purposes. Instantly, too, a Peace Conference among all the American states was called to assemble at Lake Mohonk with Marburg as its Secretary. The Philosophy of the Third American Peace Conference, now published by Marburg, was an appeal for upholding the established Pan-American policy of non-intervention in Mexico, and against the disarmament urged by Bryan. Plainly the conference was designed to discourage Japan.

Harvey was a champion of law and order in Mexico. Suspicious of the forces behind Harpers Weekly, and bitterly opposed to intervention, Wilson charged that journal with being the mouthpiece of Wall Street. Thereafter, Wilson became growingly restive under Harvey's support. By summer he felt that it was positively injurious to him. Consequently, not without offense to Watterson, McCombs refused to accept aid from Thomas F. Ryan, to whom the Martin-Swanson-Flood Democratic Machine of Virginia had long looked for its support. Henceforth the "Organization" of Virginia—the State of Wilson's birth—was to be implacably hostile. However, Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, connected with the powerful DuPont interests, was now captured for Wilson, and with the aid of Hudspeth, Tumulty and others, Nugent was at last deposed as Democratic Chairman in New Jersey.

Among the Internationalists there were, as shown, Democrats of eminence as well as Republicans, just as in the case of the Pacifists. The former included Col. Edward M. House, of Texas, who owed his title to service on the

Governor's staff. His father had emigrated from England, and been prominent in the Texas Revolution. A man of some affluence with a taste for politics, and known in Texas as "a silent worker," Colonel House had acquired a summer home at Beverly on the North Shore of Massachusetts. There he had formed acquaintance with Taft, Richard Olney, Charles Eliot, Marburg, and other men of eminence. He had been in sympathy with Bryan, an intimate personal friend. But with the "Great Commoner" more or less off the political boards, he was, like Diogenes, says House's biographer, looking for a Democratic president who would fill "his bill."[103] Having established Tammany contacts, he was, in 1910, riding both the Gaynor and Culberson bandwagons. "I am generally found on the winning side," he explained. Upon the election of Wilson as Governor, he had dropped Gaynor at once, and, while continuing his relations with Bryan and Culberson, had returned to Texas in the spring of 1911 with a view to establishing control over the political forces in order to be able to deliver the delegates to the most likely candidate.

Recently discovered evidence indicates a combination, at this time, among our competitors abroad to support the Democrats in their theoretical efforts at tariff reduction.[72a] These efforts had generally been rather half-hearted since Democratic industrialists demanded protection quite as much as their Republican confreres. The tariff has always been a strictly local and altogether selfish issue. Colonel House was not an industrialist, nor was his constituency primarily industrial. It is therefore not surprising that he favored a downward revision of duties.[103]

It was during his stay in Texas that he wrote his first book—a political romance entitled Philip Dru: Administrator. The character of it is significant—the story of a young West Point graduate who made himself dictator of the United States, rescinded the Constitution, reformed the currency, enacted labor laws providing for workmen's compensation, abolished the tariff, and placed the courts under his personal control.

The Colonel admitted that his hero was a Socialist of

the Blanc School, while no one can read the book without seeing the influence it had exerted upon his views.

The author of this strange novel was shrewder than the "Apostle of Peace." He had seen the trend of events, and had, in some way, broken into the sanctum sanctorum of the Internationalists, whose whole scheme seems to have been disclosed to him. In consequence, he made Dru, as American Premier, lead the United States into a league of nations similar to that which Marburg had in mind, a league in which the Supreme Council possessed the power not only to regulate the domestic affairs of the constituent states but to enforce universal peace. As finally published (1913), the book seems to have developed progressively with political developments in America. Starting off in a socialistic key to catch the ear of Bryan, it passed to a Parliamentary refrain for Wilson, and then into an International-istic chorus for Carnegie and Marburg! It seems plain why its publication was long withheld by House. In 1911, House was not yet prepared to abandon Bryan, nor was he prepared, until after Wilson's election, to sponsor a league of nations!

One need not look to this romance alone for House's political ideas. In a book published by Smith, a newspaper man, purporting to be the life of House, and, according to the author, dictated in large measure by House himself, the latter is depicted as an Internationalist of the most advanced type, who believed, like Marburg, that the traditional principles of the American national parties must be abandoned.[197] So too, in the compendious compilation of House's papers by Seymour, obviously also nothing more than an autobiography, since it is admitted in the preface that it was written with House's aid, House unhesitatingly confessed that it was his purpose, in 1911, so to transform the Democratic party through its next President as to effect a virtual revolution in the American Government. Not only that, but it was to be "socialized and internationalized."[103]

From all this it is obvious that House, in so far as his internationalism went, was working not only to the same end as Marburg, even if not under his direction, but

towards that of the foreign tariff plot. In other words, white Marburg was bending every energy to reelect Taft, an avowed Internationalist, House was determined to see that the next president was a Democratic Internationalist with dictatorial and socialistic tendencies, and a low tariff advocate.

On reaching Texas, House found great unrest over the Mexican situation, and an increasing demand for intervention. This he opposed on the ground that it would play into Japan's hands by estranging the Pan-Americans of Central and South America.

It was in the summer of 1911 that he sought out Page, whose relations with Wilson were well known. Professing a deep interest in Wilson, he suggested to Page, as he had to the Democratic leaders of Texas, that it might be well for Wilson to speak at the Texas State Fair in October. "Better look up Colonel House," Page said to Wilson. "He's been doing a lot of good work for you." [197]

Wilson made a good impression in Texas, and won the support of the Democratic leaders—Thomas W. Gregory, Ball, Love, and Cato Sells.* Upon soliciting funds from them after Wilson's return, McCombs was advised to ask for a contribution from Colonel House. So it came about that Wilson's campaign manager called on House, whom he found much interested in Wilson, but not in contributing to his campaign.

Poor McCombs! Guileless as a child, he never even suspected the queer little man with "feline, shifty eyes and big ears, a retiring manner and a soft voice," with the manuscript of Philip Dru on his table, of being anything more than a literary dilettante with a more or less general interest in public affairs. The upshot was that, at House's suggestion, McCombs, late in November, brought the Governor to call on House, at his New York apartment. The wily Colonel made the most of this opportunity to ingratiate himself with Wilson.

"It is such a pleasure," he said, "to meet one with whom

* Gregory became Attorney General in Wilson's Cabinet and Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

you are in complete accord."[103,197] In his diary House tells the whole story quite differently from McCombs.[138] It proved, in any event, a fateful meeting, one which Sir Horace Plunkett later declared was to influence the history of the world.

A consummate master of human nature, a trained and experienced political lobbyist, it is obvious from House's own statements that he had studied Wilson carefully long before this meeting. It was his part to lead Wilson by seeming complacence and submission. For it was well known that Wilson accepted guidance reluctantly. The day after their meeting, House wrote both Bryan and Culberson his impression of Wilson. He was one who must be "led gently." Unknown to McCombs, they met again within a week, and dined alone.

It did not take House long to discover both the irrepressible ambition that inspired Wilson, and the fear of war which stood like a leering monster in the path of its realization. These things were exactly what he needed. Given Wilson's Presbyterian conviction of predestination, how easy it was for House, with his adroit hands, to thrum the strings of Wilson's emotional nature—ambition, fear, and finally the pride of religious faith! Soon he was reading and discussing Philip Dru with Wilson. Did Wilson himself suggest the premier idea? One can almost see House letting him visualize himself as the hero of the novel—as one whose ordained mission it was to champion humanity, to save mankind by preventing intervention in Mexico and a terrible war with Japan, a conflict that would almost certainly hasten the impending general conflict. This he must do after revising the tariff, by giving to the world that moral leadership for which, as declared by Page, it was crying. Also, as postulated by House, to the end that the league of nations of which men had dreamed so long, might be formed at last! Was it not through such an association alone that war was to be prevented, that Wilson as President might most surely liberate the oppressed peoples of the earth by abolishing the old order, just as Philip Dru had been made to do, uplift mankind, lead the rulers of the

world to the holy sacrament of the peace commission for which Carnegie was erecting a temple at the Hague? Why then, need he fear war at all?

Then there were the great social and political reforms to be worked out in America, so as to save democracy and the Republic of Washington from the radicals. Should Wilson join the Internationalists, might he not go down in history as among the world's greatest men, possibly as the greatest of his age?

There is little doubt that the promptings of House, and the picture painted by him in Philip Dru: Administrator, had made a profound impression upon Wilson before he and House had known each other a fortnight; that his lingering fear of war was no longer sufficient to cause him to abandon his old ambition to become President.

While House was weaving his web about Wilson, Underwood, preparatory to his own candidacy, made a strong demand in the Senate for a general downward revision of the tariff; and even Taft advocated a reduction on wool. Wilson had long been a free trader. It was presently arranged by McCombs for Wilson to make a vigorous assault upon the whole protective system before the Democratic Club of New York on January 3rd, and for the New York Times to report his views fully. Much pleased, House suggested that he be allowed to summon his friend David Houston, a professor at Washington College, Missouri, and a reputed expert on tariff questions. Accordingly, at a dinner given by House on December 9th, Houston first met Wilson. The following day he wrote President Mezes of the College of the City of New York, that Wilson "is a great man, with great ideas, and ought to be made 'dictator' of the United States." * [103]

The necessity of freeing Wilson from the control of Harvey and McCombs who were both ardent Nationalists, was obvious to House. Two days after the Houston dinner, Wilson lunched with Harvey, Watterson, and McCombs at the Manhattan Club, and served the famous

* See House's article in Liberty Magazine, January, 1933, Does the United States Need a Dictator?

"cocktail" to the man who had made him Governor. Undoubtedly with the approval, if not at the suggestion of House, Wilson now told Harvey that his editorial support was no longer needed, that it was hurting him.* This he had already intimated to Page.

Thereupon House wrote Bryan that he knew all about Harvey's dismissal, "more perhaps than any one else."[103] Evidently he was trying to curry favor for Wilson with Bryan, by showing how eager Wilson was to hold himself entirely aloof from the "interests." For even if Bryan could not obtain the nomination, he could almost certainly dictate whither it should go.

In vain the astonished McCombs protested against Wilson's abrupt dismissal of Harvey. Wilson saw no reason why Harvey should take offense. The great editor immediately announced that Harper's Weekly would no longer feature Wilson. When Mrs. Wilson learned from McCombs what had happened, she wept, and Wilson, alarmed at last, asked McCombs to "straighten the matter out," while he himself hastened to write Harvey. There was no response. He wrote again for a while with the same result. Eventually Harvey replied that it was too late to change his announcement.

At this juncture the controversy between Washington and St. Petersburg over the pogroms and the Jewish passport question came to a head. Prompt to make political capital for the Democratic party, the New York Times pointed out on December nth, that Switzerland had been made to accept Jewish passports, and called on Congress to declare the treaty of commerce and navigation with Russia, which had been in effect since 1832, annulled by breach on the part of Russia. In vain the Hon. Curtis Guild, Taft's Ambassador to St. Petersburg, insisted that the Russian Government had as much right to refuse passports to undesirable Jews, as the United States had to refuse them to certain Asiatic subjects of the Czar. The Jewish interests were determined to have their way. On

* The story of the luncheon was recorded by Harvey. See George Harvey, Passionate Patriot. Johnson.

the 16th Mr. Sulzer of New York introduced a resolution in the House declaring the treaty abrogated as of January

1, 1912. This naturally gave great offense to the Russian Government. Nevertheless, unable to resist the political pressure brought to bear upon him, Taft, the great exponent of arbitration, recommended on the following day the abrogation of the treaty. Instantly Congress passed the Sulzer Resolution. Thereupon it was announced in the press that both Russia and Germany intended to wage a tariff war against the United States. Meantime Watterson had been setting the South aflame with the Harvey story, from Richmond to Charlotte. Again Wilson was branded as a base ingrate; and all the good work Harvey had done in the South was nullified.

These were dark days for Wilson. He was now almost hostile in his curtness to and disregard of McCombs, and ignoring Page entirely. House had his entire confidence, and had supplanted all others.

Having declined Watterson's suggestion to solicit funds from Thomas Fortune Ryan, or to accept a donation from Josiah Quincy, the great Boston banker, who was under indictment, McCombs was in a desperate situation. His financial resources were at an end. In this situation, Quincy arranged for Frederick C. Penfield, a former student under Wilson at Princeton, to give the Governor a dinner preceding his tariff speech. Quincy, Commodore Benedict, and McCombs were the other guests. Wilson went even farther than Underwood in condemning a protective tariff, much to the satisfaction of the Internationalists. After the speaking, Penfield gave McCombs $10,000, specifying that it was to be used to employ a publicity agent for Wilson.*

Marburg noted the headway Wilson was making, and felt that he was well on his way to capture him for the Internationalists. Apparently he agreed with his friend, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, that if there were to be a Democratic president, Wilson would be preferable to Bryan.

* Penfield was later appointed Minister to Austria-Hungary.

Nor was the wise Rabbi the only member of his race who believed this. The upshot was that, thoroughly alive to the value of the Jewish vote, Wilson agreed to speak in Carnegie Hall on the subject of the Russian treaty and the passport question. This speech was one of the most idealistic he had ever made.[138] The Jews were greatly pleased. Within a few days Henry Morgenthau and Abram L. Elkus, both prominent representatives of their race, tendered to McCombs their support of Wilson, with whom it was arranged that Morgenthau should serve as Chairman of Wilson's campaign finance committee. It was distinctly understood among the three that McCombs would urge Morgenthau's appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, and the appointment of Elkus to an important ambassadorial post.*

Bernard Baruch also now came out strongly for Wilson. With no experience in "big business," thus insidiously, gradually, surely, Wilson was being obligated to Jewish financiers, while being committed, unknown to McCombs, to the program of the Internationalists.

Soon McCombs called on Morgenthau to execute a note for $350,000, endorsed by himself. Morgenthau and Elkus collaborated, and returned with $70,000. It was with this money, Penfield's contribution, and that which McCombs had raised among the Princetonians, that McCombs undertook to secure Wilson's nomination. Seeing the way the wind was blowing, McAdoo, after long hesitation, took his own hat out of the ring, and also declared for Wilson. At once he and Tumulty united against McCombs to control Wilson's affairs, while House returned to Texas to round up the state delegates.

Meanwhile, the whole world seemed threatened with calamity. The Balkans were seething with unrest. Every chancellery in Europe was involved, Russia and the Dual Monarchy being particularly interested. While the Japanese were sharpening their bayonets, Madero was having

* Later, after he had availed himself of Morgenthau's services, Wilson repudiated this agreement; Morgenthau and Elkus were compelled to divide a four-year ambassadorship to Turkey.

a desperate time maintaining himself. In Germany the truffle between the Social Democrats and the Kaiser at the head of the militarists was intense. Homer Lea now published his sensational Day of the Saxon, in which he declared that the Pan-Germans were ready to assail the Triple Entente, while Japan contemplated taking advantage of a European war to effect a footing in Mexico before proceeding against the United States. Such was the situation when, in January, 1912, the British Government found itself under irresistible pressure, according to Lord Grey, to reopen negotiations with Berlin, looking to a naval holiday and a general disarmament pact.[92a]

The world was set agog over Haldane's new mission.

In promoting the Anglo-American accord, the Internationalists had not been able to overcome the Anglophobia which had become a traditional part of American politics, especially among the Democratic elements of the populous centers. When, therefore, at the Lord Mayor's luncheon to the officers and men of an American ship, Commodore Sims declared that, in an emergency, America would stand by Britain, just as the British had stood by the American Navy at Tutuila and Manila, a frenzy of anti-British sentiment broke out. Congress demanded that Taft reprimand Sims, which was done. Roosevelt was furious.

One of the most discouraging things for the Internationalists occurred, when, in February, instead of coming out to form a third party, Roosevelt announced his candidacy for the Republican nomination. The Haldane mission, meanwhile, proved a complete failure, since the German Militarists saw that their very life was at stake. Already a war was in progress in the Balkans, which was full of dynamite for the peacemakers. All this was naturally unpalatable to the Internationalists.

Wilson, too, was much discouraged by these untoward developments. Nor did the early primaries go well for him. Clark and Underwood seemed to be stronger candidates, until, in March, House wrote Wilson that he had Texas in "good shape," and in April returned to New York, satisfied that he could deliver the delegation.

Bryan and House both felt that Roosevelt was still likely to oppose Taft, if he did not get the Republican nomination, and until this was decided, House continued, as shown by his own correspondence, to ride the Bryan, Wilson, and Culberson bandwagons.

The Sims incident had an early repercussion. The Irish were determined to defeat both Roosevelt and Taft. Accordingly, led by Senator O'Gorman of New York, the arch twister of the Lion's tail, they began to agitate, no doubt encouraged by Japanese and German propaganda, for a Panama Tolls Exemption Act, in direct violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Again the Republicans in Congress were powerless to resist the popular demand, in which Gompers, at the head of Organized Labor, took an important part.

Thayer and a score of others have undertaken to explain the irrevocable breach which now occurred between Roosevelt and Root. None of them even intimate what was probably the major cause. The Internationalists were determined that Roosevelt should not have the Republican nomination because of his opposition to their scheme, and Root was President of the Carnegie Endowment which was backing it. Seeing that Roosevelt would probably be induced to run on an independent Republican ticket, House concluded that Bryan was likely to be elected at last, if he could secure the Democratic nomination. Was it not time for him to suppress his Wilson enthusiasm? At any rate, on May 1st, he prepared to write Culberson that Bryan was likely to be the Democratic choice. More than once a professor from Princeton now urged McCombs, at Wilson's instance, to abandon his efforts. Was House trying to dissuade Wilson from his candidacy?

At this juncture Hamilton Holt published Marburg's Backward Nation in the Independent. This was an argument for international cooperation to prevent the selfish exploitation of such countries as Mexico. Obviously Marburg had Japan in mind. His latest appeal was published by the Berne Peace Society, and reprinted over and

over in Europe and America. Statesmen like Bryce, Count Apponyi, and the Internationalists and Socialists everywhere, commended it.

By this time almost the entire South had gone against Wilson, while it was obvious that Root, Choate, Butler, Straus, and Marburg, were sparing no effort to nominate Taft with Carnegie's money. In his Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?, Butler had just made a strong attack upon Bryan, and, at Lake Mohonk in May, he delivered an address—The International Mind—in which, as usual, only part of what was behind the peace movement was disclosed. Immediately thereafter, House took McCombs to Beverly, and, according to the latter, urged him to swing Wilson's delegates to Culberson. This he probably deemed the best means of corraling them for Bryan. McCombs at last suspected House of intriguing, and scorned the suggestion. He felt sure of capturing the forty Texas delegates for Wilson, which, early in June, proved correct.

Some one whom House had met in New York now tried to intervene between House and Wilson. Knowing this, House wrote the latter to pay no heed to this adviser. Who was it? Was it perhaps Page or Dodge? At any rate, Wilson assured House he would ignore the proffered counsel in the future.[103]

Day of all days for Wilson! On June 22nd with Root as Chairman of the Republican Convention, representing the Carnegie interests, despite the most valiant efforts of Roosevelt, Taft was nominated, and forthwith the Progressives decided to reassemble in Chicago six weeks later, and nominate Roosevelt on the "Bull Moose" ticket![211]

Much encouraged, McCombs next day established the Wilson Headquarters in Baltimore. Two days before the Democratic Convention, House wrote Wilson that he was compelled to go to Europe at once. He added that he had fully instructed McCombs how to handle the Convention, and that, in the event Wilson was nominated, he would hasten back to help him further, should this be required.

It was the old trick of the professional politician. He must never be caught on the wrong bandwagon!

To what extent House had already committed Wilson to the program of Philip Dru cannot be said, but obviously there was a very good understanding between them. Did he go to Europe to discover from Marburg just how far Root and the Internationalists would support either Bryan or Wilson, if one or the other were elected? The visit is shrouded in mystery.

Among other things the Democratic platform pledged the party to a downward revision of the tariff, a Panama Tolls Exemption Act, and a single presidential term, in order to discredit Roosevelt. Despite Wilson's treatment of Harvey and the latter's personal feelings, Harvey was on hand working for Wilson's nomination, in order to dispose of Bryan forever. Bryan made a tremendous effort to gain control of the Convention. Harvey scared the Tammany and other Democratic bosses. If Bryan were nominated, it would go hard with them! He also played a clever trick on Bryan, who still deemed him his own friend. The Virginians fought Wilson bitterly. They were for any one to beat Wilson. "What has he ever done for the Democratic party, except try to ruin it," demanded Martin and Flood of Virginia.

The Convention was soon deadlocked. Tumulty declares that McCombs urged Wilson to withdraw. The evidence seems to be conclusive that this could not have been true.[108,138] McCombs insists in his detailed record of the Convention that, under the influence of Senator Stone of Missouri, Wilson authorized the withdrawal of his name from consideration. At any rate, on the forty-third ballot, Roger Sullivan, the great Illinois "Boss," and the friend of McCombs, by agreement between them, finally broke the deadlock in favor of Wilson. Bryan now gave up the fight, and threw his support to Wilson, possibly under an agreement of long standing with House. Thereupon the Convention stampeded for Wilson, who was nominated with Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana as his running mate.

Thus, a second time, Wilson owed his success to a political boss, to say nothing of Harvey who, as shown, was little concerned with idealistic principles when it came to politics. For the moment, the Virginia bosses were disconsolate. Wilson was never to forget that they had opposed him.*

* Richmond Times Despatch, editorial, December, 1912.

CHAPTER VII

Wilson Attributes His Nomination to Providence. Democratic Chaos. McCombs Versus the McAdoo-Tumulty Cabal. House's Tour of Europe. Returning, He Establishes a Complete Ascendency Over Wilson. They Plan to Detach Britain from Japan by Repealing the Panama Tolls Exemption Act. House Dictates the Appointment of the "Apostle of Peace" as Secretary of State. Wilson Elected. House Becomes "Silent Partner." The National Committee Ignored in the Selection of the Cabinet. House Confers with the Bankers on the Currency and Tariff. Wilson and House Publish "The New Freedom," and "Philip Dru: Administrator."

MCADOO SAW in the nomination of Wilson a great opportunity for himself. Before the convention was over, he proceeded to Sea Girt to claim the National Chairmanship. Learning of this, McCombs, though he had suffered a physical collapse, rose from his bed, and raced after him.

The usual number of belated enthusiasts were crowding around the nominee, putting forth claims based on all manner of services.

McCombs looked, not unnaturally, for some expression of appreciation from Wilson who, however, was not disposed to evaluate very highly his campaign manager's contribution to the result. McAdoo, Tumulty, and the others had left little for him. "Providence," Wilson declared frigidly to McCombs, "has dictated the nomination." [138]

In the light of what has been said, one need not be surprised at this remark. As a Presbyterian with Wilson's philosophy and background sees it, there is no egotism, no personal conceit whatever in attributing one's individual

success to the Almighty. It was not, therefore, as supposed by McCombs and others, that Wilson, in his egotism, ignored the parts played by Harvey, Page, Smith, Nugent, Penfield, Morgenthau, Sullivan, McCombs, and others, and that, not once but many times, it had been within the power of a single man to prevent the realization of Wilson's life-long ambition. House had made him distrustful of others, and he was particularly aggrieved by the ceaseless harping of McCombs upon the one term promise, which he had been compelled to confirm. Moreover, the idea of the holy mission of preserving world peace with which he had been charged, had been ding-donged into his head by House so ceaselessly that he seems to have looked upon the undoubted contributions of individuals to his election, as themselves nothing more than providential acts.

Nevertheless, there were those who, in spite of McCombs' patent limitations, did not underestimate his services. Certainly McAdoo had no claim superior to his. Therefore, after the lapse of a fortnight of uncertainty, and upon the virtual demands of Cleveland H. Dodge, Josephus Daniels, William Mitchell Palmer, and others, McCombs was designated by Wilson to be Chairman, and McAdoo Assistant Chairman.

Congress now passed the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, a measure almost universally deemed an unconscionable violation of a treaty obligation. Page was bitter, and damned the party whole-heartedly. Henceforth it was war to the death between him and Bryan, who had supported the measure principally because it was anti-British. At the same time the California Legislature passed a Japanese Exclusion Act that served to consolidate Anglo-Japanese feeling against America. Soon a fight between McCombs and the McAdoo-Tumulty Cabal was in progress. Coupled with the Democratic policies mentioned, it might have wrecked the Democratic campaign, had it not been for the Roosevelt-Taft schism with its promise of an ultimate victory for Wilson.[103,108,138,192,215]

House deemed Wilson's nomination tantamount to his election. Landing in England, he proceeded to France and

thence to Geneva, where Marburg made his summer headquarters in those days. Something happened there—no one knows what. In any event, House changed his plans, and visited Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia as far east as Moscow, and Germany.

It is significant that Mrs. Bryan kept him posted throughout the summer. He worked on Philip Dru all the way over and all the way back. Upon his return, late in August, he set out at once to commit Wilson finally to the scheme of enforcing peace upon the world. Nor is there any doubt that he was soon in intimate contact with Dodge, who had access to Root, Butler, Taft and Marburg.

At the supreme moment in Wilson's life, did he ask himself what had evolved out of the toil of the ages, what had come of the martyrdom of man, what had history to yield for the guidance of an American statesman? Was the humble Nazarene called the Christ, still the wisest man who had ever lived? Was the spiritual democracy of His government perhaps the ideal system of life? Had He not shown that in truth alone, rather than in the pomp of power, was to be founded the kingdom through which mankind might hope with reason to establish universal peace and find salvation?

As we picture Wilson standing at the fateful cross roads whither he had now come, with the sign Hoc Signo Vinces staring him in the face, many thoughts come to mind. We see the garden of Gethsemane, the cross, the hostile multitude, Jesus staggering onward and upward under his self-imposed burden, but never faltering in the resolve to save mankind through the sheer power of truth. And again we see Page pleading with Wilson that day in July, 1910, urging him to give to the American people the fearless leadership they craved.

Why did Wilson now abandon Page for House, fail to come out boldly and speak the truth that both the Pacifists and the Internationalists were concealing, call the Panama Tolls Exemption Act what he knew it to be, appeal to the country to gird itself for war against the evil forces

threatening not only its economic and physical security but its traditional policy of national independence?

How did he fail to see the sign of the cross, and allow himself to be misled by a false guide? How did this new tragedy in the martyrdom of man come about?

Under the urgings of Page and Harvey, both ardent Democratic Nationalists, Wilson had abandoned his Federalist principles to assume the leadership of their party. Was it not obvious, with Roosevelt and Bryan both opposing a league of nations, that a president must have the support of Carnegie and the Internationalists if he were to prevent war? Was it not his duty to transform the Democratic party by leading it from its traditional Nationalism to the Internationalism through which alone humanity could be served? How could this be fairly construed as a betrayal of the Democratic party? Aside from this, was party principle to be put above the interests of humanity?

In addition to these ceaseless promptings of House, there were considerations of practical expediency that no ambitious politician could ignore. In order to serve mankind, Wilson must first be elected. The moralists of the world had not been practical politicians. Was it not the political bishops who had built up, plank by plank, the platform upon which Christianity had eventually prevailed over the hostile forces of Rome? Certainly it was not good politics to allow Taft to claim undisputed the great Internationalist vote that Carnegie and Marburg had developed through more than a decade of propaganda. Their program might not be ideal, but was this the time to try to improve upon it? Once elected, he could amend this course according to circumstances.

Once Wilson had been committed to the Internationalist cause, House became indispensable to him in dealing with both the Internationalists and with Bryan, whose confidence House still possessed. They were soon in accord as to the tactics to be employed by Wilson, nor is it difficult to construct from their subsequent acts and statements the plan on which they agreed. Wilson must say nothing which would estrange Bryan and the Nationalists, about being

committed to a league of nations, but, in discreet silence, allow Roosevelt to gore Taft to death over the latter's Internationalism. Therefore it was decided to postpone the publication of Philip Dru until after the election, and then bring it out as part of the general program of education. Wilson must endorse the Panama Tolls Exemption Act in order not to offend Bryan and the anti-British elements. He need say no more about a single term, since the Democratic pledge was apt to prove more of an embarrassment to him than to Roosevelt. About Labor, Currency, and Tariff Revision, he might talk as much as he pleased.

Inasmuch as Japan seemed bent upon effecting a territorial lodgment in the western hemisphere before the opening of the Panama Canal, no effort was to be spared, as part and parcel of the Internationalist scheme, to consolidate the Latin Americans behind the established Pan-American policy. Since thorough understanding and cooperation between the British and American governments were essential to the formation of a league of nations, and Japan was taking advantage of the present Anglo-American estrangement over the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, it would be absolutely necessary for Wilson to secure the repeal of the obnoxious Act after his election, even though he must at present endorse it. That would be the consideration to be offered Great Britain for preventing Japanese and European interference in Mexican affairs.

A very definite military policy must also be pursued, one that would insure the protection of the border, without inciting aggressive action by Japan. If the sudden increase of the armed forces for which the American "militarists" were calling was allowed, Japan might, as a matter of military expediency, seize America's Pacific possessions which, in the opinion of military experts, she was quite capable of doing. Meanwhile, any administration measures looking to the enlargement of the Army and Navy would be opposed by Bryan and the Pacifists generally, while an ostensibly pacific policy would insure their support. Therefore, as a safeguard against present dangers, the militia was to be utilized to the fullest possible extent, but for the alleged

purpose of maintaining neutrality between the United States and Mexico, rather than as a threat to Japan. Finally, while Carnegie, Marburg and their cohorts were doing their best to detach Britain from Japan and prevent a Euro-pean War, Wilson was to draw Japan into diplomatic negotiations that would prevent a breach, establish the best possible relations with the A.B.C. powers of South America, secretly organize the necessary political support in Congress for the early repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, and for the present, at least, discourage military legislation in every way possible.

Bryan was always opposed to any dealings with Great Britain, since Anglophobia was a part of his democracy, and to internationalism in any form. It would not be difficult, however, to overcome his opposition to the repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, if he were shown that peace depended upon it. He could be kept happily engaged, negotiating the treaties which he had long been advocating, binding nations to refrain from war until a year after the rendition of an arbitral judgment. Based on the principle that with the lapse of time popular passions would cool, such treaties would work in well with the general peace scheme. He would almost certainly wreck the administration if left out of it, nor would he accept a secondary place. Therefore, in Wilson's own interest, the "Great Commoner" and "Apostle of Peace" must be offered the premier portfolio—Secretary of State. Thus only could he be silenced.

The necessity of appointing Bryan was a bitter pill for Wilson to swallow. He deemed him unsound in all his economic theories and little short of a fanatic.[103] Yet there was no denying the force of House's arguments. Self-protection demanded this, and, according to House, it was agreed upon in September.

It seems that Marburg, who had contributed handsomely to Taft's campaign, had arranged for his own appointment as Ambassador to Belgium in order that he might carry on the Internationalist plan. Through the other ambassadors, House, as super-ambassador, was to

function over the head of the Secretary of State, while the latter occupied himself negotiating his pet treaties and fighting military legislation. The cabinet was to be selected with regard to the general scheme of foreign and domestic policies. There was to be a rapid consummation of the sweeping currency reforms for which Aldrich and others had already prepared the country, labor laws designed to prevent strikes and boycotts and to win the support of labor, a revision of the tariff that would favor the South and the West at the expense of the plutocratic sections of the country, a Federal Trades Act, "an alluring program of farm relief," etc., etc. just as proposed by Philip Dru.[103,106,114] No measure was to be neglected that might compel Democratic reforms in Germany, Russia, the Dual Monarchy, and Turkey; and to this end Wilson was to bend his best efforts, speaking often to the masses of Europe. Should it prove impossible for the Internationalists to prevent a European conflict, he was to proclaim the neutrality of the United States in the name of humanity at once, and give the Triple Entente free access to American munitions. After the Pan-Germans had learned the futility of militarism through defeat, he was to offer mediation. Were it accepted, he was then to propose a general disarmament pact as the basis of a league of nations, as well as the sweeping democratic reforms that were necessary to end the spread of radicalism.

Unsuspected by McCombs, Harvey, Page, Bryan, or any of the leaders of the Democratic party, Wilson's Internationalism appears to have progressed to this point by October ist.

In the light of what has been said, the fateful moment when Wilson cast his lot with the Internationalists, looms like a sinister cloud above the horizon of his career. Looking back, we see a world pleading for guidance along the way of truth, while we see him, blinded by ambition, unconsciously sacrificing a kingdom to his pride of power. The words of Milton come to us—Paradise Lost—Prometheus Bound! For now Wilson could not say until it was too late: "Enough of this shrewd politics, the secret diplomacy,

the false history, and the lying that are setting the nations at each other's throats." He could not assail the radicals without regard to nationality, or dispel their dream of breaking down the capitalistic order. On the contrary, he must remain silent, while actually encouraging all these ugly evils through an irresponsible and unscrupulous deputy.

How much support did Wilson get from the Pacifists? We do not know. We do know that in September the five addresses that Butler had made at Lake Mohonk during the past six years, advocating arbitration and a world court, were collected in a single volume, and published under the title of The International Mind as an argument against both Roosevelt and Bryan. Ostensibly an argument for the judicial settlement of international disputes, the book, in fact, supported Marburg's league to enforce peace.

"The establishment of an independent international court of justice to hear and to decide causes between nations, will not make war impossible," the author admitted in his preface, and then went on to point out that, behind such a court, there must be a disposition on the part of the nations "to cooperate in enforcement." Taft was everywhere deemed not only the candidate of Wall Street, but of Carnegie. Root's support of him was probably the greatest single blow Roosevelt received, inasmuch as it virtually gave the conservative Republican vote to Taft, in addition to that of the great financial houses behind the Internationalist movement.

The fact is that, though not understood at the time, the presidential campaign of 1912 was to see an entirely new alignment of forces—Republican Internationalists and Bourbons, Republican Nationalists and anti-Bourbons, and a combination of anti-British elements, Bryanites, Southern Sectionalists, and the old copperhead type of Democrats, who were still talking of decentralism, and popular and states rights.

Unfortunately for the Internationalists, the savage Huerta, who had overthrown Madero early in October, caused him, with his Secretary of War, to be assassinated.

Thereupon Huerta, with bold effrontery, called upon Taft for recognition. A new revolution led by Carranza at the head of the self-styled Constitutionalists with the assistance of Villa, a capable soldier, developed shortly thereafter. Though the border states clamored for intervention, it failed to become a campaign issue, because the Bryanites, Pacifists, and Internationalists all opposed it. Taft simply ignored Huerta, and merely placed a heavier guard along the border to satisfy the Pacifists and take the wind out of the "Apostle of Peace." This course was thoroughly consonant with Blaine's and Root's Pan-American policy.

While Root, Marburg and Butler labored with the British Internationalists to prevent a possible violation of the Monroe Doctrine by European interference in Mexican affairs, Democratic Headquarters fell into a state of utter chaos. With McCombs confined to a hospital, McAdoo, as Vice-Chairman, reversed all the Chairman's arrangements, and tried, with the cooperation of House and Tumulty, to oust the sick man from office. For a while it looked as if Wilson would let them have their way. When, however, the National Committee, at the instance of McCombs' friends, protested, and a fatal split in the Democratic organization was threatened, Wilson consented to McCombs' calling on Harvey to manage the campaign. With admirable magnanimity, Harvey agreed, no doubt at the instance of Page and other sensible Democrats, while McAdoo was compelled to resign. To save the situation, Wilson now publicly announced that there was no friction at Headquarters; but although Harvey quickly reestablished order, there was no personal contact whatever between him and Wilson, for House had supplanted all others in Wilson's confidence. Indeed, even while Harvey heroically ran the campaign, House boasted in letters to his Internationalist friends, that he had been entrusted with the task of locating likely cabinet material for Wilson.

A week before election, the shrewd Harvey congratulated Wilson upon what he foresaw as the certain result.[108] On November 4, 1912, Woodrow Wilson was chosen Presi-

dent of the United States by little more than a third of the voters, just as predicted by the man who had made him President at last!

The country was momentarily too amazed to grasp the full significance of what had happened. With the impetuosity of a bull moose, Roosevelt had rent the Republican party in twain. Moreover, in his overconfidence, and by the very violence of his uncompromising assault upon the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, coupled with his urgent recommendation that the Panama question be settled by arbitration, he had driven many Republican Anglophobes into the Democratic ranks. In effect, he and the Carnegie group under Root's leadership had contributed equally to the election of Wilson.

There was no particular uproar over the result like that attending the great popular revolts resulting in the overthrow of the Bourbons by Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland. Roosevelt had made considerable inroads upon Bryan's strength in certain quarters, as the Democratic bosses generally did not trust him. Meanwhile Tammany had knifed the "Jersey Boss Buster" to the delight of Smith and Nugent. On the other hand, Watterson, Hemphill, Howell and the leading Southern editors had found no more enthusiasm in their work than Bryan, Martin, Swanson, and Flood in Virginia.

McCombs was now a physical and financial wreck. Hailed, like Harvey, as a hero, he received no thanks from Wilson for his labors. On the contrary, while thoroughly discredited by the McAdoo-Tumulty-House cabal, he was again told by Wilson that the result was due to Providence rather than to him or Harvey.

There was a question whether Wilson himself could much longer stand the terrific strain to which he was subject. It was insisted that he take a rest. Therefore, after refusing to discuss appointments with McCombs or confer with any of the Democratic leaders, he placed the tentative selection of his cabinet and ambassadors in House's hands, and, on November 15th, sailed for Bermuda to be

gone a month. Until his departure House never let him far out of his sight.*

Within a week, Marburg was appointed minister to Belgium by Taft to succeed Larz Anderson, whose retirement excited no particular comment. Soon agreements binding the United States, Britain, and France to submit their disputes, even where points of national honor were involved, to a World Court, were referred to the Senate by Taft. The Democrats saw that this was but a means of compelling a repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act. Therefore the proposed treaties were rejected, despite all that Taft, Carnegie, and the Internationalists generally could do. Plainly the country was not yet ready to support Internationalism. Wilson saw that he must move slowly.

Was House dealing honestly with Wilson? "Come," he said to McCombs one day, according to the latter, "let you and McAdoo and I get together, and we'll run the government for the next four years."

Only now did McCombs realize the true situation. At first the other leaders were inclined to rebel against House. "What does it all mean?" Burleson enquired of Senator Gore. This other Texan was "no slouch" himself when it came to pussyfooting. Gore assured him that House could tread leaves more silently than a tiger. Aware of the necessity of placating Burleson, House soon joined him with McAdoo, Daniels, and Tumulty to take over the disposition of Democratic patronage, and promised him a Cabinet job.

Wilson returned from Bermuda in mid-December. At once he tried to get out of appointing Bryan, heeding the uproar caused by the rumors of the selection of Bryan as Secretary of State. House held him to their previous agreement, as a matter of necessity. But, with House's approval, he simply refused to appoint Morgenthau Secretary of the Treasury, despite McCombs' promise. McAdoo was to have the post.

* McCombs gives a strange picture of House and Wilson at this time.

"Send him to Turkey," suggested House.

"There ain't going to be no Turkey," Wilson replied.

"Then let him go and look for one," was House's re-joinder. As for Elkus, he must divide the honor of an ambassaborial post with Morgenthau![103]

Soon after Wilson's return, one of the travesties which characterize democracy occurred. Down in- Virginia, a celebration over Wilson's election in the form of a "home coming" to Staunton, which Wilson himself did not deem his home, had been arranged! The bosses—Martin, Swanson, and Flood—who had declaimed against him so boldly at Baltimore in June, were forced to sit meekly at the banquet given in honor of the so-called eighth Virginia President! The Richmond Times Despatch commented, in a sarcastic editorial, on the hypocrisy of it all. Wilson, it declared, was not in the least deceived.

Before the New Year, House began holding conferences with the great bankers, with Wilson's consent, on the proposed currency and tariff acts, selecting Glass as the proponent of the measure.[89] According to House, Glass declared he knew nothing about currency matters, whereupon House undertook to coach him. House's plan, despite all protests, was to rush the Federal Reserve Act through Congress before all the patronage had been disposed of.[103]

Although McCombs was strongly backed for Attorney General, as well as for Secretary of the Treasury, now that Morgenthau was disposed of, the best that House could recommend for him was the Ambassadorship to France. Should he accept, this would serve to force his resignation as Chairman of the party. On the other hand, if he refused, he could not with justice claim that he had been ignored. But knowing that he was financially unable to accept the post, his friends at once saw the trick, and protested violently in the press.

Again Wilson balked over Bryan's appointment. Hop-ing to get out of it, he offered House the Secretaryship of State. House's part in the Internationalist project, however, precluded the possibility of his holding office. On the

other hand, the part he was playing was important enough. For when his authority to speak for the President in a certain important matter was challenged, Wilson said: "Mr. House is my second personality. He is my independent self. His thoughts and mine are one. If I were in his place, I would do just as he suggested ... If any one thinks he is reflecting my opinion by whatever he states, they are welcome to the conclusion." [103] Thereupon Collier's Weekly gave House the title of Wilson's "Silent Partner."

The time was at hand to prepare the country for what was to come. Wilson's friend and literary confidant had completed his skillful compilation of the President-elect's campaign utterances. These were published early in 1913 under the title of The New Freedom. In this book were reiterated all of Wilson's promises with respect to domestic reforms, to which the Democratic party had pledged itself, and his popularity was enormously enhanced. Still he wisely refrained from any mention of his foreign program, for which the country was to be prepared by House. Thoroughly committed to the incoming administration, Bryan was no longer deemed a danger. Therefore it was decided to publish Philip Dru: Administrator anonymously.

Although not deemed much of a novel, the distinctly revolutionary character of House's book attracted much attention from the press. Who was the author? For a while, few people suspected Wilson's "Silent Partner." In private letters, House admitted his purpose to make of the President "something of a premier." Soon after the appearance of Philip Dru, he disclosed his Internationalist scheme to Edward S. Martin, editor of Life. He was planning, he declared, to visit Europe soon, to effect an understanding between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States.[103] Thus it would appear that he had secured the support for Wilson of Root, Taft, and Marburg. Later the same month, he went to Florida to confer with Bryan, obviously for the purpose of preparing him for the part he must play. "He's pleased as punch," wrote House to

Wilson.[103] Aside from insisting that a Catholic and a Jew he included in the Cabinet, Bryan had little to suggest. "He wants to help," was the final report. Wilson seems now to have been convinced that Bryan had been completely subdued by House, which explains his subsequent willingness to permit House to reduce the Secretary of State to the status of a figurehead.

It also explains his final consent to include Bryan in his Cabinet as Secretary of State, a consent that could, in all likelihood, never have been secured, had he known that Bryan was by no means willing to play the figurehead completely or permanently.

House was an adept in deception. Liberty of action on his part depended in large measure on a general impression that he was merely Wilson's "man Friday." He strove, therefore, from the first, to create this illusion. There is little merit in the contention of some of Wilson's unreasoning adherents that the veracity of House is questionable; and that he was, in reality, no more than a vain little "yes man" to his chief. That he was at least as often leader as he was follower, is plentifully evident from the virtual autobiography brought out under the title of The Real Colonel House by his literary agent in 1918, during the Presidency of Wilson. In that book, it is frankly stated that House's purpose from the first was to so transform the Democratic Party, as to permit of a virtual revolution in our form of government. Moreover, Philip Dru: Administrator, representing House's ideas prior to his first meeting with Wilson, was permitted to come out almost contemporaneously with Wilson's own New Freedom. The fact that Wilson was completely cognizant of these literary activities on the part of House, and that they continued to be close friends and allies, thereafter, is evidence enough of House's real status, and of Wilson's sympathy therewith.

It is hardly to be denied that it was House, who brought Morgenthau, Elkus, Baruch, Rabbi Wise, and Morris into the Wilson camp. These powerful men were not of the type to deal with understrappers. It may be that House was aided in this alliance by his willingness to

oppose the Czar, and encourage revolution in Russia. But in any event, the unique figure of House as a somewhat sinister chief of almost limitless power in the Wilson camp, stands out clearly, despite his detractors; and they have failed completely in their efforts to belittle him. Some of the men close to Wilson like Bainbridge Colby and Roland Morris, based their opinion of House as a mere "yes man." upon the fact that House, for reasons of his own, had nothing to say to them. He was willing to appear stupid at times, in his apparent lack of comprehension of their ideas, but he was, of course, never that. He began his conferences with those who would never have entertained independent proposals of his own, by saying "The Governor thinks" or "The President wishes." Then he would create the impression of almost servile loyalty to his chief by defending the latter against all objections. The accord so achieved would be reported back to Wilson, and House's original desire carried out as if it had originated with the President.

The final conference of the "Cabinet Makers" was held in House's apartment. The party chairman was overruled in every instance. Already House had dictated Bryan as Secretary of State, McAdoo as Secretary of the Treasury, Houston as Secretary of Agriculture, and Burleson as Postmaster General, all his personal friends. Daniels, Lane, William B. Wilson, Redfield, and McReynolds were now selected "more or less haphazardly," according to House, by joint agreement between Wilson and himself for Navy, Interior, Labor, Commerce and the Attorney-Generalship, respectively. Only the Secretary of War remained, next to the Secretary of State perhaps the most important post in 1913. Wilson and House could think of no suitable person. At the last moment Tumulty suggested Judge Garrison—a personal friend. Although neither Wilson nor House had ever met Garrison, he was selected.*

* General Scott in his Memories of a Soldier, gives an interesting sidelight on Wilson's attitude toward this post in December, 1912, when he first met Wilson at his brother's home in Princeton. At that time, he was contemplating the appointment of William Mitchell Palmer!

The best informed papers, naturally relying upon McCombs for their prognostications, made a poor guess at the makeup of the Cabinet that was finally announced late in February. No one was more amazed than Page, who had been omitted, after serious consideration, because of his strong Nationalist and British sympathies, which were objectionable to Bryan, to Tammany Hall, and to the anti-British elements of the party. Judging the Cabinet by its lack of prestige, he deemed it decidedly inferior. Was the South to run the Administration? If so, he believed it doomed. He did not understand that Wilson proposed, with House's aid, to run the Administration himself; and that Southern predominance in the Cabinet was necessary, to enable the partners to lead the most strongly Nationalistic section of the country away from Bryan.

The National Committee, too, was astonished. Mor-genthau and Elkus especially felt aggrieved by Wilson's breach of what they deemed at least an implied promise to them through McCombs acceptance of their financial aid. McCombs had long since seen that House was out "to get him." Accordingly, with the help of Morgenthau and Elkus, he succeeded in consolidating a majority in the National Committee against the House-McAdoo-Burleson-Daniels Southern coterie. Standing by him, on March 3rd, the Committee resolved that all patronage was to be handled by the Chairman. To this Wilson felt compelled to agree, at least momentarily, on the eve of his inauguration, for the sake of apparent harmony.[138] As we shall see, neither he nor House had the slightest idea of permanently recognizing McCombs' authority.

PART II

FROM THE INAUGURATION OF WOODROW WILSON AS PRESIDENT, TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

(March 4, 1913—August 1, 1914)

CHAPTER VIII

The Significance of Wilson's Inaugural Address, Indicating that He is to be His Own Secretary of State. The "Silent Partner." General Wood Retained as Chief of Staff. Scott Promoted and Ordered to Washington as Wood's Prospective Successor.

ON MARCH 4, 1913, Woodrow Wilson took oath of office, as the first Democratic President since Cleveland. He had, in concert with House, prepared himself long and carefully to assume the role of champion of humanity, as well as champion of Democracy!

During the inauguration, the "Silent Partner" was much in evidence at the White House as guest of the President. McCombs and the National Committeemen were in the background. It had been arranged to give the inaugural address a spectacular setting. The Corps of the two National Academies, representing the power of the Nation, were suddenly drawn aside, to let the populace rush into the great space left in front of the speaker's stand before the Capitol. To the plain people massed around him, Wilson's message was addressed.

"Your voice is the one for which I propose to listen; yours is the only dictation I will tolerate; there shall be no intermediary between the people and their government." So, in substance, he declared to the American people.

With this democratic beginning, the voice of "The New Freedom" rose to great oratorical heights. To the thoughts of Jackson were now added two of Lincoln's—"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 hearth fire of every man's conscience and vision of right";

"the feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled, and the judge and brother are one." These were indeed great words.

Next Wilson expressed the continuing conviction that the Government must amend its course, that it was his duty to transform it, to lead it along new paths, to set up "new standards," to make the "old humanities more human."

"There has been a change of government. What does the change mean? It means much more than the 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. The great government we love has too often been used for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it, had forgotten the people. 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. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standard we so proudly set up in the beginning, and have always coined in our hearts. . . .

"The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. There can be no equality of 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 cannot alter, control, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. . . .

"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. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me." [190]

Not alone the country but the world was thrilled. The Internationalists saw with delight the extent to which House had committed Wilson to their cause.

Houston, Tumulty, McCombs, and House have all described the inauguration in detail. As the President's Secretary, Tumulty, on March 5th, summoned the Cabinet to its first meeting. House had already obtained new important appointments. Alarmed by the rumor of a boast by McAdoo that he was to replace McCombs as Chairman, the National Committee met this same day, and denounced the flagrant and purposeful disregard of its authority by Wilson, in violation of the resolution it had passed two days before, and to which he had agreed. Thus the Administration began with a hostile party organization. Not only this, but with the chairman of almost every important committee in both houses from the South, the Northern wing wondered if anything was to be left it by the "hungry Dixie Democrats," who were also to dominate the Cabinet. Verily the day of recompense for the South was at hand![195]

In General Wood, House, like Root, Taft and Marburg, had seen a valuable aid. Through him, eventually, the country must be armed to carry out the Internationalist program. Therefore, despite the persistent demand of Bryan and other Democrats that he be relieved as Chief of Staff, Garrison, on March 5th, notified Wood who had, according to custom, tendered his resignation as Chief of Staff to the new Secretary of War, that he should serve out his term of four years. At the same time, Wilson directed the promotion of Colonel Hugh L. Scott, formerly Superintendent of West Point and brother of a Princeton professor whom the President had met the preceding December. Eventually he was to be Chief of Staff.

On March 6th, the Cabinet held its first regular meeting. Houston, like Page, deemed it a mediocre body. Wilson declared at once that he proposed to devote himself to the "graver problems" of the nation. No one present doubted that he had already formulated his major policies.[106]

After the meeting, Wilson laughed and joked with the "Silent Partner" about the Cabinet, describing the peculiarities of each of its members. A secret but readily decipherable code was now adopted. McCombs was desig-

nated as Damon, McAdoo as Pythias, Bryan as Primus, McReynolds as Coke, and Lane as Demosthenes.[103]

It is one of the strangest facts in the life of Wilson, distrustful and suspicious though he was by nature, that he had not yet fathomed House's true character. He was, apparently, wholly unconscious of the fact that, though the constitutional chief executive of the American people, he was delegating his judgment, if not his authority, at least in part to another. He seems to have been as guileless as the world at large in accepting House at his own valuation.

"People ask what I get out of it. My answer is that the only work that is worth while, the only work that brings satisfaction, is the work that is unselfish. I say this without desiring to be ostentatious. Examine yourself, and you will find it to be true. Consider men like General Goethals or Charles W. Eliot. Imagine the wonderful pleasure, the heartwarming satisfaction, Goethals gained from building the Panama Canal on his meager salary of an engineer of the regular army. Or the satisfaction Dr. Eliot must have derived during the years he devoted to Harvard University. Take a man like Harriman. I have always thought that he was not guided solely by personal ambition in his career. Underneath all his achievements was the desire to do things, and his gratification in accomplishment would have been much greater if he had not had to acquire a fortune along with it.

"Some people who do not care for pecuniary rewards, on the other hand, do like the purely honorary badges of success. I happen not to care for the badges, either. Honors are all very well in their way, but I get more pleasure out of something I have done without reward, other than the appreciation of my friends, than I could from all the money and decorations in this country and Europe." This was the President's own summary of his attitude toward life, and toward public office.

In view of Wilson's notorious dislike of advice, his relations with House are almost inexplicable. Wilson's willingness to delegate so much of his responsibilities as President to this strange little man with "feline eyes, low voice,

and big ears" as described by McCombs, appears fantastic. At times House's control would seem almost hypnotic but for the fact that he did, after all, serve Wilson as liaison man with Carnegie, Root, Choate, Butler, Taft, Marburg, Baruch, Morgenthau, Elkus, and the Internationalists generally.

Taft's going to Yale University as head of the Law School, gave him fuller opportunity to carry on the Internationalist propaganda by ceaseless writing and lecturing. His relations with House remained intimate and cordial.

CHAPTER IX

Wilson Develops His Foreign Policy. Mexico and Japan. "Delenda est Huerta." Europe Recognizes Huerta. Wilson Indicates His Intention of Securing a Repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act. Much Alarmed about Japan. Scott Counsels Him Against Philippine Independence and Bryan's Plan to Turn the Islands Over to Japan. The Ambassadorial Staff Completed. Speyer, Bernstorff and House Confer. The Lind Mission and Open Interference in Mexican Affairs.

WHAT A WORLD—that of 1913! The Mexican and Japanese situations were becoming more and more complicated, American organized labor, under the skillful guidance of Gompers, and the encouragement of the "Great Commoner," demanding more and more. The conditions called for unremitting attention from Wilson. His attitude of mind at this time is a matter of extreme political importance to the historian.

Prospectors often find a lode of valuable metal by a tiny divining rod. So too, little things often indicate important human characteristics. The Princeton class of 1879 was a particularly united one. Although Wilson had not been a leader at college, his classmates were naturally proud of "Tommy's" success, and so an early invitation from him to hold one of their periodic reunions in the White House, was accepted with pleasure.

The President himself sent out the invitations. When the men assembled in the Blue Room, several of the more prominent members of the class, who differed politically with the President, were conspicuous by their absence. Investigation showed that Wilson himself had purposely omitted sending them invitations. Thereupon, at the close

of the evening, a committee of the class waited on him.

"We would not have accepted your hospitality, Tommy," they said, "had we known that you were to make a political matter of a class reunion. We are your friends, not your pupils, and have a right to our own ideas."

It seemed inexplicable to Wilson that the incident should cost him so many well-wishers. More than one of his classmates said this was because of his pedagogic habit of mind. Be that as it may, the class of '79 was henceforth, like the alumni of Princeton, hopelessly divided, in its attitude toward him. It was a pity that such things should exert a powerful influence upon the career of a man whose advent upon the stage of national politics had been attended by an opportunity the like of which few men had known. Is it not the little currents of influence which make up the resultant stream, whose force in retrospect is so often called Fate?

It was all too true that, under the terrific strain to which Wilson was now subjected, after previous years of ceaseless controversy, he began to show signs of "wear and tear." Becoming more and more dictatorial, he professed dislike for diplomats and lawyers, and with Congress had little patience, particularly with what he deemed the pretensions of the Senate with respect to foreign affairs. Opposition seemed to be deemed by him evidence of personal enmity. His prejudices were so plainly manifested, his dislike of certain Senators and other public men so openly expressed, that even House was alarmed.[103]

But what man could have preserved a complete equanimity in the position which he had assumed? Were not the undertakings to which he had lent himself too great a burden for the shoulders of a single mortal? He was always in danger of having his purpose detected by some of the millions of eyes focused upon his every act, before he had achieved his end. He had, at times, to hoodwink even Tumulty, his confidential secretary, against whom he had been warned over and over, privately and even in the press. The necessity for equivocations was becoming ever more frequent. Nevertheless, the Domestic program to which he

gave open endorsement, was as brilliant in its popular appeal as that which he had successfully executed in New Jersey. Verily, he was an amazing man—this man whom none of his more intimate associates understood, who estranged most of them one by one, yet who held the complete confidence of millions of strangers. In the whole range of history, perhaps no other character so complex, so intransigent, so controversial, so provocative of conjecture is to be found. As to the source and the objects of his foreign policy, and its development from day to day, however, there need be no surmise. Of these matters, the "Silent Partner" retained direct control.

The Mexican revolution, intimately involved with the Japanese problem, claimed his earliest attention. Car-ranza—leader of the revolt against Huerta—was a man of some education, whereas his generals were mainly illiterate. It had been agreed among them that Carranza should be called the First Chief of the Revolution for the Restoration of the Constitution of 1857, until victory could be assured. Afterwards, the victorious generals were to elect a provisional president who was to call a general election in a constitutional way.

Meantime, finding Coahuila too hot for his liking, Carranza had fled across Mexico to Hermosillo on the Pacific Coast. There, occupying himself in dancing and dining, and far out of harm's way, he passed his time pleasantly, waiting for the near-banditry of the "Constitutionalists" to place him in power.

The two facts that stood out above all others, were that Mexico, in her existing condition of popular ignorance, could not govern herself; and that the twentieth century could not accept, indefinitely, a condition of disorder and bloodshed that had apparently satisfied the nineteenth. Such a condition was a certain encouragement to radicalism. The basic difficulty in this American republic was one of racial and national character. Yet it was constantly being overlooked that Mexico was in reality, only a great, shambling Indian Republic. Of its 15,000,000 people, less than 3,000,000 were of unmixed white blood, about

per cent were pure Indian, and the rest represented varying mixtures of white and aboriginal stock.[193] The masses had advanced little in civilization since the days of Cortez. Eighty per cent were illiterate; their lives were, for the most part, a dull and squalid routine; protection against disease was unknown; the agricultural methods were most primitive; the larger number still spoke the native dialects which had been used in the days of Montezuma; and over great stretches of country, the old tribal regime still represented the only form of political organization.

The one encouraging feature was that these Mexican Indians, backward as they might be, were far superior to the other native tribes of the North American Continent, since they had developed, even in ancient times, a state of society far superior to that of the traditional Redskin. It was, nevertheless, true that the progress of Mexico in the preceding fifty years had been due almost entirely to foreign enterprise. By 1913, about 75,000 Americans were living in Mexico as miners, engineers, merchants, and agriculturists; American investments amounted to about $1,200,000,000—a larger sum than that of all the other foreigners combined. Though the work of European countries, particularly Great Britain, had been important, yet Mexico was practically an economic colony of the United States. Most observers agreed that these foreign activities had not only profited the foreigners, but that they had greatly benefited the Mexicans themselves. Foreign enterprise had disclosed enormous riches, had given hundreds of thousands employment at very high wages, had built up new Mexican towns on modern American lines, had extended the American railway system over a large part of the land, and had developed street railways, electric lighting, and other modern necessities in all sections of the Republic. The opening of the Mexican oil resources had been, perhaps, the most typical of these achievements—certainly the most adventurous. Americans had created this, perhaps the greatest of Mexican industries, and they owned, in 1913, nearly 80 per cent of Mexican oil. Their success had persuaded several Englishmen, the best known

of whom was Lord Cowdray, to enter this same field.

In 1913, however, American and British oil operators were objects of general suspicion on both continents. They were accused of participating too actively in Mexican politics, and were even held responsible for the revolutionary condition of the country. One picturesque legend insisted that the American oil interests looked with jealous hostility upon the great favors shown by the Diaz administration to Lord Cowdray's company, and that they had instigated the Madero revolution in order to put in power politicians more friendly to themselves. The inevitable complement to this interpretation of events, was a prevailing suspicion that the Cowdray interests had promoted the Huerta revolt, in order that Lombard Street might turn the tables on "Standard Oil" and Wall Street, retain the "concessions" already obtained from Diaz, and obtain still more from the new Mexican dictator. Wilson and Bryan had been inclined, from the first, to take this view, deeming Huerta nothing more than the representative of interests bent, with the Japanese, on exploiting the situation by involving the United States in war. Bryan was, therefore, bitterly opposed to Marburg's theory of the "Backward Nation." Moreover, it seemed directly opposed to Pan-Americanism and the Internationalist purpose, to utilize Latin America to balk Japan. Wilson therefore stubbornly refused to adopt Marburg's proposals, and determined to force Huerta out of office in the way favored by Bryan. On March 11th, he read to the Cabinet a paper in which he had outlined his Mexican policy.

"This interested me particularly," says Houston, "because it clearly indicated the President was going to be his own Secretary of State."

Wilson declared that while the agitators in "certain countries" wanted revolution, and were inclined to "try it on with the new Administration," he was not going to let them have their way. The American Charge" d'Affaires in London was instructed to ask the British Foreign Office its attitude toward the recognition of President Huerta. To Sir Edward Grey, Laughlin stated that, although the

United States had decided on no policy, Wilson felt sure it would be to the advantage of both countries to follow the same line. The answer was that the British Government would not recognize Huerta, either tacitly or formally.

The moment had now come for Wilson to make such an appeal to Latin America as would insure him time to deal with Huerta. During the administration of Washington, the President had made it a practice to appear in person before Congress to deliver his messages. This custom had been abandoned by Jefferson, as an undemocratic attempt to assert his personal influence. Wilson now revived it. With the assurance of the British Government that Huerta was not to be recognized, and without prior consultation with his Cabinet, he appeared before Congress in person on March 12, 1913, and said:

"One of the chief objects of my administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America, and to promote in every proper and honorable way, the interests which are common to the peoples of the two continents. I earnestly desire the most cordial understanding and cooperation between the peoples and leaders of America, and, therefore, deem it my duty to make this brief statement:

"Cooperation is possible only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon law, not upon arbitrary or irregular forces. We hold, as I am sure all thoughtful leaders of republican governments everywhere hold, that just government rests always upon the consent of the governed, and that there can be no freedom without order based upon law, and upon the public conscience and approval. We shall look to make these principles the basis of mutual intercourse, respect, and helpfulness between our sister republics and ourselves . . . We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interest or ambition." [215]

The day this message was delivered, Scott was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and assigned by Wood to a command on the Mexican border, to enforce Wilson's

policy there. This was deemed unwarranted favoritism by the army. A soldier of the old school, loyal to Wood whom he feared he was to replace, Scott was much alarmed when Garrison told him the President wished to consult him. Making his excuses, he dashed off to the border.[191]

It did not take Bryan long to discover that the Japanese were not interested in a treaty of arbitration that would exclude them from Mexico. Were they demanding that Britain, their great ally, recognize Huerta? At any rate, early in April, Wilson learned that this was about to be done. Instantly, therefore, he called for information as to why the British Government had changed its mind. To this enquiry, the British Ambassador in Washington replied, merely, that Huerta was in fact to be recognized, and this was soon done unconditionally. Thereupon Germany, Spain, and most of the European countries followed England's lead.

Wilson and Bryan were greatly alarmed. What did this sudden action mean? Were the Internationalists determined to enforce the adoption of Marburg's policy?

It was known that the British Navy had a contract with Lord Cowdray's Company for oil, which was rapidly becoming indispensable as a fuel for warships. Notwithstanding the fact that Britain was, therefore, almost necessarily a champion of the Cowdray interests, Wilson, Bryan, and the Cabinet generally, were confirmed in the view that not only Japan but "interests" similar to those in this country which were demanding intervention, were behind the ac-tion of the British Government, and that it had given way to the "Standard Oil" of Lombard Street. The dislike of Wilson and Bryan for Huerta, now became almost an obsession on their part, while Bryan's hate of everything British increased. Henceforth their motto was "delenda est Huerta"!

On April 15th, the perplexing question of the Panama Canal Tolls was first brought by Wilson before the Cabinet. He declared that Lord Bryce had urged him to make a statement favoring a repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, or, if the law could not be repealed, submit

the question to arbitration as Roosevelt had suggested in the Outlook the preceding January. He himself, however, did not favor arbitration, but declared, to the utter amazement of the Cabinet, that he was, after giving much thought to the matter, "inclined" to be against the existing exemption on "both economic and moral grounds."[106]

Bryan at once defended the act vigorously, just as he had done in the campaign. He feared that the railroad interests wanted tolls charged to secure more traffic, or increase their rates. This, of course, is conclusive that he had not yet been taken completely into the confidence of Wilson and House.

Soon after this, Wilson brought the Japanese question before the Cabinet for its first airing. Japan was in an ugly mood, and had demanded, in a written protest read to the Cabinet by Wilson, that the California exclusion law be declared void at once. It was characterized as obnoxious, discriminating, unfair, unfriendly, and violative of a treaty obligation.

"The offensive character of the protest," says Houston, "was something of a shock, especially in view of what the Government had done and was doing, and of Japan's own laws against aliens." This indicates that Houston knew that Wilson was already working to stave off Japan from war.

"There was much doubt as to Japan's real purpose and meaning," he continued. "Some thought that the protest was for home consumption; others that Japan wanted trouble before the Panama Canal was opened. It was asserted that Japan was in too great financial straits to enter into a fight with the United States. I expressed the view that poverty constituted no reason against her fighting if she wanted to fight—that history furnished many instances of nations waging war when they seemed to be down and out financially, and waging it successfully. I added that I credited Japan with some sense, and therefore did not believe that she seriously intended to go to the limit. As to the fear expressed that Japan could take the Philippines and land an army in California, I said, jokingly, that I

would almost be willing to whip her to make her take the Philippines, and that I would eat every Jap who landed in California as part of an invading force."[106]

Nor was Bryan in the least worried. Despite the writings of Homer Lea and the warnings of the military men, "the Yellow Perilists" were deemed by him mere alarmists. Although Japan had shown no interest in his treaties, he thought the matter could be settled by referring it to a state referendum, after an appeal to the Californians to amend their law in a way that would be agreeable to the Japanese!

This was deemed impractical by the Cabinet, because of the known sentiments of the Californians, and the intemperate discussion which might ensue. Bryan was, therefore, directed by Wilson to confer with the Japanese Ambassador, and "try to discover exactly what was in his mind."

Wilson then pointed out that the law itself, by very precise statement, was based on the theory of necessarily conforming to the Treaty, and purported to conform to it; that, in any event, if it did not conform to it, it was invalid. This was a matter for the courts, and the Japanese had the same rights before them that Americans had. He thought they could ask no more. Apparently Bryan accomplished nothing except to convince the Japanese that Wilson was alarmed.

"Again," says Houston, "the possible course of Japan was considered by the Cabinet. The President stated that he had not seriously entertained the thought of such a criminal possibility as war till Thursday, the 15th, when he noticed the extreme perturbation of the Japanese Ambassador. It was possible that this was due to his fear of what might happen to his home government. Garrison stated that he had canvassed the matter of defending the Philippines, and that the War Council, while believing war a remote possibility, thought we ought to be prepared; and that Manila could be defended for a year, if some ships then in Chinese waters were sent to Manila. These could prevent the Japanese from crossing the neck of land.

"Garrison intimated that our views on military matters were not particularly valuable—that his Board of Army and Navy Officers were the people who were competent to pass on such things. At this, Bryan flared up for the first time. He got red in the face and was very emphatic. He thundered out that army and navy officers could not be trusted to say what we should or should not do, till we actually got into war; that we were discussing not how to wage war, but how not to get into war, and that, if ships were moved about in the East, it would incite to war. Several members said that they could not see why we could not move our own ships from where they were to our own ports. My view was that we could, but that the real question was whether the ships could get to Manila, and could be of any real use if they did.

"The President said that he would direct the ships to stay where they were, and would do so, knowing full well that there would be bitter criticism if war should come, and he had not done everything possible to prepare for it.

"At a garden party at the White House a day or so later, Bryan thanked me for not getting excited at the Cabinet meeting. He added: 'There will be no war. I have seen the Japanese Ambassador, and I am letting the old man down easy.'"[106]

What had happened, seems only too plain. Bryan had long been advocating granting the Filipinos their independence, in order to avoid the danger of war with Japan. This he was now urging upon Wilson, no doubt with the knowledge of the Japanese Ambassador, who probably advised that Bryan be allowed to accomplish his purpose.

At this time, Obregon and Villa were engaged in desperate fighting along the border. American lives were being lost. Scott therefore held a conference on the international bridge at El Paso with Villa, to whom he explained what would be the certain consequences, if the present situation continued. From what Villa told him, he seems to have gained the impression that Huerta was in the pay of Japan. Upon arriving in Washington to render a confidential report to Wood, he was summoned by the President,

who wanted to know what he thought of Bryan's proposal.

"Do you believe, Mr. President," Scott replied, "that the religious people of America would consent to the turning over of five million Roman Catholic Christians to a non-Christian power?" Wilson shook his head, saying: "No, I do not. I do not."

After pondering a while, Wilson asked Scott what he would do.

"Just what you are doing now," was the reply. "Educate them until they are able to walk on their own feet, then give them their independence . . ."[106]

This was sound advice which gave Wilson pause, and apparently caused him to overrule Bryan. The Japanese question must be solved in some fashion compatible with the Nation's sense of honor.

Realizing that nothing was to be expected from Huerta, the Internationalists now concluded that, since Wilson would not protect foreign rights in Mexico, the only way to prevent a violation of the Monroe Doctrine was to force him to apply to Mexico the principle of the "Backward Nation." Therefore, on April 23rd, James Speyer, the great German-American banker and economist, and an ardent Internationalist as well, brought House and Bern-storff together. The three conferred at length on May 9th. They all felt that the United States, Britain, Germany and Japan might together insure peace in Mexico by adopting the plan of Marburg, which had been successfully pursued by the Powers in China, and by the United States in Cuba. At House's suggestion, however, the others agreed that Wilson should have a full opportunity to solve the Mexican problem by Bryan's pet scheme of mediation. With the German Government fully advised of Wilson's purpose, John Lind was immediately despatched to Mexico City by Bryan to make what appeared, on its face, to be an offer of mediation by the United States between the contending factions. A "general and free" election was suggested. The president chosen was to be recognized by the United States. But Huerta was not to be a candidate!

Notwithstanding Wilson's declarations to the contrary,

his proposal constituted an open interference in Mexican affairs and was indignantly rejected. Consolidating the Mexicans in opposition, Wilson had placed American nationals in a more precarious predicament. Wholesale confiscations of their property, with imminent peril to their lives, commenced at once. The inflamed Huertatistas looked the while with increasing favor upon the proposals of Japan.

Page now urged that no time be lost in reestablishing an accord with the British. The Internationalists had already arranged for a celebration in 1914 as the basis of a renewed Anglo-American friendship, during which a statue of Washington was to be unveiled in London. The Panama Act had made the whole thing a travesty. Page looked upon this act, therefore, as not only dishonorable, but fatal to the Anglo-American Union which was his great ideal. To insure this, his idea was to repeal the Panama Act at once, and to have Wilson attend the celebration in England. Thoroughly indoctrinated with Marburg's theory of the "Backward Nation," he was, moreover, opposed to Bryan's Mexican policy as illusory. Recalling their talk in 1910, Wilson wanted to appoint Page to the Court of St. James, but House objected, because of Page's uncompromising Nationalism. Was he not too pro-British to please Bryan and the Anglophobes? Therefore, at House's instance, the post was offered first to Richard Olney—Cleveland's Secretary of State—and, upon his refusal, to Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard, and a great Internationalist. When Eliot, too, declined it, Wilson decided, notwithstanding House's objections, to appoint Page, who accepted. Summoned to Washington at once for a long conference with Wilson in which he must have reiterated his views, he indulged in a careful study of the State Department files relating to the Mexican, Japanese, and Panama Tolls questions, which utterly disgusted him. Thereafter, he received instructions from Wilson, kept secret from the Secretary of State, to proceed to his post with the utmost despatch. He was to spare no effort to prevent a war with Japan,

and further action by Great Britain with respect to Mexico.[99,103]

With full regard to the preconceived plan, the ambassadorial staff was soon completed by Wilson and House. Unwilling to carry out Taft's pro-Jewish policy, Curtis Guild had lately returned from Russia, and tendered his resignation.* Though the outbreak of the Second Balkan War had greatly complicated the Russian situation, it was decided to leave the Russian post vacant. The Russian Government was to be induced, by a course of diplomatic aloofness, to meet the demands of the Jews! Such a policy was not well calculated to help the Czar in his struggle against the Mensheviks and Anarchists, or to draw the United States and Russia together, for it could not fail to give great encouragement to the radicals.

William C. Guthrie, a great corporation lawyer, was sent to Japan; James G. Gerard, a Tammany leader, to Germany; Josiah Quincy's friend, Frederick C. Penfield, to Austria-Hungary; Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, to Italy; Joseph E. Willard, another Virginia capitalist, to Spain; Gary, of Texas, a friend of House, to Switzerland; Henry Morgenthau to Turkey; and Ira Nelson Morris of Chicago, the great Jewish beefpacker, to Norway. Marburg was, of course, allowed to remain at his post in Belguim, while Myron T. Herrick, a man of great wealth and the popular Republican incumbent, was urged to remain in Paris pending McCombs' final decision.[156,215] With capital thus strongly represented, two prominent Jews assigned to important foreign posts, and with Tumulty, a Knight of Columbus, as his private secretary, Wilson felt that he had met Bryan's demand that Jewish and Catholic interests be given full representation in the Administration, while at the same time satisfying Wall Street and the Internationalists. He was now ready to embark on his foreign policies.

* Effective June 24, 1913.

CHAPTER X

House's First Super-Ambassadorial Mission. Secretly Confers with Sir Edward Grey. Discusses the Repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act and the Formation of a League of Nations. Seeks the Aid of the British Government to Prevent War with Japan. Wilson Urges United States Nationals to Leave Mexico. Fearful of Japan, He Notifies Congress of His Intention to Mobilize the Armed Forces on the Border. Page Urges an Anglo-American Alliance. Bryan Threatens to Resign.

WHEN PAGE reached London, he found the Anglo-American situation much more involved than he had expected. A Japanese-American war would touch off the world-wide explosion, against which the venerable Lord Roberts had long warned the world.[79,120] Fortunately for the historians, this life-long friend and confidant of Wilson's, now his foremost Ambassador, recorded his views, on reaching his post.

"Was there ever greater need than there is now, of a first-class mind unselfishly working on world problems? The ablest ruling minds are engaged on domestic tasks. There is no world-girdling intelligence at work in government. On the continent of Europe, the Kaiser is probably the foremost man. Yet he cannot think far beyond the provincial views of the Germans. In England, Sir Edward Grey is the largest-visioned statesman. All the Europeans are spending their thought and money in watching and checkmating one another, and in maintaining their armed and balanced status quo.

"A way must be found out of this stagnant watching. Else a way will have to be fought out of it; and a great European war would set the Old World, perhaps the whole world, back a long way: and thereafter, the present armed watching would recur; we should have gained nothing. It seems impossible to

talk the Great Powers out of their fear of one another or to 'Hague' them out of it. They'll never be persuaded to disarm. The only way left seems to be to find some common and useful work for these great armies to do. Then, perhaps, they'll work themselves out of their jealous position. Isn't this sound psychology?

"To produce a new situation, the vast energy that now spends itself in maintaining armies and navies, must find a new outlet. Something new must be found for them to do, some great unselfish task that they can do together.

"Nobody can lead in such a new era but the United States.

"May there not come such a chance in Mexico—to clean out bandits, yellow fever, malaria, hookworm—all to make the country healthful, safe for life and investment, and for orderly self-government at last? What we did in Cuba, might thus be made the beginning of a new epoch in history—conquest for the sole benefit of the conquered, worked out by a sanitary reformation. The new sanitation will reclaim all tropical lands; but the work must first be done by military power—probably from the outside.

"May not the existing military power of Europe conceivably be diverted, gradually, to this use? One step at a time, as political and financial occasions arise? As presently in Mexico?

"This present order must change. It holds the Old World still. It keeps all parts of the world apart, in spite of the friendly cohesive forces of trade and travel. It keeps back self-government and the progress of man.

"And the tropics cry out for sanitation, which is at first an essentially military task." "

From this memorandum it is obvious that, although Page believed in the Internationalist principle of the "Backward Nation," he was still in no sense an Internationalist.

Nevertheless it was Page's duty, as Wilson's personal representative, to urge upon the British a policy of non-interference in Mexican affairs. Therefore he told Grey that, if Wilson were only given time to try out Bryan's theory of mediation, he would probably intervene forcibly in the end. Meantime Britain must help him maintain the Monroe Doctrine. With a European conflict staring Britain in the face, might she not soon need America s friendship? Therefore she must, in her own interest, pre-

vent Japan from assailing America, as well as forestall interference from any quarter in Mexican affairs. What would Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada say, if the British Government stood neutral as between a yellow race and America?

This was fine and friendly diplomacy, but while Grey listened with interest, he was unwilling to commit himself to anything.[92a] Plainly he was in a trading mood. Page saw at once that the repeal of the Panama Act was a prerequisite to the reestablishment of amicable Anglo-American relations. Meanwhile, with Garrison's consent, Wood had organized two military training camps for young men—the first of their kind—as agencies to inform the country of its danger, and of its needs.[83] When informed by Page of Grey's attitude, Wilson decided to play his trump card, by sending House to London to offer the repeal of the Act as the price of British cooperation.

The Super-Ambassador arrived in London June 29th, 1913. Page at once wrote Grey as follows:

"To Sir Edward Grey

"Coburg Hotel, London
" (no date) "DEAR SIR EDWARD:—

"There is an American gentleman in London, the like of whom I do not know. Mr. Edward M. House is his name. He is 'the silent partner' of President Wilson—that is to say, he is the most trusted political adviser, and the nearest friend of the President. He is a private citizen, a man without personal political ambition, a modest, quiet, even shy fellow. He helps to make Cabinets, to shape policies, to select judges and ambassadors and suchlike, merely for the pleasure of seeing that these tasks are well done.

"He is suffering from over-indulgence in advising, and he has come here to rest. I cannot get him far outside his hotel, for he cares to see few people. But he is very eager to meet you.

"I wonder if you would do me the honor to take luncheon at the Coburg Hotel with me, to meet him either on July 1, or 3, or 5—if you happen to be free? I shall have only you and Mr. House.

"Very sincerely yours,

"WALTER H. PAGE."

"The chief reason why Colonel House wished to meet the British Foreign Secretary," says Hendrick, Page's biographer, "was to bring him a message from President Wilson on the subject of the Panama tolls. The three men—Sir Edward, Colonel House, and Mr. Page—met at the suggested luncheon on July 3rd. Colonel House informed the Foreign Secretary that President Wilson was now convinced that the Panama Act violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and that he intended to use all his influence to secure its repeal. The matter, the American urged, was a difficult one, since it would be necessary to persuade Congress to pass a law acknowledging its mistake. The best way in which Great Britain could aid in the process was by taking no public action. If the British should keep protesting or discussing the subject acrimoniously in the press and Parliament, such a course would merely reenforce the elements that would certainly oppose the President. Any protests would give them the opportunity to set up the cry of 'British dictation,' and a change in the Washington policy would subject it to the criticism of having yielded to British pressure. The inevitable effect would be to defeat the whole proceeding. House therefore suggested that President Wilson be left to handle the matter in his own way and in his own time, and he assured the British statesman that the result would be satisfactory to both countries."[99]

House also discussed the matter of a league of nations with Grey.[103] Wilson might render Britain a very great service, should Germany assail the Triple Entente. The upshot was that Sir Edward Grey expressed his willingness to leave the Panama matter to Wilson, so far as was in his power. "Thus," says Page's biographer, "from July 3, 1913. there was a complete understanding between the British Government and the Washington Administration on the question of the tolls. But neither the British nor the American public knew that President Wilson had pledged himself to a policy of repeal." [99]

As to Mexico, Page, Marburg, House, and Grey were in complete accord. Inasmuch as neither Page nor House could gain Grey's approval of Bryan's policy, it is not unlikely that

Wilson and the Internationalists now wanted to have Grey bring such pressure to bear upon the United States, that Bryan would not be able to oppose a change of policy by Wilson. At any rate, before House reached Washington, Sir Lionel Carden, notoriously hostile to Bryan's Mexican policy, was appointed British Minister to Mexico. While on his way to his new post, he declared, in an interview to the American press, that immediate intervention was the solution of the Mexican problem. Certainly he did not do this without Grey's consent.

Believing that an invasion was impending, the Mexicans were greatly agitated, so that additional protection was demanded by the border states. If they could not get it from the Federal Government, they proposed to take matters in their own hands! Unable to resist this demand, Wilson again appeared in person before Congress on August 13th, and gave notice of his intention to exercise the authority, previously conferred on Taft, to order additional troops to the border. Thereupon a regular division and a large force of militia were mobilized along the Rio Grande under General Funston. Showing that all this had Grey's approval, Page wrote House on August 25th, advising immediate intervention. At the same time he urged again that Wilson come to England to reestablish amicable Anglo-American relations, and negotiate in person a defensive alliance with Great Britain. This was the way, he repeated, to insure against the danger of Japan and to establish the peace of the world—not by "mixing up" with the continental powers.

Of Wilson's purpose Japan, the Mexicans, Latin-America, and Bryan were all now sure. "Is this the meaning of Pan-Americanism?" enquired the A.B.C. powers of Bryan. Fresh reports of the most alarming nature reached Washington and London from Japan. The united Mexicans were prepared for firm resistance. On the very eve of the dedication of Carnegie's peace palace at the Hague, the "Apostle of Peace" was prepared to resign, and to oppose intervention. What was Wilson to do? He had accepted the counsel of both Page and the Internationalists, and it had brought him to the brink of war!

In this dilemma, the Internationalists themselves realized that Wilson must extricate himself in some fashion, or enter upon a war that would certainly not improve the lot of American Nationals in Mexico. They were, on the contrary, apt to be massacred at the first American shot fired, so that there was little choice, as a practical proposition, between leaving them to escape as best they could, or risking the certain estrangement of the Latin Americans, accompanied by Japanese aggression. Therefore, on August 27th, just a fortnight after the order for the mobilization of the army, Wilson again appeared before the Senate.

Pointing out that he had volunteered his good offices through Lind in vain, he gave it as his opinion that there was little prospect of peace in Mexico. While Huerta's Government was growing weaker, he believed his offer of mediation had been rejected, because the authorities did not realize the spirit of friendship which prompted the American people, and their "sober determination." Possibly it was because she did not believe the Administration represented the people of the United States, that Mexico was isolated, and without friends who could aid her. He then went on to say: "We must give the situation a little more time to work itself out. . . . Everything done must be rooted in patience. 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 use it. It was our duty to offer our active assistance."

The American door was not to be closed against further cooperative action, should opportunity offer. While he would omit nothing to "safeguard the lives and interests of Americans in Mexico," he would urge them to leave the country, "not because we would mean to slacken in the least our effort to safeguard their lives, but because it is imperative that they should take no unnecessary risks, when it is physically possible for them to leave the country." He would act under the law of March 14th, 1912, to see that neither party received aid from the United States. He

would forbid the exportation of arms or munitions to any part of Mexico.

Several of the great governments of the world, declared Wilson, had given the United States their support in urg-ing upon the provisional authorities the acceptance of its good offices. "All the world expects us in such circumstances to act as Mexico's nearest friend and intimate adviser. ... If further motive were necessary than our own good-will toward 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 to do, this attitude of the great nations of the world toward what we may attempt in dealing with this distressed people at our doors, should make us feel more solemnly bound to go to the utmost length of patience and forbearance in this painful and anxious business. The steady pressure of moral forces 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 much higher and finer satisfactions of conscience and honour!"

Thus did he succeed in satisfying Bryan, Latin-America, Japan, and the Internationalists, by withdrawing the country from the critical position in which his late message had placed it. The Americans in Mexico who had asked for the protection of their lives and property, were now to find it only by leaving Mexico if possible, and abandoning whatever they owned there. This did not, of course, satisfy them. When the militia discovered it was merely to be used as a border patrol to replace Federal troops, it raised a great upcry.[191]

The day after this seemingly extraordinary pronouncement for which Wilson was most unjustly censured, there occurred one of the greatest events in the history of the world peace movement. On August 28, 1913, the Peace Palace at the Hague was dedicated, with imposing ceremonies attended by the Queen of Holland, Carnegie, Marburg,

Oscar Straus, and a host of others. To the adornment of the glorious edifice many nations had contributed, the

gift of the United States being a statuary group representing "Peace Through Justice." On the following day, a bust of King Edward presented by the Peace Society of London, and a bust of Sir William Randal Cremer presented by the International Arbitration League which he had founded, were unveiled. In an address on Cremer, Carnegie said: "I submit that the only measure required today for the maintenance of world peace, is an agreement between three or four of the leading civilized Powers (and as many more as desire to join—the more the better) pledged to cooperate against disturbers of world peace, should such arise, which would scarcely be possible, however, in face of the partnership agreement suggested." [19]

The speaker had in mind, necessarily, not only Japan and Germany but Mexico. He was plainly advocating Marburg's policy of the "Backward Nation."

What if Bryan had seen the letter of August 28, 1913, from Page to Wilson? "If the United States will only repeal the Canal toll discrimination, we can command the British fleet, British manufactures, anything we please." Till this was done, nothing need be expected of the British Government. It did not know what to think of Wilson; it did not trust him.[99]

In reply to Page, both Wilson and House declared that, while they agreed with all he had written about the President visiting England at once, the repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, and an Anglo-American alliance, the public suggestion of such things was politically inexpedient in the face of American anti-British sentiment.[105]

Almost coincident with the dedication of the Peace Palace, Eliot began to urge stronger methods than arbitration. He, too, was in favor of enforcing peace in one way and another.* But apparently he made no more impression upon Wilson and House than Page. Determined to press their own scheme, House, unknown to Bryan, opened negotiations on September 1st, with Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, to determine if the Dual Mon-

* Some Roads to Peace, Charles W. Eliot, Annual Report to Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1913).

archy, Germany's greatest ally, would abandon the Central Alliance for such a league of nations as that suggested two days before by Carnegie at the Hague.[103] House and Wilson were not dealing frankly with either Bryan or Page, while seeking by round-about methods to detach Britain from Japan, and Franz-Joseph from the Kaiser; and to compel the Czar to institute those democratic reforms in Russia demanded by the American Jews, and the Internationalists generally.

Both the Kaiser and the Czar's Government now perceived Wilson's real purpose.[244] So, too, as one proposal of Philip Dru after another translated itself into legislation, did the press come to recognize the "Silent Partner" as the author of the book. "Whatever the book had said should be, had come true," wrote Lane. "In the end Wilson had come to be Philip Dru."

Despite his belittlement by the press, Bryan had, with surprising patience, overlooked up to this time the usurpation of his functions by House. But when the "Silent Partner" undertook to dictate the Federal Reserve Banking Act, Bryan felt betrayed by a man who seemed to him to represent the "interests," as well as the Internationalists. Thoroughly alarmed at the forces behind Wilson, and distrusting utterly the finally identified author of Philip Dru, the "Great Commoner" threatened openly, in October, to resign.

"I am afraid we have come to the parting of the ways," remarked Wilson despairingly to Tumulty.

Knowing that a break between Wilson and Bryan would be fatal to the Administration, Tumulty undertook, with the President's consent, to smooth the troubled waters. Bryan proved truly magnanimous, so that, in the end, Tumulty was able to adjust matters for the time being.[215] The seeds of discord had, however, been sown. Thenceforth it became House's settled purpose to oust both Bryan and Page, as definite obstacles to the Internationalist cause.

CHAPTER XI

Sir William Tyrrell's Mission to Washington. The Secret Anglo-American Accord. Page Becomes Suspicious of House. Expounds Democracy to Wilson. Wilson's First Annual Message to Congress. House and Houston Confer with Tyrrell and Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Wilson Agrees to Send House to Berlin in the Summer to Appeal to the Kaiser Over the Head of von Tirpitz and the Naval Party. Suddenly Calls on Congress to Repeal the Panama Tolls Exemption Act.

SINCE HOUSE'S VISIT to England, Marburg had been working ceaselessly with the British Government. Sir Max Waechter was now flooding Europe with propaganda for a general disarmament, to which the French were almost as much opposed as the Pan-Germans. Nevertheless, in a speech at Manchester on October 13, 1913, Winston Churchill renewed the proposal of a naval holiday.

"Now," said the First Sea Lord, "we say to our great neighbor, Germany, 'if you will put off beginning your two ships for twelve months from the ordinary date when you would have begun them, we will put off beginning our four ships, in absolute good faith, for exactly the same period.' " About the same time Premier Asquith made it clear that the Ministry was back of the suggested program.

Having learned through Bernstorff, Dumba, and translated code messages, of the purpose of House's visit to England, and knowing that Wilson and Grey were negotiating an Anglo-American accord, Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, leader of the Navalists and Junkers generally, greeted the British proposal with open derision. To the Germans, disarmament meant but one thing. In reply to the German official refusal, Churchill declared that, for every keel

laid down by Germany, Britain would lay down two.

It was now evident that "Der Tag" was near at hand. Marburg accordingly resigned his post, and returned to the United States to prepare Wilson for the anticipated calamity.* [99,103] Meantime he had finally convinced the British Government of the necessity of ending all misunderstandings with Wilson as quickly as possible; it was therefore decided to send Grey's Confidential Secretary—Sir William Tyrrell—a friend of America and an able diplomat, to Washington, ostensibly as a mere tourist. Page gave House notice of the proposed secret mission on October 26th, so that Wilson had already been prepared, when Tyrrell arrived.

Tyrrell reached Washington November 11th. Before conferring with Wilson, he was given, on the 13th, an interview by Bryan, which took the form of a long harangue on the wickedness of the British Empire, particularly in Egypt, India, and Mexico. The British oil men, declared Bryan, were nothing but the "paymasters" of the British Cabinet.

"You are wrong," replied the Englishman, who saw that the best thing to do was to refuse to take the Secretary seriously. "Lord Cowdray hasn't money enough. Through a long experience with corruption, the Mexican Cabinet has grown so greedy that Cowdray hasn't the money necessary to reach their price."

"Ah," said Bryan, triumphantly, accepting this bantering answer in all seriousness, "then you admit the charge."

Tyrrell saw that it was impossible to discuss Mexico seriously with Bryan, who was an emotionalist, not a thinker. "You have stripped me naked, Mr. Secretary, but I am unashamed."

Wilson, however, delighted the British envoy with his courtesy, charm, intelligence, and conversational powers. Tyrrell, in turn, soon convinced the President that the British, recognizing the predominant character of the American interest in Mexico, were willing to accept almost any policy in which Washington would take the lead. All they

* Brand Whitlock was appointed to succeed him, December 22, 1913.

asked was that British property and British lives be pro-tected; these safeguarded, Great Britain was ready to stand aside and let the United States deal with Mexico in its own way.

"When I go back to England," said Tyrrell, as the interview approached its end, "I shall be asked to explain your Mexican policy. Can you tell me what it is?"

Wilson looked at him earnestly, and replied, in his most decisive manner: "I am going to teach the South American Republics to elect good men!"

Beyond this, Tyrrell could only obtain an opinion from Wilson that Carranza was better than Huerta, and that Villa was not so bad as he had been painted—Scott's idea.

Tyrrell then promised that the British Government would cooperate with Wilson in ridding Mexico of Huerta, if Wilson would go forward with the repeal of the Panama Act. A bargain had now been reached, one of its terms being plain, in that Wilson showed no further fear of Japan.[99,103] As previously promised by Page, he could now have anything in the power of Britain to give him. A few days later, Sir Lionel Carden, as dean of the European diplomats, advised Huerta to abdicate; while Japan dared not protest.

By this time Page, too, had become suspicious of House. Making a clear distinction between an Anglo-American alliance for mutual protection, and the internationalism into which Wilson was gradually being led, he did not want the United States to become involved in entangling alliances with Germany and other continental powers, in whom he had no faith. He therefore wrote a series of letters to Wilson, stressing the fundamental distinctions between the Continental and American systems of government, which, he declared, would not mix. He had much to say about democracy and liberty, and about America's duty to humanity, along the lines of Lecky. It was her part to hold herself aloof, just as Great Britain had done, from any association with the Continent. At the same time he continued to urge upon Wilson a change in his Mexican

policy. As a practical Democrat, he believed, like Stead, in "shooting democracy" into the Mexicans! "

Although Wilson concurred in much of Page's democratic idealism, he disliked Page's methods, and began to lose faith in his doctrines. Accordingly, on December 2, 1913, the very day of his first annual message to Congress, House and Houston began a series of conferences with Tyrrell, Marburg, and Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, and a leading Internationalist, looking to the formation of a league of nations.

Wilson, in his message, withheld many facts which he deemed it unwise to publish. Like all the other Internationalists, he was intimidated by Japan. Thus, lauding the achievements of America in the realm of international peace, and the fact that thirty-one treaties of arbitration had already been negotiated by the Administration, he said:

"There is but one cloud on our horizon.* This 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

* Italics the author's. This is conclusive evidence of the Anglo-American secret agreement effected by Tyrrell.

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 eventual 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. . . ."

Obviously Wilson was still bent, with Britain's aid, on forcing Huerta out of office.

Before Tyrrell left Washington, it was agreed between him and House that after the repeal of the Panama Act, House should, as Wilson's representative, proceed direct to Berlin, and urge the Kaiser, over the heads of von Tirpitz and the Naval Party, to accept Churchill's proposals, and the principle of a League of Nations. House was now to deal direct with all the ambassadors.

"In my budget of yesterday," he wrote Page on December 13, 1913, "I did not tell you of the suggestion which I made to Sir William Tyrrell when he was here, and which I also made to the President.

"It occurred to me that, between us all, we might bring about the naval holiday which Winston Churchill has proposed. My plan is that I should go to Germany in the Spring and see the Kaiser, and try to win him over to the

thought that is uppermost in our mind and that of the British Government.

"Sir William thought there was a good sporting chance of success. He offered to let me have all the correspondence that had passed between the British and German governments upon this question, so that I might be thoroughly informed as to the position of them both. He thought I should go directly to Germany without stopping in England, and that Gerard should prepare the Kaiser for my coming, telling him of my relations with the President. He thought this would be sufficient without any further credentials.

"In other words, he would do with the Kaiser what you did with Sir Edward Grey last summer.

"I spoke to the President about the matter and he seemed pleased with the suggestion: in fact, I might say, he was enthusiastic. He said, just as Sir William did, that it would be too late for this year's budget; but he made a suggestion that he get the Appropriations Committee to incorporate a clause, permitting him to eliminate certain parts of the battleship budget in the event that other nations declared for a naval holiday. So this will be done and will further the plan.

"Now I want to get you into the game. If you think it advisable, take the matter up with Sir William Tyrrell and then with Sir Edward Grey, or directly with Sir Edward, if you prefer, and give me the benefit of your advice and conclusions."[103]

The question here arises what was the "game" which House had in mind? Was the expression just slang, or did it have a specific meaning?

Manifestly it was something new, for already Haldane and Churchill had exhausted every practicable argument for an Anglo-German accord. Page was already party to the game" of separating Britain from Japan, though the scheme of detaching Franz-Joseph from the Kaiser had proved abortive.

We have not to look far for the answer. Just three weeks after the letter to Page already quoted, the following,

not included by Seymour in House's compilation, was written.

"January 4th, 1914.

"DEAR PAGE:—

". . . Benj. Ide Wheeler took lunch with me the other day. He is just back from Germany, and he is on the most intimate terms with the Kaiser. He tells me he often takes dinner with the family alone, and spends the evening with them.

"I know, now, the different Cabinet officials who have the Kaiser's confidence, and I know his attitude toward England, naval armaments, war, and world politics in general.

"Wheeler spoke to me very frankly, and the information he gave me will be invaluable in the event that my plans carry. The general idea is to bring about a sympathetic understanding between England, Germany, and America, not only upon the question of disarmament, but upon other matters of equal importance to themselves, and to the world at large.

"It seems to me that Japan should come into this pact, but Wheeler tells me that the Kaiser feels very strongly upon the question of Asiatics. He thinks the contest of the future will be between the Eastern and Western civilizations. . . . "Your friend always,

"E. M. HOUSE."*

This letter, when published by Hendrick after Page's death, must have risen from the grave to haunt House like a spectre.

Observe that House had been informed that the Kaiser believed the next war would be between the Eastern and Western civilizations. This has been confirmed ad infinitum.[227] The Kaiser's admonition to his troops upon their departure for China in 1900 is well known. They were to emulate Attila, so that a yellow man would never dare look askance upon a German![84] He had just read the Valour of Ignorance. Within six months after Wheeler's meeting with House, the Kaiser was himself to express his fears of Japan to the latter.[103]

Moreover, Wheeler had discounted the prospect of the Kaiser countenancing a league of nations with Japan as a member, as previously contemplated by Wilson and the

* Page, Vol. I, p. 281. (Italics added.)

Internationalists.[89] The "game" which Wheeler and House had devised, as shown by House's subsequent reports of his conference with the Kaiser, seems thus sufficiently plain. House was to point out to the Kaiser the danger to Germany, as a part of Western civilization, of allowing Japan to assail the United States, seize her Pacific possessions, and effect a foothold in Latin America which, in America's unprepared state, she might do.[121] At the same time, he was to point out the terrible danger to Europe of a powerfully armed semi-Asiatic Russia. Then he was to appeal to the Kaiser for the union of the Germans with their Saxon cousins—the British and Americans—to safeguard the world against both the Yellow and the Slavic peril. Surely if Germany entered a league of nations with America, Britain, France, Russia, and Japan, all to disarm, there could be no more danger from the East!

This then, was what House had meant when he said to Page that he proposed to do with the Kaiser what Page had done with Grey the past summer—establish an understanding for mutual protection. In the one case Britain had cooperated with America to end Japan's threats against Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific possessions of America. In the other, Germany was to unite with Britain and America to protect Europe and America against both Japan and Russia. And this having been accomplished, England, France, and America would be safe from Germany, for Germany would then be helpless!

Well might Page have been alarmed. He could not fail to see the dangerous character of the vain and ambitious schemer whom Wilson had made his "Silent Partner." Constantly stressing the idea of world leadership by Wilson, and thus flattering the President's vanity, Page deemed House a positive menace to the country. Yet the more earnestly he sought to discourage Wilson from becoming a party to House's schemes, the more objectionable he became to the President.

Though seven weeks had elapsed since Tyrrell's conference with Wilson, nothing had been done about the Panama Act. Finally, on January 6th, Page wrote House

that it was of paramount importance with respect to both Japan and Mexico that something be done, otherwise the British Government might fall in the face of existing anti-American sentiment, when Parliament met in February. Wilson was thus at last compelled to act. On January 24th, House notified Page that the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations had been called to the White House, and informed of the President's purpose. With the Senate thus prepared in advance, Wilson appeared before Congress on March 5th to make the most powerful appeal to the country of which he was capable.

"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, 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.

"No communication I have addressed to Congress, has carried with it more grave and far-reaching implications to the interests of the country."

This message was read to the Senate without having been laid before the Cabinet. "We had discussed the matter, as I have indicated," says Houston, "in the spring of 1913. He had not mentioned the matter since that time. All of us were somewhat puzzled by his reference to matters of even greater delicacy, and by the seriousness of his manner and language. My guess is that he is meeting with resistance in his handling of Mexican and other matters from Great Britain, especially because she doubts our sincerity and good faith; partly because of our action on the tolls matter. I know that Page is constantly representing that he is very little use in England, because we do not take the course which will show that we mean to be decent. Lane thought that bringing up the repeal was bad politics, that it would create resistance and block other more important things. Bryan, who referred to the fact that the Democratic platform had a plank opposing the repeal, had discovered a way out to his satisfaction."

Here, then, we have the explanation of Wilson's delays. Bryan had been won over at last to the repeal, but Lane had been opposing it, because it would interfere with the domestic program which, for reasons of practical politics, he deemed more important than the vindication of the Nation's honor! Obviously too, neither Lane nor Houston knew of Wilson's agreement with Grey through Tyrrell. Indeed, so secretly had Wilson, House, and Page been deal-

ing with the Japanese question, that not even Tumulty, watching Wilson with the lynx eyes of a special interest, suspected what was going on.

"This ominous language," wrote Tumulty years later, referring to Wilson's sudden appeal to the Senate, "remains unexplained to this day."

But Harvey was suspicious—the law, he insisted, should be repealed on moral grounds alone. If the country were really in danger, it should be informed. In his opinion, Wilson's effort to scare Congress into an action of political expediency for secret reasons, was utterly wrong, and the act of a demagogue.

Nevertheless Page and the British were delighted. Having averted any Japanese threat, Wilson was now free to deal with Mexico as he saw fit. And, in a restored British friendship, he had laid the foundation of a league of nations under his own leadership!

He had, however, overestimated his ability to carry Congress by storm. The debate provoked by his appeal—one of the bitterest in the history of Congress—was to continue three months. Moreover, it marked the beginning of a struggle on Wilson's part to reserve to himself the final dictation of foreign relations, which was, in the end, to prove his undoing.

The State Department was, by this time, utterly demoralized. With non-legal and undisciplined mind, Bryan like Wilson, held diplomats and particularly lawyers in contempt, as mere obstructionists. Completely out of sympathy with Wilson's patent purpose to transform the Democratic party, and abandon the country's traditional foreign policy, John Basset Moore, Counsellor of the State Department, now resigned.* Far and away the ablest man in the Department, he was succeeded by Robert Lansing, the Solicitor, who was the son-in-law of John W. Foster, Secretary of State in Harrison's Cabinet.

* Resignation to take effect as of March 4, 1913.

CHAPTER XII

Reactions to Wilson's Message to Congress and His Appeal for the Repeal of The Panama Tolls Exemption Act. The Tampico, "Ypringa," and Vera Cruz Incidents. Confusion Confounded. The Constitution Violated. War in Fact. Mediation by the ABC Powers. Wilson Attempts to Explain His Mexican Policy.

WILSON'S SUDDEN CALL upon Congress for the repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, was fraught with dire consequences. Through their systems of secret intelligence, Japan and Germany were fully apprised of the Anglo-American accord behind it.[244] In the face of this accord, Japan dared not assail the United States, or interfere directly in Mexican affairs. On the other hand, Mexicans of all factions bitterly resented Wilson's purpose to replace Huerta with Carranza. Was it not a family fight, in which Wilson had no right to intervene?

The German militarists had counted on Japan and Mexico engaging the military resources of the United States, while the Irish revolution, liberally supported by German agents, kept Britain out of the contemplated general conflict. With Japan eliminated as a possible assailant of the United States, the Wilhelmstrasse saw that Mexico alone could be relied on. Therefore the Germans agreed to furnish Huerta with arms, with which to maintain a war against the United States at the proper time.

While House was completing his plans to visit Berlin, an unforeseen event threw all the German and Mexican plans awry. On April 9, 1914, a Paymaster and two sailors, who had landed at Tampico in a whaleboat to take on supplies for the U. S. S. Dolphin, were arrested by a party of Huertatistas, without the sanction of the local authorities.

Although they were released by the Governor, almost immediately, with apologies, Admiral Mayo, reflecting the disgust of military men generally with the policy of "watchful waiting," took advantage, on his own responsibility, of a technicality of the Law of Nations, to demand from Mexico a salute to the flag of the United States, as an act of apology commensurate with the offense committed. Huerta, of course, refused to comply.

At the time this occurred, Wilson and McAdoo were at the Greenbrier, at White Sulphur Springs. The despatch from Bryan reporting the incident, made apparently, little impression on Wilson's mind. He did not even mention it to McAdoo.[103] Favoring immediate intervention, Houston was, like the other Internationalists, openly critical of Wilson's inaction. The Admiral had, in his judgment, erred, but should either be punished, or supported through war. Wilson now hurried back to Washington, on the urgent appeals of McAdoo and Bryan.

The "Apostle of Peace" was furious. The action of this "hot-headed Admiral" seemed to justify his mistrust of soldiers and sailors generally. Here was the country crying out for war, despite all he and Wilson had done to prevent it! In its present temper, it would never stand for the punishment of the Admiral. To satisfy the popular demand, there was, therefore, but one thing to do. Wilson must create the impression that he was at last prepared to intervene, by calling upon Congress for the necessary authority. This might scare the Latin-Americans into forcing Huerta to comply with the Admiral's demand, which would, in any event, cool down the popular temper. Then, if the matter were dragged out, nothing more need be done. Wilson might take advantage of the occasion to place the whole blame on Huerta, and compel the Mexicans to choose between him and intervention. The latter, he knew, the Latin-Americans would not permit, were it possible to avoid it.

On the 20th, Wilson appeared before Congress. "I have come," he said, "for approval and support in the course I now propose to pursue, and to request authority to use the

armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such extent as may be necessary, to enforce the demands of this Government. There can be no thought of aggression," he added, reiterating that the people of Mexico were entitled to settle their domestic affairs in their own way, and that we sincerely desired to respect their right. It was his opinion that "the present situation need have none of the grave complications of interference, if we deal with it promptly, firmly, and wisely."

Congress was bewildered. It was manifestly impossible to enforce a "new spirit and attitude" on the part of Hu-erta's followers without interfering in Mexican affairs. And how could Wilson seek authority to employ armed forces without thought of aggression? So Congress hesitated, while the Pacifists conferred with Bryan.

On the night of this message, Bryan, Daniels, General Wood, Admirals Fiske and Blue, and John Lind, just back from Mexico, were summoned to a conference at the White House. "The President desired to see us," wrote Wood, "to ascertain the best way of making reprisals at Tampico. Mr. Bryan came out rather strongly in his true colors, when he said that reprisals in the way of occupying the town and taking the gunboats, would really be to assist the Constitutionalists, as we did not intend to hold the town eventually; and while he wanted to do this, he did not want it to be done in a way which could be interpreted as helping the Constitutionalists; or, as he said in conclusion: 'I want to help them, but I do not want it to appear as helping them.' "... About an hour was passed in this discussion. Finally it was decided to leave the method of procedure at Tampico to be determined by Admiral Fletcher, after a report had been received from him.

"It was also decided to occupy, some time tomorrow morning, the port of Vera Cruz. Lind suggested that we occupy only the custom house and not the city. The military absurdity of this was too apparent to require much discussion. . . ."[93]

A wrangle between Wood and the sailors over the use of the American destroyers followed, during which the re-

port was received that the German ship Ypringa from Hamburg, with a cargo of 15,000,000 rounds of small arms ammunition and 260 machine guns, had left Havana. It was decided not to allow a delivery to be made in Mexico, and to seize the cargo. "The President finally asked all of us individually if we did not think this ought to be done, and we all agreed it should be done." With this understanding, Wilson retired.[93]

According to Daniels, information was received by him late that night that the Ypringa was to touch at Vera Cruz the following morning. He at once notified Bryan, who called up Wilson on the telephone. After hearing Bryan's urgent recommendation that the arms be seized, Wilson called Daniels to the telephone. "What do you think, Daniels?"

"I can wire Admiral Fletcher to prevent it—a delivery—and take the custom house. I think that should be done."[61]

Wilson hesitated, while more conversation with Bryan followed. It was indeed a serious matter to deal with at 2 A.M. from one's bed chamber, with two members of the cabinet at the other end of the telephone. That Wilson was confused in mind, is evident from his final conclusion —"There is no alternative but to land." Like Bryan and Daniels, he seems to have been unaware of the distinction between seizing arms in transit, and an invasion of Mexican territory; all three despising lawyers, they recognized no need of legal advice. So Wilson assented to an act which was not only one of open warfare, but was, lacking the authority of Congress, plainly unconstitutional.

"As I sat at the phone on this fateful morning," says Tumulty, "away from the hurly-burly world outside, clad only in my pajamas, and listened to this discussion, the tenseness of the whole situation, and its grave possibilities of war with all its tragedy, gripped me. Here were three men quietly gathered about a 'phone, pacifists at heart, men who had been criticized and lampooned throughout the whole country as being too proud to fight, now, without hesitation of any kind, agreeing on a course of action that might result in bringing two nations to war."

Anomaly of anomalies! Three supposed Pacifists, act-ing together, were to bring about a state of war without knowing it, while House was actually preparing to leave for Berlin to argue the Kaiser into the ways of peace! After Bryan and Daniels had left the telephone, Wilson said: "Tumulty, are you there? What did you think of my message?" "I replied," says Tumulty, "that there was nothing else to do under the circumstances." He then said: "It is too bad, isn't it, but we could not allow that cargo to land. The Mexicans intend using those guns upon our own boys. It is hard to take action of this kind. I have tried to keep out of this Mexican mess, but we are now on the brink of war, and there is no alternative."[215]

Daniels himself has described the zeal with which he proceeded. An order was immediately despatched to Admiral Fletcher: "Seize custom house. Do not permit war supplies to be delivered to Huerta Government, or to any other party."[61]

In view of this telegraphic order from the Secretary of the Navy himself, Admiral Fletcher naturally assumed that war upon Mexico had been authorized by Congress. At once he ordered the Marines on board the Prairie and the Florida to land, and seize the custom house of Vera Cruz. This was promptly done on April 21st, with the loss of nineteen killed and seventy wounded, while the Mexican casualties were much more numerous.

Exactly when Wilson perceived that he had exceeded his Constitutional authority, does not appear. Whatever may have been the feelings of those who understood the situation, Congress, on April 22nd, approved his recommendation, in order to save the situation as far as possible. This sufficed to give Constitutional sanction to the existing state of warfare, but not to make Wilson's act lawful, either under the Constitution or the Law of Nations.

The Mexicans were infuriated, and nothing could have consolidated them behind Huerta like this unlawful trespass upon their national sovereignty. "If America Wants war, she shall have it!" So the Huertatists cried,

claiming loudly the support of all patriotic Mexicans. What the German militarists thought, can well be imagined!

How was Wilson to extricate himself from this new and even more extraordinary Mexican situation? There were many complications. He had voluntarily gone before Congress, and asked for authority to do what, in fact, had already been done—to resort to hostilities against Mexico. Naturally the American people, especially after the sacrifice of the Marines, would not sanction a withdrawal from Vera Cruz, short of a compliance by Huerta with the President's demands. Nor could the landing force be left there unre-enforced, save at the risk of its capture or destruction. Sensing his indecision, the press was scathingly critical. His incapacity to deal with the existing situation has been described by a Cabinet member. "The President was profoundly disturbed," says Houston. "He said, with much feeling, that there had occurred that which might take the nation into a war and cause the loss of the lives of many men, and then he added suddenly: 'If there are any of you who still believe in prayer, I wish you would think seriously over this matter between now and our next meeting.' This came with something of a shock, and sent us from the Cabinet room with decidedly solemn faces."[106]

Preparing to go to the border at once, Wood went to the White House to discuss the plan of invasion. But Wilson had decided against war.

"The President's idea," wrote Wood in his diary, "is that no more troops are to be sent down, lest it appear that we are really going to make war. Papers full of rumor of a rupture in the cabinet, Lane, William B. Wilson, and others standing with Garrison against the Daniels-Bryan crowd . . . Bryan very flabby and wobbly, without knowledge of what he is going to do. Said there was no use in getting ready; that that would only make the other fellow get more ready, then we would have to do more" etc.

It is not a pretty picture which Daniels, Houston, and Wood have drawn of Wilson, as the Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of the United States. His old fear that

he was not by nature suited to cope with war, seemed well founded!

The Vera Cruz incident immediately preceded the expiration of Wood's four year detail as Chief of Staff. Over the latter, Bryan was delighted. On April 22, 1914, Wood was officially succeeded by General Wotherspoon, who had himself but a short time to serve before retirement. The former Chief of Staff was now assigned to the command of the department of the East, with headquarters at Governor's Island, New York, and, pursuant to the original plan of eventually making Scott Chief of Staff, the latter was ordered to duty in Washington as Wotherspoon's assistant.

The solution of the Mexican tangle which Wilson and Bryan worked out, was a clever one. The ABC Powers of South America were much alarmed by what they feared was the first step in the seizure of Latin-American territory. If House's mission were to have any chance of success, the world must be shown that America had no hostile designs upon Mexico. Bryan, therefore, urged the ABC Powers to offer mediation, which they did. The evidence is, however, clear that Wilson and Bryan left no doubt in the minds of the mediating governments that Huerta must go! With this understanding, the offer of mediation was accepted, and representatives of all the interested parties were appointed to assemble without delay at Niagara Falls. The Marines at Vera Cruz were meanwhile to be reinforced. The American army was there, not to compel compliance with the President's demands upon the Mexican Government, but to prevent further hostilities. The fact that the retention of Mexican territory by an American military force was itself a continuation of open warfare, was to be glossed over in every way possible. A memorial ceremony for the dead Marines, to be held at the Brooklyn Navy Yard on May 11th, was used as an opportunity for Wilson to explain the situation to the country.

"We have gone down to Mexico," he declared in this address, "to save mankind if we can find out the way.* . . . We do not want to fight the Mexicans. We want to serve

* Italics added.

the Mexicans if we can, because we know how we would like to be free, and how we would like to be served if there were friends standing by, in such a case, ready to serve us. . . . These boys have shown us the way, and it is easier to walk in it, because they have gone before and shown us how. May God grant to all of us that vision of patriotic service which here, in solemnity and grief and pride, is borne in upon our hearts and consciences!"

But how, it was enquired, could those who had died in the service of their flag, point the way not to fight in defense of it? In the opinion of many, rhetoric was being used to befuddle the facts, and to conceal a serious international blunder on the part of the Administration.

Wilson's course at this time, and the considerations which dictated it, were explained by him in a remarkable press interview which he gave Samuel G. Blythe on April 27, 1914.* All of Marburg's and Page's ideas about the necessity of democratizing the backward nations, were expressed by Wilson in the words of Page, which, according to Wilson, were "lamps for his feet." Yet, he did not commit himself to the methods proposed by them. Democracy was not to be shot into the Mexicans. They were to be left to butcher themselves into a democratic state of mind, with the Americans meanwhile at their mercy.

* After being published in the Saturday Evening Post, Blythe's article was printed in the Congressional Record of May 23, 1914.

CHAPTER XIII

Taft Publishes His "The United States and Peace." The Super-Ambassador Leaves for Germany on the "Great Adventure." Interviews the Kaiser. The Repeal of the Panama Tolls Exemption Act. Anglo-American Friendship Restored. Serajevo and the Collapse of the "Great Adventure."

THE BLYTHE INTERVIEW had a very special significance. It was to prepare the world for the mission of House to Berlin, agreed upon by Wilson with Tyrrell the preceding November. With the danger of Japan out of the way for the moment, the Pan-American mediators at Niagara, and the Mexicans quieted down, the time had come for the Super-Ambassador to be off. The plan was for him to make a direct appeal to the Kaiser, over the heads of von Tirpitz and the militarists who were in control of the German Government, and to be in London at the moment when Congress repealed the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, to exploit this to the utmost. Therefore House was given final authority to proceed, the day after the Blythe interview.

"You are preparing to make the ground fallow," said Wilson. "The object you have in mind is too important to neglect."[103]

Bryan learned of this with mingled feelings of resentment and mortification. He had bitterly opposed the retention by Wilson of Marburg, a Republican and an intimate friend of Taft's, as Minister to Belgium. Now he could not fail to see that House was the "go between" of Carnegie, Taft, Marburg, and Wilson. Who was really Secretary of State, he or Marburg? Marburg, on the other hand, deemed Bryan an utter incompetent in his post, and

simply disdained to deal with him in any way, which did not tend to placate Bryan.

Since his retirement from the White House, Taft, now head of the Yale Law School, had been ceaselessly writing in the magazines, and lecturing on arbitration and the proposed World Court, under the auspices of Marburg's organization and the New York Peace Society. With Root and Butler, he also maintained close connection in the common effort to educate the militarists generally, and particularly the Kaiser, the Emperor Franz-Joseph, the Czar, the Sultan, the Mikado, Huerta, Carranza, Villa, Roosevelt and Bryan, in the direction of peace. The close cooperation between Root, Taft, Marburg, and Wilson is evidenced by the fact that, within a few days after the Blythe interview, the peace speeches which Taft had made since 1909, were published by the New York Peace Society in a volume entitled The United States and Peace, with a foreword by Hamilton Holt, editor of The Independent, and a prominent Democratic Internationalist.

"Mr. Taft's high statesmanship," said Holt, "inaugurated a movement that will not end until, as Victor Hugo prophesied, 'the only battlefield will be the market opening to commerce, and the mind opening to new ideas.'" [209]

Taft's whole Internationalist philosophy appears in this work. Like Carnegie, Marburg, Butler, Bryce, and Lecky, he believed that the spread of democracy throughout the world necessarily tended, by reason of the control it assured to the people over the foreign policy of their governments, to avoid war to a great extent. Yet he admitted, in a somewhat apologetic mood, that the war between Italy and Tripoli, the war in China, the Balkan-Turkish War, the second Balkan War, the war in Haiti, and the Mexican disturbances, indicated that the dawn of universal peace was not immediately at hand.[209] He pointed out, nevertheless, in great detail, the success with which international federation had met, and thought it not too much to ask from the Democratic party that action be taken on the matter of enforcing treaty obligations.

"The negotiations with Japan would, I am sure," he

wrote, "be greatly assisted by giving such an earnest evidence of the sincerity of our government in protecting her people in the rights we assure them. If it be said that the party in power is traditionally opposed to giving the Fedral Government more functions, and to concentration of power in Washington, we may well urge that, when the party in power has swallowed camels in the passage of a law governing the largest government control of banking and currency in our history, and in projecting a law vesting the widest Federal powers in respect to corporations doing interstate business, and another looking to Federal negotiation of presidential primaries, the party leaders should not strain at the gnat of Federal performance of Federal promises. . . ."[209]

Here again was a plain intimation of House's line of approach to the Kaiser, though the whole truth was, as usual, suppressed. Haldane had exhausted the Anglo-German peace arguments. The Kaiser was known, as declared by Wheeler to House, to be fearful of "the rising tide of color." House was to point out to him the threat of Japan to the peace of the world, which could only be overcome by the great European Powers standing together, forming a league of nations. Then, if Germany succumbed to the plea, all the militarists could be disarmed! It was all very clever.

The "Silent Partner" was not deficient in imagination. Poetic in the license he took, he styled the mission of making the political ground of Europe "fallow for peace," the "Grand Adventure."

"House set forth," says Seymour, "on his extraordinary mission, a private American citizen whose only relevant title was 'personal friend of the President,' a single individual hoping to pull the lever of common sense that might divert the Nations of the Old World from the track of war to that of peace. . . . The stake for which he played was tremendous. It was the peace of the world. If he failed, no harm was done. And if he succeeded----!"

But what about the American people? They had no more idea than Page, of sanctioning an entangling alliance

with the powers of Europe. House was proceeding, not on any authority of the President of the United States, but solely as the personal representative of Woodrow Wilson Yet it is obvious that his purpose was to commit Wilson as President. Apparently Wilson, like House, did not intend to be bound by limitations of law. In his mind, the object being a worthy one, fully justified the means. Moreover' was he not being supported by Taft, Carnegie, Root, Knox Butler and other great Republicans?

Taking the advice of Sir William Tyrrell, House sailed direct from New York for Germany on the Hamburg-American liner Imperator, having directed Gerard to make the necessary preparations in Berlin for his arrival. While en route, he wrote Page on May 21st: "The chances for success in this great adventure are slender enough, at best. The President has done his part in the letter I have with me, and it is clearly up to me to do mine...."

Although the Army and Navy were now, like the foreign service, much demoralized, it was important for Wilson to prepare the way still further for House, by a special appeal to the German people for peace. This could not fail to cause the Socialists to put renewed pressure upon the Kaiser. Therefore, on June 5th, while House was in Berlin, Wilson said, in an address to the graduating class of the Naval Academy:

"What do you think is the most lasting impression that those boys down at Vera Cruz are going to leave? They have had to use some force—I pray God it may not be necessary for them to use any more—but do you think that the way they fought is going to be the most lasting impression? Have men not fought ever since the world began? Is there anything new in using force? The new things in the world are the things that are divorced from force. The things that show the moral compulsions of the human conscience, those are the things by which we have been building up civilization, not by force. And the lasting impression that those boys are going to leave is this, that they exercise self-control; that they are ready and diligent to make the place where they went, fitter to live in than they found it; that they regarded other people's rights; that they did

not strut and bluster, but went quietly, like self-respecting gentlemen, about their legitimate work. And the people of Vera Cruz, who feared the Americans and despised the Americans, are going to get a very different taste in their mouths about the whole thing, when the boys of the Navy and the Army come away. Is that not something to be proud of, that you know how to use force like men of conscience and like gentlemen, serving your fellowmen and not trying to overcome them? Like that gallant gentleman who has so long borne the heats and perplexities and distresses of the situation in Vera Cruz—Admiral Fletcher. I mention him, because his service there has been longer, and so much of the early perplexities fell upon him. I have been in almost daily communication with Admiral Fletcher, and I have tested his temper. I have tested his discretion. I know that he is a man with a touch of statesmanship about him, and he has grown bigger in my eye each day as I have read his dispatches, for he has sought always to serve the thing he was trying to do, in the temper that we all recognize, and love to believe is typically American.

"I challenge you youngsters to go out with these conceptions, knowing that you are part of the Government and force of the United States, and that men will judge us by you. I am not afraid of the verdict. I can not look in your faces and doubt what it will be, but I want you to take these great engines of force out onto the seas like adventurers enlisted for the elevation of the spirit of the human race. For that is the only distinction that America has. Other nations have been strong, other nations have piled wealth as high as the sky, but they have come into disgrace because they used their force and their wealth for the oppression of mankind and their own aggrandizement; and America will not bring glory to herself, but disgrace, by following the beaten paths of history. We must strike out upon new paths, and we must count upon you gentlemen to be the explorers who will carry this spirit and spread this message all over the seas and in every port of the civilized world."

The German militarists were not deceived. They had long since learned of the Anglo-American accord and its object.* They were not to be tricked into a disarmament pact. Nor did they propose to allow the Kaiser to be lured

* Yardley has shown that all the Governments of Europe were able to read Wilson-House secret code. See 244.

by Wilson, through House, into another unwise declaration like that of 1908.[84]

Von Tirpitz, whom House insisted on seeing, was hardly polite to the Super-Ambassador. Bitterly hostile toward Britain, he ridiculed House's mission. Falkenhayn, von Jagow, Solf, and others were cynical. Unable to prevent the accredited personal representative of the President from seeing the Kaiser, they finally arranged the meeting on the occasion of the Schrippenfest, or the annual military festival, when the War Lord was wont to receive his chieftains, and representative privates of the army. It was the moment when William of Hohenzollern was proudest of his own power, least apt to be influenced by fears of the Socialists and the Yellow Race.

He had been carefully drilled. After lunch he took House to the terrace. There, amidst the gallant military display, carefully watched by his principal generals, and hardly out of their hearing, he cleverly threw House on the defense at once by an harangue on the "Yellow Peril." Was America actually contemplating rendering herself defenseless against Japan? Of course not. No more was Germany going to disarm, with 175,000,000 Slavs and revolutionaries radically threatening her eastern borders! The idea was absurd. Contemptuous of Britain and France, he laughed at Bryan and his treaties. House hardly got in a word edgewise. Finally, the Kaiser said:

"The last thing that Germany wants is war. We are getting to be a great commercial country. In a few years, Germany will be a rich country, like England and the United States. We don't want a war to interfere with our progress.

"Every nation in Europe," he added, "has its bayonets pointed at Germany. But—" —and with this he gave a proud and smiling glance at the glistening representatives of his army gathered on this brilliant occasion—"we are ready!"

House had been outwitted. He had failed, and failed miserably, in his effort to trick the Kaiser. He was dismissed with the understanding that he was to visit Paris

and London, and communicate direct to the Kaiser anything he might learn in those quarters concerning a peace compatible with Germany's interest.

Leaving Berlin at once, he found it useless to tarry in Paris. The trial of Madame Caillaux was in progress. There had been three French ministries in two weeks. With Caillaux's and Bola Pasha's alleged plot to betray France to Germany being aired, there was little thought of disarmament among the French. So he hurried to London to confer with Sir Edward Grey, and to be there when Congress took final action on the Panama Act.

Now, despite the fact that nothing had been accomplished by House and Wilson in the way of forcing democratic reforms upon the Czar, they saw the necessity of being represented at the Czar's court, should war come. One result of House's visit to Berlin was the appointment by Wilson on June gth of George T. Marye as Ambassador to Russia, with instructions to proceed to St. Petersburg at once. He was to spare no effort to negotiate a new commercial treaty that would be acceptable to both the Czar and the American Jews. In the nature of things, this was virtually impossible. The settlement of the Russian Jewish problem from the outside was as unlikely as the settlement by Europe of the Japanese problem in California, or the problem of the Fifteenth Amendment in the South.[150]

Meantime Anglophobia had run its course in America. After the Congressional Record had been filled with denunciations of Great Britain, Senators Root, Burton, Lodge, Kenyon, McCumber, all Republicans, succeeded in overcoming the Democratic opposition led by Senators O'Gorman, Chamberlain, Vardeman and Reed. Passed in the Senate by a vote of 50 to 35, the new Panama Tolls Act was passed by the House on June 15th with a vote of 216 to 71, which showed only too plainly how much anti-British Democratic politics had been played in the first instance. Wilson promptly signed the bill, "and the honor of the country was retrieved."

London was overjoyed. Page and House were lionized. Never had American prestige stood so high in Britain.

The King and the Prime Minister were especially affected by the fair-dealing of Congress. The slight commercial advantage which Great Britain had obtained, was not the thought that was uppermost in their minds. The thing that really moved them was the fact that something new had appeared in the history of legislative chambers. A great nation had committed an outrageous wrong. This had happened many times before. The unprecedented thing was that this same nation had exposed its fault boldlv to the world—had lifted up its hands and cried, "We have sinned!" and had then publicly undone its error. The general feeling was perhaps best expressed by the remark made to Mrs. Page, by Lady D-------: "The United States has set a high standard for all nations to live up to. I don't believe that there is any other nation that would have done it."

Commenting upon the action of the United States in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey said: "It has not been done to please us, or in the interest of good relations, but I believe from a much greater motive—the feeling that a government which is to use its influence among nations to make relations better, must never, when the occasion arises, flinch or quail from interpreting treaty rights in a strictly fair spirit."

The German war party witnessed the Anglo-American jubilation with alarm. They saw now that Japan was definitely out of their calculations, that public opinion was isolating them, exciting a powerful effect upon the Social-' ists, and, through them, upon the Kaiser. Straightway, therefore, measures to prevent their own overthrow were considered. House had been pumped of all he had to say. Upon his departure, they had had no doubts as to the Anglo-American scheme. They must act, and act quickly, if at all. The peacemakers were actually forcing them to strike!

Such was the situation which the Internationalists had brought about, when the protocols between Mexico and the United States, negotiated by the ABC Powers at Niagara, were executed on June 23, 1914. In them, the United

States agreed that the selection of a provisional and constitutional President should be left wholly to the Mexicans, and guaranteed the recognition of those chosen. This was, of course, insisted upon by the Latin-Americans, in order to prevent further interference on the part of Wilson and Bryan. The United States also agreed to claim no war indemnity or other international satisfaction from Mexico on account of the fighting at Vera Cruz, which port was to be evacuated as quickly as possible. "Thus," says Lane, "we made clear our desire not to interfere in any way in the settlement of Mexico's domestic troubles. . . . We had gone to Vera Cruz 'to serve mankind.' Our quarrel was with Huerta...."

Despite Lane's propaganda, however, the signing of these protocols constituted an admission that the President and Bryan had erred in undertaking, in May, 1913, to interfere with the selection of a President through the elimination of Huerta. Nevertheless, they had at last succeeded in making it impossible for him to remain in office. The pressure brought to bear on the Mexicans of all parties by their Latin-American cousins as well as by the British, insured the abdication of Huerta on July 16, 1914, in favor of Carranza. Thereupon orders were immediately issued by the War Department for the prompt evacuation of Vera Cruz.

The Administration Press represented all this as a great victory for Wilson's Mexican policy, but the Mexicans had apparently no doubt that the choice of Carranza had been dictated indirectly by Wilson. Therefore, within three days after Huerta's abdication, Pancho Villa was in the field at the head of a large well armed force, with the avowed purpose of driving Carranza out of office. This, as a natural protest against Wilson, had the moral support of the country at large, so that, in the last analysis, Wilson's policy had not solved the Mexican problem but had, on the contrary, complicated it.

The Germans, moreover, had no idea of letting the danger of Mexico to the United States pass away. Thus, although Villa agreed to meet Carranza in a peace confer-

ence at Aguas Calientes, it being expressly stipulated that there should be no military escorts, now in the pay of German and possibly also Japanese agents, he arrived with an armed force that terrorized the convention and prevented recognition of Carranza, whereupon open warfare began anew. Villa was variously alleged to be on the payroll of both Japan and Germany. Scott nevertheless induced Villa to approve the Garfield-Rhoades plan to establish a composite government in Mexico. Neither the British nor Wilson would, through distrust of Villa, accept the plan which was, therefore, dropped. Fortunately, in the face of this new threat from Mexico, Garrison had, despite Bryan's opposition, authorized Wood to open four more officers training camps, so that 600 candidates were accepted for training at Plattsburg, Asheville, Ludington, and Monterey during July, 1914.

Sensing that the Kaiser was bent on war, House urged Grey to visit him in person. Asquith, the Prime Minister, had been recently compelled to visit Paris to reassure the French, alarmed at House's efforts, that Great Britain was standing firmly behind them in their troubles, despite her proposals of a naval holiday. A visit by Grey to Germany might cause renewed consternation in France and Russia. Enough harm had been done by the peacemakers. Asquith openly reprobated Bryan and his treaties which, with the proceedings of Wilson and House, were held responsible for Germany's unrest, and the Kaiser's nervousness. The Kaiser, between two fires, was almost completely out of control. A choice on his part between the militarists and the Socialists seemed near at hand!

Such was the situation, when a spark ignited the pile of combustible material heaped up during the past century in Europe. On June 28th, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, was murdered by a Serb nationalist in Serajevo, chief city of Bosnia. Reaching London at the height of the Irish crisis and the feminist agitation, the news created, at first, little excitement. In Berlin, the danger of a political crisis was immediately discussed in the press. Grey soon discovered that the sanction

of the German Government for any retaliatory and repressive measures that Vienna might chose to put into effect against Serbia, had been given to Austria. The British Government thereupon urged House, a private citizen, to intervene with the Kaiser to prevent a European conflict! Without waiting for authority from Wilson, he proceeded, in the emergency, to do so.

"Colonel House to the President

"London, July 3, 1914.

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—

". . . Tyrrell brought word to me today that Sir Edward Grey would like me to convey to the Kaiser the impression I have obtained from my several discussions with this Government, in regard to a better understanding between the nations of Europe, and to try and get a reply before I leave. Sir Edward said he did not wish to send anything official or in writing, for fear of offending French and Russian sensibilities in the event it should become known. He thought it was one of those things that had best be done informally and unofficially.

"He also told Page that he had a long talk with the German Ambassador here in regard to the matter, and that he had sent messages by him directly to the Kaiser.

"So you see things are moving in the right direction as rapidly as we could hope.

"Your faithful and affectionate,

"E. M. HOUSE."

"Colonel House to the Kaiser

"American Embassy,
"London, July 7, 1914.

"His Imperial Majesty,
"Emperor of Germany, King of Prussia,
"Berlin, Germany.

"SIR:-

"Your Imperial Majesty will doubtless recall our conversation at Potsdam and that, with the President's consent and approval, I came to Europe for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not it was possible to bring about a better understanding between the Great Powers, to the end that there might be a continuation of peace, and later a beneficent economic readjustment, which a lessening of armaments would ensure.

"Because of the commanding position Your Majesty occupies, and because of your well-known desire to maintain peace, I came, as Your Majesty knows, directly to Berlin.

"I can never forget the gracious acceptance of the general purpose of my mission, the masterly exposition of the world-wide political conditions as they exist today, and the prophetic forecast as to the future which Your Majesty then made.

"I received every reasonable assurance of Your Majesty's cordial approval of the President's purpose, and I left Germany happy in the belief that Your Majesty's great influence would be thrown in behalf of peace and the broadening of the world's commerce.

"In France I tried to reach the thoughts of her people in regard to Germany, and to find what hopes she nursed. My conclusion upon leaving was that her statesmen have given over all thoughts of revenge, or of recovery of the two lost provinces. Her people in general still have hoped in both directions, but her better-informed rulers would be quite content if France could be sure of her autonomy as it now exists.

"It was then, Sir, that I came to England and with high hopes, in which I have not been disappointed.

"I first approached Sir Edward Grey, and I found him sympathetic to the last degree. After a two hours' conference, we parted with the understanding that we should meet again within a few days. This I inferred to mean that he wished to consult with the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

"At our next conference, which again lasted for two hours, he had, to meet me, the Lord Chancellor, Earl Crewe, and Sir William Tyrrell. Since then I have met the Prime Minister and practically every important member of the British Government, and I am convinced that they desire such an understanding as will lay the foundation for permanent peace and security.

"England must necessarily move cautiously, lest she offend the sensibilities of France and Russia; but, with the changing sentiment in France, there should be a gradual improvement of relations between Germany and that country, which England will now be glad to foster.

"While much has been accomplished, yet there is something still to be desired, in order that there may be a better medium created for an easy and frank exchange of thought and purposes. No one knows better than Your Majesty of the unusual ferment that is now going on throughout the world, and no one is in so fortunate a position to bring about a sane and reason-

able understanding among the statesmen of the Western peoples, to the end that our civilization may continue uninterrupted.

"While this communication is, as Your Majesty knows, quite unofficial, yet it is written in sympathy with the well-known views of the President, and, I am given to understand, with the hope from His Britannic Majesty which may permit another step forward.

"Permit me, Sir, to conclude by quoting a sentence from a letter which has come to me from the President:

" 'Your letter from Paris, written just after coming from Berlin, gives me a thrill of deep pleasure. You have, I hope and believe, begun a great thing, and I rejoice with all my heart.'

"I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect, Your Majesty's

"Very obedient servant,

"EDWARD M. HOUSE."

"Thus," says Seymour, "was a last opportunity given to the Kaiser, who had the assurance of a disinterested outsider that, if Germany sincerely desired peace, she would have the active assistance of the United States and the cooperation of Great Britain."

The day House's letter to the Kaiser was written, Gerard, who had been thoroughly deceived by the Wilhelm-strasse, wrote House a cheerful letter. The Kaiser was on his annual cruise in Norwegian waters. He, Gerard, had dined with him and von Tirpitz before the news of the Serajevo incident. "They were both most enthusiastic about you. . . . von Tirpitz thanked me for giving him the opportunity to meet you. . . . Berlin is as quiet as the grave."[103]

The American Ambassador had been completely blinded by a little flattery. It was a sinister silence—this silence of the grave.

For a time House seemed unable to collect his thoughts, as visions of the impending catastrophe flitted through his mind. Those who saw him at this time, have painted the picture of him as one whose nerves were on edge, who jumped at the sound of sabers rattling in his ears.[99,103] Did his conscience ever smite him, or his pride? Was he aware

of the nature of the fiasco in which he had played a leading role? What had he and the other Internationalist peacemakers accomplished, with their suppression of truth and their attempted trickery? How well had they served mankind in leading Wilson to reenact the role of Alexander I?

Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, the British Ambassador at Washington, subsequently declared that House's visits back and forth to London and Berlin, had so alarmed the militarists of Germany, that they took advantage of the Kaiser's absence on his annual cruise in Norwegian waters, to project the strife in which they saw their only salvation.[103]

In a post-war interview at Dorn, the deposed Kaiser stated to Sylvester Viereck that House had come so near insuring peace as to provoke the war. By this he meant, of course, that in rousing the Socialists of Germany to prate of democracy and peace, the Internationalists had driven the militarists of Germany to strike for their own salvation.

One must conclude from the evidence that the great evil in 1914 was not soldiers, but professors and peacemakers who, by suppressing the truth and trying to introduce an internationalism involving interference with existing forms of government, had set nation against nation. Their elaborate trickeries brought on a world conflict which a simple, honest entente, frankly proclaimed between Britain and America, as urged by Page, could probably have prevented.

If only Wilson had possessed the vision and the courage to say to the Kaiser in 1914, what Sims had said in 1912— that, in the hour of common danger, America would stand by Britain, the Austrian Archduke would, in all probability, never have been assassinated.

But for the President, at this zero hour of the old order, let us have only compassion. Well might he have cried: "Save me from my friends! For how, between Bryan and the Pacifists, House and the Internationalists, can I effectively serve humanity?"

According to Shakespeare, "in sweet music is such art, killing care and grief of heart fall asleep, or hearing die.

In these words is material for a diagnosis of the psychology of Wilson. Was it not the "sweet music" of his false advisers, chanting always of the world dictatorship they insisted it was his duty to achieve, that lulled to sleep his sense of the realities?

PART III

FROM THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR TO THE DECLARATION OF WAR ON GERMANY BY THE UNITED STATES

(August 1, 1914—April 6, 1917)

CHAPTER XIV

Austria-Hungary Declares War on Serbia. Herrick and Bryan Urge Mediation upon Wilson. Obedient to the Counsel of the Internationalists, Wilson Resorts to a Subterfuge. "Europe at Armageddon." Harvey, Eliot, and Herrick. Bernstorff and Gerard.

BACK IN 1905, Dr. Sergei Nilus had begun to circulate the alleged "Protocols" of the Zionist Elders. A copy of his work embodying these protocols, may be found in the British Museum. That they are forgeries has, on the evidence of numerous scholars, been long since generally admitted. They had sounded a call to revolution in all the capitalist states, and had given encouragement to radicals everywhere. The program of Philip Dru, as outlined by House, bears such a striking resemblance to the proposals in the protocols, that no one familiar with both, can fail to wonder if House had conferred with Nilus and his associates, while visiting Moscow and other European capitals during the summer of 1912, when Philip Dru: Administrator was being completed by its author, in collaboration with his brother-in-law, Dr. Mezes, Houston, and others. We also find Wilson's whole theory as to racial minorities, later to form so important a part of his post-war program, dealt with in great detail in the protocols.*

Dark clouds now hung over Russia. In the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, lay the germs of the inevitable conflict between Russia and the Dual Monarchy. The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia brought their relations to an acute

* Waters Flowing Eastward, L. Fry. Edition R.I.S.S., Paris, 1933. The Protocols are also dealt with in Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion (London. Britain's Publishing Society, 40 Great Ormond St., W.C.1. L1925).

crisis. At the same time, encouraged, perhaps, by German agents, the Communists were responsible for the fanning of the revolutionary spirit.[27a,37a,43,119a] Strikes in St. Petersburg and Moscow threatened to paralyze the Government. The Protocols published by Nilus were also having their effect.

According to Paleologue, the French Ambassador to Russia, who may, however, have been wrong, the Czar now began to look on war with the Central Powers as not only unavoidable, but as a possible means of averting the threatening revolution at home.[48,127,168,186] When the first orders for mobilization were issued, a great wave of patriotism swept over the country, and the Internationale was drowned for the moment by the National anthem. The Wilhelm-strasse was fully informed. Before House's departure from England, both Marburg and Grey saw that war was unavoidable. Myron T. Herrick, Ambassador to France, who, perhaps at Marburg's suggestion, had not yet been replaced by William H. Sharp, the new Democratic appointee, instantly cabled Bryan that the long expected war was at hand. Was there nothing more that could be done to deter the Kaiser? He felt that an offer of mediation by Wilson might have a good effect.[156]

Mediation was not what the Internationalists wanted. The evidence of this is conclusive. Whether or not Spring-Rice was correct in his belief that Marburg and the Internationalists had brought on the war, certain it is they proposed to "make hay" out of it. As they saw it, even the war itself would afford the United States a golden opportunity to serve humanity. Were not House's negotiations with the Kaiser and the Diplomats of Germany, together with the reactionary attitude of Russia, conclusive evidence that there was no chance of establishing world peace upon a firm foundation until both Russia and Germany had learned, once and for all, the futility of militarism? Then only would they be likely to accept those democratic principles which the Internationalists had been seeking to make the whole world accept.

William H. Short, Secretary of the New York Peace So-

ciety, has recorded that "an American Statesman, perhaps the leading authority in this country on international affairs," declared, in his presence, during the first week of August, 1914, that it was the duty of all friends of civilization clearly to understand and to teach the lessons which were to be drawn from the conflict in which Europe had become involved.[41] This refers, of course, to Marburg, who was shortly to expose to Short, the scheme which he and the inner circle of the Internationalists had all along had in mind.

Marburg's arguments were subtle. The diplomatic negotiations following the great wars of the past, had shown the democracies of the world without a voice in the making of peace. No more would they at the end of the present strife, unless the principles which they cherished were definitely formulated, unless they were organized in advance in a way that would enable them to make their influence at the peace table decisive. Therefore, he insisted, it was America's part to hold aloof from the strife at all costs, while this organization was being effected, so that when the belligerents had fought themselves into a more reasonable state of mind, Wilson might, with the tremendous and unimpaired economic power of America behind him, dictate the terms of peace, and bring about the formation of a league of nations that would preserve it in the future.[41] These arguments had long since been stated to Wilson by House and Dodge.

According to Herrick, his cablegram was never brought to the attention of Wilson, who subsequently denied having seen it.[158] A few hours after receipt of the despatch, Bryan, nevertheless, cabled Page, asking if there was any likelihood that the good offices of the United States, if offered pursuant to Article 3 of the Hague Convention, would serve any "high purpose in the present crisis." A bill was, at the same time, introduced in Congress, providing for the admission to American registry of foreign built vessels.

House had, until now, remained strangely silent. The explanation is plain. He had been awaiting the reply of the Kaiser. Upon learning of Bryan's purpose, he un-

doubtedly communicated with Grey at once, for, despite all Bryan could do, no answer came from Page.

Knowing Bryan's peculiarly anti-British mentality, House now addressed the President by letter for the first time since his return.

"Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts. "July 31, 1914. "DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"When I was in Germany, it seemed clear to me that the situation as far as a continuation of peace was concerned, was in a very precarious condition; and you will recall my first letter to you telling of the high tension that Germany and southern Europe were under.

"I tried to convey this feeling to Sir Edward Grey and other members of the British Government. They seemed astonished at my pessimistic view, and thought that conditions were better than they had been for a long time. While I shook their confidence, at the same time I did not do it sufficiently to make them feel that quick action was necessary; consequently they let matters drag until after the Kaiser had gone into Norwegian waters for his vacation, before giving me any definite word to send to him.

"It was my purpose to go back to Germany and see the Emperor, but the conservative delay of Sir Edward and his conferees made that impossible.

"The night before I sailed, Sir Edward sent me word that he was worried over conditions, but he did not anticipate what has followed. I have a feeling that if a general war is finally averted, it will be because of the better feeling that has been brought about between England and Germany. England is exerting a restraining hand upon France and, as far as possible, upon Russia; but her influence with the latter is slight.

"If the matter could have been pushed a little further, Germany would have laid a heavy hand upon Austria, and possibly peace could have been continued until a better understanding could have been brought about.

"Russia has a feeling, so I was told in England, that Germany was trying to project Austrian and German influence deep into the Balkan States in order to check her. She has evidently been preparing for some decisive action since the Kaiser threw several hundred thousand German troops on his

eastern frontier two years ago, thereby compelling Russia to relinquish the demands that she had made in regard to a settlement of Balkan matters. . . .

"Your faithful and affectionate,

"E. M. HOUSE."

The following day came an answer to his letter to the Kaiser, from the Wilhelmstrasse via Bernstorff.

"Berlin, August i, 1914.

"MY DEAR COLONEL:—

"I beg to inform you that I laid the letter which you addressed to His Majesty the Emperor from London before His Majesty. I am directed to convey to you His Majesty's sincere thanks.

"The Emperor took note of its contents with the greatest interest. Alas, all His strong and sincere efforts to conserve peace have entirely failed. I am afraid that Russia's procedure will force the old world and especially my country in the most terrible war! There is no chance now to lay the foundation for permanent peace and security.

"With assurances of my high regard, I remain, my dear Colonel,

"Sincerely yours,

"ZlMMERMANN
."

Thus did the German Government delay committing itself one way or the other to House's proposal to the Kaiser, until the latter had cast the die for war. It was now time for House to advise Wilson as to Carnegie's and Marburg's desires, and to warn him against letting Bryan try to stop the war.

"Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts. "August 1, 1914. "DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"There are one or two things that would perhaps be of interest to you at this time, and which I shall tell you now, and not wait until I see you.

"Sir Edward Grey told me that England had no written agreement with either Russia or France, or any formal alliance; that the situation was brought about by a mutual desire for protection, and that they discussed international matters with

as much freedom with one another as if they had an actual written alliance. . . .

"The great danger is, that some overt act may occur which will get the situation out of control. Germany is exceedingly nervous and at high tension, and she knows that her best chance of success is to strike quickly and hard; therefore her very alarm might cause her to precipitate action as a means of safety.

"Please let me suggest that you do not let Mr. Bryan make any overtures to any of the Powers involved. They look upon him as absolutely visionary, and it would lessen the weight of your influence if you desire to use it yourself later.

"If I thought I could last through the heat, I would go to Washington to see you; but I am afraid if I reached there, I would be utterly helpless. I wish you could get time to take the Mayflower and cruise for a few days in these waters so that I might join you.

"Your faithful and affectionate,

"E. M. HOUSE."

Two days after Zimmerman's letter to House, Germany officially instituted war upon Russia and France, and the invasion of Belgium commenced. On the night of August 3rd word came at last from Page, advising against an offer of mediation by Wilson, since this was not wanted by the Allies. The truth is, of course, that without feeling the least doubt of their ability to crush the Pan-Germans, they wished to bring to an end forever, the threat under which Europe had lived since the days of Bismarck.

"It is all a bad business," wrote House to Page, "and just think how near we came to making such a catastrophe impossible! If England had moved a little faster, and had let me go back to Germany, the thing perhaps, would have been done."

What House said to Page meant no more than this—the stupidity of another had cheated Wilson and himself of the credit for establishing universal peace. This he must have said to Wilson over and over, notwithstanding its manifest absurdity.

Page, whose business it was to keep Wilson advised, though his influence had been destroyed by House, had no illusions about the near advent of a reign of universal

peace. In reply to House's lament over the refusal of Sir Edward Grey to visit Germany, which he claimed had caused the failure of the "Great Adventure," Page replied:

"No, no, no—no power on earth could have prevented it. The German militarism, which is the crime of the last fifty years, has been working for this for twenty-five years. It is the logical result of their spirit and enterprise and doctrine. It had to come. But, of course, they chose the wrong time and the wrong issue. Militarism has no judgment. Don't let your conscience be worried. You did all that any mortal man could do. But nobody could have done anything effective. We've got to see to it that this system doesn't grow up again. That's all." * [99]

At the same time Page issued a statement to the press in London:

"One thing I want to make clear, that a great many people have talked to me about. Many seem to have the impression that the United States missed a great opportunity. The United States did everything possible to avert war. If ever a job was done right up to the hilt, it was that."

Like Grey and British statesmen generally, Page had not the least doubt that, with the aid of American supplies and munitions, the Triple Entente would speedily crush the Pan-Germans. Moreover, he was strongly under the influence of Grey. Therefore, cooperating with Grey and unaware that he was abetting the Internationalist scheme, he desired to keep the United States neutral. In a memorandum of August 2, 1914, his views are fully recorded.

"It will revive our shipping. In a jiffy, under stress of a general European war, the United States Senate passed a bill permitting American registry to ships built abroad. Thus a real emergency knocked the old Protectionists out, who had held on for fifty years! Correspondingly the political parties here have agreed to suspend their Home Rule quarrel till this war is ended. Artificial structures fall when a real wind blows.

"The United States is the only great Power wholly out of it.

* House omits this letter from his compilation. It negatives the idea 'hat the Great Adventure was a near-success.

The United States, most likely, therefore, will be able to play a helpful and historic part at its end. It will give President Wilson, no doubt, a great opportunity. It will probably help us politically and it will surely help us economically."

By this time, the real evil of House's influence was vaguely sensed by others, who were now branding him not only a harmful counsellor, but a sinister one. By some he was still said to be a mere "errand boy," but there were others who believed the "man of mystery," "the Texas Sphinx," had exercised a malign influence over the President.

Already House and Page had both advised Wilson against interference. Now House adroitly showed Wilson how he could meet the attacks being made upon him for his failure to prevent the war. Grey had caused Page to advise Wilson against interference, and House had also done that.

"Pride's Crossing, Mass. "August 3, 1914. (Monday)
"THE PRESIDENT,
"The White House, Washington, D. C. "DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"Our people are deeply shocked at the enormity of this general European war, and I see here and there regret that you did not use your good offices in behalf of peace.

"If this grows into criticism so as to become noticeable, I believe every one would be pleased and proud that you had anticipated this worldwide horror, and had done all that was humanly possible to avert it.

"The more terrible the war becomes, the greater credit it will be that you saw the trend of events long before it was seen by other statesmen of the world.

"Yours very faithfully,
"E. M. HOUSE."

"P.S. The question might be asked why negotiations were only with Germany and England, and not with France and Russia. This, of course, was because it was thought that Germany would act for the Triple Alliance and England for the Triple Entente."

The arrant flattery of this letter is apparent. Here, in effect, House was telling Wilson that he had foreseen a war when others were blind, notwithstanding the fact that Edward VII, Haldane, Lord Roberts, Churchill, Grey, Prince Lichnowsky, Marburg, and thousands of others had for years been trying to prevent the war, and even Page had but lately urged upon the President in vain, a plan by which this might have been accomplished.

While Wilson strolled from the executive offices to the White House on the night of August 4, 1917, a message reached him from the State Department that Great Britain had declared war on Germany.

"Let us pray that Germany will not develop a von Moltke," was his only comment.[119] This alone would show that his heart was not with Germany, and that he was still fearful of the Kaiser.

The situation in which he now found himself, was indeed a distressing one. Fearful of war, which he hated, conscious of his inability to cope with it, he had allowed Harvey and Page to overcome his better judgment, and to place him in the position of having to deal with a situation of which he knew that he had no understanding. In vain had he resorted to every conceivable means of averting such a situation. In preventing a war with Japan, he had succeeded. He had avoided war with Mexico, despite pressure which had, at times, seemed irresistible. He had even delegated full authority to House to do whatever could be done in the President's name, to prevent a war in Europe. But here was war in spite of all he had done! Despite Marburg's equanimity, he was genuinely alarmed. Therefore, on the 4th, he sent House the following telegram:

"EDWARD M. HOUSE, Pride's Crossing, Mass. "Letter of third received. Do you think 1 could and should act now, and if so how?

"WOODROW WILSON."

While Wilson was awaiting House's reply, Bryan set out to force his hand. Responsive to his pressure, the Senate

passed, on the morning of the 5th, a resolution virtually demanding that Wilson tender his good offices to the belligerents.

House acted quickly. Learning of the Senate Resolution, he replied, on the evening of the 5th, to Wilson's telegram.

"THE PRESIDENT,
"The White House, Washington, D. C.

"Olney and I agree that, in response to the Senate resolution it would be unwise to tender your good offices at this time. We believe it would lessen your influence when the proper moment arrives. He thinks it advisable that you make a direct or indirect statement to the effect that you have done what was humanly possible to compose the situation, before this crisis had been reached. He thinks this would satisfy the Senate resolution. The story might be told to the correspondents at Washington, and they might use the expression 'we have it from high authority.'

"He agrees to my suggestion that nothing further should be done now, than to instruct our different ambassadors to inform the respective governments to whom they are accredited, that you stand ready to tender your good offices whenever such an offer is desired.

"Olney agrees with me that the shipping bill is full of lurking dangers.

"E. M. HOUSE."

So Olney, too, is now in the great conspiracy! At any rate, between the will of the Senate, and the views of Olney and House which concurred with those of Root and Marburg, Wilson resorted to the subterfuge proposed as the means to outwit Bryan, and addressed the rulers of all the belligerent powers in notes similar to the following to King George:

"SIR:-

"As official head of one of the Powers signatory to the Hague Convention, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty under Article 3 of that Convention, to say to your Majesty, in a spirit of most earnest friendship, that I should welcome an oppor-tunity to act in the interest of European peace, either now or

at any time that might be thought more suitable as an occasion, to serve your Majesty and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness.

"WOODROW WILSON."

This, of course, was not mediation, but a mere expression of the President's willingness to mediate at any time that such a tender from him, would, in the opinion of the warring Powers, serve the cause of peace. In other words, he ignored the wishes of the Senate in obedience to the Internationalists.

Again the purpose of Wilson and House is clear. House had, on August 6th, gone on record that it would be "clearly to the interest of England, America, and civilization" to prevent France and Russia from rending Germany in twain, should the Central Allies be defeated. This was a fundamental principle of Marburg's scheme.

It was an unfortunate circumstance that, during the crisis, on August 6th, Mrs. Wilson died, as the result of an injury sustained from a fall in the White House.* "Although," says Lawrence, "the physicians had anticipated that the illness would be fatal, Mr. Wilson did not know, until a few days before her death came, that he would be deprived of his life companion." The loss undoubtedly had a profound influence on the President's mind at this time.

The American note was received while the Germans were actually committing the international crime of the premeditated invasion and seizure of a neutral state. Therefore, although King George especially was appreciative, and they were all mindful of Wilson's personal grief, none of the Powers requested mediation.

In the peculiar situation described, Bryan found more than ordinary freedom of action. The shipping interests had already called upon the Government to inform them what might be expected of the "Mistress of the Seas."

*It is a strange coincidence that the second Mrs. Wilson fell in the same place, and that Mrs. Hoover also fell there in 1930, and sustained an injury.

Bryan was, of course, interested in serving the cause of peace, and he had, from the first, no doubt that this must be done by preserving the neutrality of the United States. Therefore, acting on behalf of the President, he directed Page, on August 6th—the very day Mrs. Wilson died—to enquire whether the British Government would agree that the laws of naval warfare, as laid down by the Declaration of London of 1909, should be applicable during the present conflict. Page was, moreover, to express the view that "an acceptance of these laws by the belligerents, would prevent grave misunderstanding that may arise as to the relations between neutral forces and the belligerents."

The British Admiralty was fully aware of the advantage Germany had gained by the extension of her seaboard through the seizure of Belgium. Yet not even the keen eyed diplomats and international jurists who sat in judgment upon events, seemed to grasp exactly, either now or later, what the peculiarity of that advantage was.

By the seizure of Belgium, Germany at once assumed a position dissimilar to that of any belligerent of the past. In effect, she had, by this step, advanced her maritime boundary beyond two other helpless small countries—Denmark and Holland—which Germany was thereby able to seize, should that prove expedient. Nor did they fail to know that this was within the contemplation of Germany. These countries, therefore, constituted neutral territory in name only. Obviously the extension of Germany's seaboard to the shores of Belgium, brought Holland and Denmark and the eastern part of the North Sea almost as much under the dominance of Germany's joint military and naval power, as if they, too, had actually been seized.

This being the situation, it was useless from the first to expect "The Mistress of the Seas" to apply to neutral trade with Holland and the Scandinavian countries, the rules designed to protect commerce that was neutral in fact as well as in name. The proof that this was both unreasonable and impractical is to be found in the fact that, despite persistent efforts on the part of America to compel Britain and France to do this to their own utter disadvantage and

the tremendous advantage of Germany, after the United States had finally cast her lot with the Allies, no more corn-hints about their virtual blockade of this nominally neutral territory were heard. Once united with the allied fleets, the American naval force in European waters was to be jointly employed to enforce the restrictions against which the United States had been complaining bitterly during three years of neutrality.

Had the British Government clearly pointed out the true situation, it would probably have avoided much trouble. But, strange as it may seem, it merely replied to the President's enquiry that "generally the rules of the Declaration (of London) subject to certain modifications" would be applied by Britain. This was itself a warning.

Harvey now published in The North American Review, with prescient conceptions of the invasion of Belgium, his famous article Europe at Armageddon, by which the better moral perceptions of the country were crystallized. As declared by Senator William E. Borah, humanity was at the crossroads! What now should Wilson do? Having heard from Gerard that he was to be received by the Kaiser on the 10th to present the American note, and having long since made up his mind, it was easy to persuade Bryan that nothing more could be done until Gerard had rendered a report.

Extraordinary as it may seem, Roosevelt, in this emergency, kept silent. He knew that Bryan, the Pacifists, and Internationalists together, had long since created the popular impression that "the Cow-Boy President" and "Hero of San Juan" was a dangerous firebrand. Moreover, Harvey had said all that there was to say.

Harvey was, nevertheless, not to go unsupported. There was tendered to Wilson, on the 9th, what was, perhaps, the best counsel he received from any source in the great emergency of 1914. Oddly enough it came from the venerable President Emeritus of Harvard, to whom he had offered the Ambassadorship to Great Britain—now the most vital of all foreign posts.

Up to this point, Eliot had, as an active director of the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, approved Marburg's plan for establishing world peace; but he was no longer in accord with Marburg. In a letter of transmittal, he explained that, hesitating to proffer advice, he had delayed sending the following letter:

"Asticou, Maine,
"August 6, 1914.

"DEAR PRESIDENT WILSON:—

"Has not the United States an opportunity at this moment to propose a combination of the British Empire, the United States, France, Japan, Italy, and Russia, in offensive and defensive alliance, to rebuke and punish Austria-Hungary and Germany for the outrages they are now committing, by enforcing against two countries non-intercourse with the rest of the world by land and sea? These two Powers have now shown that they are utterly untrustworthy neighbors, and military bullies of the worst sort—Germany being far the worse of the two, because she has already violated neutral territory.

"If they are allowed to succeed in their present enterprises, the fear of sudden invasion will constantly hang over all the other European peoples; and the increasing burdens of competitive armaments will have to be borne for another forty years. We shall inevitably share in these losses and miseries. The cost of maintaining immense armaments prevents all the great Powers from spending the money they ought to spend on improving the condition of the people, and promoting the progress of the world in health, human freedom, and industrial productiveness.

"In this cause, and under the changed conditions, would not the people of the United States approve of the abandonment of Washington's advice that this country keep out of European complications?

"A blockade of Germany and Austria-Hungary could not be enforced with completeness; but it could be enforced both by sea and by land to such a degree that the industries of both peoples would be seriously crippled in a short time by the stoppage of both their exports and their imports. Certain temporary commercial advantages would be gained by the blockading nations—a part of which might perhaps prove to be permanent.

"This proposal would involve the taking part by our navy in

the blockading process, and, therefore, might entail losses of both life and treasure; but the cause is worthy of heavy sacrifices; and I am inclined to believe that our people would support the Government in taking active part in such an effort to punish international crimes, and to promote future international peace.

"Is it feasible to open pourparlers by cable on this subject? The United States is clearly the best country to initiate such a proposal. In so doing, this country would be serving the general cause of peace, liberty, and good will among men.

"This idea is not a wholly new one to me. The recent abominable acts of Austria-Hungary and Germany have brought to my mind again the passages on the 'Fear of Invasion,' and the 'Exemption of Private Property from Capture at Sea,' which I wrote a year ago in my report to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, entitled Some Roads To Peace, pp. 16-17. The outrageous actions of the last fortnight have reenforced the statements I then made, and have suggested a new and graver application of the doctrines therein set forth.

"I offer this suggestion in entire submission to your judgment as to its present feasibility and expediency. It seems to me an effective international police method, suited to the present crimes, and the probable issues of the future, and the more attractive because the European concert and the Triple Alliances have conspicuously failed. It, of course, involves the abandonment by all the European participants of every effort to extend national territory in Europe by force. The United States has recently abandoned that policy in America. It involves also the use of international force to overpower Austria-Hungary and Germany with all possible promptness and thoroughness; but this use of force is indispensable for the present protection of civilization against savagary, and for the future establishment and maintenance of federal relations and peace among the nations of Europe.

"I am, with highest regard,

"Sincerely yours,

"CHARLES W. ELIOT."

Not only was this a complete confirmation of Harvey's position, but it was the farseeing counsel of a truly great humanist, whose statesmanship transcended both the quack-ery of a supine pacifism, and any idea that America should

increase her own power by neutrality. It was not the voice of St. Pierre, or Kant, or Jefferson, or Bryan, or Taft, or Butler, or Marburg, but that of a great scholar and student of history who had not, while working for peace, allowed his mind to become befuddled by fancies. It was, in short the advice of a man facing realities, governed simply and solely by the principles of One whom he believed to be the wisest man who had ever lived. And that man was Jesus, the Christ, who had, in substance, proclaimed nineteen centuries before to those whom he came to save: What profiteth your wealth if your souls be lost? I came not on earth with peace, but a sword!

While Wilson awaited word from Gerard, the "Apostle of Peace" sat at his elbow. No doubt could be left in Wilson's mind that Bryan's following of pacifists would oppose him if he led the country into war, but that they and the great peace societies would support him with their immense, far-reaching propaganda, if he adhered to a strictly neutral policy. He deemed Harvey and Eliot utterly deluded. True, Jesus came on Earth with a sword, but the sword he bore was not that of Michael! It was the sword of a great truth—that peace alone might set mankind free! It was the old self-serving, twisted interpretation which the pacifist mind had always put upon the indelible message written in the blood of Jesus—"Hoc Signo Vincit"—in truth alone shall man find salvation.

Then came word from Page. After a graphic description of conditions in England, and the measures organized there for the relief of stranded Americans, he closed with the following words:

"Six American preachers pass a resolution unanimously 'urging our Ambassador to telegraph our beloved, peaceloving President to stop this awful war'; and they come with simple solemnity to present their resolution. Lord save us, what a world!

"And this awful tragedy moves on to—what? We do not know what is really happening, so strict is the censorship. But it seems inevitable to me that Germany will be beaten, that the horrid period of Alliances and armaments will not come

again, that England will gain even more of the earth's surface, that Russia may next play the menace; that all Europe (as much as survives) will be bankrupt; that relatively we shall be immensely stronger financially and politically—there must surely come many great changes—very many, yet undreamed of. Be ready! for you will be called on to compose this huge quarrel. I thank Heaven for many things—first, the Atlantic Ocean; second, that you refrained from war in Mexico; third, that we kept our treaty—the Canal Tolls victory; I mean. Now, when all this half of the world will suffer the unspeakable brutalization of war, we shall preserve our moral strength, our political powers, and our ideals.

"God save us!"

"The possible consequences stagger the imagination. Germany has staked everything on her ability to win primacy. England and France (to say nothing of Russia) really ought to give her a drubbing. If they do not, this side of the world will henceforth be German. If they do flog Germany, Germany will for a long time be in discredit.

"I walked out in the night awhile ago. The stars are bright, the night is silent, the country quiet—as quiet as peace itself. Millions of men are in camp and on warships. Will they all have to fight and many of them die—to untangle this network of treaties and alliances, and to blow off huge debts with gunpowder, so that the world may start again?"

Such counsel did not fail to fortify Wilson in his purpose. The British and French Governments did not want him to intervene. Nevertheless, there was, among the American residents in France, little thought of neutrality. When the younger men saw their French friends going off to the front, many of them were at once stirred by a desire not only to serve France, but to strike a blow for civilization. Accordingly numbers of them called at the Embassy for advice.

They filed into my office," says Herrick, "with that timidity which frequently characterizes very courageous men, more afraid of seeming to show off than of any physical danger. They came to get my advice. They wanted to enlist in the French army. There were no protestations, no speeches; they merely wanted to fight, and they asked

me if they had a right to do so, if it was legal. That moment remains impressed in my memory as though it had happened yesterday; it was one of the most trying in my whole official experience. I wanted to take those boys to my heart and cry, 'God bless you! Go!' But I was held back from doing so by the fact that I was an ambassador. But I loved them, every one, as though they were my own.

"I got out. the law on the duties of neutrals; I read it to them and explained its passages. I really tried not to do more, but it was no use. Those young eyes were searching mine, seeking, I am sure, the encouragement they had come in the hope of getting. It was more than flesh and blood could stand, and catching fire myself from their eagerness, I brought my fist down on the table saying, 'That is the law, boys; but if I was young and stood in your shoes, by God I know mighty well what I would do.'

"At this they set up a regular shout, each gripped me by the hand, and then they went rushing down the stairs as though every minute was now too precious to be lost. They all proceeded straight to the Rue de Grenelle and took service in the Foreign Legion. Those were the first of our volunteers in the French army. They were followed by others, and, in a short time, a large group of them had enlisted."

Yes, there was high romance even in this cataclysmic crisis of mankind, signalized by the swift uprising of youth. As the war drums boomed, deep and ominous, their echoes stirred the souls of men in every clime. Many a lad in America envied those who had enlisted in what Harvey and Eliot had felt to be the common cause of humanity.

Bernstorff, who had left Washington for Germany on July 7th, described what was going on there.

"On the wonderful, still summer evening of the 1st of August, we heard across the Starnberger Lake, in all the surrounding villages, the muffled beat of drums announcing mobilization. The dark forebodings with which the sound of the drums filled me, have fixed that hour indelibly in my memory."

"In the Wilhelmstrasse, I had interviews with the authorities, the substance of which was instructions to enlighten the Government and people of the United States on the German standpoint. In doing so, I was to avoid any appearance of aggression towards England, because an understanding with Great Britain had to be concluded as soon as possible. The Berlin view on the question of guilt was even then very much the same as has been set down in the memorandum of the commission of four of the 27th May, 1919, at Versailles, namely, that Russia was the originator of the war.

"I was further informed at the Foreign Office that, besides some additions to the staff of the Washington Embassy, the former Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, Dr. Dernburg, and Privy Counsellor Albert, of the Ministry of the Interior, were to accompany me; the former as representative of the German Red Cross, the latter as agent of the 'Central Purchasing Company.' Dr. Dernburg's chief task, however, was to raise a loan in the United States, the proceeds of which were to pay for Herr Albert's purchases for the aforesaid company. For this purpose the Imperial Treasury supplied us with Treasury notes, which could only be made negotiable by my signature."

It is plain from this that the German Government had long planned to neutralize American public opinion through propaganda.[110,167]

On August 10th, Gerard was received by the Kaiser.

"I drove in a motor into the courtyard of the palace, and was there escorted to the door which opened on a flight of steps leading to a little garden about fifty yards square, directly on the embankment of the River Spree, which flows past the Royal Palace. As I went down the steps, the Empress and her only daughter, the Duchess of Brunswick, came up. Both stopped and shook hands with me, speaking a few words. I found the Emperor seated at a green iron table under a large canvas umbrella. Telegraph forms were scattered on the table in front of him, and, basking on the gravel, were two small dachshunds. I explained to the Emperor the object of my visit, and we

had a general conversation about the war and the state of affairs. The Emperor took some of the large telegraph blanks and wrote out in pencil his reply to the President's offer. This reply, of course, I cabled immediately to the State Department."

"For the President of the
United States personally:—

"10. VIII 14.

"1. H. R. H. Prince Henry was received by his Majesty King George V in London, who empowered him to transmit to me verbally, that England would remain neutral if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany and France, Austria and Russia. This message was telegraphed to me by my brother from London after his conversation with H. M. the King, and repeated verbally on the twenty-ninth of July.

"2. My Ambassador in London transmitted a message from Sir. E. Grey to Berlin saying that only in case France was likely to be crushed, would England interfere.

"3. On the thirtieth my Ambassador in London reported that Sir Edward Grey, in course of a 'private' conversation, told him that, if the conflict remained localized between Russia—not Serbia—and Austria, England would not move, but if we 'mixed' in the fray, she would take quick decisions and grave measures; i.e., if I left my ally Austria in the lurch to fight alone, England would not touch me.

"4. This communication being directly counter to the King's message to me, I telegraphed to H. M. on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth, thanking him for kind messages through my brother and begging him to use all his power to keep France and Russia—his Allies—from making any war-like preparations calculated to disturb my work of mediation, stating that I was in constant communication with H. M. the Czar. In the evening the King kindly answered that he had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with his Allies to refrain from taking any provocative military measures. At the same time H. M. asked me if I would transmit to Vienna the British proposal that Austria was to take Belgrade and a few other Serbian towns and strip of country as a 'main-mise,' to make sure that the Serbian promises on paper should be fulfilled in reality-This proposal was, at the same moment, telegraphed to me from Vienna for London, quite in conjunction with the British

proposal; besides, I had telegraphed to H. M. the Czar the same, as an idea of mine, before I received the two communica-tions from Vienna and London, both of the same opinion.

"5. I immediately transmitted the telegrams vice versa to Vienna and London. I felt that I was able to tide matters over, and was happy at the peaceful outlook.

"6. While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar the next morning, to inform him that Vienna, London and Berlin were agreed about the handling of affairs, I received a telephone message from H. E. the Chancellor that, during the night, the Czar had given orders to mobilize the whole Russian army, which was, of course, also meant against Germany; whereas till then, only the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

"7. In a telegram from London, my Ambassador informed me he understood the British Government would guarantee neutrality of France, and wished to know whether Germany would refrain from attack. I telegraphed H. M. the King personally that mobilization, being already carried out, could not be stopped, but if H. M. could guarantee with his armed forces the neutrality of France, I would refrain from attacking her, leave her alone, and employ my troops elsewhere. H. M. answered that he thought my offer was based on a misunder-standing; and, as far as I can make out, Sir E. Grey never took my offer into serious consideration. He never answered it. Instead, he declared England had to defend Belgian neutrality, which had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds, news having been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium, and the King of the Belgians having refused my petition for a free passage, under guarantee of his country's freedom. I am most grateful for the President's message.

"WILLIAM, I. R."

"When the German Emperor in my presence indited his letter to President Wilson, he asked that I cable it immediately to the State Department, and that I simultaneously give it to the press. As I have already stated, I cabled the document immediately to the State Department at Washington, but I withheld it from publication.

"My interview with the Emperor was in the morning. That afternoon a man holding a high position in Germany sent for me. I do not give his name, because I do not wish

to involve him in any way with the Emperor, so I shall not even indicate whether he is a royalty or an official. He said:

" 'You had an interview today with the Emperor. What happened?'

"I told of the message given me for the President, which was intended for publication by the Emperor. He said:

" 'I think you ought to show that message to me; you know the Emperor is a constitutional Emperor, and there was once a great row about such a message.'

"I showed him the message, and, when he had read it, he said: 'I think it would be inadvisable for us to have this message published, in the interest of good feeling between Germany and America. If you cable it, ask that publication be withheld.' I complied with his request, and it is characteristic of the President's desire to preserve good relations, that publication was withheld. Now, when the two countries are at war; when the whole world, and especially our own country, has an interest in knowing how this great calamity of universal war came to the earth, the time has come when this message should be given out, and I have published it by permission.

"This most interesting document in the first place clears up one issue never really obscure in the eyes of the world— the deliberate violation of the neutrality of Belgium, whose territory 'had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds.' The very weak excuse is added that 'news had been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium,'—not even a pretense that there had ever been any actual violation of Belgium's frontier by the French, prior to the German invasion of that unfortunate country. Of course, the second excuse that the King of the Belgians had refused entrance to the Emperor's troops under guarantee of his country's freedom, is even weaker than the first. It would indeed inaugurate a new era in the intercourse of nations, if a small nation could only preserve its freedom by at all times, on request, granting free passage to the troops of a powerful neighbor, on the march to attack an adjoining country." [85,151]

CHAPTER XV

A New Moral Standard. Wilson Appeals for Neutrality in Thought as well as in Act.

ENOUGH HAS BEEN SAID to show the influences brought to bear on Wilson in August, 1914—House was but a spokesman for others. Page had, unintentionally, fortified Wilson in his purpose. Neutrality, coupled with a shipping bill, would revive America's commerce! It would not only preserve her political powers, but after a peace of exhaustion in Europe, would leave her stronger than ever.[30] It would help the country not only economically but politically, and at the same time afford the President a marvelous opportunity to serve as champion of humanity!

It would be much easier to say to mothers, pleading for peace: "Neutrality is our duty," than to call on them to prepare to make the "gold star" sacrifice. With his peculiar religious cast of mind, and his great ambition to serve, he succumbed, naturally enough, at this juncture, to the temptation which the Internationalists dangled before him. Neither his mental attitude, nor his reasoning, are matters of conjecture.

"My earnest hope and fervent prayer," he told Tumulty, "is that America can withhold herself, remain out of this terrible mess, steer clear of European embroilments, and at the right time offer herself as the only mediating influence to bring about peace. We are the only great nation now free to do this. Think of the tragedy," he said. "I am not afraid to go to war. No man fit to be President of this nation, knowing the way its people would respond to any demand that might be made upon them, need have fears or doubts as to what stand it would finally take."

Had he stopped here, there could still be room for doubt. But he continued: "What I fear more than anything else is the possibility of world bankruptcy that will inevitably follow our getting into this thing. Not only world chaos and bankruptcy, but all of the distempers, social, moral, and industrial, that will flow from this world cataclysm. No sane man, therefore, who knows the dangerous elements abroad in the world would, without feeling out every move, seek to lead his people, without counting the cost and dispassionately deliberating upon every move." [215]

The words might have been Marburg's. The world dictatorship Wilson craved, seemed at last within his grasp! Under the influence of Marburg's internationalism, he had put on the message of the Cross, an. interpretation agreeable to the ideals of International Finance. Not alone the soul of humanity, but the world's wealth as well, must be saved by peace!

When the neutrality of a state is proclaimed in international law, all that is implied is political and physical non-participation in strife.* But far more than this was essential to the purpose of the Internationalists.

The Sociologists and Psychologists both know that blood is a strange thing, out of which come common emotions, if not common ideas. The popular attitude in this country toward the Central Allies, on the outbreak of hostilities, has been well described by Bernstorff, who had long expected the great majority of the American people to side with the Entente.

"As a result of the violation of Belgian neutrality, this happened far in excess of expectation. The violent statements of the anti-German party called forth strong replies from those who desired a strict neutrality on the part of the United States. The adherents of the latter party were always stigmatized as pro-Germans, although even the German-Americans never called for anything more than an unconditional neutrality. This also was the aim for which the German policy was working through its representatives

* Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege, 1902.

in America. We never hoped for anything further. 'The waves of excitement ran so high that even the private rela-tions of the adherents of both parties contending suffered.' "[27]

Wilson, too, saw that the natural sympathies of the so-called Anglo-Saxon peoples of America for the Allies, invited the spread of the conflagration to America. True, the Irish, the Italians, Scandinavians, Germans, and Jews were not subject to British influence. Indeed, in the Irish and Germans, might be found an offset to it. But the whole fabric of American social and political life was, after all, knit with British influence. Therefore there was a real danger, to be promptly dealt with, to the present opportunity of the American people to become the world's dominant nation. And this he must show them in an appeal to the material side of their nature, cloaked in idealistic words. Of his purpose, Tumulty gives conclusive evidence.

"It would have been a dramatic adventure," says Tumulty, "to accept Germany's assault on Belgium as a challenge to the humane interest of America, but the acceptance would have been only a gesture, for we were unable to transport armies to the theatre of war in time to check the outrage. Such action would have pleased some people in the East, but the President knew that this quixotic knight errantry would not appeal to the country at large, particularly the West, still strongly grounded in the Washingtonian tradition of non-interference in European quarrels.[215]

"I recall the day he prepared his neutrality proclamation. At the end of one of the most strenuous days of his life in Washington, he left the Executive offices where he was engaged in meeting and conferring with senators and congressmen, and I found him comfortably seated under an elm tree, serenely engaged with pad and pencil in preparing his neutrality proclamation, which was soon to loose a fierce storm of opposition and ridicule upon him. He and I had often discussed the war and its effect upon our own country, and one day in August, 1914, just after the

Great War had begun, he said to me: 'We are going through deep waters in the days to come. The passions now lying dormant will soon be aroused, and my motives and purposes at every turn will soon be challenged, until there will be left but few friends to justify my course. It does not seem clear now, but as this war grows in intensity, it will soon resolve itself into a war between autocracy and democracy. Various racial groups in America will seek to lead us now one way and then another. We must sit steady in the boat and bow our heads to meet the storm.'"[215]

Knowing Bryan to be, like most Americans, opposed not only to Marburg's proposals, but to a league of nations as well, Wilson had been, from the first, careful to hold himself aloof from any negotiations with respect to a league, which might prejudice his reelection. Even though he had given House carte blanche to deal with foreign governments as to a league, he had avoided so carefully any written commitments, that House could be held alone responsible, even for those which had the secret sanction of the President. While Wilson prepared his appeal to the American people, House, on August 17th, addressed the following letter to Gerard:

"DEAR JUDGE:—

"... The Kaiser has stood for peace all these years, and it would not be inconsistent with his past life and services to be willing now to consider such overtures. If peace could come at this hour, it would be upon the general proposition that every nation at war should be guaranteed its territorial integrity of today. Then a general plan of disarmament should be brought about, for there would be no need under such an arrangement for larger armies than were necessary for police purposes.

"Of course, this matter would have to be handled very delicately; otherwise sensibilities might be offended.

"As far as I am concerned, I would view with alarm and genuine regret any vital disaster to the German people. The only feeling in America that has been manifested against Germany, has not been directed against her as a nation, but merely against her as the embodiment of militarism. Our people have never admitted that excessive armaments were guarantees

of peace, but they have felt, on the contrary, that in the end they meant just such conditions as exist today. When neighboring nations with racial differences and prejudices vie with one another in excessive armaments, it brings about a feeling of distrust which engenders a purpose to strike first and to strike hard.

"With Europe disarmed, and with treaties guaranteeing one another's territorial integrity, she might go forward with every assurance of industrial expansion and permanent peace.

"Faithfully yours,

"E. M. HOUSE." [103]

Herrick was, at the same time, warned against his unneutral attitude, rumors of which had reached Washington. In the face of the evidence, it is plain that Wilson's deliberate purpose was to put an end to racial sympathies in America, and that the internationalistic principles of Marburg were foremost in his mind; that the "Washing-tonian tradition of non-interference in European quarrels" had nothing to do with the policy upon which he had decided, any more than it had dictated the "Grand Adventure," and Wilson's efforts to control the domestic affairs of Mexico.

Wilson had promised twelve years before, that the "old humanities" were to be made "more human." Now, as President of the Republic which had long been fondly styled the "hope of humanity," he was indeed to set up a "new standard" of international morality to the Nation. He was to call upon it in a great appeal, to support the policy upon which he had decided:

"MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:—

"I suppose 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 wishes 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 speaks 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?" [190]

Loudly acclaimed by Bryan and his ilk, the novel philosophy here expressed, was pronounced by them to be humanism of the highest order. Verily, they declared, a new light has been shed upon the universe. Here at last was a great moral leader who, whatever might be the claims of the belligerents, was looking only to the ultimate welfare of mankind. Great, vital America, as the most powerful neutral in the world, was to ignore their quibblings by striking in her might for peace!

It was indeed, eminently proper for America to assume the political attitude of a neutral state until her rights became involved. But how could there be any such thing as the duty of neutrality, regardless of the moral aspects of the strife? Jesus had declared that He came on earth not with peace but a sword. Even under the interpretation of Bryan that Jesus came with the sword of truth, the Saviour could not have intended that mankind should be neutral as between right and wrong.

Both groups of belligerents had claimed that the struggle was no ordinary one, that great moral principles at issue demanded the support of world opinion. Both could not be right. Indeed, did not the very universality of European partisanship suggest that questions of moral right and wrong might be, in fact, involved? According to the pacifists themselves, an enlightened public opinion was the most effective deterrent to war. Wilson himself was soon to declare that "right public opinion is the mistress of the world." But if, in the emergency of a world-wide conflict, pacifism demanded neutrality of thought, how could public opinion become an influence for peace?

Plainly, then, the welfare of mankind demanded that the judgment of neutral peoples be helped by the fullest possible information, to crystallize as quickly as possible against those actually responsible for the present awful catastrophe.

Aside from the moralities, there was, moreover, the practical situation in which neutral states like America found themselves, in the midst of a rapidly spreading conflagration. The pass to which things had come in Mexico, should have been sufficient to convince any intelligent mind that a unilateral will for peace cannot insure it, that practical considerations demand for a country, no less than for individuals, insurance and police protection against the spread of a great conflagration. After proclaiming the neutrality of the United States, it was the visible duty of the President, to call on the nation to defend its rights, which would have served also to render less likely the violation of the rights of weaker neutrals. We must conclude, therefore, that Wilson's appeal was not inspired by true humanism, since it ignored practical considerations while it also violated established ethical principles.

The very day of Wilson's appeal, Congress passed the Act admitting foreign-built vessels to American registry; in order that the country might reap the fullest benefit from its neutral position. Two days later, Wilson published a formal proclamation of neutrality.

There were few persons who undertook, at the time, to analyze the moral principles underlying the President's glittering words. In the face of the claims and counter claims of the belligerents, and of aroused racial sympathies, the average American felt that it was too soon to determine the merits clearly. Until this could be done, neutrality seemed the sound policy. As for much of Wilson's language—they merely put it down to the thing called "humanitarian idealism," about which they had lately heard so much. Nor were men of acute moral discernment prone, in an hour of great moment, to pick the President's phrases to pieces; while many of his most bitter enemies were silenced in respect for his personal grief.

Then, too, there was the influence of the American attitude toward Europe. Convinced that in the complete isolation of America lay its greater destiny, most Americans looked on neutrality as thoroughly in accord with the foreign policy laid down by Washington and Jefferson, the traditional policy of the United States. It was but evidence of their sanity, of the fact that, in a great emergency, the hard common sense of the American people might be relied on to override collectively all individual emotions.

Nevertheless, there were those who, like Harvey, saw the emptiness of Wilson's rhetoric, and who put "neutrality of thought" down to politics, and nothing more. As they saw it, the President was appealing to the pacifist, Pro-German, and Anti-British sentiment of the country, as a matter of political expediency. In their judgment he was an arrant hypocrite.

They were, of course, utterly mistaken. Wilson was no more a hypocrite than his Scotch Presbyterian ancestors, who believed with all sincerity that they were the chosen of God; no more than Torquemada who, in the name of the Almighty, resorted to torture as the means of saving the misguided despite themselves. Looked at in a narrow way, his apparent indifference to the moral principles involved in the war, and to the sufferings of the belligerents, seemed cruel, indeed indefensible. But the idea that he owed a higher duty to mankind as a whole, than to his own Nation, or any group of nations, had long since crystallized in Wilson's mind. He was not merely the President of the United States—he was the "champion of humanity," chosen of Providence. His duty, as he saw it, was to steel his heart to the present sufferings of the belligerents, in order to render that ultimate and higher service to humanity which he had been appointed by God to perform. The obvious sophistry required to conceal his real object, was, to his mind, wholly justifiable, since it was the only means to discharge his trust. If fault there were, it was with the world, not with him.

The attitude of the Internationalists, and the arguments

they employed in their dealings with Wilson, are still further disclosed by the statements of House:

"Pride's Crossing, Massachusetts, "August 22, 1914. "DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"Thinking that I might see you soon, has caused me to hope that I might tell you in person of how splendidly I think you are meeting the difficult situations that come to you day by day.

"Your address on Neutrality is one of the finest things you have ever done, and it has met with universal appreciation. Every day editorials of the Republican press speak of you as if you were of their party, instead of being the idol of ours.

"The food investigation, the shipping bill, the war risk insurance bill, and everything else that you are doing, give the entire nation cause for constant congratulation that you are at the helm, and serving it as no other man could.

"Of course the war continues to be a most disturbing and uncertain element. I am sorry that Japan injected herself into the general melee, for it will place an additional strain upon us not to become involved.

"The saddest feature of the situation to me is that there is no good outcome to look forward to. If the Allies win, it means largely the domination of Russia on the Continent of Europe; and if Germany wins, it means the unspeakable tyranny of militarism for generations to come.

"Fundamentally the Germans are playing a role that is against their natural instincts and inclinations, and it shows how perverted men may become by habit and environment.

"Germany's success will ultimately mean trouble for us. We will have to abandon the path which you are blazing as a standard for future generations, with permanent peace as its goal, and a new international ethical code as its guiding star, and build up a military machine of vast proportions. "Your faithful and affectionate,

"E. M. HOUSE."

It is manifest from this letter that Root, Marburg, Taft, and other Republican Internationalists were cooperating actively with Wilson, and that they were little concerned with a choice between the Kaiser and the Czar, both representing militarism rampant. Eliot's position had, appar-

ently not been acceptable to Root. At any rate, Eliot now amended his counsel. Accordingly he wrote Wilson, that he had, on further deliberation, concluded that the neutrality of America would, for the present, better serve the interests of humanity than intervention.

While there was some criticism abroad of "neutrality in thought," its uncomplaining acceptance by the British, French and Russian people generally, is readily explicable by the fact that their governments did not then wish America to enter the war.[30] Gloating over the apparent general approval of Wilson's appeal, Bryan was quick to cite it as a complete vindication of the Administration's pacific policy.

Wilson was thus, a second time, misled by his advisers into divesting America of the power to champion the cause of humanity, and to save mankind an infinite amount of woe, in the world's greatest crisis.

CHAPTER XVI

The German Propagandists Arrive. Varying Attitudes Toward the War. Wilson's Views. The Jones-Hobson Shipping Bill. Marburg Begins to Organize the Internationalists. Wilson's Prayer for Peace. Page Urges Intervention. Complains about Bryan. British Propaganda Organized. The Hamburg-American Line and German Violations of Neutrality. The Belgian Commission. Rustem Bey Dismissed. Roosevelt Urges Continued Neutrality.

COUNT BERNSTORFF and his company of German propagandists arrived in New York August 23, 1914. Bernstorff proceeded immediately to Washington to see Wilson. "He had taken the opportunity of the war and the death of his first wife," says the German Ambassador, "to withdraw even more than ever from the outer world. He was generally known as the recluse of the White House. He only received people with whom he had political business to settle. Particularly from diplomats and other foreigners Mr. Wilson kept much aloof, because he was anxious to avoid the appearance of preference or partiality."[27] According to Bernstorff, Wilson made a statement about the policy of neutrality. "My reply that the American neutrality seemed to us tinged with sympathy for our enemies, Mr. Wilson contradicted emphatically. . . . He thought that this appearance was the result of England's naval power, which he could do nothing to alter. In this connection, the President made the following remark, which struck me very forcibly at the time: 'The United States must remain neutral, because otherwise the fact that her population is drawn from so many European countries, would give rise to serious domestic difficulties.' "

After declaring that Wilson's proclamation won the approval of the overwhelming majority of the American people and that there were few, even among the supporters of the Entente, who desired active participation by the United States in August, 1914, the sagacious German continued: "Apart from the fact that the traditional American policy seemed to preclude any such intervention in European affairs, it was to the interest of the United States to play, with unimpaired power, the role of Arbiter mundi, when the States of Ancient Europe, tired of tearing one another to pieces, at last longed for peace again. America could not but hope that neither of the two warring parties would come out of the war in a dominating position."

Thus it is evident that the Germans had not been deceived. No one has left a harsher estimate of Wilson than the wily German Ambassador, whose business it was to study him intensively. "In spite of his strong will and his autocratic leanings," he wrote at this time, "Mr. Wilson is still, in the first place, a perfect type of the American politician. In his speeches, he always tries to voice public opinion, and in his policy to follow its wishes. He certainly tries to direct and influence public opinion. But he changes his front at once, if he notices that he has strayed from the way that the aura popularis would have him follow. In order to form a correct judgment of Mr. Wilson's actions and speeches, it is always necessary to ask oneself, in the first place, what end he has in view for his own political position and that of his party in America. He proclaims in a most dazzling way the ideals of the American people. But their realization always depends on his own actual political interests and those of the Democratic party. Mr. Wilson's attitude has always been synonymous with that of his party, because the latter can produce no other personality capable of competing with the President. Therefore Mr. Wilson always met with little or no opposition within the Democratic party, and he was able to follow for a long time his own inclination to adopt a quite independent policy." [27]

Unfortunately it is not the truth that counts in the mat-

ter of a man's prestige, but what people believe. The impression which Wilson made upon the diplomatic corps was also summed up by Count Bernstorff in a few words. "Socially," he said, "the President is very congenial, when once he has made up his mind to emerge from his narrow circle. He has not the reputation of being a loyal friend and is accused of ingratitude by many of his former colleagues and enthusiastic adherents. In any case, however, Mr. Wilson is an implacable enemy, when once he feels himself personally attacked or slighted. As a result of his sensitiveness, he has a strong tendency to make the mistake of regarding political difference of opinion as personal antipathy."

To gain the confidence of Wilson and Bryan, Bernstorff went so far as to deposit with the latter the code which he falsely declared would be used by his embassy.[109,244] He then set to work to organize the German propaganda. Until then, the Herald, Evening Telegram, Tribune, Times, Sun and Globe in New York had been relentlessly attacking Germany, while only the Evening Post and American had remained neutral. Outside New York, most of the press was openly pro-Entente. But when Dernburg had established the German Press Bureau in New York, the Hearst papers veered round, while the Staatszeitung and Fatherland, under the able direction of Sylvester Viereck, began to speak out boldly for Germany. At the same time, Captains Boy-Ed and von Papen, the German naval and military attaches, cooperated valiantly with Dr. Albert to encourage the pro-Germans. In the face of this organized propaganda which became progressively more effective, American public opinion was left to form itself. Apparently the Administration believed it would help keep America neutral, and, therefore, tolerated it without complaint.

Under date of August 28th, came word to House from Page—with whose advice the President's appeal had accorded exactly. "What a magnificent spectacle our country presents! We escape murder, we escape brutalization; we will have to settle it; we gain in every way."

How strangely such language compared with that of Herrick. On the same day that Page wrote this almost inexplicable letter, Herrick sent Wilson a glowing account of the American volunteers in the French army. This elicited a prompt warning to adopt a neutral attitude.[156]

Although there was every reason why the overwhelming majority of Americans should have accepted the neutral course urged by Wilson as wise, the crash and the rumble of the war intrigued the interest of the Nation from the first. A flood of literature, much of it exaggerated and intemperately partisan, most of it uncritical, and some of it pure propaganda, had been quickly poured upon them. As is the way of our virile people, they took up with energy the task of trying to understand for themselves what the war was all about.

They seized avidly on the popular writings of Cramb of England, Usher and Gibbons of America, and the like, then exhumed from the shelves of the libraries all the German books they could find, to look at the other side. Soon they had mastered facts enough to leave no doubts as to the origin of the conflict. Thinking readers discerned the deeper sources of the war in the highly developed Nationalism of the past century—organized patriotism designed to aid and abet the selfish and conflicting economic interests of a highly industrialized and commercialized world. In the last analysis, the whole of mankind was responsible for the human ills of which this unprecedented strife was born, but few could doubt who had actually instituted the war. The Nietzsches and Treitschkes had been preaching the holy cause of "blonde beast" dominion, while Bernhardi and Frobenius had lately confessed the objective of Pan-Germanism. Yet it was still with a shudder of horror that the Mosaic image of Germany's great "War Lord"—William Hohenzollern—was discovered upon the eminence of Mount Olivet. Now too people saw, for the first time, the gap in the wall of the holy city, which, with stupendous vanity, he had caused to be opened in order that he might ascend, with more ease than Jesus, to the throne of his

dominion; and that he proposed, from this sacred spot, to rule not only the minds of men, but much of the earth.

It was all so plain that the war had been fired by the contrivance of the Austrian Arch Duke's murder. This brutal act might itself have been, as declared by the Germans, but the spark which ignited the train; the charge, however, was compounded of the patriotisms and economic jealousies of the ever narrowing Nationalisms, which the propaganda of falsified history had engendered during many years. Even the most ardent pro-Germans could, meanwhile, not deny the brutal ravishing of Belgium.[151] Dernburg, himself, sought to justify the Central Allies, by claims that war had been made inevitable, not alone through the fault of Germany, but because France had enlarged her army, and Russia completed railways for the obvious purpose of mobilizing against Prussia and Austria. Would the world have the Central Allies sit back quietly and await extermination? What Nation would not have commenced a strife seen to be inevitable, at the first opportune time?

Of the President's own attitude on August 30th, House has left a record:

"The President spoke with deep feeling of the war. He said it made him heartsick to think of how near we had come to averting this great disaster, and he thought, if it had been delayed a little longer, it could never have happened, because the nations would have gotten together in the way I had outlined.

"I told in detail of my suggestion to Sir Edward Grey and other members of the Cabinet, that the surest guaranty of peace was for the principals to get together frequently and discuss matters with frankness and freedom, as Great Britain and the United States were doing. He agreed that this was the most effective method, and he again expressed deep regret that the war had come too soon to permit the inauguration of such procedure. He wondered whether things might have been different if I had gone sooner. I though it would have made no difference, for the reason that the Kaiser was at Corfu, and it was impossible for me to approach him sooner than I did. . . .

"I was interested to hear him express as his opinion, what 1 had written him some time ago in one of my letters, to the effect that if Germany won, it would change the course of our

civilization, and make the United States a military nation. He also spoke of his deep regret, as indeed I did to him in that same letter, that it would check his policy for a better international ethical code.

"He felt deeply the destruction of Louvain, and I found him as unsympathetic with the German attitude as is the balance of America. He goes even further than I in his condemnation of Germany's part in this war, and almost allows his feeling to include the German people as a whole, rather than the leaders alone. He said German philosophy was essentially selfish and lacking in spirituality. When I spoke of the Kaiser building up the German machine as a means of maintaining peace, he said, 'What a foolish thing it was to create a powder magazine, and risk one's dropping a spark into it!'

"He thought the war would throw the world back three or four centuries. I did not agree with him. He was particularly scornful of Germany's disregard of treaty obligations, and was indignant at the German Chancellor's designation of the Belgian Treaty as being 'only a scrap of paper.'

"I took occasion here to explain to him Sir Edward Grey's strong feeling upon the question of treaty obligation, and his belief that he, the President, had lifted international ethics to a high plane by his action in the Panama Tolls question." [103]

The suggestion of Page that neutrality would afford America opportunity to build up shipping—which she had never been able to do since the day of the clipper—did not fall on deaf ears. Bryan was quick to see a chance to advance his program of government ownership, and enlist support for the administration by advocating subsidies for a merchant marine. Admission of foreign built vessels to American registry, was not enough to insure the bottoms necessary to American commerce. Yet shipping interests could not be relied on for the vast investment required for a purely artificial and probably temporary trade. Industrial and commercial interests would support government ownership in this emergency, and relinquish the old Republican protective policy of barring foreign built vessels from American registry. Therefore Hobson of Alabama introduced in the House, on September 1, 1914, a bill "to encourage the development of the American merchant

marine and to promote commerce and the national defence," with the backing of the Administration, while a similar bill was introduced in the Senate on September 14th by Senator Jones of Washington.

Strong opposition to these bills developed at once among the Republicans, and German and British sympathizers. The Republicans had no idea of fixing government ownership on the country. On the other hand, the British looked askance upon the proposal to build up with Congressional subsidies, a great American merchant marine, while they were engaged in crushing the Germans. The Germans, too, were opposed to the bill, since it provided for the commandeering of interned German vessels. Wilson therefore deemed it unwise to press the measure for the time being.

Marburg saw danger of pro-Entente sympathies forcing the country too hastily into war, unless a tremendous counter-influence were exerted. He therefore organized, with the aid of Oscar Straus, The League to Enforce Peace, which was to sponsor a policy of non-interference in the war, and the formation of a league of nations upon its conclusion. With the active aid of Taft, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, Hamilton Holt, Editor of the Independent, and W. H. Short, Secretary of the New York Peace Society, they soon enlisted Lyman Abbott, Editor of the Outlook, Edward Bok, of The Ladies Home Journal, Cardinal Gibbons, John Hays Hammond, President Hibben of Princeton, President Lowell of Harvard, John Basset Moore, formerly Counsellor of State, Alton B. Parker, Jacob Schiff, Daniel Smiley, William Allen White, George Grafton Wilson, Professor of International Law at Harvard, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Marburg's far-reaching purpose is apparent from the character of the support he enlisted. While the League was to be publicly represented by Taft, Parker, and others, he himself was to deal, as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Branches, with the great bankers of New York, London, Paris, Brussels, and Rome, in language precluding resistance by any government.

Late in August, Sir Edward Grey, cooperating with Root and Marburg, declared before the House of Commons, the terms on which peace might be established. There must be joint guarantees against the present reign of militarism! This was a suggestion of British willingness to enter an international association, or league of nations, based on a disarmament pact. Without the latter, there was to be no peace. Accordingly Oscar Straus, Carnegie Trustee, and Member of the Hague Court, approached the German Government through Bernstorff, on September 1st, while the following letters were despatched on September 4th by House to the President:

"DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"I am enclosing you a letter to Herr Zimmermann. If you approve, will you not have it properly sealed and sent to the German Embassy for transmission?

"Please criticize it frankly and return it to me for correction if you think best.

"I have a feeling that Germany will soon be glad to entertain suggestions of mediation, and that the outlook is more hopeful in that direction than elsewhere.

"Affectionately yours,
"E. M. HOUSE."

"DEAR HERR ZIMMERMANN:—

"Thank you for your letter of August 1. I gave it to the President to read, and he again expressed his deep regret that the efforts to bring about a better understanding between the Great Powers of Europe had so signally miscarried.

"He looks upon the present war with ever-increasing sorrow, and his offer of mediation was not an empty one, for he would count it a great honor to be able to initiate a movement for peace.

"Now that His Majesty has no brilliantly shown the power of his army, would it not be consistent with his lifelong endeavor to maintain peace, to consent to overtures being made in that direction?

"If I could serve in any way as a medium, it would be a great source of happiness to me; and I stand ready to act immediately upon any suggestion that Your Excellency may convey, or have conveyed confidentially to me.

"With assurances of my high esteem, I am, my dear Herr Zimmermann,

"Sincerely yours,

"EDWARD M. HOUSE."

Hindenburg was now driving the Russians out of East Prussia.[101, 130] Thus, although Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador in Washington, assured House, on the 5th, that the Kaiser would welcome peace so soon as a decisive victory had been won, the Allies had no idea of falling into the trap of peace negotiations.[46.92,92a,78,108] On this same day, an engagement was signed between them in London, pledging themselves only to consider peace terms jointly. This was their answer to Wilson. He did not relish it, since it would obviously make it necessary for him to deal with the Russian and French Governments, between which and himself, dislike was mutual.

The next day—September 6th—came the check to the German advance on the Marne. The German war plans had contemplated only a short campaign, so that the prospect of facing a vast coalition in a long drawn-out struggle, appalled the army leaders. Some of them have since confessed that they regarded the war as having been lost on the Marne. Fully informed of Wilson's relations with Grey, and of Marburg's whole scheme, the Wilhelmstrasse had no idea, however, of proposing peace. It therefore encouraged Straus to go on with his negotiations, simply to gain time for a renewed military effort, and this the Entente Governments knew. Completely deceived by Bern-storff and Dumba, Wilson proclaimed October 4, 1914, as a day of prayer for peace.

Grey and Page were alarmed by the terrible defeats inflicted upon Russia. The Czar would, obviously, not be able to contribute to the Entente cause what had been expected of him. Something must, moreover, be done to counteract the effect of German propaganda in America. It was therefore arranged for a Belgian Commission to visit America, while Grey sent over a party of writers to carry on the British propaganda, and appealed to Roosevelt for his open support of the Entente cause. Page had meantime awak-

ened to the danger of a German victory, and had under-gone a compete change of heart. Still cooperating with Grey, he now sent the following confidential despatch to Wilson:

"September 11, 3 A.M.
"No. 645.

"Accounts of atrocities are so inevitably a part of every war that for some time I did not believe the unbelievable reports that were sent from Europe, and there are many that I find incredible even now. But American and other neutral observers who have seen these things in France, and especially in Belgium, now convince me that the Germans have perpetrated some of the most barbarous deeds in history. Apparently credible persons relate such things without end.

"Those who have violated the Belgian treaty, those who have sown torpedoes in the open sea, those who have dropped bombs in Antwerp and Paris indiscriminately, with the idea of killing whom they may strike, have taken to heart Bernhardi's doctrine that war is a glorious occupation. Can any one longer disbelieve the completely barbarous behavior of the Prussians?

"PAGE."

In answer to Wilson's prayer for peace, Grey notified House in Washington through the British Ambassador, on September 12th, that the Allies were not interested in merely ending the present war, and would consider no peace proposals that did not look to the ending of all wars. "We have suffered too severely by trusting in treaties," wrote Spring-Rice, "and if we were to allow Belgium to suffer what she has suffered without compensation, we should be pretty mean quitters. It is an awful prospect for the world, and I see no immediate remedy." It is evident from this that, while Grey was still committed to the idea of a league of nations, the Allies had no more idea of accepting mediation than the Germans. This was fully confirmed by Page:

"DEAR HOUSE:-

"... You needn't fool yourself; they are going to knock Germany out, and nothing will be allowed to stand in their way. And unless the German navy comes out and gets smashed

pretty soon, it will be a longer war than most persons have thought. It'll be fought to a finish, too. Pray God, don't let . . . the Peace Old-Women get the notion afloat that we can or ought to stop it before the Kaiser is put out of business. That would be playing directly into Bernstorff's hands. Civilization must be rescued. Well, there's no chance for it till German militarism is dead. . . .

"Yours heartily,
"W. H. P." 103

That Bryan was working hand in glove with the Germans, who were leading him on to believe Britain alone was blocking a peace, there can be no doubt. His anti-British attitude had, from the very first, been apparent. Page had early become disgusted with Bryan's manner of conducting the State Department. His description of the "leaks" to Germany is almost unbelievable. He proposed to send no more despatches to Bryan.

The German agents had, meanwhile, been taking the fullest possible advantage of the peace negotiations. The Hamburg-American Line, which had been converted, under the direction of Dr. Biinz, into a war agency, was actually engaged in coaling German cruisers still at large. The British Secret Service had in vain reported to the Government just what was going on.[10]

The Belgian mission arrived in America on September 16th. In the hysteria of sympathy to which their appearance gave rise, numerous editors and public speakers pointed out the obvious fallacies in Wilson's appeal for neutrality, denying loudly that it was dictated either by humanistic considerations, or regard for the welfare of the United States. Harvey, they declared, was right—Armageddon was upon the world, and America could not and should not try to escape her part. Wilson's so-called idealism was declared to be pure selfishness and nothing more.

At this juncture, Rustem Bey, the Turkish Ambassador, undertook, by public expressions advocating the cause of the Pan-Germans, to back up the policy of the Administration. This was too much—the American people did not propose to be instructed by a Turk on their duty as a Na-

tion. The popular demand for Rustem's dismissal was in-stant. Bryan was, accordingly, compelled, much against his will, to request his recall.*

This showed the Germans plainly, the trend of public opinion, nor did they fail to see the danger of the United States being swept into the war by the storm of emotion stirred up by the Belgian visitors. There was the added danger that, under the influence of the League to Enforce Peace, the country might abandon Bryan in favor of the military preparedness which Roosevelt, Harvey, Wood and others were advocating. Bernstorff was, therefore, instructed to keep the peace negotiations alive, and to spare no effort to convince Wilson that Germany would seriously consider joining a league of nations. Accordingly Bernstorff, who knew House's functions, now approached the "Silent Partner."

House, again deceived, called on Wilson for instructions. Germany would, he thought, now agree to a general disarmament, with an indemnity for Belgium. Should he continue his talks with Bernstorff, who had promised that no human being should know of their negotiations?

It was Wilson's opinion that, while Britain now dominated her allies, either Russia or Germany would later dominate the world, unless they were drawn into a league of nations and disarmed. The upshot was that House was directed to bring Bernstorff and the British Ambassador together. But Sir Cecil Spring-Rice did not trust the Wil-helmstrasse, and was openly opposed to any proposal of a league of nations at this time. It would be necessary, he declared, to approach all the Entente Allies coincidentally, and none of them were now willing to be put in the position of suing for peace. Germany must be crushed! **

One of the strangest things that occurred during the Presidency of Woodrow Wilson was, perhaps, the immense support for his policy of neutrality derived from Theodore Roosevelt during the Belgian visitation. Seeing the dan-*After some correspondence and delays, Rustem Bey departed October 4, 1914, Peace Prayer Day.

** All the details are stated in House's record.

ger of the country being swept off its feet by its sympathy with the Belgians, Roosevelt wrote in the Outlook, on September 23rd, 1914: "It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant our breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other. . . . What action we can take ... I know not."

In Roosevelt's opinion, only "urgent need would warrant our breaking our neutrality. Of course," he added "it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done, would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her, and I am sure the sympathy of this country for the suffering of men, women and children in Belgium is very real. Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent national duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference.

"Of course, if there is any meaning in the words 'right' and 'wrong' in international matters, the act was wrong. The men who shape German policy take the ground that, in matters of vital moment, there are no such things as abstract right and wrong, and that when a great nation is struggling for its existence, it can no more consider the rights of even its own citizens as these rights are considered in times of peace, and that everything must bend before the supreme law of national preservation. Whatever we may think of the morality of this plea, it is certain that almost all great nations have in times past again and again acted in accordance with it."

Roosevelt cited, as an example, "England's conduct toward Denmark in the Napoleonic wars, and the conduct of both England and France toward us during the same wars," and "our conduct toward Spain and Florida nearly a century ago." He said he wished it "explicitly understood that I am not at this time passing judgment one way

or the other upon Germany for what she did to Belgium." He went on to say: "They (the Belgians) are suffering somewhat as my own German ancestors suffered when Turenne ravaged the Palatinate, somewhat as my Irish ancestors suffered in the struggles that attended the conquests and reconquests of Ireland in the days of Cromwell and William." He wished it to be understood that he was not condemning the Germans, for he added: "I think, at any rate, I hope, I have rendered it plain that I am not now criticizing, that I am not passing judgment one way or the other, upon Germany's action. I admire and respect the German people. I am proud of the German blood in my veins. When a nation feels that the issue of a contest in which, for whatever reason, it finds itself engaged, will be national life or death, it is inevitable that it should act so as to save itself from death, and to perpetuate its life." He concludes, "The rights and wrongs of those cases where nations violate the rules of abstract morality in order to meet their own vital needs, can be precisely determined only when all the facts are known, and when men's blood is cool."

This language has been construed by partisans as a complete confirmation of Wilson's policy.[61] Referring to it, Tumulty says: "It was not the policy of a weakling or a timid man. It was the policy of a prudent leader and statesman, who was feeling his way amid dangers, and who, as an historian himself, knew the difficulties of an imprudent or incautious move." * [215]
This is true, but if Roosevelt's position be analyzed, it will be seen to be based on entirely different considerations from those which had dictated Wilson's policy. The latter was in no wise dictated by a regard for the traditional American policy, which Roosevelt never abandoned. Roosevelt's attitude in September, 1914, was dictated by the danger in which the country had been placed by the stubborn refusal of the Administration to arm it. What if the British fleet were defeated in a decisive major engagement, likely to occur any day? What then would become of America?

*Tumulty, p. 227.

The exact position of Roosevelt at this time is established by the following letter:

"Thirty East Forty-second Street
"New York City.
"October 3, 1914

"MY DEAR GREY:—I have just received your letter, and have immediately asked Barrie and Mason to lunch with me.

"I have just written an article for The Outlook and a series of articles for various daily papers upon the war, in which, while I did my best not to be in any way offensive to Germany, I emphatically backed the position that England, and specifically you, have taken. I have been in a very difficult position. I am in opposition to the Administration, and to say how I myself would have acted, when I am not in power, and when the action I would have taken is the reverse of that which the present Administration takes, would do harm and not good. This is especially so because the bulk of our people do not understand foreign politics, and have no idea about any impending military danger. When I was President, I really succeeded in educating them to a fairly good understanding of these matters, and I believe that if I had been President at the outset of this war, they would have acquiesced in my taking the stand I most assuredly would have taken as the head of a signatory nation of the Hague Treaties, in reference to the violation of Belgium's neutrality. But, of course, I should not have taken such a stand if I had not been prepared to back it up to the end, no matter what course it necessitated; and it would be utterly silly to advocate the Administration taking such a position, unless I knew that the Administration would proceed to back up its position. In my articles I spoke very plainly, but I believe with proper reserve and courtesy. I do not know whether they have reached England or not, but they certainly reached Germany, for the Cologne Gazette assailed me for them. Doubtless Spring-Rice will send them to you if you care to see them.

"Very sincerely yours,
"THEODORE ROOSEVELT." [92a]

The Administration had passed its first crisis successfully, nor had the visit of the Belgians been wholly abortive. Largely as a result of it, active relief measures for

their country were now instituted, at their request, under the direction of Herbert Hoover, with the hearty cooperation of Brand Whitlock, the new American Ambassador in Belgium.

The German Government was now stirring up a cam-paign of hate against Britain that utterly belied the attitude which Bernstorff and Dumba had assumed. Plainly the Pan-Germans were bent upon crushing their enemies. House had, by this time, despaired of inducing the belligerents to accept Marburg's proposals, while Wilson, convinced that there was no chance at present of forming a league of nations, showed little enthusiasm for the League to Enforce Peace. "But," wrote House on September 28th, "Congress will adjourn now within a few days, and when it is out of the way, it is my purpose to make a drive at the President, and try to get him absorbed in the greatest problem of world-wide interest that has ever come, or may ever come, before a President of the United States."

CHAPTER XVII

A Failing Administration. The Political Expediency of Wilson's Apparent Anti-British Attitude. Page Protests. Reconciliation with Harvey. Harvey Urges Wilson to Strike for Peace. Wilson Opposes Military Preparedness. Further Efforts to Deceive Germany. House Betrays Page. "In the Supreme Court of Civilization." A Democratic Defeat.

ALTHOUGH WILSON had definitely committed himself to Grey during the preceding November, he was, ac-cording to House, so much engrossed in domestic politics during the Autumn, that he seemed "singularly lacking in his appreciation of the European crisis." He had little interest in "the pursuit of a foreign policy that would make him world famous."

The truth is that Wilson was in a desperate situation. As the Congressional elections approached, it became obvious that the Administration was far from popular with the intellectual element of the country which was strongly pro-ally, or with the commercial interests which had begun to feel strongly the pinch of the British blockade. Moreover, the business depression, imminent even before the war, had been greatly intensified by the restrictions imposed upon foreign trade by the Allies. Feeling the effects of this acutely, and still smarting from the effects of the Clayton Act which had had the President's unqualified support, Organized Labor was in an ugly mood. In consequence, numerous strikes of the most serious character, which had necessitated calls upon the Regular Army for their suppres-sion, were in progress in the West. The Democratic party was split wide asunder; with his old enemy, McAdoo, thoroughly established in the good graces of his Presidential

father-in-law, McCombs was so bitterly hostile, that he was apparently glad to see the Administration headed for the rocks. At any rate, with the Chairman of the party pre-dicting its defeat, it was no time for Wilson to be preaching Internationalism.

The checking of the Germans on the Marne, and the terrible defeat of the Russians by Hindenburg, had produced a stalemate, and the belligerents found themselves in a situation without precedent. Never before had warfare been waged over so large a field of action. If Britain, France, and Russia were to overcome the Central Allies, they must, obviously, cut them off from the outer world. But this was impossible if Holland and the Scandinavian countries were left free, in effect, to nullify the blockade of German ports. The imports of those countries must be regulated. Impelled by what they conceived to be necessity, Britain and France had, therefore, adopted steadily broadening lists of contraband, and made radical departures from the principles laid down in the Declaration of London. Even the commercial interests which had accepted neutrality with approval, commenced to complain, in consequence, that their Government was not protecting them.[65]

The British pleaded that, in no case, had they seized American goods not intended for the Central Allies. The most convincing figures were produced to show that the Scandinavians and Hollanders had become middlemen for Germany. This alone could explain the inflated market prices, since the supplies being purchased by these neutrals were in excess of any possible requirements on their part. The American shippers were no less determined to obtain the best market prices, while the German propagandists devoted themselves assiduously to intensifying popular dissatisfaction with the President's alleged pro-ally policy.

As time went on, things grew worse and worse. The commercial interests, and particularly the cotton and sugar people and the meat packers, to whom the Dutch and Scandinavians were offering fabulous prices, had had enough of

Wilson's "idealism." What they wanted was to realize on the existing market.

Cotton was the hardest hit of all the commodities. When Judge Adamson of Georgia urged Government action to help cotton, Wilson tried to impress upon him that, with war in progress, the law of supply and demand was deeply affected, and sales of cotton necessarily restricted by closure of certain markets. In urging his views upon Wilson Adamson said: "But you, Mr. President, can suspend the law of supply and demand." Wilson responded by saying: "If I did, Judge, and you ran your head up against it, you might get hurt."

"The pressure upon us at the White House for satisfaction at the hands of England, grew more intense each day," wrote Tumulty. "I recall a conversation I had with the President shortly before the Congressional elections, when the President's political enemies were decrying his kind treatment of England, and excoriating him for the stern manner in which he was holding Germany to strict accountability for her actions. This conversation was held while we were on board the President's train on our way to the West. After dinner one evening I tactfully broached the subject of the British blockade, and laid before the President the use our enemies were making of his patient action toward England. My frank criticism deeply aroused him. Replying to me, he pitilessly attacked those who were crti-cizing him for 'letting up on Great Britain.' Looking across the table at me he said: 'I am aware of the demands that are daily being made upon me by my friends for more vigorous action against England in the matter of the blockade. I am aware also of the sinister political purpose that lies back of many of these demands. Many senators and congressmen who urge radical action against England, are thinking only of German votes in their districts, and are not thinking of the world crisis that would inevitably occur, should there be an actual breach at this time between England and America over the blockade.' Then looking squarely at me, he said: 'I have gone to the very limit in pressing our claims upon England in urging the British Foreign Office to mod-

ify the blockade. Walter Page, our Ambassador to England, has placed every emphasis upon our insistence that something be done, and something will be done, but England, now in the throes of a great war crisis, must at least be given a chance to adjust these matters. Only a few days ago Mr. Page wrote me a most interesting letter, describing the details of a conference he had had with Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, to discuss our protests against the British blockade. Mr. Page described the room in which the conference was held, on the wall of which was hung as a memorial the fifteen-million-dollar check with which Great Britain paid the Alabama claims in the Civil War. Mr. Page pointed to this Alabama check and said: 'If you don't stop these seizures, Sir Edward, some day you will have your entire room papered with things like that.' Sir Edward replied: 'That may be so, but we will pay every cent. Of course, many of the restrictions we have laid down and which seriously interfere with your trade, are unreasonable. But America must remember that we are fighting her fight, as well as our own, to save the civilization of the world. You dare not press us too far!' Turning to me, the President said: 'He was right. England is fighting our fight and you may well understand that I shall not, in the present state of the world affairs, place obstacles in her way. Many of our critics suggest war with England in order to force reparation in these matters. War with England would result in a German triumph. No matter what may happen to me personally in the next election, I will not take any action to embarrass England when she is fighting for her life and the life of the world. Let those who clamour for radical action against England understand this!'"[215]

Wilson was not optimistic at this time. "He did not have a hopeful outlook," says House, "and declared that he would feel a great load lifted from his shoulders," if he knew that he would not have to stand for reelection. "What frightened him, was that he would not be able to retain the confidence of the country in the future as in the past, since his program was complete, and he knew of no new measures which would suffice to win additional support."

While Wilson was worrying about his political prospects, wondering what appeal he could put forward to recover lost ground, to say nothing of the enlarged support necessary to reelect him—not less than two million additional votes over those cast for him in 1912—a score of Southern Congressmen, headed by Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia, undertook to solve the problem.

"If the Allies want to pay the market price for our cotton they can have it,—but unless the South gets it Wilson will not get our vote!" So spoke these statesmen to Bryan, who had, himself, no idea of going down in defeat in 1916 if he could possibly prevent it.

First these men proposed to institute a tremendous propaganda through the Administration press designed to show the country that Germany was not at fault. The "hated English" were to be represented as injuring American trade. This would naturally arouse all the anti-British sentiment in the country, and enlist it in the support of the Democratic party. Next they proposed to win the support of the trade, industrial, and shipping interests, for the Jones-Hobson shipping bill, in order to increase trade by the use of interned vessels. Finally the Federal Government was to be committed to all manner of subsidies and government ownership projects for the benefit of industry.

Wilson was in despair. It was obvious to him that he could not maintain the understanding with the British Government which was essential to the consummation of a league of nations, and at the same time contribute to the German victory, which would be the inevitable result of interfering with the British blockade. But the choice between certain defeat in 1916, and the adoption of an anti-British attitude was unavoidable. All that remained for him was to try to insure his reelection, and meanwhile make the British Government understand his situation. For what would become of the league of nations should he be defeated?

Exactly when Wilson became committed to Bryan's anti-British program, cannot be said with certainty. When, on September 30th, he discussed with House the seizure of

American ships by the British, he read a page from his History of the American People, telling how, during Madison's Administration, the War of 1812 had been started in exactly the same way as this controversy. The passage de-scribed the peace-loving Madison as compelled to go to war by popular feeling.

"The President said: 'Madison and I are the only two Princeton men that have become President. The circumstances of the War of 1812 and now, run parallel. I sincerely hope they will not go further!'"

In the situation described, the task of explaining to Grey fell to House. To offset as far as possible the effect of Bryan and Wilson's apparent hostility to Britain, he had to make clear the compulsion under which our Government was acting, and to keep the British thoroughly posted as to the meaning of every move. [103] The game of political chess into which Wilson had been drawn, became more and more complex.

Meantime, despite his demands for a firmer policy, Harvey did the best he could to procure Wilson a Congressional majority in the coming election. In September, he published an article in The North American Review under the significant caption, Uphold the President. In it, he pleaded for the return of another Democratic majority in Congress, at the coming elections. The President deserved it, he affirmed, since he had kept the faith. More than that, the country owed it to itself to give him that support, in view of the tremendous happenings in Europe, with which, whether it wished it or not, it was bound to be concerned. So the President's hands "should be strengthened by a vote of confidence, not weakened by seeming division. Now, more than ever before, or perhaps ever again, it behooves our country to stand behind its leader, united before the world."

Shortly after this article appeared, Harvey received an invitation to visit Wilson, which he declined; only to be persuaded by Tumulty on October 4th—"Peace Sunday"—to accept another. That evening the President's secretary gave to the press the statement: "Colonel Harvey, on the

invitation of the President, spent an hour with him at the White House this afternoon, discussing the general situation."

The conversation between Wilson and Harvey was general, Wilson offering no apologies for his actions in the past At Harvey's departure, something was said about the immortal Washington. "Mr. President," said Harvey sen-tentiously, laying his hand upon Wilson's shoulder, "Washington will always be known as the Father of his Country. But this war, which involves directly or indirectly all the world, will afford you, sir, opportunity to achieve a still higher position, a greater fame. For you, sir, may become the Father of the Peace of the World!"

Had Harvey too been captured by Marburg? Nearly ten years afterward, Dr. Stockton Axson, the close friend of Wilson and brother of his first wife, related that, a little after this call of Harvey's, Wilson said to him, at the White House: "I am very much troubled about this war, lest something shall happen on the high seas that will draw us into it. I know we can render a greater service to the world by keeping out of it. . . . At the close of this war, four things will have to be settled. First, that small nations shall have equal rights with great nations; second, that never again must it be permitted for a foot of ground to be obtained by conquest; third, that the manufacture of munitions of war must be by governments and not by private individuals; and fourth, that all nations must be absorbed into some great association of nations, whereby all shall guarantee the integrity of each."

It is evident from this that Wilson had imbibed the whole philosophy of Marburg. Here were the tenets which the latter had been proclaiming for years as the basis of an enduring world peace.

It was oddly appropriate that Harvey should have been summoned on the first Peace Sunday. The next morning, his call at the White House was "first-page" news in almost every important newspaper, and was cabled to other countries. It was a topic for editorial comment, even amid the European cataclysm. It was no mere gesture—Wilson

needed support badly. Five days later Tumulty thanked Harvey, on Wilson's behalf, for what he was doing.

The events of the Autumn convinced Marburg that the time had come for military legislation. Accordingly House was asked to reverse his attitude toward "preparedness," and accordingly, wrote of his sympathy with Wood, since "even before the outbreak of the European war" he, House, had "taken great interest in what came to be called preparedness." Henceforth "military preparedness," was to be the "leit motif" of all the arguments, by which House sought to induce the President to adopt "a new and more constructive foreign policy."

At the same time, Sir Edward Grey appealed to Roosevelt to advocate the principle of a league of nations. Under date of October 20, 1914, he wrote him:

"Your idea that the United States might come forward on the eve of the outbreak of war to uphold Treaty rights, makes me glow at the thought of what might have been achieved. I see all the difficulty there would have been in getting American public opinion to endorse such action. The line that the present United States Government have taken is, of course, the natural and expected one. But, if the United States had taken action, they might possibly have stopped the war. I say, 'possibly,' because the accumulated evidence of the enormous preparation of Germany, her confidence, and her intention, makes me doubt whether anything could have stopped her at the last moment. But, if the United States had stopped the war, they would have broken militarism without a war. It would have been made clear that it was not worth while to maintain these enormous armaments, if, when an attempt was made to use them for aggressive purposes, the world was brought out against them. The result might have been an agreement between France, Germany, Russia, and England that none of them would attack another; that they would keep their armaments within certain bounds; that, on any dispute arising on this or any other question between any of them, it would be referred to arbitration, possibly the arbitration of the United States; and that, if any one Power refused arbitration, the others would all join forces against it.

We had, I thought, during the Balkan crisis a year ago or

so, made some progress towards getting the European groups of Powers together. We got on very well with Germany at that time, because the Prussian military party did not think the time for war had come, and left the civil element alone.

"Now, I can see nothing for it but to fight on till we can get a peace that will secure us against Prussian militarism. Once freed of that, Germany will have nothing to fear, because we shall have no more to fear from her.

"I still think it possible that the United States Government may play a great part in the making of the peace at the end of this war, and in securing permanent peace afterwards. But it has, of course, become a point of honour for us that there should be reasonable redress to Belgium for what she has suffered. Germany will not look at this till she is beaten, and we cannot give up contending for it while we are unbeaten."

Wilson was stubborn. He wanted peace and a league of nations, but he was fearful of Bryan and could not openly advocate enforced peace. Moreover, he felt that the Pan-Germans must be convinced that there was no understanding between him and Grey, before they could be driven into a league of nations and disarmed. Therefore, in an address to the American Bar Association in Washington on International Law, the very day Grey wrote Roosevelt, he dwelt upon the rights of mankind, and the duty of the nations to humanity. After laying down the indubitably sound premise that "the opinion of the world is the mistress of the world," he concluded by saying: "the disinterested course is always the biggest course to pursue not only, but it is in the long run the most profitable course to pursue." Again the country found itself bewildered. What could he possibly mean?

The Internationalists were not satisfied with this speech. House recorded that he was sorry, as he had said before, that Wilson did not seem to have a proper sense of proportion as between domestic and foreign affairs; and that his inability to envisage the opportunity for a positive foreign policy accounted for his failure to perceive the immediate necessity of developing the military and naval strength of the nation.

The commercial interests of the country had no idea of taking a "disinterested course" toward the war; Bryan pressed the President vigorously on their behalf. At the same time the Germans insisted that, if Wilson were really impartial, pressure must be put on the Allies to recognize the generally accepted rules of international law. Accordingly, on October 22, 1914, a note was despatched to Britain and France, at Bryan's instance, revoking the proposal of August 6th, and declaring that henceforth the United States would "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, and the Treaties of the United States, irrespective of the Declaration of London."

Incensed by a policy calculated to destroy the friendly relations between Britain and America, Page showed bitterness against Bryan's increasing tendency to make mountains out of molehills, in his endless protests against the British blockade. Naturally his attitude was resented by the Secretary of State.

"This fellow Page thinks he's running the country. He's been won over entirely by Grey, until he's more English than the English, and the Germans complain bitterly of his unneutral attitude. He can't run my Department— I won't stand for his dictation any longer! He's got to be put in his place."

Such, in substance, was what Bryan constantly said to Wilson, who became more and more impatient with Page. House had long since concluded that, if a league of nations were to be formed, Page's influence must first be destroyed. The opportunity for which the "Silent Partner" had waited, came at last. "The library lawyers," Page cabled to House in an appeal for help, "are losing chestnuts while arguing over burns." Knowing full well Wilson's irritated state of mind, House deliberately transmitted the message to him. As anticipated, Wilson, in a high temper, instructed his "Silent Partner" to tell Page that while he might be disturbed over the conduct of the Secretary of State, the "President" was also disturbed over that of "his Ambassador,"

who "must see the matters under discussion in the light in which they were seen in the United States."

Next, House convinced Wilson that the unneutral attitude of Page and Gerard was being construed by the Germans as evidence of pro-ally sympathies on Wilson's part; House was then directed to warn them both.

The Secretary of State, too, had always been an obstacle in the way of a league of nations. Discerning Bern-storff's influence in a long letter by Bryan of instructions to Page, couched in the most undiplomatic terms, concerning the British controversy, House persuaded Wilson to forbid it to be sent, and to permit him to adjust with the British Government the altercation which Bryan had brought about.

"I showed the Ambassador the letter X had prepared to send Page," says House. "He was thoroughly alarmed over some of the diplomatic expressions. One paragraph in particular he thought amounted almost to a declaration of war. He said if that paper should get into the hands of the press, the headlines would indicate that war with Great Britain was inevitable, and he believed one of the greatest panics the country ever saw would ensue, for it was as bad or worse than the Venezuela incident."

Despite Harvey's earnest support, things were not going well with the Democratic Party. On the eve of the election, James M. Beck—an eminent American lawyer, and a member of the League to Enforce Peace—published an article in the New York Times under the title of "In the Supreme Court of Civilization," in which, with transcendent reason, the author appealed to the conscience of the Nation. It had a profound effect in counteracting the popular animosity against Great Britain, generated by the Administration Press and the German propagandists. Meantime too, House, working secretly with Spring-Rice, had fully explained to the British Government the party politics entering into Wilson's apparent anti-British policy, so that it was thoroughly able to cut its cloth accordingly-Then, on November 3, 1914, in a peculiarly well-timed note, probably suggested by House, Britain declared the en-

tire North Sea a war-zone, in order that the existing law as to search and seizure might be applied to it; thus finally discrediting Bryan.

In the face of such action, it was evident that neutrals could not remain free of the far flung coils of this new strife, unless willing to surrender all freedom of action hitherto enjoyed. The day was plainly near at hand when a choice must be made between this and belligerency.

Whatever may have been the effect of Beck's article and the British proclamation, the election showed that Bryan's anti-British policy and German propaganda were not alone sufficient to recover for Wilson the popularity which he had lost. In 1913, there were 290 Democrats to 127 Republicans in the House, 51 Democrats to 45 Republicans in the Senate. Although the Senate remained unchanged, Wilson found himself, after the Congressional election of 1914, with a bare working majority of 33 in the House! The great mass of Roosevelt Progressives had obviously returned to the regular Republican ranks. This, in itself, is conclusive that the country was strongly anti-Wilson, and that much of the subsequent anti-British sentiment was manufactured by the Administration.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Internationalists Demand Preparedness. Wheels Within Wheels. House Secretly Cooperates with The League to Enforce Peace to Force Wilson's Hand. The Munitions Trade. Page Reprimanded.

McCOMBS WAS JUBILANT over the result of the elections. "I told you so," he could shout at the McAdoo-Tumulty-Burleson-Daniels group. But the outcome was a shock to Wilson. For a time he seemed dazed.

The Internationalists were in a difficult situation, dependent for the success of their scheme upon Wilson, who now refused to advocate military preparedness for fear of Bryan. Neutrality coupled with unpreparedness would place the country at the mercy of Germany, should the Central Allies defeat their present opponents. It was too great a risk to take, now that the danger of Japan had passed.

The plan now adopted to force Wilson's hand, was simple. "Hyphenism" was to be represented as a real international danger. If Wood were encouraged to go forward with his training camps and propaganda without interference from Wilson, a popular demand for adequate military legislation, purely for the national defense, could be built up. Bryan could thus be overruled, without placing on Wilson the responsibility of advocating unpacific measures. The country could thus be armed, and, at the same time, Wilson retain the support of the pacifists, by appearing to oppose military preparedness looking to intervention.

Again House was equal to the occasion. On November 3rd, he stopped off at Governor's Island on the way to Washington to confer with Wood, in order to acquaint himself with the latter's military program, and to coordinate his efforts with the General's.

"I am strongly of the opinion" he wrote after this meeting, "that it is time for this Government to adopt some system, perhaps the Swiss, looking toward a reserve force in the event of war. I found General Wood receptive. He is to send me, at the White House, memoranda and data to hand the President for his information. Wood is desirous of going to the War Zone, and I told him I would try to arrange it, for the reason we have no military man who has had any experience in the handling of large bodies of troops."

The implication that Wood was "receptive" of House's military ideas is preposterous. For months Garrison, Wood, and the General Staff had been talking about adapting the Swiss System of universal compulsory military training to America. But apparently there was nothing House hesitated to claim. Now he is found undertaking to insure the proper training of an army commander!

The next day the "Silent Partner" conferred with the President. "We passed," he says, "to the question of a reserve army. He balked somewhat at first, and said he thought the labor people would object because they felt that a large army was against their interests. He did not believe there was any necessity for immediate action; he was afraid it would shock the country. He made the statement that, no matter how the great war ended, there would be complete exhaustion; and, even if Germany won, she would not be in a condition seriously to menace our country for many years to come. I combated this idea, stating that Germany would have a large military force ready to act in furthering the designs which the military party evidently have in mind. He said she would not have the men. I replied that she could not win unless she had at least two or three million men under arms at the end. He evidently bought the available men would be completely wiped out.

"I insisted it was time to do a great constructive work for the army, and one which would make the country too powerful for any nation to think of attacking us. He told me there was reason to suspect that the Germans had laid throughout the country concrete foundations for great

guns, similar to those they laid in Belgium and France. He almost feared to express this knowledge aloud, for, if the rumor got abroad, it would inflame our people to such an extent that he would be afraid of consequences. General Wood has the matter under investigation, and he asked me to caution Wood to be very secret."

In this bit of evidence, is disclosed the strange mentality of Wilson. While the self-styled champion of humanity, he viewed with utter complacence the probable prostration of the belligerents. At the same time, he was fearful of informing his own people of the danger in which he believed them to be, lest their passions be aroused!

"I spoke," continues House, "of General Wood's desire to be sent abroad, and asked him to let him go, in order that we might have at least one man in our army with some experience. He said they would not accept him. I replied that Wood thought otherwise, and it was something for him to work in his own way.

"In speaking of the building-up of our army, I thought, if the Allies were successful, there would be no need for haste; but if the Germans were successful, and we then began our preparations, it would be almost equivalent to a declaration of war, for they would know we were directing our preparations against them. I therefore urged that we start without delay, so that we might be ready and avoid being placed in such a position. . . ."

As a result of these arguments, and Wilson's confessed fears, it was agreed that House should do what he could to overcome the opposition of the "Apostle of Peace" to the necessary military legislation, for the protection of the country against international enemies. Accordingly, on November 8th, he took the matter up with Bryan.

"I wanted," says House, "to find out what his views were regarding the army. I found him in violent opposition to any kind of increase by the reserve plan. He did not believe that there was the slightest danger to this country from foreign invasion, even if the Germans were successful. He thought after war was declared, there would be plenty of time to make any preparations necessary. He

talked as innocently as my little grandchild, Jane Tucker. He spoke with great feeling, and I fear he may give trouble. ..." *

Bryan's position was, in short, that if Germany did force America into war, the Allies could protect the country while it was preparing to do its part!

Meantime, Grey had again urged Roosevelt to lend his aid to the Entente cause. So it was that, while House intrigued with Wilson and Bryan, Roosevelt repeated his proposal of a "Posse Comitatus" of neutral states. In his opinion, it was the duty of neutrals to do more than profit materially by the war. In a case where one of the belligerents was so flagrantly guilty of wrongs to humanity in the conduct of a war, as Germany, it was morally obligatory upon neutrals to associate in punishing the offender, not as partisans of either side, but as defenders of humanity.

Neither House nor Roosevelt had any effect upon Bryan. When, on November 23, 1914, the evacuation of Vera Cruz was completed, the fact was proclaimed by the Administration press as conclusive evidence that force was no longer necessary in dealing with the Mexicans. When General Wotherspoon, who had succeeded Wood as Chief of Staff, was retired, Scott replaced him.

This appointment was unwelcome to the army, and to the advocates of preparedness. While Scott was a kindly gentleman and a friend of Wood's, he was in no sense the choice of the General Staff or of the Service. To many, his sole qualification seemed to be a fine record as an Indian fighter. No sooner had he been appointed, however, than it became quite clear that he was ardently in sympathy with Wood, and in no sense sympathetic with Bryan.

The prompt rejection by the Wilhelmstrasse, in the early autumn, of the proposal to form a league of nations, showed the Internationalists that there was slight chance of Germany changing her attitude, until she had been beaten into a more reasonable mood. And although the military situation had reached a deadlock, Gerard reported Ger-

* House, Vol. 1, p. 300.

many not only undiscouraged, but still expecting to win the war.

Unable to embolden Wilson to overrule Bryan on the question of military preparedness, House again undertook to play on his fears. Of a conference between them on November 25th, he wrote: "I insisted that Germany would never forgive us for the attitude we have taken in the war and, if she is successful, she will hold us to account, and I spoke again of our unpreparedness, and how impartial Mr. Bryan was. I urged the need of our having a large reserve force. ... I advised him to pay less attention to his domestic policy and greater attention to the welding together of the two western Continents." Here House also resorted to a little flattery by telling Wilson that the Federal Reserve Act was his greatest constructive work, and was the thing that would stand out and make his Administration a notable one. "Now," added House, "I would like you to place beside that great measure, the constructive international policy which you have already started by getting the ABC nations to act as arbitrators at Niagara. The time has come for you to show the world that friendship, justice, and kindness are more potent than the mailed fist. ... In order to do this, America must have not only the great Merchant Marine that is to come into being under the bill which already has been introduced in Congress, but she must have an adequate potential military strength."

He then cited the cases of Italy and Roumania, pointing out what lack of economical and military preparedness to grasp a great opportunity might cost. "Both of these countries," he declared, "will probably join the Allies as soon as their armies and shipping are ready. America must not only be prepared to join them, if she has to for self-protection, but must also be prepared to grasp the great opportunity that would come to her with a peace of exhaustion in Europe!"

Here was House's best card. If America wished to serve humanity by enforcing peace upon the nations, and then

dictating world policies, she must first be prepared with reasonable armament, to command the requisite respect. Surely Bryan could be made to see the necessity of this to give America influence, not for war, but for peace. It had been easy enough to win him over to the repeal of the Panama Act. Equally, he could probably be won over to the creation of an adequate military establishment, so long as it was to be utilized only in self-defense and in the interest of peace.

Thus subtly the Internationalists made their plea. Again the vision of the world dictatorship he craved, was paraded before Wilson's eyes. He finally agreed that Wood should advocate not a large regular army, but a large reserve. After the country had been accustomed to this, and after it had been thoroughly aroused to the danger of hy-phenism, he would put forward the necessary legislation as an Administration measure, in the address he had agreed to make at the opening of the California Exposition in February, 1915. The Californians would naturally welcome this, in the face of the danger from Japan, and their support would tend to counteract the objections of the middle-western Bryanites and the Pacifists generally.

Marburg recognized the danger of allowing his League to Enforce Peace to become identified in the popular mind with the preparedness campaign. That might evoke the opposition of the Pacifists, and Bryan's League for World Peace. At his instance and Wood's, a group of New York gentlemen called, on December 1st, a conference of preparedness advocates to found the National Security League as an agency for cooperation with the League to Enforce Peace. Resolutions were passed that, pending the formation of an international association for peace, adequate legislation for purposes of international protection and national defense was desirable. To give the League a nonpartisan aspect, Joseph H. Choate, Republican, and Alton B. Parker, late Democratic presidential candidate, were made honorary president and vice-president, respectively, with Robert Bacon, late Ambassador to France, as active

president. The League at once pressed Congress for the necessary military legislation.*

These facts explain the tolerance by Wilson of Wood's bold advocacy of a policy seemingly opposed to that of the President. Wood was definitely aiding Wilson in overcoming Bryan's supine pacifism.**

House next addressed himself to the task of reducing Page to submission. He had already, on October 29th, warned him against his attacks on Bryan. In vain Page defended himself—he was only trying to hold Britain and America together—an essential to the world's welfare. Nevertheless, on December 4, 1914, House wrote him that both Bryan and Lansing had complained of his criticisms, and that he must mend his ways.

Page saw that he had, in effect, been twice reprimanded. "I am trying my best, God knows, to keep the way as smooth as possible," he protested. His life was now one of pure tragedy. Despite the forces working against him, he sought vainly, by eloquent and unremitting appeals, to influence and guide the man in whom he had reposed his faith. He had become, perhaps, the most pathetic figure in American diplomatic history.

Fortune has a way of distributing her favors in the most unexpected fashion. Just as Anglo-American relations and business in America were at their lowest ebb, the American industries adapted to the war needs of the belig-erents, began to show profits from the tremendous production of munitions. The immediate effect was to relieve the existing business depression, thereby coming to the rescue of a failing administration. The pressure on Wilson for resistance to the Entente blockade was correspondingly relieved. An industrial boom, directly due to the munitions trade, was under way. Wilson found himself, thereby, able to resist the demands of Bryan for mediation. His attitude toward the American munitions trade henceforth served to

* Within a year, branches were established in all the States, and over 100,000 members enrolled.

** In his Life Story of General Wood, Hagedorn missed entirely the secret of Wood's retention in office.

estrange the Germans. They saw, with dismay, America's industry converted to the service of their opponents. "As a result of the traffic in munitions," says Bernstorff, "feeling in Germany has turned sharply against the United States."

Bryan protested in vain to Wilson. Finally the German Government, perhaps at Bryan's suggestion, undertook to relieve the situation by an adroit attempt to play upon Wilson's known desires to dictate the terms of peace. Bern-stroff insinuated that Wilson must divest Germany's opponents of the advantage which American munitions were giving them, before negotiations looking to peace, and Germany's acceptance of a league of nations, could be opened with any prospect of success. The nationalization of munitions manufacture was actually proposed by Bryan, and approved by Wilson at this time.

Whatever may have been Bryan's desires, Wilson and House had, of course, no serious intention of crippling the Allies. The industrial prosperity resulting from the growing munitions trade, after the "hard times" of the past year, was not only making votes for Wilson, but was lessening the dissatisfaction with the Entente restrictions on exports to neutrals.

CHAPTER XIX

Wilson's Second Annual Message. Proclaims America the Champion of Peace. Advocates a Great Merchant Marine in Order Better to Serve Mankind Upon the Coming of Peace. Houston Critical. The General Effect.

WHEN THE TIME came for Wilson to deliver his second annual message to Congress, December 8, 1914, he saw that his principal task was to placate Bryan. Opening with the declaration that the party pledges had been fulfilled, he rose to a peroration in which he declared America "the champion of peace and concord," charged with the trust of serving mankind. As the representative of a great people, "his thought was not alone of them, but of their duty to mankind!"

The object of his policy of neutrality, and his purpose to make himself mediator and dictator of the world, was fully disclosed in a passage designed to appeal to the European masses.

"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 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 inter-

pretation 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."

Posing as the friend of the downtrodden races, he advocated a greater measure of self-government for the Filipinos in the future. In view of the known purposes of Japan, this was justifiable dodging of party promises. Various measures of government ownership, to satisfy Bryan, were also recommended.

The passage relating to the national defense, was plainly dictated, if not actually written and inserted by Bryan, in order to discredit Garrison, Wood, Roosevelt, and the National Security League, despite the opposing recommendations of the Secretary of War, and the known views of the General Staff.

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 the 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, 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 would 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 a 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 experts 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 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 had 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."

It was in the part of the message relating to the trade opportunities offered by the war, and to the upbuilding of the American Merchant Marine, however, that Wilson spoke most feelingly.

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.

"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 fade, and open them wide; open them before it is altogether profitable to open them, or altogether reasonable to ask private capital to open them at a venture."

Herein Wilson's purpose was unequivocally revealed. While the merchant marines of Britain and France were making the war against the Central Allies possible, in a life and death struggle that was absorbing all their energies, America was to create, with Congressional subsidies, a commercial agency with which to dominate the economic life of the worldl If Wilson's advice were heeded, the impoverished belligerents would find, when a peace of exhaustion came, a rich and vital America, relatively more powerful than before!

Wilson had not read the message to the Cabinet. "When I heard it, I had very mingled feelings," says Houston, who, in his diary, criticizes harshly Wilson's economic policies with respect to water rights, forests, the public domain, rural credits, etc.

Reflecting the attitude of the Internationalists, Houston went on to say:

"I did not feel easy over the President's remarks on national defense. I agreed that 'in time of peace' the American people would be indisposed to prepare for war,

or to have a great standing army. I agreed that we are now (1914) at peace with all the world, that our independ-ence is not now threatened, that we intend to live our own lives and that we want nobody's territory; but I could not forget that half the world was afire, and I could not assent to the view that the war was one 'whose causes cannot touch us.' I was particularly disturbed by the declaration that we must depend, in time of peril, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but 'upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms.' I assented to the view that we should have a trained 'citizenry,' and I was far from being partial to a large standing army, but in the circumstances I thought we should have something more than our small regular army, scarcely more than a respectable police force in number, and that we should not depend on volunteers. I thought we ought to enlarge our army, provide for the training of more officers, develop a large reserve force, improve the National Guard, and lay the foundations for an adequate supply of equipment, munitions, and big and little guns."

How could Wilson expect Great Britain, "The Mistress of the Seas," to regard with complacence the proposal to create a great American Merchant Marine for the obvious purpose of securing to America, during the war, the ocean trade of the world? He seems not to have realized that such a proposal was bound to arouse hostility in Britain, at the very time when her cooperation was essential to the formation of a league of nations.

The British were not alone in holding much of Wilson's appeal sheer sophistry. To many Americans, the message seemed heartlessly selfish, materialistic, and utterly lacking in idealism, apace with the Wilson-Bryan anti-British policy. Yet Wilson appears to have ignored the fact that he was rendering impossible the achievement of his own object. Nor would Germans or Scandinavians accept his political dictatorship, backed by a vast Merchant Marine, since this could only mean American economic domination. It must be concluded, therefore, that the message was woefully lacking in statesmanship.

CHAPTER XX

Wood Reprimanded. The Gardiner "Preparedness Bill." A New German Proposal. Wilson Ready to Proceed with the Formation of a League of Nations.

IN HIS ANNUAL message, the President had praised Wood's training camps, "but," says Hagedorn, "he had swept aside with eloquent sophistry the agitation for preparedness." There was, in the passage relating to the National Defense, a shiftiness, a Jesuitical adroitness, an unctuous insincerity, which persuaded countless young men, with youth's impatience of cant, that there was no leadership for them in the White House on the path of national duty, strength, and straight-dealing.

The country was now, for the first time, to see a ranking General take part in a campaign, opposed to the express policy of the Administration. To counteract Wilson's statements, Wood proceeded, under the auspices of the Merchant's Association in New York, to address fifteen hundred young men on the urgent need of preparation for defense, an action for which he was immediately assailed by irate pacifists. An example follows: *

"New York, December 6, 1914-

"DEAR COLONEL HOUSE:—

"As I am writing you at the White House, I shall venture to say to you that I think General Leonard Wood's address to the Merchants' Association and others respecting unpreparedness of our army, most unsuitable, and also reflecting upon the President's magnificent presentation of the whole situation in his address to Congress.

"I hope that he may be promptly called down.

* Paraphrased from Hagedorn's further comments.

"I cannot tell you how profoundly I was stirred by the President's address and by the deep and widespread impression it made. I should have liked to write to him to gratify my enthusiasm, but I have the impression that in the press of such vitally important state problems, he has not had the time to see the later letters I wrote. I should not want to burden him, much less intrude. . . .

"Very truly yours,

"GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY."

To satisfy the pacifists, Garrison was directed to reprimand Wood, which he did privately, and in the most tactful way. A great opportunity to utilize public opinion in behalf of the army, he wrote, might be lost if the public gained the impression that military men were pushing the matter. Although Wood thereafter shunned newspaper reporters, his efforts continued without interruption. The Gardiner Bill, introduced shortly in the House with Garrison's approval, provided not only for an increase in the regular establishment, but for the reserve agreed on.

On December 15,1914, Bernstorff presented the German case for the suppression of the American munitions trade, to Bryan. When Bryan saw that Wilson was not to be tricked by German hints of future entry into a League of Nations, into limiting the American munitions trade, his impatience with the President's persistent refusal to offer mediation knew no bounds; and he urged that he be allowed to visit Europe as an official emissary, to that end.

Fearful lest Bryan might prematurely stir up an irresistible sentiment for peace, Wilson directed House to reopen negotiations at once. Accordingly, House, after communicating with Grey, invited Bernstorff to lunch with him on December 17th, in order to feel him out; and was notified three days later by the British Ambassador in Washington, that Grey believed the Allies might welcome a proposal of peace, embracing an indemnity to Belgium, and a satisfactory plan for a general disarmament.

The President was much elated," says House, "and wanted to know whether I could go to Europe as early as the coming Saturday."

Intelligence from Berlin, however, now showed that Germany had no idea of entering seriously into peace negotiations. There were, moreover, strong indications that the Wilhelmstrasse was planning something new. "The prospects of peace seem very dim," wrote Gerard to House. He thought the "plain people," and the Socialists of every land, were going to be "very sick of the business" in about three months. "Then we hope to see you here in the role of the angel of peace." Having discovered that Bemstorff was merely toying with House, Grey and Spring-Rice declared a visit useless.

"Returning to the White House," wrote House on December 23, 1914, "I found the President anxiously awaiting me. After telling him what had passed, we discussed what was best to do regarding Bemstorff, and we came to the conclusion that it would be well to leave him alone, until I had heard something direct from the Allies; and then we could put the question squarely up to Bemstorff by telling him I was ready to go to London, but he must not let me go, only to find Germany repudiating what he had said."

The suspicions about the Germans were well founded. "From the beginning of November onwards," says von Tirpitz, "there had been discussions between the leading authorities of the Navy as to the possibility of a submarine campaign. On November 7th, 1914, the Chief of the Naval Staff brought forward for discussion, a draft of a declaration of the submarine blockade of the whole coast of Great Britain and Ireland."

The picture which Bemstorff paints of House at this time is a graphic one.

"Mr. House, who lived in an unpretentious abode in New York, occupied a peculiar and very influential position at the White House. Bound to the President by intimate friendship, he has always refused to accept any Ministerial appointment, either at home or abroad, although he was only possessed of modest means, and could certainly have had any post in the Cabinet or as an Ambassador that he had liked to choose. In this way he remained entirely in-

dependent, and since President Wilson's entry into office, had been his confidential adviser in domestic, and particularly in foreign politics. As such, Colonel House had a position that is without precedent in American history. During a visit to London he is said to have described himself to the wife of an English Cabinet Minister, herself not favorably disposed toward America, as the 'eyes and ears of the President.' I know from my own experience how thoroughly and effectively he was able to inform his friend on the European situation, and how perfectly correctly, on the other hand, he interpreted Mr. Wilson's views. . . .

"It was not easy to become more closely acquainted with Colonel House, whose almost proverbial economy of speech might be compared with the taciturnity of old Moltke. Unlike the majority of his fellow-nationals, and particularly his immediate fellow-country men of the Southern States, Colonel House, while possessing great personal charm and the courtesy that is characteristic of the Southern States, is reserved and retiring. It took a considerable time before I got to know this able and interesting man at all intimately. I did not become intimate with him until the time of the journey to Berlin already mentioned. Even then it was the earnest wish of Colonel House to obtain for his great friend, the chief credit of being the founder of peace. Colonel House was particularly well fitted to be the champion of the President's ideas. I have never known a more upright and honorable pacifist than he. He had a horror of war, because he regarded it as the contradiction of his ideals of the nobility of the human race." [27]

From this it is obvious that the German Government was convinced from the first that it might count on Wilson to keep the peace at any price.

CHAPTER XXI

Roosevelt and Beck. Their Great Books. Wilson Learns of Germany's Submarine Plans. Bryan Threatens to Visit Europe as Mediator. Forestalled by Wilson. Marburg Demands a Change of Policy. House's so-called Peace Quest or Third Mission. The Law of Nations Violated by the "Lusitania" to Protect the American Super-Ambassador.

WHEN THE BLIND and the halt began to limp home from the Grand Couronne, from the fetid marshes of East Prussia and the Marne, it became evident that a great change had come over war. Modern strife involved soldiers and non-combatants alike, nor was its toll limited to those maimed or destroyed in the conflict. Men and women who had never seen a battlefield, displayed, like the surviving veterans, deep and incurable wounds. The very soul of the world was scarred. No matter how necessary it might be, modern war was sheer, unadulterated hell.

Yet there was something to be said for the very universality of its unmitigated horror. This new type of warfare, involving all mankind, portended, perhaps, the first far step toward peace. Certainly it was not reasonable to suppose that statesmanship would permit the American people to suffer all the demoralizing effects of the war, without the sobering influence of sharing in the common sacrifice of mankind.* Sooner or later Wilson, wise in discouraging over-hasty participation, must point out the Nation's moral duty. Then he might be forgiven for the politics he had played as a necessary means to his end.

* The Immorality of Unneutral Neutrality, Wise, (International Digest). The Perils of the Coming Peace, Wise, Ibid.

In January, 1915, appeared two books, which were to exert a profound effect on American public opinion. Rosevelt's America and The World War was designed to refute the policy of "neutrality in thought" between right and wrong, and to advocate preparedness. Beck's The Evidence in the Case left little doubt that Germany had projected the war, and defined Pan-Germanism. It was, perhaps, the greatest single intellectual contribution to the cause of the Allies made by an American during the war. Together the two works undoubtedly expressed the moral convictions of an increasing number of people, who were opposed to the principle of "neutrality in thought as well as in deed."

More and more Americans were coming to look upon a neutrality that claimed every material advantage for their country, while debarring it from any present sacrifice in the cause of humanity, as positively immoral. But still those who are prone to see wisdom in inaction because they either fear or know not how to act, were in the ascendant. "Uphold the President," urged these "sound citizens," Republicans and Democrats alike, "he knows best—Roosevelt is dangerous!"

This, of course, was also the pro-German counsel-grist for Wilson's mill. Consequently, while Berlin spared no efforts to draw Italy and the Balkans into the Central Alliance, while winter gripped the world in its frigid embrace, and the trenches gradually sprawled out over Europe like the bleaching bones of a perishing generation, the contempt of the Pan-Germans for America grew. Not only Italy but the Balkans awaited America's action. If the United States joined the Allies, the outcome of the war was assured. European neutrals would not then be coerced by the Central Alliance, but could aid in overthrowing it. If, on the other hand, Wilson maintained American neutrality, they would have to govern themselves accordingly. Even Japan might abandon the Entente.

Meantime, unmoved by consideration of world diplomacy, Wilson, like Marburg, still cherished the ideal of a world safe for democracy! He had come to believe long

since, that he was under a direct mandate from the Divine Ruler to achieve this ideal at no matter what cost in human suffering. Any political advantage to himself from such a course but fitted into the divine scheme.

Roosevelt had, meanwhile, changed his views as to peace. He wrote Grey, on February 1, 1915, that he, too felt it must come from within Germany. "I am very much pleased," he added, "at what you say as to the evaporation of your former views about Hague Conventions and international treaties. I have been frantically denounced by the pacifists, because I would not enter into these treaties. But the reason was simply that I would not enter into any treaty I did not intend to keep, and think we could keep. I regard with horror the fact that this Government has not protested under the Hague Convention as to the outrageous wrongs inflicted upon Belgium. (I would have made the protest effective!) I agree absolutely with you that no treaty of the kind should hereafter even be made, unless the Powers signing it bind themselves to uphold its terms by force if necessary."

The titles of Roosevelt's articles in the Outlook and Metropolitan Magazine reveal this attitude: Fear God and Take Your Own Part; A Sword for Defense; Uncle Sam's Only Friend is Uncle Sam; Dual Nationality; Preparedness. In each of these, he stressed with unflagging vehemence the fundamental verities. He showed that it was not a mere competition in letter-writing between "the honey-worded Mr. Wilson" and the "sophisticated Bernstorff," but that God was in the crisis, and that no adroitness of phrase or trick of diplomacy could get rid of Him. He showed that there could not be two kinds of Americans, but only such as believed wholly and singly in the United States. He let slip no opportunity to make his meaning clear.

"Professional pacifists of the type of Messrs. Bryan, Jordan, and Ford, who, in the name of peace, preach doctrines that would entail not merely utter infamy, but utter disaster to their own country, never in practice venture to denounce concrete wrong by dangerous wrongdoers. . . .

"These professional pacifists, through President Wilson, have forced the country into a path of shame and dishonor during the past eighteen months. Thanks to President Wilson, the most powerful of Democratic nations has refused to recognize the binding moral force of international public law. Our country has shirked its clear duty. One outspoken and straightforward declaration by this government against the dreadful iniquities perpetrated in Belgium, Armenia, and Servia, would have been worth to humanity a thousand times as much as all that the professional pacifists have done in the past fifty years.

...Fine phrases become sickening, when they represent nothing whatever but adroitness in phrasemaking, with no intention of putting deeds behind the phrases." [211]

The country had seen, long since, that poor old Rustem Bey was but a scapegoat, the least objectionable of all the Pan-German diplomats because the least harmful. Bern-storff was the real evil—he had been very clever. The actual conduct of German propaganda and conspiracies had been left to Dumba, Dernburg, Von Papen, Boy-Ed, Albert, and others, so that at least one representative of "Pan-Germany" might be secure against dismissal. When it was disclosed by the British Secret Service that German cruisers had been coaled at sea during the Autumn by Dr. Bunz and the Hamburg-American Line, the popular wrath knew no bounds. The Administration was compelled, in January, 1915, to take Biinz into custody as a dangerous alien, indict him for violation of the neutrality laws, and close the office of the Hamburg-American Line.* Biinz was but another vicarious sacrifice. It is plain from Bern-storff's subsequent statements, that similar indictments against many others would, have been justified, to say noth-ing of the dismissal of the entire German and Austro-Hungarian diplomatic staffs.

All the while the German Government had been going forward with its plans. "On January 27th," says von Tirpz, "I was invited to a conference with the Chancellor... I explained to him that we could only make progress against England by making her feel the effects of

*Bunz was subsequently convicted.

the war, and that in my view we should not be able to avoid adopting submarine warfare in one form or another I stated that I was not sufficiently au fait with the legal and political aspects of the question to make a final decision as to the most suitable form without further information. In this conversation the Chancellor did not, as a matter of principle, reject the possibility or necessity of a submarine campaign against enemy commerce. In his view, however political conditions made it impossible to take a decision before the spring or summer of 1915. I was quite agreeable to such a postponement of the matter, as it had not yet been sufficiently worked out. Among other points, I thought it right to await the completion of the Flanders submarine fleet and of the dockyard installations there."

The British and French Governments were fully informed of events, through their secret agents in Berlin, one of whom was in the Wilhelmstrasse itself. Marburg insisted once more that Bryan, who again desired to go abroad as a mediator, be forestalled by the sending of House to London, to assist Grey in overcoming the opposition to a league of nations, aroused by Wilson's Anti-British policy. It was decided, accordingly, to send House to London at once, and emphasize the fact that mediation was not being proposed. It was Wilson's desire merely "to serve as a channel for confidential communication, through which the belligerent nations might exchange views with regard to terms upon which the present conflict might be ended, and future conflicts rendered less likely." He particularly disclaimed any desire to dictate terms, or to play the part of judge. But according to House, Wilson asked him "to let Sir Edward Grey know his entire mind so he would know what his intentions were about everything," and said: "Let him know that while you are abroad, I expect to act directly through you and to eliminate all intermediaries.

"I asked if it would be possible for him to come over to Europe in the event a peace conference could be arranged, and in the event he was invited to preside over the con-

ference. He thought it would be well to do this, and that the American people would desire it."

House sailed from New York January 30, 1915, on board the Lusitania. The newspapers had it that he had gone abroad to assist Hoover in coordinating the work of Belgian relief, and, as this was a most convenient means of cloaking his real purpose, the story was encouraged.

Immediately Marburg and the thirty or more statesmen, publicists, political scientists, scholars, professors, and international financiers who comprised the American Branch of the League to Enforce Peace, took definite steps looking to the adoption of a constitution, to be published as a preventive of a premature peace.

The Wilhelmstrasse was, of course, fully informed of all this, saw plainly its danger to Germany, and the need of immediate action in self-defense. "On February 4, 1915," says von Tirpitz, "Admiral von Pohl, in concurrence with the Chancellor, submitted to the Emperor in Wilhelmshaven the war-zone and submarine declaration. This document proclaimed the waters round Great Britain and Ireland, including the Channel, as a war zone, and announced that every enemy merchantman found in that area would be destroyed, without it being in every case possible to avoid danger to the crew and passengers. Neutral ships, also, would be in danger if they navigated the proclaimed area, since, owing to the misuse of neutral flags ordered by the British Government, it would be inevitable that neutrals should in fact suffer from attacks intended for enemy ships. For neutral vessels, the waters to the north of the Shetlands and a strip along the Dutch coast were left free." [222]

On February 4th Bernstorff was directed to present the declaration to Bryan at once. The blockade was to go into effect on the 18th.

"I regarded it as my main duty," says Bernstorff, "when handing in this document, to recommend to the United States Government that they should warn all American citizens of the danger to the crews, passengers, and cargoes of hostile merchant ships moving within the war area from this

time onwards. Further, I felt it necessary to draw attention to the advisability of an urgent recommendation that American shipping should keep clear of the danger zone, notwithstanding the express statement in the memorandum that the German naval forces had orders to avoid any interference with neutral vessels clearly recognizable as such.

"Mr. Secretary Bryan was at first incredulous; he believed a submarine campaign of this nature to be unthinkable, and my statements to be merely bluff. The American Government therefore resolved to take no measures of precaution." * [27]

On the 6th House arrived in England. While passing through the waters adjacent to the British Isles, the Lusi-tania flew the American flag. No public explanation of the incident was made, but it would seem the Captain took this unusual step for the protection of House. Passengers later testified to his unusual nervousness, induced by the fact that submarines already were active off the mouth of the Mersey, but believed that he resorted to American colors to shield the person of the American envoy. The act was cited two months later, as excuse for the vessel's destruction.

The news of House's arrival in London started a report that he had been sent by the President to make an effort to bring the combatants to terms. It was deemed necessary, therefore, for Wilson to publish an official denial. On the very day of this denial, House wrote the following letter to Wilson:

" (Colonel House to the President)

"London, February 9, 1915*

"DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"We arrived here Saturday afternoon, and I immediately arranged a private conference with Grey for eleven o'clock Sunday morning. We talked steadily for two hours, and then he insisted upon my remaining for lunch, so I did not leave until two-thirty.

"We discussed the situation as frankly as you and I would

* The German Ambassador was mistaken. Wilson and Bryan knew of the German plan.

have done in Washington, and, as far as I could judge, there was no reservation. He said several times, 'I am thinking aloud so do not take what I say as final, but merely as a means of reasoning the whole subject out with you.'

"I gave him your book, which pleased him, and he regretted that the only thing he could give you in return was a book he had written on angling.

"We went into every phase of the situation, he telling me frankly the position the Allies were in, their difficulties, their resources, and their expectations. That part of it is not as encouraging as I had hoped, particularly in regard to Italy and Rumania. There is no danger of their going with Germany, but there is considerable doubt whether they will go with the Allies. Germany's success has made them timid, and there is also difficulty in regard to Bulgaria. Up to now it has been impossible to harmonize the differences between Bulgaria and Serbia. Germany is making tremendous efforts at present to impress Italy and Rumania, to keep them from participating. If the differences between Bulgaria and Serbia could be adjusted, Rumania would come in at once, and so probably would Greece; but they are afraid to do so as long as Bulgaria is not satisfied.

"The difficulty with Russia is not one of men, but of transportation. They have not adequately provided for this, while Germany has to the smallest detail. It prevents them from putting at the front and maintaining, more than one and one half million or two million men.

"The most interesting part of the discussion was what the final terms of settlement might be, and how the difficult question of armaments could be adjusted. . . .

"He went into the discussion of what Russia and France would demand. I told him if France insisted upon Alsace-Lorraine, I would suggest that a counter-proposition should be made to neutralize them in some such way as Luxembourg now is. This would prevent the two (France and Germany) from touching anywhere, and they could only get at one another by sea. He thought that Russia might be satisfied with Constantinople, and we discussed that in some detail.

"I let him know that your only interest was in bringing them together, and that you had no desire to suggest terms, and that what I was saying was merely my personal view, expressed to him in confidence and as between friends.

"There was one thing Grey was fairly insistent upon, and that was that we should come into some general guaranty for world-wide peace. I evaded this by suggesting that a separate convention should be participated in by all neutrals as well as the present belligerents, which should lay down the principles upon which civilized warfare should in the future be conducted In other words it would merely be the assembling at The Hague and the adopting of rules governing the game. He did not accept this as our full duty, but we passed on to other things. . . .

"I am making a point to influence opinion over here favorably to you and to America. There has been considerable criticism of us, and I was told that at a public meeting the other day, when the name of the United States was mentioned, there was some hissing. I find, though, that intelligent people over here are wholly satisfied with your course. I took tea yesterday with one of the editorial writers of the Times and dined with the Managing Editor last night. Tonight I dine with our friend, A. G. Gardiner. I shall write you about that later.

"Affectionately yours,

"E. M. HOUSE."

CHAPTER XXII

"Strict Accountability" and Double Dealings. The American Legion. The Defeat of the "Gardiner Preparedness Bill." A Threatened Break with Garrison.

SO STUPID did the new policy proclaimed by the German Government seem to the British, that few of them took it seriously. Scouting the idea that submarines could destroy their merchant marine, they were not much alarmed. In fact, they rather welcomed the proposed blockade because of its certain effect on America. The existing hostility of some commercial interests toward the Allies, might be expected to give way to enmity against the Central Powers.

The storm of protest aroused in America by the German proclamation, indicated that, if a vessel were sunk with the loss of American lives, public opinion would compel Congress to declare war. Since this would defeat Wilson's whole scheme, something had to be done to guard against an event which both Page and Gerard predicted. Therefore, on February 12th, Wilson caused Bryan to despatch a note to the German Government:

'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 believes the governments of certain other neutral nations have laid themselves open; that the Government of the United States has not consented 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 mat ters 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 ship 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 the American lives and property, and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas." [27]

The Government of the United States now did no more in the case of Germany, than it had done in the case of the Allies during the Autumn, except to urge Germany to give those assurances which Wilson and Bryan wished to publish to the American people, in order to silence their protests. But Bryan had no idea of occupying what might be construed as a partisan position. Therefore, on the same day, he despatched a note to the British Government also, warning it against further illegal actions. This Wilson was willing enough to have him do, since it could not fail to make him appear non-partisan, while it would not disturb the British when House explained its purpose.

Oddly enough, the German ship Appam appeared in Hampton Roads, three days after the despatch of these two notes, after an exploit declared by Lansing to be a "marvelous achievement." Submitting to internment, Lieutenant

Berg and his heroic crew appealed greatly to the imagination of the American public. The ship was interned, and her case referred to the courts.

"On the evening of February 15th," says von Tirpitz, "the Chief of the Naval Staff quite unexpectedly received from the Emperor the order not to begin the campaign as announced on February 18th, but to await a special order for its introduction, and on the same day, February 15th, the submarine commanders were instructed to spare neutral vessels in the barred zone. At the same time a telegram arrived at General Headquarters from the Chief of the Cabinet, to the effect that the Emperor required an immediate telegraphic answer whether, and to what extent, it could be guaranteed that England would be forced to modify her attitude, within six weeks of the opening of the campaign. My own attitude was to be mentioned in the answer."

Unknown to von Tirpitz, Dumba had sounded Bryan, and advised the Wilhelmstrasse that if it would cooperate to force England to accept mediation, the American Secretary of State would resign, and oppose Wilson's reelection, rather than approve a resort to force by the United States.

Bryan's plan was a simple one. Germany must take immediate steps to insure against any loss of American life or property as a result of her new policy. At the same time, Wilson must be told that, if the British Government would let certain foodstuffs through, the German Government might be willing to abandon its submarine blockade. Obviously such a proposal would compel Wilson either to act, or disclose to the world that he was not really in favor of mediation.

With the information furnished by Dumba, the German Foreign Office had interpreted Bryan's note to mean no more than what Bryan really intended it to mean. He had said virtually the same thing on October 22nd last to the British. Notwithstanding what the Allies had done, the American Government had felt "constrained" to do noth-ing but write notes. It was reasoned, therefore, that Wil-son and Bryan had no intent of holding the belligerents

accountable for the violation of neutral rights in any way, except by arbitration. Therefore, while the German Government had no idea of finally rescinding its orders, it did not fail to see that a splendid opportunity had been presented to justify its blockade. Accordingly, in a note dated February 16, 1915, after reasserting its position, it said:

"If the American Government, by reason of that weight which it is able and entitled to cast into the balance which decides the fate of peoples, should succeed even now in removing those causes which make the present action of the German Government an imperious duty; if the American Government in short, should succeed in inducing the Powers at war with Germany to abide by the terms of the Declaration of London, and to permit the free importation into Germany of foodstuffs and raw material, the Imperial Government would recognize in such action a service of inestimable value, tending to introduce a spirit of greater humanity into the conduct of the war, and would willingly draw its own conclusions from the resulting new situation." [27]

Knowing that Bryan was cooperating with Bernstorff, Wilson suspected a trick. He therefore communicated the German proposal instantly to House.

While the British public saw no danger in the blockade, Grey had understood its menace from the first, and he was now quick to see that, under such an agreement as that which Bryan and the Germans were proposing, Britain might have to carry on the war indefinitely. Therefore he agreed with House that Wilson should proceed at once to put forward what, coming from him, would appear as the proposal of a compromise between the belligerents, as a first step in the adjustment of their differences. In doing this, he could not fail to gain the cooperation of Bryan and his anti-British followers, who would never suspect that he was acting in concert with the Entente. Aside from this, the proposal could be made in such a way as to deceive the Germans into believing that the President's attitude was still a strictly impartial one, and at the same time satisfy the demand for mediation.

As anticipated by Grey and House, Bryan was com-

pletely taken in by Wilson. Washington's birthday was selected as a fitting occasion for the President to renew his apparent efforts to bring about peace. Therefore, on February 22, 1915, a note was despatched to both the Entente and Central Allies, in which Wilson took exactly the same position he had taken in the note of May, 1913, to the Mexicans, when Bryan had set out to heal the strife of their contending factions. The belligerents in Europe were requested "through reciprocal concessions to find a basis for agreement, which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they would incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents." Moreover, there was outlined in detail what each country should do for the "common interests of humanity." Since the Germans averred that the submarine zone regulation was merely retaliation for the British attempt to starve non-combatants, it was suggested that if the British Government would permit foodstuffs to pass, Germany ought to give up her illegal blockade.

Meanwhile Wilson's "Super-Ambassador" had, with the aid of Grey, been addressing himself diligently to the task assigned him. Boasting that not even Page knew with whom he was conferring, he went from this person to that, whispering to them that no attention was to be paid to anti-British sentiments in America, to Bryan's effusions, to Page's opposition to a league of nations, or to the President's apparent impartiality as between the belligerents, since he was, in fact, the friend of Britain. Surely they must see that should he disclose his real feelings, Germany would never join the league, while all the anti-British and pro-Germans in America would combine with the hide-bound Nationalists, to prevent the United States from unit-ing with Britain to govern the world!

It seems absurd to imagine that the German diplomats did not know what House was doing in London. Whatever may have been the purpose of the Wilhelmstrasse, when, on February 17th, it fell in with Bryan's suggestion, certain it is the Naval party in Germany had no idea of being caught by Grey's trick. Nor is it likely that the Wilhelm-

strasse ever intended to do more than justify the submarine blockade in the eyes of the world by placing Great Britain in the position of being unwilling to abandon her efforts to starve non-combatant populations. At any rate, on February 28th, without waiting for Britain's action, the German Government answered Wilson, in a note which was no more than a self-serving brief designed to place Great Britain in the wrong. Thus, after professing to agree in terms with the American position, it still upheld the necessity of the blockade. Moreover it added various raw materials to the list of free commodities which Wilson had proposed.

What House had been saying about London had been interesting to his hearers, but the German answer to Wilson placed him at a serious disadvantage. It was only too plain that Germany had no serious purpose of entering into peace negotiations until forced to do so, and that so long as she had any hope of winning the war, she would not enter a league of nations. Having conferred with Grey, Tyrrell, Bryce, Asquith, Balfour, Northcliffe, Curzon, Burns, Brooks, and others, House had abandoned the idea of going to Berlin. Before going home, however, he must see the King, and assure him, too, of Wilson's ultimate purpose, and friendship for Britain.

From King George the "Super-Ambassador" got little encouragement. The King did not take the league of nations idea seriously. House says that he asked him why he did not speak to the British public in the forceful manner in which he had talked privately regarding the war and war measures, and that the King replied he had not done so, for the reason that his distinguished cousin, the Kaiser, had talked so much, and had made such a fool of himself, that he had a distaste for that kind of publicity. Then, too, he added, this was a different sort of monarchy, and he did not desire to intrude himself in such matters.

Throughout the winter of 1915, Wood continued his efforts to prepare the country to defend itself. His appeals were simple, undramatic, overwhelmingly sincere. He was not in the accepted sense an orator, but his fervor and a

certain indubitable integrity gave his words persuasive power. He had great skill, moreover, in adjusting his words to the mentality of his audience, and even as he stirred universities and chambers of commerce, he set pulses fluttering in schools and women's clubs. His words were a call to national service. Young and old alike felt the stir to arise and respond.

As the weeks dragged on and it became evident the Administration was not supporting the Gardiner Bill, a popular movement was developed in its support. "It was comparable in American history," says Hagedorn, "only to the revolt in the Northern States during the '50's against the reactionary or drifting policies of the Government in Washington on the slavery question. It was an uprising not against the authority of the President, but against his leadership; a stirring of the consciences of men against what appeared to be a callous disregard of the Nation's traditions, of her prestige in the world, of common precautions regarding the national defense.

"The feeling behind the movement was intense. The accumulated resentment against the cant, the sham, the backing and filling of the President's Mexican policy was in it. The feeling that the administration had no regard for the dignity of the Nation, no sense of shame for promises unfulfilled, no respect for the fine tradition that, among gentlemen, words meant what they said. To straightforward men who regarded shiftiness in personal relations as the unpardonable sin, and took pride in the tradition of American forthrightness and courage in international relations, it seemed unbearable that in the greatest crisis in the world's history their country should be so tortuously led." Wilson's lofty motives did not diminish the indignation of other Americans, with idealism no less sincere. The curious jumble of his words and acts left the impression of a man wanting to be greater than his stature, and who lacked a sharp sense of distinction between right and wrong.[93]

New preparedness organizations sprang up, and Wood supplied them with irrefutable data. Young men came to

him, asking what they might contribute to the cause, or laid before him some plan of their own. No ardent soul appealed to him in vain. One group calling themselves the American Legion, proposed to establish an unofficial reserve, enrolling immediately men of military age who had had military training, or possessed peculiar qualifications in one field or another which might be turned to the benefit of the country in case of war; automobile drivers, telegraph and telephone operators, bridge builders, mechanics of all sorts; in time of peace a list, and nothing more; in time of war, a source of perhaps three or four hundred thousand classified volunteers.

Wood approved the idea "unofficially," and lent his aide, Capt. Gordon Johnson, as military adviser. Personal letters brought an enthusiastic response. Roosevelt joined with his four sons; Luke Wright, Dickinson, Stimson, all former Secretaries of War, enrolled.

The public announcement late in February, 1915, brought a thousand volunteers the first week. It brought, also, a sharp attack from the pacifists. From the department came an excited enquiry. The Secretary of War, it seemed, knew nothing about this plan for the organization of a reserve army. Clearly, ran the murmur in Washington, Wood had been "indiscreet." The fact was that the sponsors of the American Legion had laid their plans before the Secretary who, cooperating with Wilson, had pigeon-holed them. Garrison was directed by Wilson, still anxious to mollify the pacifists, to issue an order that officers of the army should refrain "from giving out for publication any interview, statement, discussion, or article on the military situation in the United States or abroad."

The storm which had been brewing over the American Legion now broke. Wood explained in vain that Roosevelt had no connection with the organization other than as a volunteer enrolled for service in the proposed reserve. The Legion, he said, was conducting not mere propaganda, but a card index system which would be extremely valuable in emergency. Bryan objected to any such enterprise being carried on at the expense of the Government; so that four

days after the order mentioned, Garrison was compelled to issue a new order, directing the Legion to remove its offices from the Army building in New York, as a further rebuke to Wood.

Knowing Wilson's real wishes, Wood did not take the Secretary's order seriously. Throwing himself on the mercy of the reporters, he went ahead as before.

There were angry murmurs in administrative circles that "this man" was insubordinate. But the issue was not so simple as the adherents of the President affected to believe. On one side stood certain policies of national defense proposed by successive Secretaries of War, approved by three Presidents, adopted by Congress as the law of the land; on the other was authority, supported by no discernible principle, autocratic, arbitrary. The President himself was represented on both sides, with his words, on the one, demanding a "citizenry trained and accustomed to arms"; with his acts, on the other, discouraging all efforts to make a reality of his words.

Despite the efforts of the National Security League and the American Legion, the Gardiner Bill went down to defeat in March. Other than an Act providing for a report on the "advisability of the acquisition by the Government of land for an aviation school and training ground," the incorporation of the Porto Rico regiment into the regular army, an appropriation of several million dollars for the defense of the Panama Canal, and of the wholly inadequate sum of $15,000 to send military observers to Europe, there was virtually no military legislation during the session of 1915.[83] This was a travesty of national defense. Bryan was, nevertheless, determined to permit nothing that might encourage a resort to force, while Wilson tried to convince the Germans that he had no hostile designs against them, to retain the pacifist and pro-German vote.

"Secretary Garrison," says Houston, "for some time before April, 1915, had been showing signs of restiveness, out I was surprised when he came to see me, and told me that he was going to resign. He had his resignation written, and was set on sending it in. He told me that he had

found that he was not in sympathy with the Administration. The atmosphere, he thought, was not good. It was too Bryanistic. There was a strong note of hostility to business. He was not in accord on Mexico. He resented the attitude on preparedness."

Wilson was now to discover the two-edged nature of the German propaganda, which he and Bryan had tolerated. Having cooperated in the defeat of the Gardiner Bill, the German agents had naturally spared no efforts to defeat the shipping bill, which the Administration had put forward as a lure for the support of the industrial interests. In the early spring of 1915, therefore, things were not going any too well with Wilson. One thing only was highly favorable—the munitions trade was booming. Despite all the German propagandists could do, there was far less talk of the violation of American rights by the Entente.

CHAPTER XXIII

"The Freedom of the Seas," Proposed by House to Britain and Germany as a Solution. The Failure of House's Third Mission. The German Submarine Blockade Continues. German Opinions of Wilson and Bryan.

THE ASTUTE German minds that had planned the war, had not staked the fate of their country on military victory. Should the plans of the General Staff fail, the worst consequences of defeat might still be averted by prolonging the strife until the economic organization of the world was so thoroughly disrupted as to leave the nominal victors powerless to dominate Germany. That would, in fact, give Germany the victory.

When advised that House had given up the idea of visiting Berlin, the German Government was fearful lest Wilson be discouraged by its note of February 20th to the extent of abandoning his efforts to bring about peace, and throwing in his lot with the Entente. This might well cause a Socialist revolt. Therefore, with no more intention now than before of seriously considering a peace, Zimmer-mann urged House, on March 2nd, to come to Berlin, and induced Gerard to add his persuasions.

The danger of the British and French people being discouraged by a failure to overwhelm the Central Allies before another winter set in, was not imaginary. It was a contingency which Marburg, Wilson, and Grey could contemplate only with alarm. On their part, no effort could be spared to prevent the Entente from making a premature peace. Consequently, upon the receipt of the letters from Berlin offering an opening for further negotiations, it was decided to make still another attempt to lure the Wil-helmstrasse into an acceptance of a league of nations.

The recent proposals of Bryan had suggested the bait to be employed. Couched in a high-sounding phrase, this was the doctrine of the "Freedom of the Seas." As explained by House, it implied the extension to the utmost limits of the old American doctrine of the exemption from capture of private property. Jefferson had advocated it as the best means to render unnecessary the maintenance of large armies and navies. It included the immunity from seizure of food cargoes, and of actual contraband in neutral bottoms. Nor were the merchant vessels of belligerents to be subject to seizure in enemy ports upon the declaration of war. Ocean-bound commerce was to be safe from interruption, even in the midst of a world-wide conflict. The immediate effect of an international acceptance of the doctrine would be to limit the present strife to a struggle between the armed forces of the belligerents, while in future wars the economic structure of civilization would survive unimpaired.

The proposal was one eminently agreeable to "International Finance," even were it not first conceived in the mind of a banker. More than that, its acceptance in the present emergency would relieve both the British Isles and America from all danger at the hands of Germany, and place the Central Allies at the mercy of an Anglo-American combine.[30] In the midst of a life and death struggle between the Pan-Germans and "Britannia"—one which had been commenced by the former with the avowed purpose of overthrowing British seapower—those whose only hope of success was to dominate the sea, were to be asked to abandon the only means by which this could be done, and thereby sign their death warrant!

Further, Wilson's proposal to Britain of a compromise was to be formally rejected, in a note calling attention to the fact that the German submarine blockade had not been abandoned. At the same time, having learned from House just how far it might go, the British Government was to cite the German submarine blockade as justification for the taking of neutral vessels into port, where they might be searched free of danger from destruction on the high seas.

Contraband was to be seized and paid for at the contract price.

This plan would, it was believed, nullify to a certain extent the effect of the submarine blockade, and at the same time impress the Germans with the irresistible power of the British Navy. Thus, the "freedom of the seas" might seem more desirable to them.

After having apprised the King and others of the real purpose of his mission, and agreed with Grey on the course the latter was to pursue, to back him up in his dealings with the Germans, House proceeded on his way to Berlin. The State Department was immediately informed by the British Embassy that, by reason of the illegal practices of Germany, the Allies were driven to frame the retaliatory measures described, and a circular was published, on March 8th, giving the details of what was known as the "British Cotton Arrangement." On the nth and 13th, a British Order in Council and a French decree, respectively, put into effect the new restrictions.

It was about this time that the German cruiser Eitel, with the crew of an American bark, sought internment in an American port. Even Lane was incensed by the "gall" of the thing. What on earth, he inquired, in a letter of March 13th, was the country coming to, in condoning what was no more nor less than piracy, as he saw it. The British were quick to take advantage of this offensive act. On March 15th, 1915, the British Government, pointing out that Germany had still not abandoned her submarine policy, formally refused the compromise suggested by Bryan, proposed by Wilson, and approved by Grey.

The note erred in not stressing a clear distinction between Allied and German methods. Irrespective of the legality of either blockade, there was a difference in enforcement to be pointed out. The Allies were employing old methods—the Germans would never have argued that they could destroy a merchant vessel without notice, by a long distance torpedo projected from the shore, or even from a surface craft. Yet the moment it was admitted that it was necessary for a submarine to do this out of considera-

tions of self-protection, that made the submarine itself nothing more than a long range projectile charged with other projectiles—something akin to shrapnel. It is not to be denied, however, that Britain had gotten the better of Germany, and that Wilson, House, and Grey had weakened Bryan's position.

Utterly disgusted from the first with what they deemed the sheer sophistry of Wilson, the French had shown a disposition to leave to Grey negotiations of importance, common to the Allies. He seemed better fitted to deal with Wilson. Bacon and Herrick, both of whom, as American Ambassadors, had won the affectionate confidence of the French, had thoroughly discredited the confused policy of Wilson. Completely lacking in diplomatic ability, the present American Ambassador possessed little or no influence with the French Government. Looked upon in Washington as a mere "stop-gap," he had been purposely retained in office to insure against any political activities on the part of an American representative in Paris, such as those of Page in London, which might conflict with the President's hidden purposes. From his own reports, it is obvious that Sharp knew no more what was going on in Washington, than if he had been exiled in Kamchatka.

Upon reaching Paris, House found that the French were out "to kill," and not to parley. Their idea was that unless Germany were crushed beyond the power of establishing a dominion over Europe, they might as well perish. Therefore the "Super-Ambassador" deemed it but a waste of time to talk of peace in France.

After tarrying in Switzerland until Grey had published the British reply to Wilson's proposal of a compromise, the "Super-Ambassador" continued on his way. Arriving in Berlin March 19, 1915, with his hook baited with the new proposal, he began at once to whip the political pools of Germany.

Although his lure was one which could not deceive the hungriest fish in German waters, the diplomats of the Wilhelmstrasse rose, with simulated interest, to his casts. Yet they did not bite, but merely nosed the bait. In vain

House angled first for Zimmermann, and then for the Chancellor himself.

"But what shall navies be used for, if such a scheme as yours is adopted?" he was promptly asked by each of them.

"For defense against invasion," replied House.

Now the Germans could no longer doubt that House and Wilson were working hand-in-glove with Grey. But they were not foolish enough to disclose their discovery to House. Although they saw that the proposal which was being made to them was designed to seal the doom of Germany, they had been presented with a splendid opportunity to deceive Wilson into further delays, and, by professing interest in the new scheme, make it appear that the freedom of the seas was just what they wanted, so that Britain alone stood in the way of peace.

"I believe," said the wily Chancellor to House at last, "that you have thrown the first thread across the chasm which bars us from peace." House, believing, in his vanity, that he had achieved the object of his mission, hastened back to London to report his success to Grey. With the aid of the latter, he now proposed to commit the British Government to their scheme in its entirety.

"Imagine his vexation," says Smith, House's biographer, "when, upon his arrival in London, he encountered reports in the English newspapers of boastful speeches in favor of 'the freedom of the seas,' which had been delivered in the United States by Bernstorff and Dernburg, the former German Colonial Secretary and chief propagandist in America." The first act of the German Government had been to cable instructions to their agents in the United States to air the doctrine in a vigorous campaign of propaganda, as one which the Wilhelmstrasse heartily approved.

The result was inevitable. The minute House mentioned "the freedom of the seas" to a British statesman, he got the reply: "Oh, yes, that is the newest thing in Berlin. Some more deviltry they are up to." It was useless to try to convince them that Britain must cooperate with Wilson to "put over" this new proposal.

And all the while, British statesmen were thinking of

the shipping bill which Wilson was sparing no effort to force through Congress, in order to build up with Federal subsidies, a huge merchant marine, which he had advocated as the vehicle of the world's commerce on the coming of peace! Was that not the kind of freedom of the seas in which Wilson was really interested? Consequently, and not unnaturally, the new scheme died aborning.

Page contemplated without the least surprise the failure of Wilson, Grey, and House to achieve their ends. To him as to King George and the Germans, the whole thing seemed preposterous. The Internationalists were dealing with factors beyond their knowledge. They failed to anticipate that deep and abiding distrust in the British soul, of a political leader who could urge neutrality of thought on his own country, while actually cooperating with the British in an effort to overthrow the Germans. Maybe he was playing fast and loose with Britain too.

Despite the failure of House's mission, something had been accomplished in tempering the German plan. "We left the war-zone declaration standing, thus retaining the shell of the campaign which had angered the Americans, in order to give an appearance of firmness for the benefit of German public opinion," says von Tirpitz, "but at the same time we removed the kernel by means of the modified orders which were given to the submarine commanders, at the instance of the civil authorities. We acted, in a word, fortiter in modo and suaviter in re. The submarine warfare now became, as Bachmann had prophesied, of no effect in securing the ultimate victory of the German people, but still had material enough to create incidents and quarrels with the Americans."

The following comment by von Tirpitz throws a valuable light upon German opinion of Wilson, and Bryan.

"If we had returned to the first American note a polite but definite refusal, I am convinced that there would not have been, either then or later, a declaration of war or even a rupture of relations. The Americans had not then become so embittered and partisan; they still respected us, and were not so involved in their loans to the Entente...

The pacifist Bryan was still Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs... It would have been quite impossible for Wilson at that time to make the country hostile to us. . . . We should have given a definite cry, to which all the elements in the United States which were working against Wilson could have rallied: the Germans, the Irish, the Quakers, the cotton interests. We never adopted the right tone in deal-ing with the Americans. . . . We ought to have recognized at the latest in February, 1915, that there were elements of blackmail in Wilson's policy. . . . Repeatedly, but in vain, I pointed out to the Chancellor the true character of Wilson's policy, begging him to modify his attitude accordingly. While our credit suffered immeasurable damage with all maritime nations, who must have thought that our own hopes of victory were shaken, we were screwing Wilson more and more up to a standpoint, the maintenance of which in the end became a question of honour for him." [222] Though entirely right from a purely military standpoint in his original position, von Tirpitz was mistaken about American sentiment. Bernstorff was far more accurately informed. He feared the effect of the submarine blockade. He knew that while the propaganda which had been carried on by Dernburg, Dumba, Boy-Ed, von Papen and others had been highly effective, the underlying sympathies of the Country were, as shown by the recent elections, strongly with the Entente, despite all the German agents could do. Yet he had for the Government itself, the utmost contempt. "A European gentleman, who came from a neutral country, and called on Bernstorff in April, 1915, told me," says William Roscoe Thayer, "that when he asked the Ambassador how he got on with the United States, he replied: "Very well indeed; we pay no attention to the Gov-ernment, but go ahead and do what we please.' " [211]

CHAPTER XXIV

The League to Enforce Peace Defied by Germany. Marburg Revises his Program. Wilson Accepts His Amendments and Openly Espouses International Cooperation. "America First" for the Sake of Humanity.

THE TIME had now come for Carnegie and the Internationalists to think about the Presidential election of 1916. Whom were they to support? It was obvious that Wilson would stand for reelection; and it was equally plain that there was a great demand for a man like Roosevelt, who would arouse the country, and institute a firmer policy.

"In the desirable project that was planned by the original group of the League to Enforce Peace," says Marburg, "we find four progressive stages. . . .

"First stage: Institutions such as we now have, supplemented by a true international Court of Justice, all of which institutions are purely voluntary.

"Second stage: The element of obligation added, in so far as the nations shall bind themselves to resort to these institutions.

"Third stage: The further addition of an agreement to have the League act as an international grand jury to hale the would-be law-breaker before a commission of enquiry, and to use force to bring it there if recalcitrant.

"Fourth stage: The final addition of an agreement to use force, if need be, to execute the award of the tribunal." [142]

Marburg and House had endeavored in vain to induce Germany to subscribe to this project. Nor was Wilson willing to espouse openly the principle of enforced peace, in the face of Bryan's objections. On the other hand, se-

cret information showed that Japan had by no means abandoned her original purpose—an accounting with the United states had merely been postponed. If the Central Allies should defeat the Entente, Japan would almost certainly proceed, with the encouragement of Germany, against the United States.

It was also plain that the country as a whole was not prepared for such a league of nations to enforce peace, as that which Marburg had proposed. Certainly Roosevelt would support it no more than Bryan. Even Root deemed it too much to expect. Marburg saw the necessity of reversing his scheme. It was better, he concluded, to take what it was possible to get as a first step, and enlarge upon it, than get nothing at all.

Three meetings of those interested in forming a league of nations had already been held, when April 9, 1915, was set for a fourth. Besides Marburg and Taft, there were present James M. Beck, John Bates Clark, J. Reuben Clark, Jr., William C. Dennis, John Hays Hammond, Hamilton Holt, Harold J. Howland, William B. Howland, Andrew B. Humphrey, Darwin P. Kingsley, George W. Kirchwey, A. Lawrence Lowell, Frederick Lynch, Henry S. Prichett, Leo S. Roe, William H. Short, Albert Shaw, and John A. Stewart.

"All those present at this meeting," says Marburg, "accepted without demur the first and second elements of the plan. Two men withheld their support of the third element on 'entangling alliance' grounds. In the light of the discussions had, they all abstained from supporting the fourth element, which thereupon disappeared from the program of the League. It must be remembered that the object of this meeting was to decide how much of the desirable plan previously mapped out, was realizable in the present stage of world opinion. What the League to Enforce Peace now proposed, was to take the present Bryan Treaties of obligatory enquiry, made in pairs, and make them common to all members of the League. It proposed further to add to the obligation which alone attaches to them now, the element of compulsion, in order to force a

resort to enquiry before a nation is allowed to precipitate war."[142]

In this way it was planned to overcome pacifist, German, and nationalist opposition, and having amended his original scheme, Marburg was now in position to argue that the League would be especially valuable in solving the Japanese problem. With Japan and the United States both members of the League, he insisted that, in a dispute between them, for instance over the lease by Japan of Mag-dalena Bay from Mexico, the traditional political policy of the United States would not be violated by submitting the case to the Council of Conciliation. "Naturally the United States," he argued, "would abstain from any preliminary agreement in respect to the decision in so vital a matter. The chances are that the tribunal would not even proceed to a finding, but would content itself with bringing out the facts—permitting the United States to show that the acquisition by Japan of Magdalena Bay would be a menace to its own safety, and in violation of a policy which, although not a part of international law, was yet a cherished ideal of the United States of long standing.

"Pending the enquiry, Japan would be stopped by injunction from proceeding with the objectionable act of taking possession of, and possibly fortifying, Magdalena Bay. This injunction would be supported by the full power of the League, and, during the period of the enquiry, the Monroe Doctrine would be safer than under present conditions. If, when the enquiry was at an end, both Mexico and Japan persisted in their objectionable course, the United States would then be free to go to War without violating its agreement with the League.

"Moreover, the obligation to resort to enquiry before fighting, which would rest on the United States under the League, already rests on it under the Bryan Treaties of obligatory enquiry. It would not be estopped, under the League agreement, from doing anything whatever which it is not already estopped from doing by its plighted word given in the Bryan Treaties."

To all this Wilson agreed, and it was now possible to throw Bryan on the defensive. Should the "Apostle of Peace" openly oppose Marburg's amended proposals, after all these years of prating about universal peace and treaties of arbitration, he would take upon himself the responsibility of defeating the prospects of peace at this critical juncture. No longer afraid of Bryan, Wilson saw also that the time had at last come for him to make a great appeal to the Nation to abandon its old provincialisms, and to line up behind him without regard to previous party attachments. Now he proposed to take advantage of the emotions of the moment, to plant in the mind of the Nation the idea of a new party, a "bigger and better one"—the idea which all along had been in his mind, of transforming the Democratic party by the magic of his words, and disposing of Bryan forever. At the same time he must spare no effort to convince the Germans that he had no secret relation with the British such as they had long suspected, and to arouse the Socialists. It was arranged for him to address the Associated Press in New York on April 20, 1915, in order to lay the foundation for a league of nations, and to give to his proposals the widest possible publicity. Thus the stage was set for him adroitly by the hidden hand of Marburg:

"Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Associated Press, Ladies and Gentlemen:— "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 cannot 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 cannot es-cape. 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 ulti-mately governs the world."

This was a plain appeal to the Press of America to give to his words the utmost possible effect.

"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 citizens 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."

From this it is manifest that Wilson believed the time had come for him to put forth the suggestion of a league of nations.

"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 out spirits chastened against the coming of that day."

When the fact is recalled that Wilson had long since actually passed judgment on Germany, and had already committed himself to a concert of action with Grey, de-signed to compel Germany to enter a league of nations, can the words here spoken be dismissed as mere sophistry? If regard be had to the effect which they were plainly cal-culated to have, or to the conclusions which were reasonably to be drawn from them, how can it be said they were not affirmative misrepresentations, designed to conceal what the speaker did not dare admit?

"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."

How could a speaker who thus confessed that he was thinking of humanity far less than of America, expect the

belligerents to accept willingly his political leadership? So intent was Wilson upon establishing the hegemony of America over Europe, that he apparently saw no greater inconsistency between the doctrine of "America first," and a league of nations consecrated to the service of humanity, than he had seen between his former proposal of a great American merchant marine and the Nation's services to mankind!

He continued:

"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 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 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:"

Here again Wilson laid bare unequivocally, the original motive behind his policy of neutrality. As a mediator between the exhausted belligerents, America would necessarily dominate the world with him as spokesman!

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 trugh. 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 go out over the wires. There is generally, if not always, some-body 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 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 balances 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 out of other countries."

After delivering these salvos at the "party men" and the "hyphenates," both of whom it was his plain purpose to discredit, he finally addressed himself to those with whose support he proposed to transform the Democratic party.

"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 remembers first that the whole destiny of modern affairs centers largely upon his being an American first of all. 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." [192]

Thoroughly deceived as to Wilson's motives, there were those who praised not only his idealism, but his "one hundred percent" Americanism. "Was there ever such a Patriot?" they enquired. He was charged, on the other hand, with sophistry. "America first," joined with the material advantages of neutrality, was not altruism, they insisted, but the reverse.

CHAPTER XXV

Reaping the Whirlwind. The Destruction of the "Lusitania." The Righteous Wrath of the Nation. Wilson's Great Opportunity.

"AMERICA FIRST! A Phrase or a Fact," was the title of the article in which Roosevelt dealt with Wilson's last utterance; nor was the title pleasing to the Internationalists.

House came back to London late in April to hold secret conferences with Grey. No one, he wrote Wilson, not even Page, must know of their plan. It was necessary, he repeated, for Grey and himself to educate public opinion, before it would condone the "Freedom of the Seas." On May 1st, he wrote Zimmermann that he had been to Switzerland and France, and, pursuant to his agreement with the Chancellor, had seen many of the representatives of the Powers. "Grey," he said, "was at least willing to consider" the "Freedom of the Seas." The Chancellor must give House assurances that he would cooperate in the general scheme.

The Germans were, of course, not deceived. May Day, 1915, was to be one of strange events. In the midst of the President's "Maying," the following notice appeared in the American press:

"Travelers intending to embark for an Atlantic voyage, are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her Allies, and Great Britain and her Allies; the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with the 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 those waters; and that

travelers sailing in the war zone in ships of Great Britain or her Allies, do so at their own risk." "This notice," says Bernstorff, "was intended to appear in the Press on April 24th and the two following Saturdays. By one of those fatal coincidences beloved of history, it happened that, owing to technical difficulties, the 'communique' was not actually published until May 1st—the very date on which the Lusitania left New York harbor. This conjunction was bound to appear intentional rather than fortuitous, and even today the majority of Americans believe that I must have known beforehand of the design to torpedo the Lusitania."

Whether or not Bernstorff was aware of the fate which awaited the Lusitania, and he probably was, Gerard suspected that a tragedy was in preparation. Over and over he had warned Washington.[27] Nevertheless, the press ridiculed the notice.

On May 1st, still another important event happened— the merchant ship Gullflight, of American registry, was sunk by a German submarine with the loss of two American lives. The following day Page wrote his son: "The blowing up of a liner with American passengers may be the prelude. I almost expect such a thing." And again on the same date: "If a British liner full of American passengers be blown up, what will Uncle Sam do?" [99]

On the 3rd, House cabled Wilson that Lord Loreburn thought that if they could incorporate the principle of "the freedom of the seas" in a peace convention, "it would be perhaps the greatest jest that was ever perpetrated upon an unsuspecting nation—having, of course, Germany in mind." He told Loreburn, he said, that he had shivered while in Berlin, lest the Wilhelmstrasse detect the trick of which Germany was the intended victim.[103] Whatever may be thought of the deceptions to which Wilson and the Internationalists were a party, they produced a reaction against the cause of peace. Having discovered their real purpose, the Germans had lost all faith in Wilson and House, just as they had lost all respect for

Bryan; while British statesmen must, equally, have felt them to be unreliable.

Under the necessity of doing something about the Gull-flight, Wilson, on May 5th, cabled House for advice. House replied at once: "I believe that a sharp note indi-cating your determination to demand full reparation would be sufficient in this instance. I am afraid a more serious breach may at any time occur, for they seem to have no regard for consequences."

The next day Page wrote: "We all have the feeling here that more and more frightful things are about to happen." [99]

On the morning of May 7th, House and Grey drove out to Kew. "We spoke of the probability of an ocean liner being sunk," House records, "and I told Page, if this were done, a flame of indignation would sweep across America, which would in itself probably carry us into the war." An hour later, House was with King George in Buckingham Palace. "We fell to talking, strangely enough," he wrote that night, "of the probability of Germany sinking a trans-Atlantic liner. . . ." The King said, "suppose they should sink the Lusitania with American passengers on board. . . .?"

Secure in the consciousness of his own rectitude, the thought seems to have come to King George like a premonition of the evil consequences of Wilson's course. That very day the majestic British passenger steamer Lusitania which, as shown, had flown the American flag on February 6th to insure the security of House, was destroyed off the Irish Coast with the loss of many lives, including one hundred and twenty-four Americans.

The news of the disaster was received at the American Embassy at four o'clock in the afternoon. At that time, preparations were under way for a dinner in honor or Colonel and Mrs. House. The first announcement declared that only the ship itself had been destroyed, and that all the passengers and members of the crew had been saved. There was, therefore, no good reason for abandoning the dinner. At about seven o'clock, the Ambassador

came home. His manner showed that something extraor-dinary had taken place. The first news, he now informed Mrs. Page, had been a mistake.

More than one thousand men, women, and children had lost their lives, and more than one hundred of these were American citizens. It was too late to postpone the dinner, but that affair was one of the most tragic in the social history of London. The atmosphere was that of dumb stupefaction. The news seemed to have dulled everyone's capacity for thought, and even for feeling. If any one spoke, it was in whispers. Afterward, in the drawing room, this same mental state prevailed. There was little denunciation of Germany, and practically no discussion as to the consequences of the crime. Everyone's thoughts were engrossed by the harrowing and unbelievable facts, which the Ambassador read from the little yellow slips, periodically brought in. An irresistible fascination kept everybody in the room; the guests, eager for every new item, stayed late. When they finally left, one after another, their manner was still abstracted, and they said their good-nights in low voices. There were two reasons for this behavior. The first was that the Ambassador and his guests had received the details of the greatest infamy which any supposedly civilized state had perpetrated since the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. The second was the conviction that the United States would at once declare war on Germany.

On this latter point, several of the guests expressed their ideas. The most outspoken arid the one who professed to be most shocked, was House. No doubt he realized that Germany had been provoked beyond endurance. This act, he said, left the United States no option. "We shall be at war with Germany within a month," he declared."

Page regarded immediate intervention as inevitable, and cabled Wilson that he did not believe the United States could retain the good opinion of any one, if it did not join the Allies at once.[103]

Bernstorff was in New York. He tells how the Ritz Hotel, where he was staying, was immediately crowded with

reporters, and of the "immense popular excitement" the next day. He goes on to say that "the destruction of the Lusitania first brought home to the United States the horrors of war, and convinced all her people that a flagrant injury had been done them. . . . Public opinion, with one voice, demanded the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. . . .

"The irresistible strength of the popular indignation may be accurately estimated from the fact that even the German-Americans were terror-stricken at its violence. Not only did our propaganda collapse completely, but even our political friends dared not open their mouths." [27]

Propaganda and self-interest had not dulled the moral perceptions of the Nation as a whole; it awaited almost breathlessly the call of the President to end any repetition of the destruction of the Gullflight and the Lusitania. Many persons who had felt no desire for war, and had excused the sophistry of Wilson's words because of their pacifying effect, were at last convinced that Page and Gerard were right—Germany had been merely trading on American neutrality. As they saw it, to leave Germany longer in doubt as to the Nation's willingness to defend the lives of its citizens, was but to encourage further violations.

Nor had the effect of participation in the war by young Americans overseas, been without powerful influence. Hundreds of them had, by this time, perished in the French service, while thousands had joined the Canadian and British forces. Robert Bacon had been ceaselessly active in organizing American hospitals in France, while Herrick, after turning over his post to Sharp, had openly espoused the Allied cause. Meantime, Sir Gilbert Parker had organized British propaganda in America upon an effective basis, German propaganda being powerless to offset its influence. Every letter from the brave lads overseas, was in itself a powerful appeal. Thousands of people had already come to look upon the unselfish service of these Americans, and that of Hoover in Belgium, as a bitter reproach to Wilson's scheme of neutrality.

British sympathizers deemed the mutual friendship of

Britain and America essential to the welfare of both. More than that, British institutions must not be trampled under foot. To Hammurabi, Justinian, and Napoleon, Europe owed its civil codes of jurisprudence. Were these, too, to be set aside in favor of institutions such as a Prussian Conqueror might establish to maintain "Welt Politik"?

Even those opposed to war, believed that there was but one way to avoid it. There must be an unequivocal demand for immediate satisfaction, and definite assurance that Germany would abandon her submarine policy. To resist the one course that might prevent war would be a confession on the part of pro-Germans or pacifists, that they were in fact "hyphenates," or pseudo-Americans, more interested in the success of Germany than in the welfare of the American people.

Those who still opposed war, wished to afford the German masses time to realize finally, that the submarine policy of von Tirpitz was but the last hope of the militarists by whom they were being deceived. Even if it should have no such far reaching effect, they believed that, with the hope of Germany's ultimate success eliminated, Bulgaria and Rumania would at once join the Allies. This might cause Turkey and Austria-Hungary to abandon Germany to her fate between Russia in the East, and the British and French in the West, with Italy on the South free to cooperate with Germany's new enemies in that quarter. This, they insisted, was the way to end the war, and at the same time insure against America being drawn into it. The argument was such a good one, that the more farsighted members of the German Government trembled lest Wilson take the course urged.

That another great opportunity was knocking at Wilson's door, can hardly be denied. "I was in Southern California," says Houston, "when the news came that the Lusi-tania had been sunk. I instantly realized the seriousness of this tragedy from the point of view of our international relations. The press reports indicated that a considerable number of Americans had lost their lives, and raised the question as to whether the ship could be regarded as a

war vessel, if the rumor that she carried arms and munitions were true. I had a wire from a friend asking for my views. I replied that I did not have sufficient information to justify me in forming an opinion. I added that certain things were clear to me. Nothing could justify the sinking of a vessel carrying passengers, except after visit and search, and, even if it were discovered that it was carrying contraband, except after seeing passengers and crew were placed in a position of safety. I added that it was questionable wisdom for Americans to sail on belligerent ships and run the risk of involving their country in a serious situation, but that they had a perfect right to do so. I advised reliance on the wisdom and courage of the President." [106]

"Truth to tell," says Bernstorff, "if Mr. Wilson had really been striving to declare war against us, he would, of course, only have needed to nod in order to induce his whole country to fight after the Lusitania incident, so great was the war feeling at that critical time."

He has also described in detail the widespread hostility to Germans, and to German-American sympathizers, at this time. According to him, so great was the wrath of the American people that the most terrible injustice was done people of German blood, even by their own kin. He trembled for their safety.

In the face of such evidence, the contention, habitual among Wilson's partisans, that the country would not have responded to a stirring appeal from the President to defend its rights by entering the war, is but a defense after the event, which ignores the facts.

CHAPTER XXVI

Fate Favors Wilson Again. The Secret Dealings of Wilson and Bryan with Bernstorff, "Too Proud to Fight." The "Lusitania" Note. Bryan's Objection and His Extraordinary Proposal.

FATE WAS KIND to Wilson. Once more it was within his power to assume, almost with a word, the world dictatorship for which he had longed. Again the evil counsels and machinations of the Internationalists interposed.

There were three possible courses open to him—the immediate severance of diplomatic relations, with a call on Congress to declare war; the mere severance of diplomatic relations, coupled with a demand for satisfaction, and reasonable assurances that such acts as the destruction of the Gullflight and Lusitania would not recur; and a demand for satisfaction and assurances alone. But while any one of these three courses was possible, the last was impractical, in the face of the known purpose and attitude of the dominant German party. When the Lusitania was sunk, von Tirpitz was in Berlin. On May 9th, he telegraphed to the German Chancellor that it was now "urgently necessary to make good Germany's legal position," and "that compromise was more dangerous than firmness." [222] Fully advised of von Tirpitz's position, House wrote in his diary: "It seems clear to me that the Lusitania is merely the first incident of the kind and that more will follow, and that Germany will not give any assurance she will discontinue her policy of sinking passenger ships filled with Americans and noncombatants." Meantime, he had gone so far in his enthusiasm as to discuss with Kitchener military plans looking to immediate American participation in the war.

Kitchener, however, was but one of many Britons who did not look with enthusiasm on the prospect of a break between the United States and Germany. Confident that with an uninterrupted supply of American munitions, it was but a question of time before the Entente would crush the Central Allies, they wanted nothing to interfere with their present plans. Aside from this, Wilson was not thought of as a friend to their cause. Should the United States intervene and end the war now, he would almost certainly, as shown by his speeches, undertake to interfere in the peace terms.

Momentarily out of touch with those who were pulling the wires, House had spoken too soon. Severance of diplomatic relations would mean war, leaving to the United States and the Entente no other course than a joint attempt to defeat the Central Allies. It might take years to do this. Nor would America's involvement fail to further disturb the economic organization of the world. Furthermore, even if the Pan-Germans should be forced by a crushing defeat to agree to enter a league of nations, it would not be the voluntary association which Marburg had in mind. Therefore, like Marburg, Wilson was determined not to permit America to become involved, until this should be necessary to prevent Germany from winning the war, no matter what happened meantime to humanity as a whole. America might help the Entente with money and munitions, her Government might encourage and cooperate with them secretly, even permit them to go on doing with impunity what was necessary to maintain themselves against the German blockade, but she was not to abandon her neutrality except when absolutely compelled to do so for defensive reason!

Two days after the sinking of the Lusitania, House cabled Wilson: "America has come to the parting of the ways . . . We can no longer remain neutral spectators. Our action in this crisis will determine the part we will play when peace is made, and how far we may influence a settlement for the lasting good of humanity. We are being weighed in the balance." He then suggested that an "im-

mediate demand" be made on Germany for assurance against any recurrence of such incidents, and that measures be taken to ensure the safety of American citizens. Two days later he repeated this advice.

Of Wilson's attitude at this time, Tumulty gives a graphic picture, evidencing the influence on the President of the Internationalists. "His critics who, a few days before, were assailing him for his supposed surrender to England, were now demanding an immediate declaration of war against Germany, but not for a moment did the President waver before these clamorous demands. To such an extent did he carry this attitude of calmness and steadiness of purpose, that on 'the outside' the people felt that there was in him a heartlessness and an indifference to the deep tragedy of the Lusitania. At my first meeting with him, I tried to call to his attention many of the tragic details of the sinking of the great ship in an effort to force his hand, so to speak, but he quickly checked what appeared to be my youthful impetuosity, and said: 'Tumulty, it would be much wiser for us not to dwell too much upon these matters.' When he uttered this admonition, there was no suggestion of coldness about him. In fact, he seemed to be deeply moved, as I adverted to some of the facts surrounding this regrettable and tragic affair. At times tears stood in his eyes, and turning to me he said: 'If I pondered over those tragic items that daily appear in the newspapers about the Lusitania, I should see red in everything, and I am afraid that when I am called upon to act with reference to this situation, I could not be just to any one. I dare not act unjustly and cannot indulge my own passionate feelings.' "Evidently he saw that his turning away from the topic in this apparently indifferent way did not sit well with me. Quickly he understood my dissatisfaction, and said: 'I suppose you think I am cold and indifferent and a little less than human, but, my dear fellow, you are mistaken, for I have spent many sleepless hours thinking about this tragedy. It has hung over me like a terrible nightmare. In God's name, how could any nation calling itself civilized, purpose so horrible a thing?'

"At the time we were discussing this grave matter, we were seated in the President's study in the White House. I had never seen him more serious or careworn. I was aware that he was suffering under the criticism that had been heaped upon him for his apparent inaction in the matter of the Lusitania. Turning to me, he said: 'Let me try to make my attitude in this matter plain to you, so that you at least will try to understand what lies in my thoughts. I am bound to consider in the most careful and cautious way, the first step I shall take, because, once having taken it, I cannot withdraw from it. I am bound to consider beforehand all the facts and circumstances surrounding the sinking of the Lusitania, and to calculate the effect upon the country of every incautious or unwise move. I am keenly aware that the feeling of the country is now at fever heat, and that it is ready to move with me in any direction I shall suggest, but I am bound to weigh carefully the effect of radical action now, based upon the present emotionalism of the people. I am not sure whether the present emotionalism of the country would last long enough to sustain any action I would suggest to Congress, and thus, in case of failure, we should be left without that fine backing and support so necessary to maintain a great cause. I could go to Congress tomorrow and advocate war with Germany, and I feel certain that Congress would support me, but what would the country say when war was declared, and finally came, and we were witnessing all of its horrors and bloody aftermath? As the people pored over the casualty lists, would they not say: "Why did Wilson move so fast in this matter? Why didn't he try peaceably to settle this question with Germany? Why was he so anxious to go to war with Germany, yet at the same time why was he so tender of the feelings of Great Britain in the matter of the blockade?" Were I to advise radical action now, we should have nothing, I am afraid, but regrets and heartbreaks. The vastness of this country, its variegated elements, the conflicting cross-currents of national feelings, bid us wait and withhold ourselves from hasty or precipitate action. When we move against Germany, we must be certain that

the whole country not only moves with us, but is willing to go forward to the end with enthusiasm. I know that we shall be condemned for waiting, but, in the last analysis, I am the trustee of this nation, and the cost of it all must be considered in the reckoning before we go forward.'

"Then leaning closer to me, he said: 'It will not do for me to act as if I had been hurried into precipitate action against Germany. I must answer for the consequences of my action. What is the picture that lies before me? All the great nations of Europe at war, engaged in a death grapple that may involve civilization. My earnest hope and fervent prayer has been that America could withhold herself, and remain out of this terrible mess and steer clear of European embroilments, and at the right time offer herself as the only mediating influence to bring about peace. If we should go in, then the whole civilized world will become involved. What a pretty mess it would be! America, the only nation disconnected from this thing, and now she is surrendering the leadership she occupies, and becomes involved as other nations have. No man fit to be President of this Nation, knowing the way its people would respond to any demand that might be made upon them, need have fears or doubts as to what stand it would finally take. But what I fear more than anything else is the possibility of world bankruptcy that will inevitably follow our getting into this thing. Not only world chaos and bankruptcy, but all of the distempers, social, moral, and industrial, that will flow from this world cataclysm. No sane man, therefore, who knows the dangerous elements that are abroad in the world would, without feeling out every move, seek to lead his people without counting the cost and dispassionately deliberating upon every move.' " [215]

It is evident that no one knew better than Wilson himself that the country would go to war at a word from him, and that his fixed purpose was to prevent war, simply and solely because he did not believe the time had come when intervention would yield the United States, and himself as its spokesman, that influence at the peace table which a

prolongation of war would insure. With this purpose on his part, he was to find in Bryan an invaluable adjunct, just as in August, 1914. But what would the American people have thought of Wilson, had they known that he and Bryan were, at this juncture, actually dealing with Bernstorff, and soliciting his aid to preserve peace? What would the British and French have thought?

"The first expressions of opinion which I received from the President and Mr. Bryan," says Bernstorff, "gave me good grounds for hope that these gentlemen would do everything in their power to preserve peace." Accordingly, before any of the President's advisers suspected what was in Wilson's mind, Bernstorff cabled the Wilhelmstrasse as follows:

"Washington, May 9, 1915.
"Lusitania incident has caused great excitement, especially in New York, which is most affected, but I hope that no serious consequences will ensue. Mr. Wilson regards matters calmly. I recommend expression of regret for loss of so many American lives, in whatever form may be possible without admission of our responsibility."

"Washington, May 10th, 1915.
"Bryan spoke to me very seriously concerning Lusitania incident. His influence will, in any case, be exercised in favor of peace. This influence is great, as Wilson depends on Bryan for his reelection. Roosevelt, on the other hand, is beating the patriotic drum, in order to win over the Jingo elements. It is significant of Bryan's real views that he regrets that we did not support his well-known attempt at mediation; therefore, I again recommend that we should endeavor to bring about an attempt at mediation in some form, in case the position here becomes critical. This would be a good argumentum ad hominem in order to avoid war. Another way out, which is recommended, is that we should renew our offer to give up submarine warfare provided that England adheres to the principles of International Law, and gives up her policy of starvation. The position is in any case very serious: I hope and believe that we shall find a way out of the present crisis, but in case of any such recurrence, no solution can be guaranteed." [27]

Yet, declares Bernstorff: "American indignation was directed particularly against Dr. Dernburg, who had defended, in public, the torpedoing of the Lusitania. I had, therefore, no other recourse but to advise him to leave the country of his own accord. He would probably have been deported in any case, and his continued presence in America could no longer serve any useful purpose, while it was to be hoped that his voluntary departure would appease the popular wrath in some degree, and postpone the imminent rupture of diplomatic relations. The sea was raging and demanded a sacrifice."

In his report to the Wilhelmstrasse on the subject, Bernstorff said: "When I informed Mr. Bryan that Dr. Dernburg had decided to return home if the American Government would secure him a safe conduct from our enemies, the satisfaction of the Secretary of State was even more pronounced than I had expected. He remarked that Dr. Dernburg's speeches had given rise to the suspicion that the German Government wished to inflame the minds of the American people against President Wilson's administration. It might be possible, now that there were no longer any grounds for this idea, to avoid an immediate rupture of diplomatic relations." [27]

An invitation had been accepted by Wilson to address a large gathering of newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia on May 10th, 1915, and on this occasion, although he had already committed himself to Bernstorff, he was to give the American people their first indication of what action he would take on the Gullflight and the Lusitania. Never, perhaps, had the world hung more breathlessly on his words. On the way to Philadelphia, Tumulty read Wilson's speech, and warned him against certain unfortunate expressions in it, but to no avail. The speech follows:

"MR. MAYOR, FELLOW CITIZENS:

"It warms my heart that you should give me such a reception; but it is not of myself that I wish to think tonight, but of those who have just become citizens of the United States.

"This is the only country in the world which experiences

this constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depend upon the multiplication of their own native people. This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources bv the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women out of other lands. And so, by the gift of the free will of independent people, it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.

"You have just taken an oath of allegiance to the United States. Of allegiance to whom? Of allegiance to those who temporarily represent this great Government. You have taken an oath of allegiance, to a great hope of the human race. You have said, 'We are going to America not only to earn a living, not only to seek the things which it was more difficult to obtain where we were born, but to help forward the great enterprises of the human spirit—to let men know that everywhere in the world there are men who will cross strange oceans, and go where a speech is spoken which is alien to them, if they can but satisfy their quest for what their spirits crave; knowing that, whatever the speech, there is but one longing and utterance of the human heart, and this is for liberty and justice.' And the while, you bring all countries behind you—bringing what is best of their spirit, but not looking over your shoulders and seeking to perpetuate what you intended to leave behind in them. I certainly would not be one even to suggest that a man cease to love the home of his birth and the nation of his origin—these things are very sacred and ought not to be put out of our hearts—but it is one thing to love the place where you were born, and it is another thing to dedicate yourself to the place to which you go. You cannot dedicate yourself to America, unless you become in every respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group in America, has not yet become an American, and the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is no worthy son to live under the Stars and Stripes.

"My urgent advice to you would be, not only always to think first of America, but always, also, to think first of humanity. You do not love humanity if you seek to divide humanity into jealous camps. Humanity can be welded together only by love, by sympathy, by justice, not by jealousy and hatred. I am sorry for the man who seeks to make personal capital out of the passions of his fellowmen. He has lost the touch and ideal of America, for America was created to unite mankind by those passions which lift, and not by the passions which separate and debase. We came to America, either ourselves or in the persons of our ancestors, to better the ideals of men, to make them see finer things than they had seen before, to get rid of the things that divide and to make sure of the things that unite. It was but an historical accident, no doubt, that this great country was called the 'United States'; yet I am very thankful that it has that word "United" in its title, and the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, interest from interest in this great Union, is striking at its very heart.

"It is a very interesting circumstance to me, in thinking of those of you who have just sworn allegiance to this great Government, that you were drawn across the ocean by some beckoning finger of hope, by some belief, by some vision of a new kind of justice, by some expectation of a better kind of life. No doubt you have been disappointed in some of us. Some of us are very disappointing. No doubt you have found that justice in the United States goes only with a pure heart and a right purpose, as it does everywhere else in the world. No doubt what you found here did not seem touched for you, after all, with the complete beauty of the idea which you had conceived beforehand. But remember this: If we had grown at all poor in the ideal, you had brought some of it with you. A man does not go out to seek the thing that is not in him. A man does not hope for the thing that he does not believe in, and if some of us have forgotten what America believed in, you, at any rate, imported in your own hearts a renewal of the belief. That is the reason that I, for one, make you welcome. If I have in any degree forgotten what America was intended for, I will thank God if you will remind me. I was born in America. You dreamed dreams of what America was to be, and I hope you brought the dreams with you. No man that does not see visions, will ever realize any high hope or undertake any high

enterprise. Just because you brought dreams with you, America is more likely to realize dreams such as you brought. You are enriching us, if you came expecting us to be better than we are.

"See, my friends, what that means. It means that Americans must have a consciousness different from the consciousness of every other nation of the world. I am not saying this with even the slightest thought of criticism of other nations. You know how it is with a family. A family gets centered on itself if it is not careful, and is less interested in the neighbors than it is in its own members. So a nation that is not constantly renewed out of new sources, is apt to have the narrowness and prejudice of a family; whereas America must have this consciousness, that on all sides it touches elbows and touches hearts with all the nations of mankind. The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right, that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right.

"You have come into this great Nation voluntarily seeking something that we have to give, and all that we have to give is this: We cannot exempt you from work. No man is exempt from work anywhere in the world. We cannot exempt you from the struggle of the day—that is common to mankind everywhere; we cannot exempt you from the loads that you must carry. We can only make them light by the spirit in which they are carried. That is the spirit of hope, it is the spirit of liberty, it is the spirit of justice.

"When I was asked, therefore, by the Mayor and the committee that accompanied him, to come up from Washington to meet this great company of newly admitted citizens, I could not decline the invitation. I ought not to be away from Washington, and yet I feel that it has renewed my spirit as an American to be here. In Washington men tell you so many things every day that are not so, and I like to come and stand in the presence of a great body of my fellow-citizens, whether they have been my fellow-citizens a long time or a short time, and drink, as it were, out of the common fountain with them, and go back feeling what you have so generously given me-the sense of your support, and of the living vitality in your

hearts of the great ideals which have made America the hope of the world." [190]

This address was, of course, flashed all over the world. House had hardly despatched his letter of the nth to the President when, walking down Piccadilly, he caught a glimpse of one of the famous sandwich men, bearing a poster of an afternoon newspaper. This glaring broadside bore the following legend: "We are too proud to fight— Woodrow Wilson." The sight of that placard was House's first intimation that the President might not act vigorously. He made no attempt to conceal from Page and other important men at the American Embassy, the shock which it had given him. Soon the whole of England was ringing with these six words. The newspapers were filled with stinging editorials and cartoons, and the music halls found in the Wilsonian phrase, material for their choicest jibes. Even in more serious quarters, America was the subject of the most severe denunciation.

"I feel," said House to Page, "as though I had been given a kick at every lamp post, coming down Constitution Hill."

The reaction to this extraordinary speech was instant. "When the President declared, in the face of Europe's heroic dying and America's military incapacity, that there was such a thing as a nation being too proud to fight, the cosmic jest woke the derisive laughter of the world." [93]

Wilson had had difficulty in reaching an agreement with Bryan as to how far to go, and had apparently made the Philadelphia speech as a feeler of public opinion. He had, at any rate, tested public opinion sufficiently, to see that no surrender of American rights to Germany would be tolerated.

The day after the speech, he stated to the Cabinet, that he wished it to hear House's views as to an answer to Germany. Thereupon he read House's cablegram of the 9th, and followed it with a memorandum, prepared as the basis of a note he proposed to send at once to the German Government. This disclosed the fact that, instead of severing

diplomatic relations, he intended merely to call on Germany for full satisfaction, and assurances against further violations of American rights.

Several members of the Cabinet deemed this insufficient. Bryan showed much heat, and declared some members of the Cabinet not neutral! Thereupon Wilson turned to him with a "steely glitter" in his eyes, and said: "Mr. Bryan, you are not warranted in making such an assertion. We all doubtless have our opinions in this matter, but there are none of us who can justly be accused of the unfair." Bryan then apologized, and the incident passed.

According to Lawrence, there now occurred the most dramatic episode of the pre-war period in America, if not indeed in Wilson's first Administration.[119] A tremendous controversy has raged over the facts.[129] According to House, Thomas W. Gregory who had lately succeeded McReynolds as Attorney General, upon the latter's appointment to the Supreme Court, told him upon his reaching New York that after the Lusitania note had been despatched, Bryan laid before Wilson a communication for his signature, informing the Wilhelmstrasse that the American protest was to be taken only in a "Pickwickian Sense." This, according to House, Wilson had peremptorily rejected, while Gregory deemed that it would have been little short of treason.[103] The known facts negative this version. Lawrence's version is adopted here.

After the Cabinet had reached an agreement as to the demand to be made on Germany, Bryan pleaded with Wilson to give Berlin another chance to accept the principle of arbitration, underlying the treaties he had been negotiating. Wilson yielded, and permitted Bryan to draft an instruction to Gerard to be sent simultaneously with the note, advising the German Government of the willingness of the United States to submit the questions at issue to a commission of investigation on the principle of the Bryan treaties, whereupon Bryan agreed to sign the note and did so.

The supplementary instruction reached the State Department code room from the White House, and was about to be put in code and cabled to Berlin, when Lansing,

Counsellor of State, learned about it. Not able to understand it, he communicated at once with Tumulty who, ignorant of its meaning himself, called upon his intimate friend, Secretary Garrison for information. Garrison was, like Lansing, astonished at this obvious recession from what had been agreed upon by the Cabinet. Fearful that Bryan was playing a trick on Wilson, other members of the Cabinet were informed by Garrison, while Tumulty pleaded with Wilson not to let the instruction to Gerard go forward. Protests from several Cabinet members followed; Wilson suppressed the instruction, and the note as approved by the Cabinet went forward with Bryan's signature.

Later, in the campaign of 1916, a garbled version of the incident came to light, and was never clearly explained. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, in a Boston speech, read an account of a conversation between Professor Charles H. Bailey of Tufts Medical School, and Henry C. Brecken-ridge, Assistant Secretary of War under Garrison at the time of the so-called "postscript" episode. The Senator contended that Wilson's strong words were tempered with hints that they were not meant seriously, and that Germany defied American rights, because she believed the United States would not, under the Wilson administration, defend those rights. Wilson issued a statement from his headquarters at Long Branch, New Jersey, in reply to a query from Walter Lippmann, then an editor of the New Republic, as follows:

"In reply to your telegram, let me say that the statement made by Senator Lodge is untrue. No postscript or amendment of the Lusitania note was ever written or contemplated by me, except such changes that I myself inserted, which strengthened and emphasized the protest. It was suggested, after the note was ready for transmission, that an intimation be conveyed to the German Government that a proposal for arbitration would be acceptable, and one member of the Cabinet spoke to me about it, but it was never discussed in Cabinet meeting, and no threat of any resignation was ever made, for the very good reason that I rejected the suggestion, after giving

it such consideration as I thought every proposal deserved, which touched so grave a matter. It was inconsistent with the purpose of the note. The public is in possession of everything that was said to the German Government."

"The foregoing statement," says Lawrence, "is one of the most remarkable pieces of adroit fencing which came from Mr. Wilson's pen. He had a theory that a diplomatic denial was absolutely essential in many cases, because the end justified the means. In this case, every line of Mr. Wilson's statement is true—literally taken.

"In the first place, Mr. Wilson was right in saying that there was no postscript to the Lusitania note itself, nor was there any amendment of the note. Mr. Wilson was right when he said that he never wrote or contemplated writing any postscript or amendment, Mr. Bryan composed the supplementary instruction for Ambassador Gerard, and it was not a part of the original note but a separate communication. Mr. Wilson also revealed that 'it was suggested, after the note was ready for transmission, that an intimation be conveyed to the German Government that a proposal for arbitration will be acceptable.' He uses the word 'intimation' to cover the instruction which was to be sent to Ambassador Gerard. It was true that only one member of the Cabinet spoke to Mr. Wilson about it—that was Mr. Bryan. When the President stated that the suggestion was 'inconsistent with the purpose of the note,' he revealed the conclusion he finally reached, which was contrary to his first decision. To his mind, the postscript, amendment, or supplementary instruction, did not exist officially, because it was never sent to Germany, and he spoke the real truth when he said 'the public is in possession of everything that was said to the German Government.'

"Senator Lodge did, however, have in his possession, during that campaign, the elements of one of the biggest secrets of the administration, and if he had worded his accusation in a slightly different fashion, it would have been impossible to deny the existence of a supplementary instruction. Since the instruction was not sent to the Ger-

man Government, Mr. Wilson regarded the affair as of no importance externally." [129]

The material part of the note which finally went forward was as follows:

"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. 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. . . . 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 travelling wherever their legitimate business calls them on 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 zone 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 protests 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 of its commission."

"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 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 firmly contended."

"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."

While the Lusitania note was in substance no more than a reiteration of the "strict accountability" note of February 12th, and was plainly lacking in finality, the promptness with which it received the approval of Taft, is conclusive of the influence which Marburg and the League to Enforce Peace had exerted upon Wilson. "Admirable in tone . . . dignified in the level the writer takes with respect to international obligations ... it may well call for our earnest concurrence and confirmation." So spoke the former Republican President who, looking at Wilson's words from an international viewpoint, was but expressing the opinion of the interest he was representing.

The day the President's message was published, Wood

received a telegram from the Adjutant General, forbidding any activities in connection with the students' summer camps. Wilson was still under the illusion that he was fooling Germany, by not permitting anything savoring of preparedness.

In England, opinions varied greatly. According to Page, Lansdowne, Balfour, and Bonar Law of the opposition, privately praised the President's note. Writing in The English Review, Sidney Brooks insisted that "this note ranks with the greatest diplomatic literature. It seems as if one could see the President wrestling with the Wilhelm-strasse for the soul of Germany." The Times declared that "nothing less than the conscience of humanity makes itself audible in his (Wilson's) measured and incisive sentences."

It was obvious that many of the leaders of British thought still had confidence in the ability of the Entente to crush the Central Allies with the aid of America's munitions alone, and were not anxious to have the supply of them interrupted by America's entering the war. It was under such influence, no doubt, that Page, who had advocated immediate intervention, now cabled his personal congratulations to the President. This was unfortunate. It could not fail to confirm Wilson in the conviction that his Ambassador to Great Britain did not have a mind of his own.

Herrick and the Americans overseas generally, sorely tried in spirit, were utterly disgusted. From France, Whitney Warren wrote House that there was "a growing inclination" to believe that "the President has been influenced in the past, and still is influenced, by German tradition and inspiration."

Immediately upon hearing of the sinking of the Lusi-tania, Harvey had expressed a serene and patriotic confidence that a "more dependable President than Mr. Wilson could not be desired." He was keenly disappointed when Wilson made it clear that he considered a mere verbal chastisement of Germany sufficient for the occasion. Harvey now entertained the gravest misgivings as to the wisdom of Wilson, and of a policy that was "too proud to fight." But it

remained for Roosevelt to express the sentiments of the great body of Americans, who were demanding action instead of words. Like thousands of others, he deemed Wilson's statement concerning "the humane and enlightened attitude assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right, and particularly in regard to the freedom of the seas," a reckless perversion of the facts. The further statement by Wilson that he had "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," was equally shocking to a logical mind.

"If Mr. Bryan had written this," says Thayer, "no one would have been astonished, because Mr. Bryan made no pretense of knowing even the rudimentary facts of history; but that President Wilson, by profession a historian, should laud, as being always engaged in justice and humanity, the nation which, under Frederick the Great, had stolen Silesia and dismembered Poland, and which, in his own lifetime, had garroted Denmark, had forced a wicked war on Austria, had trapped France by lies into another war, and robbed her of Alsace-Lorraine, and had only recently wiped its hands, dripping with blood drawn from the Chinese, was amazing!"

"Small wonder if after that," Thayer continued, "the German hyphenates lifted up their heads arrogantly in this country, or that the Kaiser in Germany believed that the United States was a mere jelly-fish nation, which would tolerate any enormity he might concoct. This was the actual comfort President Wilson gave Germany. The negative result was felt among the Allied nations which, struggling against the German Monster like Laocoon in the coils of the Python, took Mr. Wilson's praise of Germany's imaginary love of justice and humanity as a death-warrant for themselves. They could not believe that he who wrote such words, or the American people who swallowed thern, could ever be roused to give succor to the Allies in their desperation.

"Three years later I asked Roosevelt what he would

have done, if he had been President in May, 1915. He said, in substance, that, as soon as he had read in the New York newspaper, the advertisement which Bernstorff had inserted, warning all American citizens from taking passage on the Lusitania, he would have sent for Bernstorff, and asked him whether the advertisement was officially acknowledged by him. Even Bernstorff, arch-liar that he was, could not have denied it. 'I should have then sent to the Department of State to prepare his passports; I should have handed them to him and said, "You will sail on the Lusitania yourself next Friday; an American guard will see you on board, and prevent you coming ashore." The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany,' Roosevelt added, 'would probably have meant war, and we were horribly unprepared. But better war than submission to a humiliation which no President of this country has ever before allowed; better war a thousand times, than to let the Germans go on really making war upon us at sea, and honeycombing the American people with plots on land, while our Government shamelessly lavished praise on the criminal for his justice and humanity and virtually begged his pardon.' " [211]

CHAPTER XXVII

More Secret Diplomacy. The Evil Machinations of Bryan Continue. He Oversteps and is Detected by Gerard and House. In Wilson's Power at Last.

THE NEXT STEP in the program of the Internationalists after the despatch of the Lusitania note, was the resumption of efforts to induce Germany to accept the old compromise proposal which Wilson had first put forward in February. House took the matter up at once with Grey. "He was very fine about it," wrote House to Wilson. "He said of course it would be to the advantage of Great Britain for the United States to enter the war, and if he agreed to do what we requested, it would mean that the United States would remain neutral. Nevertheless, he wanted to do what we considered to be for our best interests, and what, indeed, he thought was in the long run for Great Britain's best interests."

Wilson cabled House on May 16th, expressing deep interest in the plan. "He looked upon it," says Seymour, "not merely as a means of ending the crisis in German-American relations, but also as affording a possible solution of the quarrel with England over the blockade. For the sake of diplomatic consistency, he asserted, he would soon have to address a note to Great Britain, regarding the interruption of American trade with neutral ports. It would be a great stroke on England's part, he added, if she would of her own accord relieve the situation, and put Germany wholly in the wrong, a small price to pay for the ending of submarine outrages."

Having authorized House to proceed, Wilson repaired to New York to deliver an address on the Navy before the Mayor's Committee.

"MR. MAYOR, MR. SECRETARY, ADMIRAL FLETCHER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FLEET:

"This is not an occasion upon which, it seems to me, it would be wise for me to make many remarks, but I would deprive myself of a great gratification if I did not express my pleasure in being here, my gratitude for the splendid reception which has been accorded me as the representative of the Nation, and my profound interest in the Navy of the United States. That is an interest with which I was apparently born, for it began when I was a youngster, and has ripened with my knowledge of the affairs and policies of the United States.

"I think it is a natural, instinctive judgment of the people of the United States, that they express their power most appropriately in an efficient navy, and their interest in their ships is partly, I believe, because that Navy is expected to express their character, not within our own borders where that character is understood, but outside our borders, where it is hoped we may occasionally touch others with some slight vision of what America stands for.

"Before I speak of the Navy of the United States, I want to take advantage of the first public opportunity I have had to speak of the Secretary of the Navy, to express my confidence and my admiration, and to say that he has my unqualified support. For I have counseled with him in intimate fashion; I know how sincerely he has it at heart that everything that the Navy does and handles, should be done and handled as the people of the United States wish it handled. Efficiency is something more than organization. Efficiency runs to the extent of lifting the ideals of a service above every personal interest. So when I speak of my support, I speak of what I know every true lover of the Navy to desire and to purpose; for the Navy of the United States is, as I have said, a body specially intrusted with the ideals of America.

"I like to imagine in my thought this idea: These quiet ships lying in the river have no suggestion of bluster about them, no intimation of aggression. They are commanded by men thoughtful of the duty of citizens as well as the duty of officers, men acquainted with the traditions of the great service to which they belong, men who know by touch with the people of the United States, what sort of purposes they ought to entertain and what sort of discretion they ought to exercise, in order to use

those engines of force as engines to promote the interests of humanity.

"The interesting and inspiring thing about America, gentlemen, is that she asks nothing for herself, except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself. We want no nation's property. We mean to question no nation's honor. We do not wish to stand selfishly in the way of the development of any nation. We want nothing that we cannot get by our own legitimate enterprise, and by the inspiration of our own example; and, standing for these things, it is not pretension on our part to say that we are privileged to stand for what every nation would wish to stand for, and speak for those things which all humanity must desire.

"When I think of the flag which those ships carry, the only touch of color about them, the only thing that moves as if it had a subtle spirit in it, in their solid structures, it seems to me that I see alternate strips of parchment upon which are written the rights of liberty and justice, and stripes of blood spilt to vindicate those rights; and, then, in the corner, a prediction of the blue serene into which every nation may swim, which stands for these things.

"The mission of America is the only thing that a sailor or a soldier should think about. He has nothing to do with the formulation of her policy. He is to support her policy whatever it is; but he is to support her policy in the spirit of herself, and the strength of our policy is that we, who for the time being administer the affairs of this Nation, do not originate her spirit. We attempt to embody it; we attempt to realize it in action; we are dominated by it, we do not dictate it.

"So with every man in arms who serves the Nation; he stands and waits to do the thing which the Nation desires. Those who represent America sometimes seem to forget her programs, but the people never forget them. It is as startling as it is touching to see how, whenever you touch a principle, you touch the hearts of the people of the United States. They listen to your debates of policy, they determine which party they will prefer to power, they choose and prefer as between men, but their real affection, their real force, their real irresistible momentum is for the ideas which men embody. I never go on the streets of a great city without feeling that somehow I do not confer, elsewhere than on the streets, with the great spirit of the people themselves, going about their business, attending to the

things which immediately concern them, and yet carrying a treasure at their hearts all the while, ready to be stirred not only as individuals but as members of a great union of hearts that constitutes a patriotic people. This sight in the river touches me merely as a symbol of all this; and it quickens the pulse of every man who realizes these things, to have anything to do with them. When a crisis occurs in this country, gentlemen, it is as if you put your hand on the pulse of a dynamo, it is as if the things that you were in connection with, were spiritually bred, as if you had nothing to do with them except, if you listen truly, to speak of the things that you hear.

"These things now brood over the river; this spirit now moves with the men who represent the Nation in the Navy; these things will move upon the waters in the manoeuvers—no threat lifted against any man, against any nation, against any interest, but just a great solemn evidence that the force of America is the force of moral principle, that there is nothing else that she loves, and that there is nothing else for which she will contend." [190]

The country was mystified. When analyzed, however, in the light of what was going on between Grey and House, the purpose of the speech is plain. Wilson was trying to do two things—relieve the tension in the United States by satisfying both the militarists and the pacifists, and, at the same time, point out to Germany the necessity on her part of cooperating with him in his efforts to preserve neutrality, by reconsidering favorably the proposal of a compromise with Britain which House was soon to put forward.

But House himself no longer believed that Germany would alter her methods of naval warfare, unless some more potent factor than the protests of the United States could be brought to bear. On May 18th, he wrote McAdoo: "The German mind seems not to understand anything excepting hard knocks, and they have a curious idea that we will not fight under any circumstances. As a matter of fact, this idea is prevalent throughout Europe, and will sooner or later involve us in war." Nevertheless, obedient to orders, he was still willing to "play the game." Thus, after conferring with Lord Haldane, the "Super-Ambassador" resumed his efforts of the early Spring to trick the Wilhelm-

strasse into accepting the compromise that was designed to place Germany at the mercy of an Anglo-American com-bine. On May 19th, he cabled Gerard:

". . . Can you not induce the German Government to answer our note, by proposing that if England will permit foodstuffs in the future to go to neutral ports without question, Germany will discontinue her submarine warfare on merchant vessels, and will also discontinue the use of poisonous gas? Such a proposal from Germany at this time, will give her great advantage, and in my opinion she will make a grave mistake if she does not seize it."

Thus it is seen that in the great crisis of May, 1915, when the world was awaiting Germany's reply to the American note, Wilson and House were deceiving the American people, Grey was deceiving the British people, and the three of them were trying to deceive the Germans! This in the name of representative government and humanity!

The published letters of Page bear evidence of the utter demoralization of the State Department throughout the Wilson Administration. With House in Europe much of the time, dealing over the heads of, and at cross purposes with, both the Secretary of State and the American Ambassador to England, and the latter and Bryan at loggerheads, nothing else was to be expected. Nevertheless, no attempt was made by the Department to keep the London Embassy informed as to what was taking place in Washington. Page's letters and cablegrams were, for the most part, unacknowledged and unanswered, and the American Ambassador was frequently obliged to obtain his information about the state of feeling in Washington from Sir Edward Grey. "Leaks" in the State Department were constantly taking place. The Ambassador would send the most confidential cipher despatches to his superior, cautioning the Department that they must be held inviolably secret, only to find in the London newspapers next morning, everything he had cabled to Washington.

All this was extremely irregular and unpardonably rep-

rehensible. "There is only one way to reform the State pepartment," Page said to House at this time. "That is to raze the whole building, with its archives and papers, to the ground, and begin all over again."

This state of affairs in Washington explains the curious fact that the real diplomatic history of the United States and Great Britain during this great crisis, is not to be found in the archives of the State Department, for the official documents on file there consist only of routine telegrams, not particularly informing.

A President who tolerated such conditions, is no efficient executive. Wilson cannot escape responsibility for the misdeeds of Bryan.

While House and Gerard were engaged in trying to trick the Wilhelmstrasse, and Bryan was keeping his friends Dumba and Bernstorff thoroughly posted as to what was going on, the President availed himself of an opportunity to indulge in further rhetoric. In an address to the Pan-American Financial Conference in Washington on May 24th, he said:

"It is very surprising to me, it is even a source of mortification, that a conference like this should have been so long delayed, that it should never have occurred before, that it should have required a crisis of the world to show the Americas how truly they were neighbors to one another. If there is any one happy circumstance, gentlemen, arising out of the present distressing condition of the world, it is that it has revealed us to one another; it has shown us what it means to be neighbors. And I can not help harboring the hope, the very high hope, that by this commerce of minds with one another, as well as commerce in goods, we may show the world in part the path to peace. It would be a very great thing if the Americans could add to the distinction which they already wear, this of showing the way to peace, to permanent peace.

"The way to peace for us, at any rate, is manifest. It is the kind of rivalry which does not involve aggression. It is the knowledge that men can be of the greatest service to one another, and nations of the greatest service to one another, when the jealousy between them is merely a jealousy of excellence, and when the basis of their intercourse is friendship. There is

only one way in which we wish to take advantage of you, and that is by making better goods, by doing the things that we seek to do for each other better, if we can, than you do them, and so spurring you on, if we might, by so handsome a jealousy as that to excel us. I am so keenly aware that the basis of personal friendship is this competition in excellence, that I am perfectly certain that this is the only basis for the friendship of nations,—this handsome rivalry, this rivalry in which there is no dislike, this rivalry in which there is nothing but the hope of a common elevation in great enterprises which we can undertake in common.

"There is one thing that stands in our way among others—for you are more conversant with the circumstances than I am; the thing I have chiefly in mind is the physical lack of means of communication, the lack of vehicles,—the lack of ships, the lack of established routes of trade,—the lack of those things which are absolutely necessary if we are to have true commercial and intimate commercial relations with one another; and I am perfectly clear in my judgment that, if private capital can not soon enter upon the adventure of establishing these physical means of communication, the government must undertake to do so. We can not indefinitely stand apart and need each other, for the lack of what can easily be supplied, and if one instrumentality can not supply it, then another must be found which will supply it. We can not know each other unless we see each other; we can not deal with each other unless we communicate with each other. So soon as we communicate and are upon a familiar footing of intercourse, we shall understand one another, and the bonds between the Americas will be such bonds that no influence that the world may produce in the future, will ever break them.

"If I am selfish for America, I at least hope that my selfishness is enlightened. The selfishness that hurts the other party is not enlightened selfishness. If I were acting upon a mere ground of selfishness, I would seek to benefit the other party and so tie him to myself; so that even if you were to suspect me of selfishness, I hope you will also suspect me of intelligence, and of knowing the only safe way for the establishment of the things which we covet, as well as the establishment of the things which we desire, and which we would feel honored if we could earn and win.

"I have said these things because they will perhaps enable

you to understand how far from formal my welcome to this body is. It is a welcome from the heart, it is a welcome from the head; it is a welcome inspired by what I hope are the highest ambitions of those who live in these two great continents, who seek to set an example to the world in freedom of institutions, freedom of trade, and intelligence of mutual service."

Again the country was mystified. Apparently, at the very time the President should be impressing the German Government with the determination of the Nation to enforce its rights, he was speaking about humanity as a whole, and the nobility of America's neutral course. But again his words were wasted upon the German Government, if not upon the Socialists.

Whatever the ultimate decision of the British Cabinet might have been, the German Government put an end to any chance of a compromise settlement by a brusque refusal to consider House's suggestion. In public, the plain-tiveness of German protests against the cruel starvation of women and children by the British was not diminished, but in private the German leaders were evidently unwilling to pay the price necessary to raise the blockade. They were determined to make full use of the submarine, and they were the less inclined to heed American warnings, now that they were convinced by Page and Gerard that the United States would support its warnings with verbal quibbles only. Two messages from Gerard to House carried the news of the failure of the proposed compromise, and indicated what he deemed the cause.

"Colonel House to the President " (Telegram) "London, May 24, 1915. "Gerard cables me as follows: 'Zimmermann told me yesterday that Dumba, Austrian Ambassador, had cabled him that Bryan told him that America was not in earnest about Lusitania matter.' Of course Mr. Bryan did not say that, but I think you should know what Zimmermann told Gerard. . . .

"E. M. HOUSE."

Gerard himself tells the following strange story: "Sometime after I had delivered our first Lusitania Note

of May nth, 1915, Zimmermann was lunching with us. A good looking American woman, married to a German, was also of the party, and after lunch, although I was talking to some one else, I overheard part of her conversation with Zimmermann. When Zimmermann left, I asked her what it was that he had said about America, Germany, Mr. Bryan, and the Lusitania. She then told me that she had said to Zimmermann that it was a great pity that we were to leave Berlin, as it looked as if diplomatic relations between the two countries would be broken, and that Zimmermann told her not to worry about that, because they had just received word from the Austrian Government that Dr. Dumba, the Austrian Ambassador in Washington, had cabled that the Lusitania Note from America to Germany was only sent as a sop to public opinion in America, and that the Government did not really mean what was said in that note. I then called on Zimmermann at the Foreign Office, and he showed me Dumba's telegram which was substantially as stated above. Of course I immediately cabled to the State Department, and also got word to President Wilson. The rest of the incident is public property. I, of course, did not know what actually occurred between Mr. Bryan and Dr. Dumba, but I am sure Dr. Dumba must have misunderstood friendly statements made by Mr. Bryan.

"It was very lucky that I discovered the existence of this Dumba cablegram in this manner, which savours almost of diplomacy as represented on the stage. If the Germans had gone on in the belief that the Lusitania Note was not really meant, war would have inevitably resulted at that time between Germany and America, and it shows how great events may be shaped by heavy luncheons and a pretty woman." [85]

The Dumba cable was as follows:

"The United States desires no war. Her notes, however strongly worded, meant no harm, but had to be written in order to pacify excited public opinion of America. The Berlin Government therefore need not feel itself injured, but need only make suitable concessions if it desires to put an end to the dispute." [27]

While Wilson and House were excluding Bryan from their confidence, he had resorted to a stroke of diplomacy of his own, which could not fail to defeat their efforts. Needless to say the world generally, let alone the United States, was the victim of these indefensible methods. Bryan felt, apparently, that since he had signed the note after a definite agreement with Wilson, he had a right to interpret it in accordance with that agreement. Thus he undertook to overrule Wilson's change of policy under Cabinet pressure.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Modern Lysistratans Assemble at The Hague, Marburg and House Undertake to Foil Bryan and the Lysistratans. Swapping Horses in Mexico. The German Reply and Wilson's Rejoinder.

WHEN ARISTOPHANES wrote his immortal comedy—Lysistrata—he put an idea into women's heads, which they have never forgotten. Socialist activities had hitherto been restricted by patriotic appeals from the belligerent governments; moreover, open opposition would have been treason. Wilson's constant exaltation of American democracy and the ideal of peace finally took effect on the Socialists of the neutral countries; and when, with the sinking of the Lusitania, even America seemed on the brink of war, Dr. Jacobs, a Dutchwoman and prominent Socialist, called on all the neutrals, in the name of the Women's Peace Conference, to send representatives to the Hague.

Bryan was in complete sympathy with the modern Lysistratans. Miss Jane Addams, an American with strong Socialist leanings, hurried to The Hague, and was promptly elected presiding officer of the Conference.

The plan agreed on was to induce Wilson to head a movement among neutrals to enforce peace by cutting off supplies from the belligerents. Inasmuch as this would have benefited the Central Allies at the expense of their opponents, Dr. Jacobs, the proponent of the plan, was strongly suspected of being a German agent.

This was but another whirlwind sprung of the Internationalist plot. Socialism and Pacifism were now running hand in hand. Frau Salenka of Munich, and Rosika Von

Schwimmer of Austria, were noted radicals. Hardly had the Conference convened, when, on May 26th, the Nebras-kan, another American vessel, was torpedoed. Then, on the 28th, came Germany's reply to the American note of the 13th. "Our answer temporized," admitted von Tir-pitz. It alleged that the Lusitania's instant sinking was due to the explosion of the ammunition she was transporting, and requested time for further investigation.

In view of the Nebraskan incident, it should have been obvious that this note was designed to prolong discussion in Germany's interest, and that the Wilhelmstrasse was but seeking to play on the hopes of Wilson and Bryan.

The pressure on Wilson for intervention was likely to become irresistible, in the event of another untoward incident. The Internationalists felt that something must be done to support him, and at the same time prevent Bryan and the Women's Peace Conference from stirring up the radicals, and bringing about a premature peace.

Marburg knew that what politicians fear most are organized votes. Therefore he decided to complete the organization of the American Branch of the League to Enforce Peace. Ostensibly an agency to promote a league of nations, it was also to enforce suitable action on Wilson and the Democratic party. Finally, it was to organize world opinion to isolate the recalcitrant German Government. The German people might be led by powerful propaganda to overthrow it themselves. Having virtually absorbed in the American Branch of the League of Nations, the personnel of the American Association for International Conciliation, and the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Marburg sent out the four articles in which he and Taft had cast the Constitution of the League to Enforce Peace, signed by one hundred and twenty eminent men, with invitations to assemble on June 17th in Philadelphia to consider the League's proposals.

These proposals were stated as follows:

"It is desirable for the United States to join a league of nations, binding the signatories to the following:

"First: All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitation of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits, and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

"Second: All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

"Third: The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories, before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

"Fourth: Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in Article One."

Among those whose names appeared upon the invitation were Lyman Abbott, Editor of The Outlook, Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, James B. Angell, later President of Yale, James M. Beck, Alexander Graham Bell, Jacob M. Dickinson, formerly Secretary of War, William H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University, James Cardinal Gibbons, John Hays Hammond, James Grier Hibben, President of Princeton, David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University, A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard, Governor James B. Mc-Creary of Kentucky, Alton B. Parker, Jacob H. Schiff, Isaac Seligman, Robert Sharp, President of Tulane, William H. Short, Secretary of the New York Peace Society, Oscar S. Straus, Member of the Hague Court, William H. Taft, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of University of California, William Allen White, Senator John Sharp Williams, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

"On May 31st," says von Tirpitz, "there was a general meeting to discuss the question of the submarine policy, the Emperor presiding. Admiral von Muller informed Admiral Bachmann and myself immediately he arrived,

that the Chancellor refused to be responsible for the campaign in its existing form. Von Treutler and General von Falkenhayn were of the same opinion as the Chancellor. The Chief of the Naval Staff and myself, on the contrary, maintained the view that it was technically impossible to comply with the Chancellor's demand that the campaign should be so conducted as to avoid any political conflict, and that His Majesty would accordingly have to decide whether it was to be carried on at all or not. The Emperor agreed with our point of view, and said that if the Chancellor would not accept the responsibility for the entire abandonment of the campaign, the existing orders must stand. The result of the discussion was, accordingly, the issue of an order to the submarine commanders, containing renewed and comprehensive instructions as to sparing neutral vessels (which had already been the subject of an earlier order), leaving untouched on the other hand the instruction for the sinking of all English vessels, without any exception." [222]

Already House, like Page and Gerard, had concluded that war was inevitable. "I told Plunkett," he wrote on June 1st, "that I was leaving for America, and my reasons for doing so. I said it was my purpose to persuade the President not to conduct a milk-and-water war, but to put all the strength, all the virility, and all the energy of our nation into it, so that Europe might remember for a century what it meant to provoke a peaceful nation into war.

"I intended to suggest a commission, with perhaps a member of the Cabinet as chairman, to facilitate the manufacture of munitions of war and war materials. Plunkett wanted me to see some of the British Cabinet and talk with them before I left. He arranged for me to meet Lloyd George at six o'clock. . . ."

When the Women's Peace Conference assembled, there was such a grave and widespread suspicion that Dr. Jacobs was a German agent, and her associates but the dupes of the Wilhelmstrasse, that the Conference found itself more or less helpless from the first. After Miss Addams had visited Berlin, delegates were deputed to present peace

proposals to all the neutral governments. Dr. Jacobs herself, attended by Miss Addams and Miss Emily Balch, were assigned to America, where they were assured of: the utmost cooperation on the part of Bryan.

Wilson, Marburg and House had been fully aware of Bryan's dealings with Bernstorff and Dumba. Why had the President permitted them? Had he been allowing the Secretary of State rope to hang himself, until there was sufficient evidence to force him out of the Cabinet, and silence him forever? This is not only possible, but even likely.

While Bryan's dealings with the Germans amounted to little less than treason, and public opinion would demand his dismissal if the facts were known, Wilson was too shrewd a politician not to exploit to the full the commanding advantage he now possessed. It was possible to arrange for Bryan's resignation in a way that would seal his lips forever, and simultaneously secure his friendship for future use, with infinite advantage, in the 1916 campaign.

It was not difficult for Wilson to show Bryan the position in which he had placed the Administration. Too many people knew of the Dumba incident to permit the President even to consider condoning it, unless Bryan could retrieve the situation. These things being so, there was but one possible solution of the problem which Bryan himself had created. He must either obtain from the German Government, through his friend Bernstorff, the necessary concessions, or resign quickly and quietly upon some pretext, in order to save the President, the Democratic party, and himself as well. The evident willingness of the President to help him extricate himself, as far as this was possible, might very well appeal to his sense of gratitude.

Exactly what Wilson said to Bryan will probably never be known, but the evidence is conclusive that the issue was joined by Wilson soon after the receipt of the German reply on the 28th. And while apparently Bryan did not fathom what was in the minds of Wilson and House, or see that they were but taking advantage of the present situation to rid themselves of him, it is certain he set out at once to

retrieve himself by serving notice on Bernstorff that more than the German note of May 28th was necessary.[27]

The German situation was not the only matter with which Wilson now proposed to deal. The Mexicans had been having pretty much their own way under Bryan's plan of pacification. The Lusitania incident had but emboldened Carranza to go further in his obvious cooperation with the Wilhelmstrasse. Wilson now deemed the threat of recognizing Iturbide as the best means of getting rid of Carranza, despite Bryan's desire that the latter be recognized.

Bryan was a few minutes late at the Cabinet meeting of June 1st. He seemed to be laboring under a great strain, and sat back in his chair with his eyes closed. Wilson read a draft of a proposed warning to the Mexican factions. Lane thought the President ought to make it clear that the Government would get behind another Mexican leader, Iturbide, and that steps ought to be taken to get him in touch with financiers who would back him. Bryan thought the way ought to be left open to recognize Carranza, who had been fighting so long for liberty, and not take up a man who would probably side with the reactionaries. Another member suggested that "we ought to have clearly in mind the steps we would take in case nothing happened," and not commit ourselves in the note to any individual. Wilson seemed much surprised at the many and divergent suggestions, and said so with some emphasis, adding that the note embodied what seemed to him to be the consensus of opinion of the last Cabinet meeting. He asked for an explanation of the "singular change of mind." Nobody ventured to enlighten him.

"I reminded him," says Houston, "that I had been absent from the last few meetings, and expressed the hope that what I might say would not be based on a misapprehension.

"The note purports to be a solemn warning. From its phraseology, the people would, of course, regard it as such, and also as a change of policy. But I find no indication of a change of policy, and no hint that anything else will

happen. In effect it says: 'We have tried Carranza, and hoped for something from Villa and others. They have failed us. Now, we will look around and see if we can find another promising bandit. Perhaps Iturbide would do!' This does not mean a change of policy. It is a continuance of the present policy. We simply propose to play our cards on a new man. I know the new man. He is the best of the outfit I have seen, but I have no real faith in him. Like most of his kind, he is vain and vainglorious. I do not believe he can do anything. He has not the right fiber, and if he prevailed, he would do nothing for the Mexican people. He wants to get in, not for their sake, but for his own. To that extent I agree with Mr. Bryan.

"I have no faith in Carranza. He is dull and pigheaded. If he has any intelligence, he takes great pains to conceal it. Villa is a roughneck and a murderer. He is clearly impossible.

"If you propose to back a new man, do not announce a change of policy, or issue a solemn warning. Simply quickly go ahead, back him, and let the proper parties know that you will approve their support of him. I notice you conclude by saying that, if the leaders do not get together, you will turn elsewhere for suggestions. What does this mean? Who will give them? This will scarcely appear to be an adequate conclusion of a note conveying a solemn warning, and announcing a change of policy. The people will have a right to believe that you have definitely in mind a real solution of the problem, and are prepared to see it through. They will expect to see you take drastic action if necessary. The people may or may not now wish intervention, but they would have a right to conclude from this statement that you have it in mind, in case your warning is not heeded."

At this Bryan vigorously shook his head. The President asked what Houston would suggest. "I said: 'Either do not issue the statement, or conclude it with definite intimation that if the Mexican situation does not clear, you will be compelled to recommend to Congress the steps

which this government should take to bring an intolerable condition of things to an end.' " [106]

Wilson was not deterred either by Bryan or Houston, so that a note, in substance the same as the one he had prepared, was despatched the next day. The members of the cabinet might as well have kept their own counsel.

Having arrived at a decision concerning Iturbide and Carranza in the way shown, the President next took up the German reply of May 28th to the Lusitania note, reading the draft of the reply he had prepared.

Garrison urged that the rejoinder contain no discussion of details or facts. Germany should be made to say, first, "whether or not she accepted the principle we stood for. If she did not, there was nothing to discuss; if she did, we could then canvass details with her."

Bryan wanted to know what was going to be done about England's interference with American trade. He wanted a strong note sent, protesting against her illegal action in holding up American exports, particularly cotton. There was instant objection to such a course from several members of the Cabinet. They strongly resisted consideration of material interests at a moment when a grave issue involving human lives, was under discussion.

Bryan became excited. He said that he had all along insisted on a note to England; that she was "illegally preventing our exports from going where we had a right to send them." When the Cabinet strongly protested against a note to England, Wilson sharply rebuked Bryan, saying that his remarks were unfair and unjust. "We had lodged a protest with England and might do so again at the proper time, but this would be a singularly inappropriate time to take up such a matter with her." Furthermore, he had had indications that the control of shipping would be taken out of Lord Fisher's hands, that there would be Cabinet changes, and that "our reasonable demands" would be met. Certainly, in any event, "when we had before us a grave issue with the Germans, it would be folly to force an issue of such character on England. We were merely trying to look at our duty and all our problems objectively."

Houston suggested that the President assumed, in his note, that the German reply accepted the principle for which he was contending, adding that Germany had delayed saying so, pending the receipt of information as to the arming of the Lusitania, and as to its carrying munitions. He wanted the facts given to Germany, and the demand contained in the first note reiterated.*

Although it is evident the Cabinet did not know what was going on between Wilson and Bryan, they suspected something, as shown by the further comments of Houston.

"As we left the meeting, I said to two of my colleagues that Bryan would 'fly the coop' if the President showed firmness toward either Mexico or Germany, or even if Bryan became convinced that the President meant what he said in his first note. Bryan evidently had not taken the first note very seriously. He imagined, apparently, either that nothing further would happen, or that Germany would comply with our wishes as a matter of course, or that we would back down. I had the feeling after the meeting that, if necessary to avoid trouble, Bryan would be willing to tell Germany that we did not mean anything by the first note, and that she should not take it seriously." **

As a matter of fact, Bryan handed Wilson during this Cabinet meeting, a note which Bernstorff had been prompt to obtain, in the hope of saving Bryan. In this new note, dated June 1st, the freedom of all parts of the open sea to neutral ships was admitted. Willingness on the part of Germany to acknowledge liability for further attacks on neutral vessels not guilty of hostile acts, was also expressed. But beyond this the German Government had not dared to go. Liability for the destruction of the Lusitania must be left to argument, and the German Government had obviously no idea of admitting it.

Bryan was doomed—his contention that the second German reply was adequate, vain. Again he had to notify Bernstorff that the handwriting was on the wall. Wilson

* Houston, Vol. I, pp. 136-139. ** Houston, Vol. 1, p. 139.

had no idea of surrendering the advantage that was his. Bernstorff must make one more effort to save Bryan.

"I resolved," says Bernstorff, "without waiting for instructions from Berlin, to make use of my privileged position as Ambassador, to demand an audience with the President. I heard later, among other things, when I was at Manila, that on this very day, June 2nd, all preparations had been made for breaking off relations, and for the inevitable resulting war. As a result of my interview, however, they were cancelled. I had a long conversation with the President and two of his advisers. Mr. Wilson felt the position acutely, and was animated solely by a desire to preserve peace. We both realized that it was a question of gaining time, and succeeded in coming to an agreement on the measures to be taken to mitigate the crisis. We took the view that the isolation of Germany had given rise to an atmosphere of misunderstanding between her and the United States, and that the establishment of some sort of personal relationship might be expected to ease this tension; I, therefore, proposed, and the President agreed, that Meyer Gerhardt, a member of the Privy Council, who had accompanied Dr. Dernburg to America, and was then acting on behalf of the German Red Cross, should at once go to Germany, and report in person to the Government. Mr. Wilson, for his part, undertook that no final decision should be taken until Meyer Gerhardt had reported the results of his mission.

"At the end of this interview, I was convinced in my own mind that the President would never enter on war with Germany, otherwise I could not conceive why he should have concurred in my proposals, instead of breaking off relations at once. He would, had he chosen the latter course, have had American public opinion more decidedly behind him than it was later, at the time of the final breach. Not a voice would have been raised in opposition, except that of the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, who, as it was, resigned his office, on the ground that the exchange of Notes threatened to involve the United States in war, and

could not be reconciled, therefore, with his own pacific intentions.

"It is certain that if I had not at this stage of the Lusi-tania crisis had my interview with the President, relations would have been broken off, and war between the United States and Germany must inevitably have followed. The view is still held in many quarters that we might safely have disregarded American susceptibilities, as President Wilson was entirely averse to war, and would have avoided it by whatever means; then we should have been free to carry on our submarine campaign. This was not the opinion held by myself or any of my colleagues at the Embassy, and later events proved us to have been in the right, as against those Germans and German-Americans, who, in May, 1915, and afterwards, averred that the United States would never declare war on us, and maintained the same view in January and February, 1917. The principles of my later policy were based on the events of this Lusitania crisis; I had then gathered the conviction that Mr. Wilson wanted peace, but the country wanted war; that the President alone had prevented an immediate rupture, but that, as the responsible leader of the American people, he would be compelled to bow eventually to public opinion. When Mr. Wilson had to explain away his unlucky speech at Philadelphia, no action was taken from the German side, and no information given him which might lead him to understand that Germany desired to avoid a casus belli at all costs, for fear of giving Mr. Wilson an opportunity to gain a cheap triumph over Germany in a verbal wrangle.

"I believe it unjust to Mr. Wilson to suppose that he wished to bluff us into surrender at this time. He had, while fully realizing the danger of war, sought all ways and means to avoid it, and on this hypothesis my whole policy was founded. Moreover, the President had then mentioned to me for the first time, that he was considering an attempt at mediation between the belligerents.

"After my audience at the White House I sent the following wire to the Foreign Office:

"Cipher

"Washington, June 2nd, 1915.

"Seriousness of the present situation here induced me to seek interview with President Wilson. In most cordial exchange of views, in course of which we repeatedly emphasized our mutual desire to find some solution of the present difficulties, Wilson always came back to point that he was concerned purely with humanitarian aspect of matter, and that question of indemnification for loss of American lives in Lusitania was only of secondary importance. His main object was complete cessation of submarine warfare, and from point of view of this ultimate aim, smaller concessions on our part could only be regarded as half measures. It behooved us by giving up submarine campaign to appeal to moral sense of world; for issue of the war could never be finally decided by armies but only by peace of understanding. Our voluntary cessation of submarine warfare would inspire Wilson to press for raising of English hunger blockade. Reliable reports from London state that present Cabinet would agree to this. Wilson hopes that this might be first stage in a peace movement on large scale, which he would introduce as head of leading neutral Powers.

"American reply may be expected to lay little stress on purely legal aspect of matter and to dwell rather on question of humanity, emphatically enough, but as Wilson told me, in a sharper form.

"President remarked that on one point at least we should be in agreement, as both Germany and United States of America had always been in favor of freedom of seas.

"Cordiality of conversation must not blind our eyes to seriousness of situation. If our next Note does not tend to tranquilize matters, Wilson is bound to recall his Ambassador. I recommend most earnestly that this should be avoided at all costs, in view of its disastrous moral effect and fact that this result would be immediate increase in export of munitions, and in financial support for our enemies on immense scale. Good prospect exists of success of present movement for forbidding export of arms should understanding be reached; and also movement by Wilson in direction of peace is sure to follow. Decisive factor in result is that our reply should strike correct note from point of view of public opinion, which is decisive factor in balance here. For this, essential leave out legal details and to lift discussion to level of humanitarian stand-

point. Meyer Gerhardt leaves tomorrow for Germany as Red Cross representative; he will report fully in Berlin on situation. Beg that our reply will be held up till his arrival. Wilson concurs in this."

Meyer Gerhardt was in a position to give for the first time a full and accurate review of the American situation to the Berlin authorities. I had given him most precise information of my own views and had placed him in full possession of the details of my interview with Mr. Wilson. For the rest I had to content myself with short telegrams by circuitous routes. During our conversation, however, the President offered for the first time to permit me to dispatch a cipher telegram through the State Department, to be sent on by the American Embassy in Berlin." [27]

From this testimony several things are obvious. Wilson had no more idea now of leading the country into war than before. He was still trying to prevent war by obtaining that compromise from Germany which he believed Bryan had prevented, while foremost in his mind was the idea of the league of nations. Even Bernstorff now saw that, while further concessions in the matter of the submarine blockade might save Bryan, the real price of Wilson's friendship for Germany was a commitment to a league of nations. In other words, the creation of such a league was his one idea of the way to serve humanity, and to this every other consideration must give way.

Page was now heartbroken:

"Here we are swung loose in time," he wrote to his son, "nobody knows the day or the week or the month or the year—and we are caught on this island, with no chance of escape, while the vast slaughter goes on and seems just beginning; and the degradation of war goes on week by week; and we live in hope that the United States will come in, as the only chance to give us standing and influence when the reorganization of the world must begin. (Beware of betraying the word 'hope'!) It has all passed far beyond anybody's power to describe. I simply go on day by day into unknown experiences and emotions, seeing nothing

before me very clearly and remembering only dimly what lies behind. I can see only one proper thing: that all the world should fall to and hunt this wild beast down." [99]

Page did not regard Bryan's opinions and attitudes as a joke: to him they were a serious matter, and Bryan a national menace. He regarded the Secretary as the extreme expression of an irrational sentimentalism underlying the American character, and manifest in many phases of American life.

In a moment of exasperation, Page gave expression to his feelings in a letter to his son: "We're in danger of being feminized and fadridden—grape juice (God knows water's good enough: why grape juice?); pensions; Christian Science; peace cranks; efficiency-correspondence schools; aid-your-memory; women's clubs; co-this and co-t'other, and coddling in general; Billy Sunday; petticoats where breeches ought to be, and breeches where petticoats ought to be; white livers and soft heads and milk-and-water;—I don't want war: nobody knows its horrors, or its degradations, or its cost. But to get rid of hyphenated degenerates, perhaps it's worth while, and to free us from 'isms and soft folk. That's the domestic view of it. As for being kicked by a sauerkraut caste—O Lord, give us backbone!"

CHAPTER XXIX

The Secret of Bryan's Resignation. Houston, the Internationalist in the Cabinet, Takes the Lead.

BRYAN'S ENFORCED RESIGNATION was to be cleverly contrived and camouflaged. The country was demanding action. He had been given a fair chance to retrieve the situation, and had failed. Longer delay on the part of Wilson would be ruinous. In the note which Wilson now proposed to send to Germany, Bryan must find the pretext for his resignation. Under the circumstances, Bryan's real reason could easily be concealed. Wilson, of course, would cooperate by feigning regret over Bryan's decision.

How far Houston was informed of the plan can not be said, but it is obvious from his own record, that he was now called upon by the Internationalists, who had secured his appointment, to do his part by cooperating with Wilson. Henceforth he was to assume a leading role in the councils and debates of the Cabinet.

Bryan must have seen his situation with real terror. There was not the slightest chance of Germany committing herself to a league of nations, and he must resign to silence his enemies and save himself, to say nothing of the President and the Democratic party. Worse than that, he must give his tacit support to the Administration, no matter how unacceptable its policies. He must even feign gratitude to the man who could ruin him with a word. To attack Wilson at any time, would almost certainly result in his exposure, and the charge of ingratitude to a man who had acted toward him with apparent generosity. Such was the penalty of his wrong doing.

He was not given long to debate his course. On the 4th, the Cabinet met in the President's study in the White House. After a confused discussion which tried Wilson's patience, Houston repeated his suggestions of the preceding meeting. As the Cabinet dispersed, Houston felt sure that Bryan was going to "fly the coop," and said so to Lane and McAdoo.

McAdoo at once reported this to Wilson, who expressed keen regrets; McAdoo then hastened to Bryan, whom he found writing his resignation. After telling Bryan he did not think it fair to Wilson for him to split the party by resigning, McAdoo reported Bryan's fixed resolve to Wilson. Thereupon Wilson rang up Houston on the telephone, asked him what he thought was the settled sentiment of the Cabinet, and said that he had been able to get no clear notion of their views at the last meeting. Houston told him the general judgment was that his note was admirable, and needed only slight modification. It would be useless, he thought, to demand flatly that Germany give up submarines, but imperative to demand that she regard the law of nations and the dictates of humanity; that she must not imperil or destroy American ships, or endanger the lives of our citizens traveling on ships on which they had a right to travel. The emphasis should be put on the safety of American citizens. Other neutral nations might be trusted to do their own protesting. "I told him, also, that one member was in favor simply of making Germany say 'yes' or 'no,' without referring at all to the issue of fact which had been raised. He said that that would not do at all; that it was too technical a view."

On Sunday, June 6th, at the President's request, Houston returned to the White House with McAdoo. On arrival, Wilson told them that Bryan was going to resign, whereupon Houston reassured him by saying it was useless to try to figure out the psychology of the Germans, and that Bryan's resignation would do no harm.

Wilson asked Houston and McAdoo to think of a man for Bryan's place, saying that he had canvassed the field, and could not hit upon a satisfactory outside man. House,

he thought, would be a good man, but his "health probably would not permit him to take the place," while his appointment would make Texas "loom too large." He remarked that Lansing would not do, that he was not a big enough man, did not have enough imagination, and would not sufficiently vigorously combat or question his views, and that he was lacking in initiative. Houston agreed that Lansing was useful where he was, but that he would be of no real assistance in the position of Secretary of State.

McAdoo, however, was still worried. On Monday, he insisted upon Wilson conferring again with Bryan and himself. Bryan, of course, did not change his attitude. Therefore, when the Cabinet met the next day, Bryan was absent. The meeting began with a discussion of the revised note to Germany. There was further discussion of Houston's suggestion that the note ought merely to hold Germany to the principle involved, without a reference to the issue of fact she had raised. This point was soon passed over, and the question raised as to whether the note was sufficiently firm. At this point, Wilson was interrupted by a message. A few minutes later, another messenger came in, and Wilson said: "Gentlemen, Mr. Bryan has resigned as Secretary of State, to take effect when the German note is sent. He is on the telephone, and wants to know whether it would be desirable and agreeable for him to attend the Cabinet meeting. Would it be embarrassing? What do you think?"

There was a general expression to the effect that his presence would not embarrass any one, that it would be entirely agreeable for him to attend. In a few minutes, Bryan came in. All the members stood up. There was no evidence of embarrassment in any direction. Wilson greeted him very graciously. The discussion was soon resumed. Looking "exhausted and appearing to be under a great emotional strain, Bryan leaned back in his chair with his eyes closed," while Houston spoke in a way calculated to place the responsibility for the action which Wilson had all along intended to take, upon the Cabinet.

"We have now come to a show-down. What you now say or do may mean war," said Houston. "You are speaking

for the American nation. You must have its united backing. At present, the masses of the people are not dreaming of our becoming involved in the war. As a rule, they know very little about the issues, and are not thinking much about it, except so far as it affects their particular individual fortunes. This is particularly true in the South and West. I realized it everywhere during my recent trip. It is only in the Northeast, and there among relatively small groups, that there is a real understanding of the broad issues involved, and of the seriousness of the present situation. The nation will follow leadership in the right direction on a show-down, but the people are now relatively little interested, not at all excited, and would not be a unit. They are getting educated, and they need it. Let the people understand that the issue is an American issue, that it is now very definitely a matter of American rights and American lives. There are and have been very broad issues involved since the beginning, but they are now as broad as American rights, and involve American lives.

"When you make your demand, let it have specific and exclusive reference to the rights and lives of American ship-masters and American citizens. Do not discuss belligerent or neutral rights and ships, or visit and search, or the dis-continuance of the use of the submarine. Simply demand that they take no action which will impair the lawful rights of American citizens in trade or travel, or which may imperil their lives. And interpret the German reply as an acceptance of the principle you stand for, and demand a prompt confirmation in view of the facts which you recite in response to their request."

Marburg himself, had he been present, would not have argued differently. Wilson did his part well. With Bryan listening in silence, Wilson asked Houston to restate his principal points, and made notes as he spoke, as if he were getting new ideas.

As those present were leaving the Cabinet room, Bryan asked them to lunch with him at the University Club. Lane, Daniels, Burleson, Wilson, Garrison, and Houston accepted. For a time the conversation was general. Bryan

was preoccupied—he seemed to be communing with himself. Finally he said: "Gentlemen, this is our last meeting together. I have valued our association and friendship. I have had to take the course I have chosen. The President has had one view. I have had a different one. I do not censure him for thinking and acting as he thinks best. I have had to act as I have thought best. I can not go along with him in this note. I think it makes for war. I believe that I can do more on the outside to prevent war than I can on the inside. I think I can help the President more on the outside. I can work to control popular opinion so that it will not exert pressure for extreme action, which the President does not want. We both want the same thing, Peace."

Each of his guests said some pleasant thing. "You are the most real Christian I know," said Lane. Burleson expressed agreement. Bryan continued: "I must act according to my conscience. I go out into the dark. The President has the Prestige and the Power on his side." Then he broke down completely and stopped. After a few seconds he added: "I have many friends who would die for me."

Houston has fully disclosed the fact of his hostility toward Bryan. Nevertheless, the Cabinet generally had been thoroughly deceived by Wilson's tactics. Describing Bryan's resignation, Daniels says: "The first break in Wilson's Cabinet came on June 8, 1915, when Mr. Bryan tendered his resignation as Secretary of State. It was not attended by any lack of cordial relationship, and the separation gave regret to both the President and Mr. Bryan. It was a wrench on both sides."

At nine o'clock, extras announcing Bryan's resignation appeared, giving Bryan's letter and Wilson's reply-There was great excitement. "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 can not 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." So wrote Bryan.

In reply Wilson said in part: "I accept your resignation only because you insist" and "with a feeling of personal sorrow." He referred to the fact that their judgments had "accorded in practically every matter of official duty and public policy until now. As to the cause," he said, "even now we are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it." For that reason his feeling was "deeper than regret—I sincerely deplore it."

"In all the annals of official correspondence," says Daniels, "there could not be found two letters so free from all that is formal, or so permeated by genuine admiration, each for the other. Very different in temperament, each admired the other for recognized sterling qualities. The resignation created a national sensation, and was followed by much gossip. Those on the inside knew that the letters contained the true sentiments. Attempts were made to give an air of mystery where none existed. Mr. Bryan hated war—he believed the course of Mr. Wilson would bring war. He could not consistently sign or approve a note that he believed would eventuate in war with Germany. As a conscientious man and official, he felt the only honorable course was to retire to private life, when he was not in harmony with his chief. He did so with genuine regret. On the President's part, he hated war. He had been derided for his long-continued attempts to 'keep us out of war.' But he believed it better to have war, if war should come, than to fail to assert the demands he made upon Germany. He felt that, as he said in his war message, 'the right is more precious than peace,' and he was so convinced he was right, he could 'do no otherwise.' "[61]

Thus Daniels proved, like Lansing and Lane, that as a member of Wilson's Cabinet he really knew little of what the President was doing.

After Bryan's resignation, and before Wilson's rejoinder to Germany was published, Bryan told Gregory that he had resigned because Wilson had struck out a sentence in the

note which he, Bryan, had written, and upon which he had insisted. This sentence, Bryan claimed, had been reinserted. In the face of the evidence given, however, it is not to be doubted that, pursuant to a concerted plan, Bryan had been forced out of the Cabinet, and that Wilson had but cooperated with him to enable him to retire gracefully.

Having at last rid himself of Bryan, Wilson, on the evening of the 8th, rang up Houston at his home. He said he wished to read him certain passages of the revised note, to see whether his changes met the views Houston had expressed in Cabinet meeting. "He read the passages, and I told him that they fully embodied my suggestions, of which the principal ones were: (1) that he make it clear that we assumed that Germany did not raise a question of principle; (2) that he inform Germany that she was mistaken as to the Lusitania's being in effect a British naval auxiliary; (3) that he point out that a number of her contentions were irrelevant; (4) that he again emphasize the point that we were contending for something higher than rights of property or of commerce, namely, the rights of humanity; (5) that he renew the representations and warnings of the first note; (6) but that, in this note, he limit his statements to the rights of American shipmasters and American citizens, and demand assurances that they will be respected."

The note, embodying the views of the Internationalists, was dated June 9th, and on this day a statement from Bryan also appeared. The note "made Bryan's statement look silly. . . . The press, except the German part of it, was a unit against him. It supported the President and the cause of civilization and decency."[108]

Page was overjoyed when he learned of Bryan's resignation:

"Again and ever I am reminded," he wrote, "of the danger of having to do with cranks. A certain orderliness of mind and conduct seems essential for safety in this short life. Spiritualists, bone-rubbers, anti-vivisectionists, all sort of anti's in fact, those who have fads about education or fads against it, Perfectionists, Daughters of the Dove of

Peace, Sons of the Roaring Torrent, itinerant peace-mongers—all these may have a real genius among them once in forty years; but to look for an exception to the common run of yellow dogs and damfools among them, is like open-ing oysters with the hope of finding pearls. It's the common man we want, and the uncommon common man when we can find him—never the crank. This is the lesson of Bryan."

CHAPTER XXX

With Political Aspirations, Wood Organizes The Citizens' Military Training Camp to Circumvent the Orders of the War Department. The "Super-Ambassador" Returns. The League to Enforce Peace Organized in the "City of Brotherly Love." Lansing Becomes Secretary of State. The Militarists Compelled, by Wilson and the Internationalists to Continue the War. A Battle of Ink and Paper. Delayed Action Tides Over the "Lusitania"

Crisis.

BEFORE THE ORDER forbidding the holding of training camps by the War Department had been issued, Wood had written Bliss, Assistant Chief of Staff: "Don't let any quibbling or haggling over little things hold up the camps. They are too vitally important to be stopped by trifles. . . . We can hold the camps in this department without any additional expense. I mean this literally, because they will be held on the post reservations, so that neither men nor material will have to be moved. I am going ahead on this assumption."

In his life of General Wood, Hagedorn misses entirely the explanation of Wood's retention as Chief of Staff, and his activities prior to his relief. Nor does he intimate that, once established in New York among the most influential opponents of the Administration, the presidential bee was soon buzzing in Wood's bonnet. There is not the least doubt that he had seen the political power which he might build up through the medium of the training camps-Therefore, when advised that the order must be obeyed, Wood and a group of admirers in New York, including Robert Bacon, Willard Straight, and others of equal prominence in the National Security League, formulated a plan

to circumvent the War Department. They determined to open a training camp at Plattsburg during the summer of 1915. A private affair, it was to be modelled after the preceding ones, and called the Citizens' Military Training Camp. Roosevelt volunteered to help raise the necessary funds, but his help was not needed, for Bernard Baruch, one of Wilson's closest friends, gave Wood $10,000, and persuaded Daniel Guggenheim and others to contribute. The idea took hold, and funds came in a flood, $100,000 in all. Rumors of Baruch's interest reached Washington, and he was chided as a busybody by those who thought he was opposing Wilson's desires.

Despite this aid, however, recruits came slowly at first, since the War Department lent no aid whatever. Finally Wood addressed a huge meeting of young men at the Harvard Club, and the tide turned. Fully advised of all this, and of Marburg's plan to assemble his cohorts on June 17th, the "Silent Partner" arrived in New York on the 13th, escorted in "super-ambassadorial" state by British warships.

"Mystery," stated the New York American, "surrounds the nature of the important despatches which Colonel House brought back to America yesterday."

Met by Gregory, House was told all that had happened in his absence, and at once proceeded to assert his control. Thus, on the 16th, or the day before the League to Enforce Peace was to meet, he undertook to emphasize the gravity of the crisis which the American Government was facing. War, he told Wilson, would probably be forced on America by the German militarists, as a last resort to save themselves.

The assembly summoned by Marburg turned out to be a great success. Three hundred men of eminence responded to the call. A banquet, attended by both ladies and gentlemen, was held at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel on the evening of the 16th, to afford opportunity for a full preliminary presentation of the purpose of the gathering. The Mayor of Philadelphia presided. Addresses were made by Hamilton Holt, George Gray, Oscar S. Straus, A. Lawrence Lowell, and William Howard Taft.

Taft was elected President of the League on the 17th and addresses delivered by Marburg, John Bates Clark, and Edward A. Filene. The following permanent organization was then adopted:

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, President

Executive Committee

A. Lawrence Lowell, Chairman

Hamilton Holt Theodore Marburg

Vice Chairmen

John Bates Clark	William Hodges Mann
Jacob M. Dickinson	Alton B. Parker
Samuel J. Elder	Leo S. Rowe
Philip H. Gadsden	William H. Short
John Hays Hammond	John A. Stewart
Herbert S. Houston	Oscar S. Straus
William B. Howland	Frank S. Streeter
Darwin P. Kingsley	Thomas Raeburn White

William Howard Taft, Ex-Officio

Members of the Committee of Management: Committee on Home Organization Alton B. Parker, Chairman

Committee on Foreign Organization Theodore Marburg, Chairman

Committee on Information Herbert S. Houston, Chairman

Finance Committee

Darwin P. Kingsley, Chairman Herbert S. Houston, Treasurer William H. Short, Secretary

Having committed many of the foremost scholars and publicists of the country to his international project, Mar-

burg was wise in his generation. The League was not to be prejudiced in the popular mind by giving representation in its Councils to the great financial interests behind it. The internationalistic scheme which had originated with them, was now quite capable of progressing without their taking an official part. Alton B. Parker, former Democratic candidate for President, was obviously made Chairman of the Committee on Home Organization, to counteract the possible impression that it was a Republican project, while Marburg reserved to himself the conduct of foreign relations.

Thus did Theodore Marburg bring into existence an influence which no President could ignore, the like of which had not been known before in the political life of the world, much less of the American people. Most of those whose aid he had enlisted, recognizing the necessity of supplying the country with a leadership it did not have, were actuated by the most patriotic motives. Never before, however, had a non-partisan political organization been created to dictate the foreign policy of a President. It was while lecturing in Richmond, that Taft made a significant answer to a lament as to Wilson's lack of leadership. "Never mind," he said, "we'll smoke him out yet!"

On account of Bryan's suspicions, Marburg had, in the past, found it almost impossible to advise Wilson directly. Nor was it politically wise for either him or Taft to do so in House's absence. Bryan, however, was now gone, so that, to avoid the circumlocution of always having to deal with Wilson through House, it was decided that the Executive Committee should deal with Wilson. Taft was to take the field on a great lecture tour to explain the object of the League.

House was to continue in his old capacity as intermediary. Hereafter, when Wilson called on House for advice, he was plainly seeking the views of the Executive Committee of the League. It was all very cleverly arranged. With Taft, a former Republican opponent of Wilson as President of the League, no one seems to have suspected the direct

influence Marburg, the Great Mogul of the Internationalists, exercised over Wilson.

With his highly organized publicity, Marburg had insured the widest attention to the proposals of the League; and through the financial interests whom he was representing, the newspapers would very generally approve them.

Having remained in the background until after the meeting, House arrived in Washington on June 20th, and, the following day, conferred with the British and German Ambassadors. Since the former was an obstacle in the way of a league of nations, efforts were at once instituted by House to get rid of him.

The next problem of the Internationalists was to secure the appointment of a Secretary of State friendly to Britain, and, at the same time, to a league of nations. It was not an easy thing to do. Of the two, the former was by far the most important, since there was no chance of the British Government cooperating with Wilson unless American friendship was assured. Nor was it well to leave Page longer in London, by reason of his known hostility to a league of nations.

But Page could not be summarily forced out like Bryan. He knew too much. Relieved of all obligation to the Administration, he would surely speak out with direful consequences. On the other hand, should he be appointed Secretary of State, room would be made for an American Ambassador in sympathy with the President's Internationalism; Page would take it as a promotion; the British Government which looked upon him as their staunchest American friend would be pleased; amity between the two governments would be assured; and so long as Page remained in the Cabinet, he would be precluded from any open opposition to the President.

It was the third time Page had been recommended by House for a Cabinet position, but the "Silent Partner" had again reckoned without his host. The President had no idea of turning over the State Department at this juncture, to one whom he could not control. His mind had long since been poisoned against Page, whose independence had

become more and more irksome to him. He had had enough of opposition. Bryan, Garrison, Page, Moore, Wood, Scott, and McCombs, had exhausted his patience. Even Lane and Houston had not been too obedient to his will. Moreover, it would be bad politics to appoint a Secretary of State so notoriously hostile to Bryan, and so pro-British in his sympathies as Page. It could not fail to be taken by Bryan as a direct affront to him and his following. House's recommendation was overruled, on the ground that Page's selection would be taken as an unneutral act.

But again Wilson was to have a Secretary of State thrust upon him by the Internationalists, who were determined to force the appointment of a man friendly to Great Britain. The objections to Lansing which Wilson and Houston had advanced, were not important. Since he was strongly pro-British, the fact he was not too insistent upon his views, made him all the more acceptable to Marburg and House. Moreover, the promotion of Bryan's own aide would not appear as a reflection on Bryan. Therefore, on June 23, 1915, he was appointed by Wilson with the express purpose of utilizing him merely as a highly trained diplomatic scribe, "a rubber stamp," as House put it. Next, House recommended John W. Davis, Solicitor General of the United States, to succeed Lansing as Counselor of the State Department, but to this, too, Wilson objected. It was not until a month later that Franklin K. Polk was appointed.

The energy of Marburg was seemingly without limit. Soon after the first gathering of the League to Enforce Peace, numerous peace societies, and the National Economic League of which Marburg was a prominent member, endorsed its program, while the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, representing 350,000 business men, firms, and corporations in every state in the union, held a referendum upon it. Strongly under the influence of the great financiers, more than 96 per cent of the vote approved the proposition that the United States should take the in-itiative in forming a league of nations bound to submit justiciable questions arising between any of its members to an international court, and non-justiciable questions to

a council of conciliation for decision or recommendation before resorting to war.

But how far were the Internationalists promoting peace? The German militarists saw what they were planning to do. "The Foreign Office, I am sure," said Gerard, "wants to make some decent settlement," but von Tirpitz and his followers exerted themselves to the utmost, so that the Chancellor found himself powerless to consider seriously any kind of a peace. The German reply of July 8th to Wilson's second Lusitania note, failed to meet Wilson's demands.

Beginning with a formal approval of the rights of humanity, which seemed to many Americans an ill-chosen stroke of irony, the body of the note consisted of complaints about British restrictions of trade and anti-submarine methods. It maintained the principle that neutral citizens traveling in the "barred zone" on the high seas, did so at their own risk; concluding with the suggestion, which Gerard had prophesied, that Americans might cross the seas upon neutral vessels which, if they raised the American flag, would be assured special protection, or upon "four enemy passenger-steamers for passenger traffic," for the "free and safe passage" of which, the German Government would give guaranties. To Wilson's demand for a promise that acts like the sinking of the Lusitania should not be repeated, there was no reply. Germany suggested, in effect, that the United States keep out of trouble by yielding its sovereign rights.

The patience of the country had been almost exhausted by the battle of ink fervently waged by Lansing. Germany had, plainly, but one purpose. Something had to be done to satisfy the popular clamor for action. The Internationalists were becoming more and more alarmed over Wilson's stubborn refusal to advocate preparedness. Seeing the increasing danger of the situation, House was already preparing an alibi to escape responsibility. "The truth of the matter is," he wrote on July 10th, "the President has never realized the gravity of our unprepared position... If war comes with Germany, it will be because we are not

prepared, and because Germany knows it." So too, although he had twice endeavored to negotiate an Anglo-German compromise, he was now quick to point out to Wilson the fallacy of the German argument that the submarine campaign was a justifiable retaliation for the British food embargo.

Wilson agreed with the League's suggestion that he stand firm against a compromise with Germany. Yet he insisted that House should see Bernstorff, impress upon him that some "way out" must be found, and demand that the Germans abstain from submarine attacks without warning, unless they deliberately wished to provoke war. At the same time, to satisfy the country, the Administration Press announced that the President had called upon Garrison and Daniels to advise him what was needed in the way of national defense. On July 21st, the proposals of Germany were formally rejected by Lansing in another note which said: "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." This note also disposed of the claim that the acts of England gave Germany the right to retaliate, to the extent of depriving American citizens of their lives, by stating: "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." It continued: "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."

It further stated: "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 the needless destruction of human life by an illegal act." The meat of the Note was the following sentence: "Friendship itself prompts it (the United States) 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 being deliberately unfriendly."

When House approached Bernstorff, the German Government felt that Wilson was still anxious to prevent a rupture, and gave him no satisfaction. Bernstorff actually complained to House of the "sharpness" of Wilson's words which, he declared, were doing more harm than good.

Wilson himself began at last to wonder if BernstorfE were to be trusted. On July 29th he wrote that he believed the German Ambassador was not dealing frankly with him, but suggested that House try to make Bernstorff impress upon Berlin, the danger of the German course. Bernstorff again complained that the President unfairly concentrated his protests on Germany, while shutting his eyes to British infractions of international law. Gerard pointed out that nothing but further acts of war need be expected.

"We hope to continue to support the President," wrote Harvey in the August number of his Review; "but what we wish to make certain of is that he recognize the need of a change of method. Words having borne no fruit in the case of the Germans, recourse must be had to acts. It is not what the President is going to say, but what he is going to do, that concerns us as a Nation desirous of peace, but neither too weak nor too proud to fight if driven to the hateful necessity."

Wilson had succeeded in preserving American neutrality by resort to Bryan's principle of delayed action. The country had wearied of the debate over the Lusitania. Stubbornly determined to play one side against the other, Wilson had no idea of allowing his hand to be forced. The Internationalists could await, meanwhile, without alarm the next German note, since they had tided over the Lusitania crisis and rid themselves of the importunate Bryan.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Plattsburg Camp a Great Success. Bryan again Proposes to Visit Europe. Grey Finally Rejects the "Freedom of the Seas." The German Conspirators Intimidate Wilson. Villa and The "Arabic" Incident. Page and Gerard Give Warnings Again. The Internationalists Demand a Change of Policy. Roosevelt at Plattsburg. Wood Reprimanded Again. An Apparent Victory for Wilson. Von Tirpitz Forces the Issue Between the Kaiser and The Socialists. Harvey Assails Wilson

IN BERLIN, there were wide differences of opinion as to how Germany should answer Wilson. "Once again," Ballin wrote the Chancellor on August 1st, "in connection with the further treatment of this American question, I find myself in complete opposition to the views of the Wilhelmstrasse. The last note should have been answered immediately, that is to say within twenty-four hours; and it was so easy to answer. One need only have said: 'The Imperial Government expresses its lively sense of regret on learning from the note which your Excellency has had the goodness, on the instructions of your Government, to hand to me, that the Government of the United States of North America is not prepared to recognize the exceedingly accommodating spirit displayed by the German Government in its last note of reply. Under these circumstances the Imperial German Government can but express the wish that citizens of the United States will be suitably warned by their Government against embarking upon ships of enemy flags, which propose to pass through the war zone declared by the German Government.'

"As I have mentioned, a short answer of this sort should

in my view have been given to Mr. Gerard within twenty-four hours. Another fortnight's brooding gives the Americans the impression that our responsible persons are at a loss what to do. One knows that Washington conducts its policies in its shirt sleeves, and American questions of this sort should be handled in a manner adjusted to American psychology."

On August 5th, 1915, Secretary Helfferich wrote to the Chancellor, urging that the submarine campaign should be still further restricted for a few weeks, or even for three months. "He believed," says von Tirpitz, "that the American Government had extended a definite invitation to us to cooperate with them in securing the freedom of the seas, and he accordingly hoped that if we yielded to their note, we should be able to establish a common Americo-German front against England. The cotton planters would exercise so strong a pressure on Wilson that the German textile industry could be preserved from shutting down and starving. If we were to offer Wilson this 'good chance' to stand up for his ideals, he could not help taking it." Germany ought, thought Helfferich, to dispose of her enemies separately, like the last of the Horatii who defeated the three Curiatii attacking him, by a clever retreat which separated them; the German Government could no more be accused of weakness in adopting such conduct, than the ancient Roman. Helfferich thus took for granted that loss of prestige counted for nothing, and that the World Powers of today would be as foolish as the three Curiatii.[222]

All the Germans, however, looked with alarm upon the rising demand in America for military legislation. Due to Wood's ceaseless efforts, twelve hundred men arrived at Plattsburg on August 1st, representing every class and occupation of the country. No such gathering had ever been seen before. On August 8th, Wood rendered an enthusiastic report to Wilson through House, who repeated Wood's recommendation that the Swiss system, modified to meet American needs, be adopted, and again recommended that Wood be allowed to visit Europe to study modern conditions of warfare. Wilson, however, now began to look with

alarm upon the tremendous political machine which Wood was obviously building up, while Bernstorff, Boy-Ed, and von Papen at once set out to counteract Wood's efforts by playing on Wilson's fears. "Hyphenism," was made to appear a real danger. In Berlin, Gerard was told by an irate diplomat that Germany had over 500,000 reservists in America under assumed Scandinavian citizenship, who would rise and bring about a revolution, unless America stopped shipping munitions to the Entente! Wilson was seriously alarmed by what he declared to be "the very real danger of the alien population of America."

Cooperation between the German conspirators and Villa was now complete. The Chief of Staff was summoned to Lansing's office, and told that Villa had announced a levy on American mining property, to be paid August 9th.

"The Secretary asked," says Scott, "if I would not help him. 'I will help you very soon, Mr. Secretary, if you want to invade Mexico.' He said, 'You know we can't do that.' I asked him how he expected me to help him then; Villa was a wild man who needed funds for his operations, and was going to take them, as all the other belligerents were doing. All I could do was to go down there and ask him please not to do it, which Mr. Lansing could do himself. . . .

"The Secretary said, 'those mining men are on my back. I can not get them off, and I don't know what to do. What are your relations with Villa, anyway?'

"I told him what Villa had said at our last meeting: that there could be no cause of friction on the border if he and I could get together, and that he would come up from Mexico City any time I sent for him. 'Won't you please go then?' the Secretary asked, in such a pitiful way that I had to say 'yes,' but now I wish I had not done so.' "

Hastening to the border, Scott sent for Villa and talked to him in the only way he understood, so that, after a conference with the mine owners, Villa accepted a thousand tons of coal from them in satisfaction of his demands.

Bryan, too, was, by this time, disturbed by the headway preparedness" had made, and again planned to visit Eu-

rope, to bring the war to an end before Wood and Roosevelt swept the country into it. "The freedom of the seas" was now his pet hobby, but Grey had long since canvassed the British Government, and found it useless to press the proposal further.

"My own mind," Grey wrote House on August 10, 1915, "revolves more and more about the point that the refusal of a Conference was the fatal step that decided peace or war last year, and about the moral to be drawn from it; which is that the pearl of great price, if it can be found, would be some League of Nations that could be relied on to insist that disputes between any two nations must be settled by the arbitration, mediation, or conference of others. International Law has hitherto had no sanction. The lesson of this war is that the Powers must bind themselves to give it a sanction. If that can be secured, freedom of the seas, and many other things, will become easy. But it is not a fair proposition that there should be a guaranty of the freedom of the seas, while Germany claims to recognize no law but her own on land, and to have the right to make war at will . . ."

On the 12th, House notified Page that Bryan intended to visit Europe, and to oppose Wilson on "preparedness." Wilson would have to give him some credentials. "It might be a good thing to encourage his going since he would probably come back a sadder and wiser man." In Germany he was in high favor. It was assumed by Wilson that no one in authority in England would discuss his proposals seriously, while he was not likely to even "get a hearing" in France. What did Page think?

Page's reply was characteristic. "Never mind about Bryan. Send him over if you wish to get rid of him. He'll cut no more figure than a tar baby at a Negro camp meeting. If he had come while he was Secretary, I should have jumped off London Bridge . . . but I shall enjoy him now. . . . No, there's never yet come a moment when there was the slightest chance of peace. . . . The Germans are a century behind the English in political development and political morality. ... So let William J. come. He can't

hurt Europe—nor help it; and you can spare him. Let all the Peace-gang come. You can spare them, too; and they can do no harm here. Let somebody induce Hoke Smith to come, too. You have hit on a great scheme—friendly deportation.

"And Bryan won't be alone. Daughters of the Dove of Peace and Sons of the Olive Branch come every week. The latest Son came to see me today. He said that the German Chancellor told him that he wanted peace—wants it now and wants it bad, and that only one thing stood in the way if England would agree not to take Belgium, Germany would at once make peace! This otherwise sensible American wanted me to take him to see Sir Edward to tell him this, and to suggest to him to go over to Holland next week to meet the German Chancellor and fix it up. A few days ago a pious preacher chap (American) who had come over to 'fix it all up,' came back from France and called on me. He had seen something in France—he was excited, and he didn't quite make it clear what he had seen; but he said that if they'd only let him go home safely and quickly, he'd promise not to mention peace any more—did I think the American boats entirely safe?—so, you see, I do have some fun even in these dark days."

Poor Page! Without the slightest idea of what was really in Wilson's mind, and believing that he was trying to bring about peace at this time, Page was inclined to ridicule him.

The Wilhelmstrasse now gave a very practical answer to Wilson's note of July 21st by sinking the British steamship Arabic, with the loss of more American lives. The news reached America August 19th. Two days later, Wilson cabled House for advice. What should he do? House's letters, he said, came to him like the visits of a friend.

"If I were in his place," wrote House, "I would send Bernstorff home, and recall Gerard. I would let the matter rest there for the moment, with the intimation that the next offense would bring us actively in on the side of the Allies. In the meantime, I would begin preparations for defense and for war, just as vigorously as if war had been

declared. I would put the entire matter of defense and the manufacture of munitions in the hands of a non-partisan commission composed mostly of business men—men like John Hays Hammond, Guy Tripp, and others of that sort. I would issue an address to the American people, and I would measurably exonerate the Germans as a whole, but I would blister the militant party in Germany who are responsible for this world-wide tragedy. I would ask the German-Americans to help in redeeming their fatherland from such blood-thirsty monsters."

Wilson was still afraid of both Bryan and the pro-Germans. "I am surprised," wrote House the following day, "at the attitude he takes. He evidently will go to great lengths to avoid war. He should have determined his policy when he wrote his notes of February, May, June, and July. No citizen of the United States realizes better than I the horrors of this war, and no one would go further to avoid it; but there is a limit to all things and, in the long run, I feel the nation would suffer more in being supine than in taking a decided stand. If we were fully prepared, I am sure Germany would not continue to provoke us."

Page and Gerard both reported to House that the sinking of the Arabic was no accident. Therefore, on August 22, 1915, House wrote Wilson, with his usual tact, that "his heart was heavy over the Arabic disaster," that his "thoughts and sympathy" had been constantly with him. Then he suavely undertook to lead him to the action desired by the Internationalists.

"I have hoped against hope that no such madness would seize Germany. If war comes, it is clearly of their making, and not yours. You have been calm, patient, and just. From the beginning, they have taken an impossible attitude which has led them to the brink of war with all nations.

"Our people do not want war, but even less do they want to recede from the position you have taken. Neither do they want to shirk the responsibility which should be ours. Your first note to Germany after the sinking of the Lusitania made you not only the first citizen of America, but the first citizen of the world. If by any word or act

you should hurt our pride of nationality, you would lose your commanding position overnight.

"Further notes would disappoint our own people, and would cause something of derision abroad. . . .

"To send Bernstorff home, and to recall Gerard, would be the first act of war, for we would be without means of communication with one another, and it would not be long before some act was committed that would force the issue.

"If you do not send Bernstorff home, and if you do not recall Gerard, then Congress should be called to meet the emergency, and assume the responsibility. This would be a dangerous move, because there is no telling what Congress would do in the circumstances. . . .

"For the first time in the history of the world, a great nation has run amuck, and it is certain that it is not a part of our duty to put forth a restraining hand. Unless Germany disavows the act, and promises not to repeat it, some decisive action upon our part is inevitable; otherwise we will have no influence when peace is made or afterwards. ..."

By the tremendous pressure now exerted upon Wilson through House, Straus, and others, Wilson was almost overborne.

"I fear I can not prevent a rupture this time if our answer in the Arabic matter is not conciliatory," Bernstorff cabled the Wilhelmstrasse. "I advise instructions to me to negotiate the whole question. Situation may thus perhaps be saved."

At the same time, without waiting for instructions, Bernstorff explained both officially, and also through the Press, that the United States would be given full compensation, if the commander of the Arabic should be found to have been treacherously dealt with. "It was my first preoccupation," he wrote, "to calm the public excitement before it overflowed all bounds; and I succeeded in so calming it. The action I thus took on my own responsibility turned out later to have been well advised."

On the 24th of August, in accordance with instructions

from Berlin, Bernstorff wrote Lansing the following letter, which was immediately published by the Administration:

"I have received instructions from my Government to address to you the following observations: Up to the present no reliable information has been received as to the circumstances of the torpedoing of the Arabic. The Imperial Government, therefore, trusts that the Government of the United States will refrain from taking any decided steps, so long as it has before it one-sided reports, which my Government believe do not in any way correspond to the facts. The Imperial Government hopes that it may be allowed an opportunity of being heard. It has no desire to call in question the good faith of those eye-witnesses whose stories have been published by the European Press, but it considers that account should be taken of the state of emotion, under the influence of which this evidence was given, and which might well give rise to false impressions. If American subjects have really lost their lives by the torpedoing of this ship, it was entirely contrary to the intentions of my Government, which has authorized me to express to the Government of the United States their deepest regrets, and their most heartfelt sympathy."

The following day Wilson again undertook to discover from House what the Internationalists had in mind. What was his opinion of Bernstorff's request for a suspension of judgment? He feared the Germans were merely sparring for time, in order that any action the United States might take, would not affect the unstable equilibrium in the Balkans. Did House regard the suspicion as too far-fetched? And how long should he wait? The Wilhelmstrasse had been asked for the German version of the Orduna sinking, but it had simply pigeonholed the demand, and nothing had yet been heard from them. He also feared a possible outbreak of German-Americans in the United States, m case of a break with Germany. Where and how should the Government prepare? In what direction should a concentration of force be directed, or precautionary vigilance be exercised?

Like the German Conspirators, the Internationalists also undertook to play on Wilson's fears. To Wilson,

House replied: "I am always suspicious of German diplomacy. What they say is not dependable, and one has to arrive at their intentions by inverse methods. I do not think your suspicions are far-fetched, and it is quite possible they are playing for time. I have a feeling, however, that they may weaken and come to your way.

"As to being prepared for a possible outbreak, I have this in mind: Attempts will likely be made to blow up waterworks, electric light and gas plants, subways and bridges in cities like New York. This could be prevented by some caution being used by local authorities, under the direction of the Government.

"For instance, Police Commissioner Woods tells me he has definitely located a building in New York, in which two shipments of arms have been stored by Germans. They were shipped from Philadelphia. He is trying to trace the point of shipment and other details. No one knows of this excepting myself. . . .

"I am told there are only two hundred men at Governor's Island. I think there should be at least a regiment. What trouble we have will be in large cities, and it is there where precautions should be taken. I do not look for any organized rebellion or outbreak, but merely some degree of frightfulness in order to intimidate the country. . . ."

In the face of such diverse manoeuvers, the country was hopelessly confused, when Roosevelt took the field to speak at Plattsburg late in August. He was preceded by a comically cryptic telegram: "I suggest that my speech be made when the men are not on duty in camp, in either the late afternoon or evening. I prefer that it be made out of camp, and I deem this advisable on more than one account. If possible, the men should be in citizen's clothing. Will explain in full tomorrow morning."

Scenting brimstone, Wood's friends begged him to edit Roosevelt's speech. Wood read it and lifted his brows quizzically: "Theodore, as a former President, you have presidential prerogatives on a military reservation. You miay say what you want. But I suspect that some of the

things you are planning to say are likely to stir up a lot of trouble."

"All right. What are they? I'll cut them out."

Wood indicated the dangerous portions, and Roosevelt eliminated them.

Late that afternoon, standing with his back to the quiet waters of Lake Champlain and the Green Mountains beyond, facing the 1,200 volunteers, 600 regulars and 3,000 or 4,000 men and women who had flocked in from the countryside, Roosevelt spoke. He paid his respects to the pacifists, spoke of "hyphenated Americans," the need for undivided loyalty, the obligation to uphold the national self-respect; pointed out how little the Nation had done, or was doing, to prepare to defend its rights. Not all that he said was in impeccable taste; a politician might have called it indiscreet. But good taste and discretion were not the virtues which the men at Plattsburg most highly regarded, and Roosevelt was ready at any time to remind his countrymen that a national crisis was not a pink tea.

The twilight turned to darkness. A single lantern on a photographer's tripod fitfully illuminated the speaker. A terrier, wandering into the firelight, drew from him a thrust which his hearers could not fail to translate. The little dog was looking for his master and, bewildered by the crowd, ran this way and that, finally bumping against the speaker and rolling over on his back, his legs in the air: "That's a very nice dog," said Roosevelt, "and I like him. His present attitude is strictly one of neutrality." That night on the train, he stated in a press interview what he had omitted from his speech. He did not propose to stand by the President any longer, unless Wilson stood by the country. "It is defensible to state that we stand by the country, right or wrong. It is not defensible for any free man in a free republic to state that he will stand by any official, right or wrong. . . . The right of any President is only to demand public support because he does well, because he serves the public well, and not merely because he is President. ..."

All this, which he could not, out of respect to the Com-

mander-in-Chief of the military forces, say in a speech on a military reservation, he had obviously a perfect right to say off the reservation. The newspapers next morning failed to make a distinction between the speech and the interview. The advance copies of his speech, which they had received as usual from Roosevelt's secretary, could not contain explanations that some passages might be eliminated at the request of Wood. The speech, as it was printed, was calculated to annoy even the pachydermatous.

The friends of the Administration were indignant, not against Roosevelt, whose attitude toward Wilson was known, but against Wood. In inviting Roosevelt to speak at Plattsburg, he was, they asserted, an accessory to the act of criticizing the President, and therefore accountable under the muzzling order of the Secretary of War. The incident seemed to confirm initial suspicions as to the purpose of the Plattsburg camp. Most of the men who had gone there were, it was pointed out, prominent Republican politicians, who would, when the time came, be ready to advance Wood's political fortunes.

Wood had actually invited to Plattsburg not only Roosevelt, but Wilson and Garrison, former President Taft, the labor leaders—Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell—a number of former Secretaries of War, and a dozen university presidents. He had, moreover, sent the list to Garrison three weeks in advance of Roosevelt's visit, and Garrison had offered no objection. But Garrison was compelled to act.

"I have just seen the reports in the newspapers of the speech made by former President Roosevelt at the Plattsburg camp," he wrote Wood. "It is difficult to conceive of anything which would have a more detrimental effect upon the real value of the experiment than such an incident. This camp held under Government auspices, was successfully demonstrating many things of great moment. Its virtue consisted in the fact that it conveyed its own impressive lesson in its practical and successful operation and results.

"No opportunity should have been furnished to any one

to present to the men any matter excepting that which was essential to the necessary training which they were to receive. Anything else could only have the effect of distracting attention to issues which excite controversy, antagonism, and ill-feeling, and thereby impairing, if not destroying, what otherwise would have been so effective.

"There must not be any opportunity given at Plattsburg or any other similar camp for any such unfortunate consequences."

When Scott, called to the White House to discuss Mexican affairs, took occasion to tell the President that he was certain that Wood had no intention of transgressing the proprieties, and expressed the hope that Wilson would cherish no grudge against Wood, Wilson showed his resentment. "I don't want any one to rock the boat," he said.

Knowing that Garrison had reprimanded him merely as a political necessity, Wood was not disturbed in the least, but Roosevelt jumped to his defense. In an interview in the New York Tribune, August 27, 1915, he said:

"I am, of course, solely responsible for the whole speech. When, after three weeks notice, the War Department made no objection to my visit to the camp, they were disqualified from criticizing General Wood because I went, and because he did not submit my speech to the administration for approval.

"If the administration had displayed one-tenth of the spirit and energy in holding Germany and Mexico to account for the murder of American men, women and children that it is now displaying in the endeavor to prevent our people from being taught the need of preparation to prevent the repetition of such murders in the future, it would be rendering a service to the people of this country."

Garrison made a flippant reply, obviously intended to close the incident. But Roosevelt refused to let it be closed. He answered with hot shot. "Truly, it was an illuminating commentary by the Administration on itself," he declared, "that it should regard a plea for preparedness as an assault on the Administration, and should object to the officers and

men of the United States Army listening to a plea for undivided allegiance."

Seeing a political issue arising, Wilson left the field to Roosevelt, and hastily set at rest the rumors that Wood might be relieved as commander of the Department of the East, or even court-martialed. In the present situation, his further aid was of vital importance, despite his political ambitions.

Ever since the sinking of the Arabic, Bernstorff had been working feverishly to secure from Berlin some concession sufficient to tide over the crisis. The Wilhelmstrasse hesitated, fearing the navy officials and public opinion, and therefore not daring to settle the matter by a frank disavowal, but finally conceding enough to prevent a break. On August 29th, Bernstorff wrote to House, intimating that Germany was ready to yield to Wilson's demand by promising that the submarine warfare on passenger liners would cease. House sent the letter to Wilson, who answered that he trusted neither the accuracy nor the sincerity of Bern-stroff, but that he would consider any offer of conciliation. Warned that he must be explicit, the German Ambassador on September 1st, wrote formally to Lansing:

"Washington, September 1, 1915.

"MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:—

"With reference to our conversation of this morning, I beg to inform you that my instructions concerning our answer to your last Lusitania note contain the following passage:

" 'Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning, and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance. . . .'

"I remain, my dear Mr. Lansing, very sincerely yours,

"J. BERNSTORFF."

Von Tirpitz was furious at what had been going on in the Wilhelmstrasse. The propaganda of the Internationalists among the Socialists, had caused them to overwhelm the Kaiser, who had, in turn, compelled the Chancellor to yield. On August 27th, von Tirpitz had requested to be relieved from duty as Secretary of State for Naval Affairs.

Refusing to grant his request, he was on the 30th, rebuked by the Kaiser for making it.

Wilson's victory over the Germans was only apparent. No formal disavowal had been made of the sinking of the Lusitania or the Arabic. Furthermore, the German promise was implied rather than expressed. Orders had been given to the submarine commanders to abide by Wilson's demands, but the Wilhelmstrasse had reserved the right to change these orders whenever it desired.

Three days after Bernstorff's pledge, a submarine sank the Allan liner Hesperian. Then came a letter from Gerard, indicating that, whatever promises the German Government might make, the Navy would act as it pleased. The Kaiser was particularly bitter over the agitation among the Socialists, due to Wilson's propaganda.

Meantime, Jane Addams, Dr. Jacobs, Emily Balch, Frau Salenka, Rosika von Schwimmer, and other "Lysistratans" had arrived in America as emissaries of the Women's Peace Conference, with the purpose of trying to persuade the President to head a great movement for peace among the neutral states. Unable to see Wilson, they got little encouragement from Lansing, whom they declared to be strongly pro-ally. Lansing had felt from the first that the Women's Peace Conference was inspired by the Germans, while Wilson saw in it nothing but interference with his own plans.

Harvey's patience was now at an end. After referring to what he described as the tragedy of Mexico, he quoted, in an article in early September, the assertion of a British Editor that the Kaiser's indifference to American rights was directly attributable to Wilson's pacifist policy—a view which was now widely held and expressed in America. It was, in his opinion, a "bitter truth that the Administration has come to be regarded as anemic rather than American!" People began to talk everywhere of Roosevelt as the next President. Even Root saw that the country must be armed, and that Roosevelt was the best candidate with whom to defeat Wilson, even if Roosevelt could not be committed to a league of nations. He was, at least, an ar-

dent champion of arbitration, as shown by his previous achievements. Once the country had been saved, a league of nations and a world court might follow. But while Marburg and Nicholas Murray Butler, as heads of the American Peace Society, agreed that Wilson must be supplanted, they had no idea of accepting either Roosevelt or Wood. The next President, they insisted, must be an out-and-out Internationalist as well as an advocate of national defense; so that a split divided the Republican Internationalists, with Carnegie and Root on one side, and Taft, Butler, and Marburg on the other, promising to yield bitter fruit to the Republican party.

CHAPTER XXXII

The Austrian Ambassador Dismissed. The Destruction of the "Arabic" Disavowed by Germany. Wilson Hoping for the Collapse of The Central Alliance. His Engagement Announced. The Execution of Edith Cavell. Wilson Appeals to The Daughters of The American Revolution to Support Him and Solicits Their Sympathy.

DURING THE EXCITEMENT over the Arabic, the Austrian Ambassador had been so indiscreet as to entrust to an American correspondent, James F. J. Archibald, important despatches intended for his Government. Archibald was arrested by the British, whose agents had been watching Bernstorff and Dumba, and the despatches were published. They proved the intent of the Austrian Embassy to assist in the crippling of munitions plants, and the cooperation of the German military attache, von Papen, in an effort to prevent American exportations to the Allies. A letter from von Papen to his wife was also published, in which he had written: "I always say to those idiotic Yankees that they had better hold their tongues." Its publication did not serve to allay the warmth of American feeling. On September 8th, Wilson was compelled to request the recall of Dumba, though he would not demand that of von Papen. House was still working with Bernstorff to secure the formal disavowal of the sinking of the Arabic. On September 12th, after a conversation with Polk, the new Chancellor for the State Department, House wrote: "Polk understands for the first time our true relations with Germany, and he feels it will be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid a rupture."

The next day he wrote Gerard: "Things seem to be go-

ing from bad to worse, and I can not tell you how critical they are at this moment. . . . The situation shifts so quickly from day to day, that it is hard to forecast anything. A few weeks ago it looked as if our troubles with Germany might be over. But now the situation is more tense than it has ever been, and a break may come before this letter reaches you."

Like Bernstorff, he was sure the country would sustain a call to arms. On the 16th, Bernstorff appealed to him for more delay. The trouble was with the German Navy leaders, but he was sure there would be no more "sinkings" of American vessels. House told him to find out just how far his Government proposed to go in making amends, and let him know in advance of its note. Then he could find out from Wilson if the German proposals were acceptable, to avoid their public rejection.

Von Tirpitz was by no means satisfied with the order of August 30th which had overruled him. "On my stating that the contents of this order made it impossible for me to remain in office, the Emperor granted me a short private audience, and I was promised a modified order. Accordingly, on September 19th, 1915, I received the Imperial assurance that it was His Majesty's full intention to take my opinion on all important questions of naval policy; and I thereupon resolved not to insist on my release. A large number of politicians and persons of very high position had urged me to this resolve.

"Admiral Bachmann, however, who had protested against the Emperor being thus taken by storm by the Chancellor, was relieved, being replaced by Admiral von Holtzendorff, who had been placed on half pay after the naval manoeuvres of 1912. Prior to his appointment, he had on several occasions expressed himself in favor of the views of von Bethmann. He was instructed to take up his regular residence, not at General Headquarters, but in Berlin, a course which circumstances at that time also prescribed for myself."

The day after von Tirpitz was reinstated in the good graces of the Emperor, and ordered to duty in Berlin as

Secretary of State for Naval Affairs, Wilson declared that he was perplexed over Bernstorff's attitude. In his letters to House he seemed to be one person, in his interviews with the newspapermen, quite another. Wilson was at a loss to know which, if either, was the genuine Bernstorff. He believed that Bernstorff was anxious to avoid a formal disavowal of the sinking of the Arabic, saw no possibility of his yielding. The country would regard Wilson as too easily satisfied, and any general promise of better intentions on Germany's part as utterly untrustworthy. He believed that the Germans were moving with intentional and exasperating slowness.

The situation would have been easier for Bernstorff to deal with if there had been any one in supreme control in Germany. The letters of Gerard give an extraordinary picture of the political confusion there, which contrasted forcibly with the efficiency of German military organization. Of victory they seemed confident, but there was no agreement as to how they would use it. Councils were equally divided on the problem of how to answer Wilson's demands for a disavowal of the Arabic sinking. And through the story ran a thread of petty espionage and propaganda, which seemed more suitable for a cinema than for the successors of Bismarck. Gerard also wrote of the growing feeling among the German Socialists that Wilson must be the world mediator.

While Bernstorff was trying to pump House about the effect on Wilson of "hyphenism" and "frightfulness," House was assuring him that Wilson was in no wise concerned over the Pro-German vote "since it was always Republican." In this situation, Sir Edward Grey began to press the formation of a league of nations.

"London, September 22, 1915.

"DEAR COLONEL HOUSE:—

". . . To me, the great object of securing the elimination of militarism and navalism is to get security for the future against aggressive war. How much are the United States prepared to do in this direction? Would the President propose that there

should be a League of Nations, binding themselves to side against any Power which broke a treaty; which broke certain rules of warfare on sea or land (such rules would, of course, have to be drawn up after this war); or which refused, in case of dispute, to adopt some other method of settlement than that of war? Only in some such agreement do I see a prospect of diminishing militarism and navalism in future, so that no nation will build up armies or navies for aggressive purposes. I can not say which Governments would be prepared to accept such a proposal, but I am sure that the Government of the United States is the only Government that could make it with effect. ... .

Yours sincerely,

"E. GREY."

Finally, on October 2nd, Bernstorff telephoned House that he had received sufficient authority from Berlin to satisfy Wilson's demands, and three days later he sent Lansing the necessary formal letter. But at the last moment the German Ambassador was compelled to act upon his own initiative, in eliminating Berlin's demand for arbitration on conflicting evidence regarding the Arabic's intention to ram the submarine. He explained to House that he had himself made the change, after the President and Lansing had insisted on it. To Lansing he wrote:

"The orders issued by His Majesty the Emperor to the commanders of the German submarines—of which I notified you on a previous occasion—have been made so stringent, that the recurrence of incidents similar to the Arabic case is considered out of the question. According to the report of Commander Schneider of the submarine that sank the Arabic, and his affidavit, as well as those of his men, Commander Schneider was convinced that the Arabic was intending to ram the submarine. On the other hand, the Imperial Government does not doubt the good faith of the affidavits of the British officers of the Arabic, according to which the Arabic did not intend to ram the submarine. The attack of the submarine, therefore, was undertaken against the instructions issued to the commander. The Imperial Government regrets and disavows this act, and has notified Commander Schneider accordingly. Under these circumstances, my Government is prepared to pay an indemnity

for the American lives which, to its deep regret, have been lost on the Arabic."

Bernstorff deemed this a diplomatic victory for the United States. "But," he said, "it produced, not a settlement of American problems of neutrality, but merely another breathing space." This Page well understood, and urged his ideas upon Wilson in a letter calculated to seal his doom.

"American Embassy, London, Oct. 5, 1915.

"DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—

"I have two letters that I have lately written to you, but which I have not sent, because they utterly lack good cheer. After reading them over, I have not liked to send them. Yet I should fail of my duty, if I did not tell you bad news as well as good.

"The high esteem in which our Government was held when the first Lusitania note to Germany was sent, seems all changed to indifference or pity—not hatred or hostility, but a sort of hopeless and sad pity. That ship was sunk just five months ago; the German Government (or its Ambassador) is yet holding conversations about the principle involved, making "concessions" and promises for the future, and so far we have done nothing to hold the Germans to accountability. In the meantime their submarine fleet has been so reduced that probably the future will take care of itself, and we shall be used as a sort of excuse for their failure. This is what the English think and say; and they explain our failure to act by concluding that the peace-at-any-price sentiment dominates the Government and paralyzes it. They have now, I think, given up hope that we will ever take any action. So deeply rooted (and, I fear, permanent) is this feeling, that every occurrence is made to fit into and to strengthen this supposition. When Dumba was dismissed, they said: 'Dumba, merely the abject tool of German intrigue. Why not Bernstorff?' When the Anglo-French loan was over-subscribed, they said: 'The people's sympathy is most welcome, but their Government is paralyzed.' Their respect has gone—at least for the time being.

"It is not that they expect us to go to war; many, in fact, do not wish us to. They expected that we would be as good as our word and hold the Germans to accountability. Now I fear they

think little of our word. I shudder to think what our relations might be if Sir Edward Grey were to yield to another as Foreign Minister, as, of course, he must yield at some time.

"The press has less to say than it had a few weeks ago. Punch, for instance, which ridiculed and pitied us in six cartoons and articles in each of two succeeding numbers, entirely forgets us this week. But they've all said their say. I am, in a sense, isolated—lonely in a way that I have never before been. I am not exactly avoided, I hope, but I surely am not sought. They have a polite feeling that they do not wish to offend me, and that to make sure of this, the safest course is to let me alone. There is no mistaking the great change in the attitude of men I know, both in official and private life.

"It comes down and comes back to this—that for five months after the sinking of the Lusitania the Germans are yet playing with us, that we have not sent Bernstorff home, and hence that we will submit to any rebuff or any indignity. It is under these conditions—under this judgment of us—that we now work—the English respect for our Government infinitely lessened, and instead of the old-time respect, a sad pity. I can not write more.

"Heartily yours,

"WALTER H. PAGE." 99

In vain had Harvey tried to counsel Wilson. Now he gave fair warning to the man he had made President.

"We are wearied," he wrote in the October number of Harper's Weekly, "of the ceaseless prattle from Washington of the 'gratifications' of high officials over the 'relaxing of tension,' and prospective concessions from the Imperial Government. There would be no 'tension' if Germany would respect our rights, observe the laws of civilized warfare, and cease interfering with our domestic affairs."

Wilson's position was becoming more and more untenable. Dr. Jacobs and the Lysistratans, encouraged by Bryan, demanded that he organize a movement among the neutrals to enforce peace upon Europe. Carnegie, Root, Taft, Butler, Marburg, Eliot, Grey, and even House and Houston, insisted that he arm the country, without further delay. He was convinced that if he did either, he was certain to be defeated in 1916.

According to his advices, the most effective use of his democratic appeals had been made by secret agents in Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The two last were weakening rapidly.[109] On the other hand, there was still a chance of the Balkan states joining the Entente. Should they do this, Austria-Hungary would almost certainly abandon Germany. Then peace would come, there would be no need for American intervention, Germany would have to look to him, and join a league of nations, and he would be overwhelmingly reelected in 1916 for his foresight.

These were the things which were, apparently, in his mind when he received an invitation to address the Daughters of the Revolution on October 11th, at their annual convention in Washington.

Was it chance that led to the announcement on October 7th of his engagement to Mrs. Galt, whom he had met the preceding April? Or was this carefully designed to give him a sympathetic audience?

Two days later, the German Government perversely took occasion to publish the sentence of death which a military court-martial had passed upon Edith Cavell—a British military nurse in Belgium, who had been convicted as a spy. General Bissing's confirmation of the death sentence, offset completely all previous propaganda, which might have served to discount the atrocities in Belgium.

Countless appeals from all quarters were addressed to Wilson to interpose on behalf of the condemned woman. The thought of such a crime against humanity, was horrifying to the patriotic women of America, whom he was about to address. Surely he could say nothing less than that, in the name of humanity, the time had come for American intervention.

Yet it was the things which were uppermost in his own mind, to which he gave expression. Apparently unmoved by the appeals for Edith Cavell, he dwelt upon the dangers of "hyphenization" and his difficulties in maintaining neutrality; while he made once more a powerful appeal to the peoples of Europe over the heads of their governments.[190]

Two days after this strange speech, in which the American political system was idealized, Edith Cavell was executed. Wilson's critics commented with renewed bitterness on the "humanitarian idealism" that could still urge "neutrality of thought" on the American people in the face of such a crime against humanity.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Working with Gompers and Schwab, Wood Becomes a Possible Opponent of Wilson. Lansing and Latin America. Bulgaria Joins the Central Allies. Page and Gerard In a "Blue Funk." The Lysistratans Capture Henry Ford. Fearful that Germany Will Defeat the Entente, Wilson Decides upon a Change of Policy. He Contemplates Intervention. Carranza Recognized. Wilson Suddenly Advocates "Preparedness." The Pacifists Protest. The Central Allies Respond by Sinking the "An-cona." German Sabotage. Wilson Terrified. The Allies Reject his Suggestions. Marburg Plans to Capture the Socialists.

WOOD CONTINUED, meanwhile, to labor at his task. Foreseeing the importance of disciplined labor, he enlisted the interest of Samuel Gompers in a training camp for laboring men, and, with the aid of Charles M. Schwab, formulated a plan for industrial mobilization in case of war. With Bernard Baruch he discussed the formation of a committee of business executives, to aid the Government in matters of transportation, and the purchase of supplies. He kept in constant touch with the greatest minds in the financial and industrial world. With President Loree of the Lackawanna, he discussed the coordination of the railroads of the country with a view to rushing men and supplies to designated points on the Atlantic seaboard. The matter seemed to Wood of such importance, that he persuaded Loree to lay it before the War Department. Loree returned from Washington thoroughly disgusted—the distinguished general who had received him and his committee, had gone to sleep in the midst of the discussion!

The incident was characteristic—Scott, the most devoted and high-minded of men, was entirely beyond his depth as Chief of Staff, and the prestige of the general staff had vanished. Wood found that his efforts must overcome not only the opposition of the Administration, but the inertia of the War Department. He now exploited to the full, the influence of the youth of the country, which he had organized and made vocal through the training camps. The "Platts-burgers" had become a distinct political factor, a thorn in Wilson's side.

It was an astounding instance of long vision and creative statesmanship. What Wood had begun in 1913, thousands of men, whom he had inspired, were carrying forward. They carried it beyond the military arm into the Navy. A naval training association was formed to urge the creation of a naval reserve. Arrangements were made for setting aside a dozen battleships for purposes of training.

The phenomenal effectiveness of the Plattsburg movement deepened Wood's confidence, not only in the justice of his cause, but in the practicality of his method. With an assurance which carried conviction, he now passed beyond the idea of merely enlarging the regular establishment, and providing a reserve. Considering the success of universal compulsory training in Australia, as well as in Europe, and the failure of the volunteer system in Great Britain, he now began to preach the doctrine of compulsory military service. To this he quickly committed not only his political following, but Scott and the General Staff.

The suggestion was now made that, if the opposition to Wilson desired a candidate on whom Progressives and Republicans might unite, they could not do better than Wood. Hagedorn says Wood did not take this seriously, but he was probably wrong; for there can be no doubt that Wood knew the Internationalists were looking for a likely candidate to forestall Roosevelt, and defeat Wilson. Not for nothing was Wood protected by House, Houston, and Baruch. Seeing that Wood had completely captivated not only Gompers but Schwab and Baruch—the last Wilson's

own close friend—the President became fearful of Wood's possible candidacy. This was but another lever in House's hands.

The break down of the Scott-Garfield plan for the pacification of Mexico, had left the problem even more complicated than before. Lansing therefore called a conference of the representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Uraguay, and Guatemala, to enlist their aid. To convince them that Wilson intended no interference in Latin American affairs, they were asked to express their ideas as to the right ruler for Mexico. While the South Americans were probably not deceived as to Wilson's intentions, they unanimously recommended the recognition of Carranza.

Such was the situation when both Gerard and Page fell into a "blue funk." Gerard went so far as to declare that Germany had virtually "won the war." All information from the Allies indicated they were on the verge of defeat.

Despairing of inducing Wilson to mediate, the Lysistra-tans now set out after other game, and captured Henry Ford. "I should judge," wrote House, who was also being pursued by them, "that Ford is a mechanical genius, who may become a prey to all sorts of faddists who desire his money."

Ford had, in fact, agreed to finance a "peace argosy" for the Lysistratans, who proposed to storm the belligerents with appeals for peace, and were anxious to enlist both Wilson and House in their cause. The latter was, much to his disgust, actually invited by Ford to join the expedition.

House now renewed his efforts to impress on Wilson the danger of the situation. The time had now come, he argued, when considerations of national security demanded intervention on behalf of the Entente. Moreover, to ignore the demands of the League to Enforce Peace for adequate military legislation, would be suicidal. A strong appeal to the patriotism of the country would defeat any remaining opposition to "preparedness." The country, as a whole, was not opposed to the creation of an emergency force, to be employed in actual national defense. David Starr Jor-

dan, President of the American Peace Society, and an active member of the League to Enforce Peace, was prepared to sponsor resolutions calling for adequate military measures. Though the Lysistratans had enlisted the aid of Henry Ford, no one took their proposals seriously. Thousands of sincere pacifists would all the more readily support the President, after they had seen the futility of Bryan, Henry Ford, and Dr. Jacobs, trying to talk the belligerents into a peace! Moreover, if Carranza were recognized and the embargo lifted on the export of arms to his Government, he might naturally be expected to neutralize Villa. That would make so large a military establishment as the one which Garrison and Wood had proposed, seem unnecessary even to the "militarists," so that they would be satisfied with less. If, on the other hand, the danger of "hyphenism" were stressed sufficiently by the President, a rousing appeal to the patriotism of the pacifists would assure their support to the administration.

Should the Central Allies threaten to prevail, America would be in position to intervene to save the Entente from defeat. Should this become necessary, Wilson's foresight would be hailed with approval by the country. He might also expect the affirmative aid of the Entente Governments, who would naturally put out enormous propaganda in his support, instead of opposing him.

The danger of a German victory if Bulgaria joined the Central Allies, would be very great; compared to such a victory that would find America still neutral and unarmed, the risk of hostilities as an associate of the Entente was inconsiderable. Even should Bulgaria join the Entente, this was Wilson's last chance to grasp the world leadership he craved. Should he reject it, argued House, the League to Enforce Peace, The National Security League, the Carnegie people, and others of their kind, cooperating with the Republicans, would almost certainly encompass his defeat in the Autumn.

Wilson still hesitated, hoping that Bulgaria would join the Entente, and end the danger. Bulgaria, however, cast her lot with the Central Allies, and one of the darkest hours

of the war was at hand. To many all seemed lost. Wilson no longer dared risk the consequences of adhering to his old policy. He authorized the importunate House to write the following letter, to prepare the Entente for American intervention:

"Colonel House to Sir Edward Grey.

"New York, October 17, 1915.

"DEAR SIR EDWARD:—

". . . It has occurred to me that the time may soon come when this Government should intervene between the belligerents, and demand that peace parleys begin upon the broad basis of the elimination of militarism and navalism. . . .

"In my opinion, it would be a world-wide calamity if the war should continue to a point where the Allies could not, with the aid of the United States, bring about a peace along the lines you and I have so often discussed. What I want you to know is that, whenever you consider the time is propitious for this intervention, I will propose it to the President. He may then desire me to go to Europe, in order that a more intimate understanding as to procedure may be had.

"It is in my mind that, after conferring with your Government, I should proceed to Berlin, and tell them that it was the President's purpose to intervene and stop this destructive war, provided the weight of the United States thrown on the side that accepted our proposal could do it.

"I would not let Berlin know, of course, of any understanding had with the Allies, but would rather lead them to think our proposal would be rejected by the Allies. This might induce Berlin to accept the proposal, but, if they did not do so, it would nevertheless be the purpose to intervene. If the Central Powers were still obdurate, it would probably be necessary for us to join the Allies, and force the issue.

"It might be well for you to cable me under the code we have between us, unless you prefer to send a letter. The understanding will be that the discussion is entirely between you and me, until it is desired that it be broadened further. . . .

"Sincerely yours,

"E. M. HOUSE."

Grey was, of course, overjoyed. Two days later Wilson extended the recognition of the United States to the Car-ranza Government, and lifted the embargo on the shipment

of arms, while Garrison was directed to prepare a military bill providing for the national defense, to be introduced at the next session of Congress as an Administration measure. Not knowing what was going on in Wilson's mind, the country was amazed by the recognition of Carranza. Even the Chief of Staff was left in ignorance. When Scott had rendered his report to Wilson on the border situation, and urged him not to recognize Carranza, the President had given the General no intimation of his intention: "I never knew why he did it," says Scott. "I asked the officers of the State Department, junior to the Secretary, why such a thing had been done, and they said they did not know, for they had all advised against it, a month previous to the recognition." The old General makes the naive observation: "that information has always made the President's step even more of a mystery to me." [191]

According to schedule, late in October, David Starr Jordan presented to Wilson resolutions of the American Peace Society, calculated to discredit the absurd proposals of Bryan and the Lysistratans. This public demand from pacifists for more active measures to bring the war to an end, put Wilson in a position to come out squarely for "military preparedness," without risk.

Nevertheless, Wilson had still no idea of sanctioning adequate military measures. His action was to be but a gesture to deceive the Germans. Garrison's proposals were brushed aside. A paper army was all that Wilson wanted, and there was no arguing with him. He still proposed to overwhelm the Central Allies with words!

He was to outline his new policy in an explanatory address at the Manhattan Club of New York on November 4. 1915, appealing again to the Germans over the head of their government.

"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."

After a long dissertation on American democracy, America's love of peace, and the danger of "hyphenism," he outlined his military program, one that did not call for a material enlargement of the regular establishment, and only provided for the training of a makeshift reserve of 400,000 citizen soldiers, in annual contingents of 133,000. He continued:

"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."

The statement that the country was not threatened from any quarter, that with an army on its own borders defending its rights, and the Germans destroying its citizens, it was in "friendly relations with all the world," was almost incredible. It would have been difficult to select words better calculated to mislead the country, to lull it into a sense of false security. Plainly they were designed for the triple purpose of scaring the Germans, satisfying the League to Enforce Peace, and reassuring the pacifists at the same time. Nevertheless, the pro-ally partisans were jubilant. To them it seemed that Wilson had at last found himself. Grey had remained silent since hearing from House that Wilson was considering intervention; but, on November 9th, he cabled House inquiring if the letter of October 17th was to be

taken in conjunction with his own letter of September 22, 1915.

When House inquired of Wilson what reply he should make to Grey, he found, to his utter amazement, that Wilson had undergone another change of heart. A deluge of protests from the Nationalists of the Democratic party, the pro-Germans and the pacifists had poured upon him. "What does this mean?" they all demanded. Is the Administration planning to throw the United States into the war on the side of the Entente?

Wilson was dreadfully alarmed and perplexed. He feared he had gone too far, acted too precipitately. He could only hear the protests, not the applause. In vain House continued to plead for action:

"New York, November 10, 1915.

"DEAR GOVERNOR:—

". . . It seems to me that we must throw the influence of this nation in behalf of a plan by which international obligations must be kept, and in behalf of some plan by which the peace of the world may be maintained. We should do this not only for the sake of civilization, but for our own welfare—for who may say when we may be involved in such a holocaust as is now devastating Europe?

"Must we not be a party to the making of new and more humane rules of warfare, and must we not lend our influence towards the freedom of both the land and sea? This is the part I think you are destined to play in this world tragedy, and it is the noblest part that has ever come to a son of man. This country will follow you along such a path, no matter what the cost may be.

"Your affectionate,

"E. M. HOUSE."

Wilson remained adamant, while the Central Allies proceeded to intensify his fears. In response to his preparedness speech, the British ship Ancona was sunk by an Austrian submarine, with the loss of more American lives, in complete disregard of the assurances given by Germany after the destruction of the Arabia, while the German agents instituted a program of sabotage in the United States,

which, by their own subsequent admission, was designed to terrify Wilson, Congress, and the pacifists.

The effect of all this was well calculated. Although the usual note of protest against the "inhuman and barbarous" sinking of the Ancona was duly despatched, the Austrian "explanation" that a mine had caused the loss, was accepted as entirely satisfactory! Wilson was particularly anxious not to antagonize the Austrians, because of his hope of detaching the dual monarchy from Germany.

His own Cabinet was puzzled. "I am afraid," wrote Lane at this time, "that we are going to have a great deal of trouble in getting our preparedness program through, because of dissension in our own ranks, and because the Republicans are so anxious to take advantage of this emergency to raise the tariff duties, and to gain credit for whatever is done in the way of preparation. We are too much dominated by partisanship, to be really patriotic. This is a very broad indictment, but it seems to be justified. Of course, the people like Bryan and Ford, and the women generally, are moved by a philosophy that is too idealistic, and some of them are only moved, I fear, by an intense exaggerated ego. If I would have to name the one curse of the present day, I would say it is the love of notoriety, and the assumption by almost everyone that his judgment is as good as that of the ablest. Of course the trouble with the ablest people is, that they are so largely moved by forces that do not appear on the surface, that one does not know that the views they express are really their own judgment. Democracy seems to be government by suspicion, in large part. We have faith in ourselves, but not in each other. A man, to be a good partisan, seems called upon to believe that every man of different view is a crook or a weakling-This is a Roosevelt idea. And half of it is the Bryan idea.

It was useless for House to try to make the British understand Wilson's situation. Their confidence in him was gone. On November 26th, Bryce wrote House that he had heard that Jane Addams, "who ought to have known better after her journey around Europe," and others had been trying to engineer a movement for mediation. They might

have spared themselves the trouble. The British were not in the least discouraged by the Balkan difficulties, and the Armenian massacres, which the German Government could have stopped, had heightened British antagonism against them, as well as against the Turks. The rule of the latter over Christians, Bryce insisted, must be extinguished once for all. The Allies would therefore entertain no more suggestions of peace negotiations, since they were sure that Germany would not listen to any terms they could propose. Those terms must include the evacuation of Belgium, with ample compensation to her for all her suffering, and also, of course, the evacuation of Northern France and Luxemburg. Germany would, on the other hand, he asserted, insist upon indemnities, since, without them, bankruptcy stared her in the face. Hence, said Bryce, there was nothing for it but to fight on.

Toward the close of November, House heard again from Grey. The British Government still felt that, by refusing to accept the principle of the Allied Blockade, Wilson was threatening to strike the weapon of sea power from the hands of Great Britain, and that he must recognize their situation before they could accept his leadership.

With the British attitude, House himself sympathized absolutely. "I do not see how they could commit themselves in advance to any proposition without knowing exactly what it was, and knowing that the United States was prepared to intervene and make good, if they accepted."

"I tried to impress upon Lansing," he also wrote on November 28th, "the necessity of the United States making it clear to the Allies that we considered their cause our cause, and that we had no intention of permitting a military autocracy to dominate the world, if our strength could prevent it. We believed this was a fight between democ-racy and autocracy and we would stand with democracy. I pointed out that it was impossible to maintain cordial relations with Germany, not only for the reason that her system of government was different in its conception from ours, but also because so much hate against us had been engendered, that it would be perhaps a generation or two before

it could die out. Germany was being taught that her lack of success could be directly attributed to us. It was evident that the Government there was looking for some excuse for failure, and the easiest and best, in their opinion, seemed to be the United States' 'unneutral attitude in regard to the shipment of munitions of war, and the lending of money to her enemies.' I thought also that, unless we did have a complete and satisfactory understanding with the Allies, we would be wholly without friends when the war was ended, and our position would be not only perilous, but might become hurtful from an economic viewpoint.

"Lansing agreed to this and we discussed the best means of reaching an understanding. He thought they should recall the British Ambassador, and send such a man as Lord Bryce, with whom we could talk understandingly."

Meantime Marburg's two organizations—the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and the League to Enforce Peace, had become greatly confused in the public mind, while Bryan assailed both. Therefore, to separate the World Court proposal from the proposition of enforced peace, Carnegie, Root, Butler, Taft and Marburg now brought about the formation of the League for a World Court, with Taft as President. This, the American Peace Society, the World Peace Foundation, and the Carnegie Endowment could alike support without criticism from Bryan. At the same time, it would serve as a powerful lever to compel the support of Roosevelt and Wood for the first step in the Internationalist scheme.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The "Peace Argosy" Arrives in Europe. Wilson's Second Marriage. Boy-Ed and von Papen Dismissed. An Avowed Candidate for Renomination, Wilson Undertakes to Retrieve Himself. Efforts Looking to the Reorganization of the Democratic Party and the Ousting of McCombs. Wilson Outlines to the Belligerents the Conditions upon which the United States will Enter a League of Nations. Hedges on "Preparedness." A Threatened Revolt in Congress. Lane's Simile of "'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

THE SECOND WINTER of the war was an early one—it settled over Europe like a black frost. Numb with pain, chilled by the cold of despair, the belligerent peoples were almost silent with anguish when the "Peace Argosy," setting forth from New York, December 4th, with Ford himself aboard, arrived in the North Sea.

Aristophanes had had no such material for his comedies. The vessel had been well stocked with supplies, and numerous guests and newspaper correspondents! These had amused themselves by inciting violent discords among the Lysistratans, almost to the stage of armed conflict. Long before the argosy reached the theater of European warfare, strife no less bitter was in progress among those abroad. At Christiania, Ford abandoned the ship, and returned home to pay the bills!

The belligerents may be forgiven if, with overtaxed sense of humor, they refused at first to allow these doughty radicals to land. A humorous proposal was heard in Amer-ica, that they be barred from returning by Wilson, as neutral neither in mind nor act! They finally proceeded to Germany, and thence to the Hague. Gulled outrageously,

and relieved of a great sum of money by these militant Socialists, Henry Ford was henceforth a wiser and less aggressive pacifist than before.

Wilson was to be married December 18, 1915. The tongues of scandal wagged unmercifully. Yet no one had any doubt that Wilson intended to claim a second nomination. The time had come for him to make his long anticipated bid to the country, and to reorganize the Democratic party.

While the events of the past several weeks had convinced him that he had gone too fast in advocacy of a league of nations, and of "preparedness," he could no longer ignore the rising demand for the dismissal of Bernstorff, Boy-Ed and von Papen. The departure of the Ambassador might probably mean war, and his retention was really necessary to continue negotiations. Wilson therefore decided to give the attaches their passports on December 3rd, in the hope this would silence the popular clamor. This having been done, the report was circulated that Bernstorff was guilty of no wrong, despite abundant evidence against him.

Wilson worked feverishly on his third annual message, without taking either House or the Cabinet into his confidence. He proposed to satisfy with sheer eloquence the Nationalists, Pacifists, and pro-Germans, the League to Enforce Peace, and the Democratic party generally.

But he must do more than this—the party machinery was in bad shape and must be reorganized. The McAdoo-Tumulty-Burleson-Daniels patronage group had sought, from the first, to oust McCombs as Chairman. Repeated polls of the National Committee, however, had invariably revealed a large majority opposed to his removal, notwithstanding the fact that control of patronage had been almost entirely taken out of his hands, in direct violation or the Committee's ruling of March, 1912. This flagrant disregard of the Committee's will had, more than the influence of McCombs himself, undoubtedly contributed to his retention. The Committee was called to meet, ostensibly for the purpose of arranging for the Convention, on the

very day Wilson was to address Congress. Having learned of a definite plot on the part of his enemies to remove him, McCornbs had busied himself with organizing a majority to prevent this. Two days before the meeting, McCornbs arrived in Washington to find the Committee split over the question of whether Frederick B. Lynch of Minnesota, Vance McCormick of Pennsylvania, or Henry Morgenthau of New York, should be his successor; while there was also a division as between Chicago, St. Louis and Dallas for the Convention. On the eve of the meeting, the plot to remove McCornbs was exposed by the New York American.

Such was the situation when, on December 7, 1915, Wilson appeared in person, as usual, before Congress, and said:

"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."

The first paragraph here quoted might have been copied from any one of Marburg's writings. On the very day this repeated claim of neutrality was made by Wilson, House wrote Grey: "What is needed at present is a better working understanding with you, and how this is to be brought about is uppermost in our thoughts. The machinery we are using is not altogether satisfactory." Manifestly Wilson was no more neutral in thought now, than he had been in August, 1914.

On behalf of Pan-Americanism, he went on to say that the day had passed when the United States entertained any thought of exercising a suzerainty over Latin America. De-spite the recent warfare against Mexico and the deliberate ousting of Huerta, he declared that the "persistent noninterference" of the Administration in Mexican affairs, was proof of Mexico's complete independence of action.

After reviewing again the material advantages of neutrality, he urged once more the passage of the Jones-Hobson Shipping Bill; and although he had rejected the proposals of the Secretary of War as to national defense, he dwelt at great length upon the military plan of the administration, describing it as that of the War Department. For the benefit of the pacifists, he undertook to explain that it involved no material enlargement of the regular establishment.

In conclusion, the message dealt with the "hyphenate question" in a way calculated to show the need of the measure he advocated:

"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 freedom to play the impartial role 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 Gov-

ernments, 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 reaction 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 nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out. There 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 prop-

erty, 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. 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 cannot. 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 European 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." [129]

Obviously German propaganda and sabotage had done their work. Wilson was not only himself alarmed, but was trying to arouse the country to a sense of what he conceived to be a very real and widespread danger. Instantly a Senate investigation was instituted, only to find the danger gravely exaggerated, and due largely to Bernstorff.

When Wilson returned to the White House after delivering this extraordinary message, he learned with dismay that the National Committee had retained McCombs as Chairman, and that St. Louis had been selected as the seat of the Convention. Wilson's troubles were not to end here —there were still other whirlwinds to reap. Neither the Bryanites, nor the League to Enforce Peace were satisfied with his message. In the London Times and Daily Math

Roosevelt branded Wilson's policy as "pusillanimous." On the other hand, the Bryanites and pacifists in Congress, fearful of his purpose, now put forward a clever scheme to forestall the possibility of intervention on the side of the Allies. Unless Wilson warned American Nationals against traveling in the war zone, they proposed to secure resolutions in Congress withdrawing protection from them. The leading advocate of this scheme was William J. Stone, of Missouri, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, popularly known as "Gum Shoe." Though an ardent disciple of Bryan, he had always been willing to manipulate the Congressional element of the Middle West in support of the Administration, and had been Wilson's most valuable leader in the Senate.

To those uninformed as to the conflicting influences bearing upon Wilson at this time, his actions must seem inexplicably confused. But from his point of view they were logical, nor did he ever act with more resolution than at this juncture, with his leadership threatened from so many quarters.

In the mad pursuit of their own pet scheme, and utterly deceived as to the true sentiment of the country, Stone and the Democratic insurgents had miscalculated. Figuring that Wilson would not dare risk a split in the Democratic party, they themselves relieved him from the dilemma in which he found himself. Just as the League to Enforce Peace was compelling the Governments of the Central Allies to fight on for their existence, Bryan and Stone had done what was most apt to drive Wilson into an open espousal of intervention, by leaving him no choice. He had never doubted the willingness of a majority of the American people to respond to his call for action. For two years, the problem had been to keep them neutral, and the effort to do so had almost exhausted him. He had succeeded only by virtue of Marburg's tremendous propaganda, in combination with that of both the pro-Germans and the Entente Governments who, for different reasons, desired the country to remain neutral. Sure, from the reliable information in his possession, that he would be defeated for

reelection if he countenanced the cowardly surrender of American rights on the high seas, Wilson had no choice but to accept the gauge of battle laid down by Stone.

In this situation, his next step was plain. He must crush ruthlessly the threatened Democratic revolt, and to do this he must have a sympathetic party organization. Summoning the party leaders, he insisted that McCombs must go. They must bring about his resignation, or forfeit any chance of party success. After assurances on this point, he decided to utilize his honeymoon for a spectacular political tour of the Middle West, to carry fire and sword to his opponents. Meeting Bryan and Stone on their own ground, he would bedevil their section of the country into supporting him, by dwelling ceaselessly on the danger of "hyphenism."

He kept his own counsel as to the next step—that Marburg and House were to be sent abroad to smooth the ruffled tempers of the Allies, and to insure, for the coming campaign, the secret support of their Governments, without which he could not hope for victory.

The conception was brilliant; Wilson had never appeared to better advantage, as a politician. He was to go before the American people with a united Democratic organization, and with both the pro-Germans and the Entente behind him. The continued assault he proposed to make on the "hyphenates," would win for him thousands of patriotic non-partisan voters, as well as scare the pacifists into military preparations.

This planned, he decided not to allow Roosevelt and Wood to monopolize the field of "preparedness." To take the wind out of Wood's spreading political sails, Wilson arranged, through Pulitzer, Baruch, Morgenthau and other Democratic Internationalists, to address the Gridiron Club in New York on December 11, 1915, as the avowed champion of national defense, with the press encouraged to feature his message.

The Gridiron affair was designed to make Bryan, Stone, Kitchen, Villard, Ford, and the Lysistratans, look ridiculous. As explained by Lane, the head or reasonable end

of the Democratic ass represented Wilson, and the kicking extremity the insurgents!

"Wilson made an exalted speech," wrote Lane to a friend. "He is spiritually great. . . . Don't you dare smile and think of the widow! We are all dual. . . . Today is Jekyll's day, and tomorrow is Hyde's, and so they alternate."

Thus did the observant Lane analyze Wilson. A week after this "exalted speech," which aroused tremendous enthusiasm, Wilson was married. Nor was the malicious scandal abroad allowed to mar the bliss of the nuptials.* The Wilsons were both enthusiastic about the Western Tour. He was now in splendid fighting trim, with an understanding and sympathetic helpmate. "The President's lady," wrote Lane, "wears the smile which has given her such prominence."

On November 1, 1915, Wilson was being damned and cursed because he was opposed 'to defending the country's rights. On January 1, 1916, he was being popularly represented as the champion of "preparedness for national defense," and as the victim of men he had himself encouraged throughout two years of uncertainty. To many, this sudden shift in popular sentiment seemed to prove Wilson had gained such a hold on the popular imagination that the country would follow wherever he led.

* Shackles of the Flesh, Anonymous.

CHAPTER XXXV

Marburg and House Visit Europe to Promote a League of Nations. Harvey Suspicious. Decides to Visit the Theatre of War. Wilson Commits Himself to the British Government. Defies the Democratic Party. Marburg, Bryce, and the Fabian Socialists Organize the League of Nations Society. Wood and Scott Advocate Compulsory Military Service before Congress, in Wilson's Absence. Harvey Returns from Europe. Lansing Raises a New, Issue with Great Britain. Discredited by Wilson. The "Hay" Bill. Garrison Resigns as Secretary of War. Baker Appointed.

CONVINCED THAT WILSON was now committed beyond recourse, Marburg proceeded to London, to form, with Bryce's aid, a branch of the League to Enforce Peace in England, on the understanding that House would follow to speak for Wilson. As expected, he found his amended plan recommended itself more strongly to Englishmen generally than the first plan. In Bryce's opinion, compulsory recourse to arbitration was the best course. It was easy to win the aid of the Fabians, and to bring about, with the active aid of eminent writers like G. Lowes Dickinson, the organization of the League of Nations Society of England, with Lord Bryce as its president. With Taft and Bryce representing the movement in America and England, and with such internationally prominent advocates as Grey, Asquith, Churchill, Knox, Root, Lodge, Olney, and Beck, in addition to Socialist support, the consummation of Marburg's scheme seemed well on its way. Wilson's confidence seemed justified. Page remained on the defensive.

There had been, in the past, a disposition on the part of European Governments to question House's authority, as

was not unnatural. An agitation had been "engineered," says Smith, "by certain enemies of the Administration,* who had dug up a musty statute known as the Logan Law, enacted in the infant days of the Republic, to prohibit the conducting of negotiations with foreign Governments by a person who was not officially accredited to act for the United States." House was now formally accredited by Wilson, to qualify him as a diplomatic agent of the United States.

House's own statement of the object of his mission follows:

"I am going to Europe at the request of the President and Secretary of State. My task will be to take information to some of our Ambassadors, in order that they may have a more intimate knowledge of this Government's attitude regarding certain phases of pending international questions, and in order to obtain from them their personal point of view."

When Harvey learned of House's proposed visit, he waxed satirical: "Instead of sending Colonel House abroad, President Wilson should go to Europe himself, to find out just what the people there think of him. . . . Wilson could leave Colonel House here to act as President during his absence."

"Colonel House," said the Springfield Republican, "is perhaps the only private citizen in America, who could not go to Europe at this time, without attracting an attention worldwide in its scope." Speculation as to his purpose varied from the hypothesis of an immediate peace conference, to the theory that he was despatched to reprimand American Ambassadors in European capitals. "Worldwide Attention," "An Interesting Mission," "Prospects of Peace," were typical headlines in representative newspapers for several days.

The more bitter of the anti-Administration papers raised the question of the President's constitutional power to appoint an "agent of high diplomacy," without the approval of the Senate. American journalists in general,

* Harvey among others.

lacking any idea of the real purpose of House's mission, approved it on the ground that it would demand diplomatic tact, in which respect he was without equal. "Colonel House has proved himself a discreet and close-mouthed envoy in the past," said the Providence Journal, which was, in general, none too cordial toward Wilson, "and will doubtless maintain this reputation on his next expedition." "He will be welcomed in England," commented the Christian Science Monitor, "by newspaper men who . . . will be interested in continuing their study of at least one American, who not only possesses the faculty of keeping what he knows to himself, but the even rarer and greater faculty of disabusing the interviewer of the notion that he knows anything that is important enough to print."

"Although he holds no office and never has held any," wrote another correspondent, "he far outweighs Cabinet officers and bureau heads in Washington affairs. He may not be the power behind the Presidential chair, but he is the power alongside of it. He is a figure without parallel in our political history. . . .

"Colonel House asks nothing for himself. He hates the limelight with an intensity that bars him from public office. He is neither philanthropist nor reformer. He is a connoisseur of politics. . . .

"Colonel House is one of the small wiry men, who do a great deal without any noise. His is a ball-bearing personality; he moves swiftly, but with never a squeak or a rasp. He can not be classified, because there never has been any one quite like him. Therefore he has been called 'assistant President'—a new name for a new and puzzling figure."

Harvey was much alarmed over the general situation, and decided to visit Europe himself, in order, says Johnson, to discover what was to be expected, and what were the real needs of the Entente Allies. It seems certain that he had long since become suspicious of Marburg, House, and Wilson, and was determined to do a little "snooping" on his own account, to find out from Page and others, exactly what was going on.

House sailed from New York on the Holland American liner Rotterdam, December 28, 1915, on his fourth "super-ambassadorial" mission. Oddly enough, Captain Boy-Ed was one of the ship's company. The Germans were, of course, fully informed of his purpose. As if to show their contempt, they sank the Persia in the Mediterranean on the 29th. Among those lost, was Dr. Robert McNeely, American Consul at Aden. Denials of responsibility by both Germany and Austria-Hungary, were promptly made and accepted. The incident was so thoroughly glossed over by the Administration press, that it created little popular excitement. The country seemed to have lost both the desire and the power to protest further. Now it allowed its foreign representatives to be killed with impunity.

Page was disgusted. Aware of the purpose of Marburg's visit and of House's mission, he sent Wilson, on January 3rd, clippings from the British press, criticizing the Administration without restraint. Commenting on the situation, he said: "Public opinion, both official and unofficial, is expressed by these newspaper comments, with far greater restraint than it is expressed in private conversation. Ridicule of the Administration runs through the programmes of the theatres; it inspires hundreds of cartoons; it is a staple of conversation at private dinners and in the clubs. The most serious of Englishmen, including the best friends of the United States, feel that the Administration's reliance on notes has reduced our Government to a third- or fourth-rate power. There is even talk of spheres of German influence in the United States, as in China. No Government could fall lower in English opinion than we shall fall if more notes are sent to Austria or to Germany. The only way to keep any shred of English respect, is (by) the immediate dismissal, without more parleying, of every German and Austrian official at Washington. Nobody here believes that such an act would provoke war.

"I can do no real service by mincing matters. My previ-ous telegrams and letters have been purposely restrained, as this one is. We have now come to the parting of the ways. If English respect be worth preserving at all, it can

be preserved only by immediate action. Any other course than immediate severing of diplomatic relations with both Germany and Austria, will deepen the English opinion into a conviction that the Administration was insincere when it sent the Lusitania notes, and that its notes and protests need not be taken seriously on any subject. And English opinion is allied opinion. The Italian Ambassador said to me, 'What has happened? The United States of today is not the United States I knew fifteen years ago, when I lived in Washington.' French officers and members of the Government who come here, express themselves even more strongly than do the British. The British newspapers today publish translations of ridicule of the United States from German papers."

Two days later he wrote an even more unreservedly critical letter, which could hardly have failed to make Wilson wince. America had virtually been made "the laughing stock of the world." He declared that the dismissal of Dumba and the attaches, had had little more effect than that of the Turkish Ambassador. "It is merely kicking the dog of the man who has stolen our sheep."

In thus chiding Wilson, Page had, apparently, thrown caution to the winds. Wilson, still not daring to remove him, simply continued to ignore his counsel. It was his own reelection that now engaged his attention. Marburg and House might attend to the rest.

On January 5th, the National Committee met to make the final arrangements for the Convention.

"After attending to our business," says McCombs, "we were informed that we were invited to the White House to luncheon the next day. Of the many luncheons I ever attended, this was the most curious. Many of the Committee did not desire to go—they told me so. I advised them it was proper under the circumstances to go, notwithstanding their individual feeling. And with this spirit I went. I never attended such a funereal function in my life. Every Committeeman seemed embarrassed and ill at ease. The meal was eaten almost in silence. I, of course, was put on the President's right, Homer S. Cummings on the left. We

could pump no language out of the President. Therefore we turned to our neighbors. One Committeeman, seated at some distance, handed in a note behind the others to me with these words on it: 'This looks like the "Last Supper."'"

Apparently McCombs failed to sense the grim humor of this observation. Still believing in himself as a political factor, he was actually attending his own funeral!

"When we had consumed the wines set before us, everybody was anxious to go. We had to comply when it was suggested that our picture be taken. So we went out behind the White House, where a member of the Committee said to me, 'I wonder if he wants our finger prints too!' After the picture was taken, everybody moved away from the White House and took a fresh breath of air." [138]

This very day House arrived in London. Ignoring Page, he conferred the following day with Grey. The ground had been thoroughly prepared by Marburg.

"It was gratifying," House wrote, "to have Sir Edward meet me half way. He thought the Freedom of the Seas would accomplish for Great Britain what her predominant naval power does for her now, but it would be less costly, more effective, and would not irritate neutrals. If the Freedom of the Seas was agreed upon as an international policy, the nation breaking the agreement would have to reckon with every other nation. If the pact I have in mind was in force, and Germany had broken it, every subscribing nation would be aiding Great Britain in her effort to punish the offenders. On the other hand, if Great Britain had broken the pact, she would be the one facing united opposition. He was gratified to hear me express my belief that public opinion in the United States had advanced to a point where it was reasonably certain we would enter some world agreement having for its object the maintenance of peace, if a workable plan could be devised. I thought it far better for the democracies of the world to unite upon some plan which would enable the United States to intervene, than for us to drift into the war by breaking diplomatic

relations with the Central Powers. He concurred in this view."

With the arrangements for the Convention out of the way, Wilson had hastened to Cleveland where, in a stirring address on the night of the 6th, he fired his first shot against the Democratic insurgents. Emphasizing the need of national unity, he confessed the difficulty of determining the Nation's true sentiments. Speaking as the "champion of humanity," he had no doubt as to what was best for mankind. The welfare of the world demanded that the Nation arm itself. That, and not the surrender of American rights, was the best way to make neutrality possible. Moreover, the present opportunity to build up the merchant marine against the coming of peace, was one which might never come again! Therefore the Shipping Bill should be passed without further delay.

Even though House had presented his credentials to Balfour and Grey, they insisted on a written statement from Wilson himself, before proceeding.

"Colonel House to the President " (Telegram)

"London, January 7, 1916.

"Arrived yesterday. Have had conference with Grey and Balfour separately. The three of us will meet Monday to try to formulate some plan which I can submit to you, and which they can recommend to their colleagues.

"Their minds run parallel with ours, but I doubt their colleagues.

"Grey is now in favor of the Freedom of the Seas, provided it includes the elimination of militarism, and further provided we will join in a general covenant to sustain it.

"Your action concerning the Lusitania and the Persia will have a bearing on what can be done. Grey and Balfour understand, but their colleagues are doubtful as to your intentions regarding vigorous foreign policy.

"It would help in the conference Monday if you could cable me some assurance of your willingness to cooperate in a policy seeking to bring about and maintain permanent peace.

"EDWARD HOUSE."

After sending this despatch, House invited Page to meet him at lunch. The American Ambassador, he wrote, "was full of the growing unpopularity of the President and the United States in Great Britain. He questioned whether the President would ever take decisive action concerning the Lusitania."

Following this conference, House wrote the President:

"London, January 7, 1916.

"DEAR GOVERNOR:—

"... I was with Sir Edward for an hour and a half yesterday and dined with Balfour, and the three of us are to meet together Monday. When Sir Edward asked me what members of the Cabinet I wished to meet at lunch, I suggested that he have only Balfour, since we were the only three who speak your language.

"I told him if we failed to come to a better understanding with England, and failed to help solve the problems brought about by this war properly, it would be because his Government and people could not follow you to the heights you would go.

"Having Page's expression of their opinion in mind, I gave him what seemed to me to be the spirit of America. I asked him not to be misled by the motives which actuated New York, Chicago, and some of the commercial centres, but to accept my word that we were not a people driven mad by money. On the contrary, I thought that no nation in the world had such lofty ideals and would be so willing to make sacrifices for them.

"I recalled the fact that our population was made up of idealists that had left Europe for a larger freedom, and this spirit was as strong now as it had been at any time in our existence.

"I talked to him about our shipping troubles at some length, and urged him to make matters easier for you. He explained the difficulties he encountered, which he felt sure you did not fully realize. . . .

"I touched lightly upon Spring-Rice, and sowed the seeds for a further discussion.

"He admits that things have gone badly for the Allies, but declares that England was never more resolute than now, and that the outcome will be successful. I find all with whom I

have talked so far, of the same opinion. Their confidence seems greater now than it did when I was here before.

"Affectionately yours,

"E. M. HOUSE."

Wilson's reply was historic. He at once cabled H6use that he might convey to the British Government, the assurance that Wilson would be willing and glad to bring about and maintain permanent peace among the civilized nations, based upon an international covenant providing for general disarmament, and the "Freedom of the Seas." Thus did he confirm, in writing, his original understanding with Grey, and undertake to place the latter and Balfour in a position to go forward with their scheme.

The Jackson Day Dinner—the greatest of annual Democratic events—was held January 8th. Few of the Democrats who gathered there, suspected what was going on. Wilson, as the guest of honor, availed himself of the occasion to place squarely on the Democratic insurgents in Congress, the responsibility for the existing party friction, and to appeal to the patriotism of the party for support.

"I have been bred in the Democratic party," he said. "but I love America a great deal more than I love the Democratic party, and when the Democratic party thinks it is an end in itself, I rise up and dissent."

It was a clear warning to the insurgents. The position he took was exactly that of Jefferson, who declared he owed no loyalty to any party, above that due his country. And it is further evidence of Wilson's intention to transform the Democratic party, by bending it to his will.

Undoubtedly, too, he had the patriotic appeals of Wood in mind. The General had said little, until lately, about his candidacy. Early in January, however, John A. Stewart, a New York man of affairs who wielded a mysterious influence in the Republican temple, told Wood that he thought he could make him the Republican nominee.

"That," answered Wood dryly, "seems to me a pretty large order."

Stewart admitted this, but he was an optimist. What

logic there was, moreover, in politics, the most illogical of arts, was in Wood's favor. He was widely known; he had a distinguished record; circumstances, moreover, had kept him, like Hughes, out of the bitter struggle of 1912; he was the father of the preparedness movement; he was, moreover, Roosevelt's close friend, and could, if nominated, count on Roosevelt's support.

Wood was unquestionably stirred; but he recognized Roosevelt as the logical candidate, and insisted that, whatever Stewart undertook, he should under no circumstances do anything to interfere with Roosevelt's chances.

Was Stewart speaking for Marburg? At any rate, Wilson must do his best in the West to convince the country that he, too, was an earnest exponent of "preparedness," and of defending the national rights.

Immediately after the Jackson Day Dinner, Wilson launched forth on his western tour. Meantime Garrison had taken high offense at Wilson's representing the program he was advocating, as that of the War Department. Having gotten wind of this, the Republicans on the Military Affairs Committee of the House summoned both Wood and Scott to testify as to the needs of the country, in order to disclose the fact the military experts were not in sympathy with Wilson's plan. Their testimony follows:

Gen. Scott: "What I favor now; that is, I believe all soldiers who have given this matter any thought, believe that there should be universal service."

Mr. Quinn: "What do you mean by universal service?"

Gen. Scott: "I mean that every man of suitable age, should be available for training for the defense of his country."

Mr. Quinn: "Do you mean that there should be compulsory military service?"

Gen. Scott: "Yes." Mr. Quinn: "What age would you require for that?"

Gen. Scott: "About from 18 to 21 years."

Mr. Quinn: "General, is that not the idea, then, of the General Staff and the War Department, in fact, to bring about what you call universal military service?"

Gen. Scott: "Do you mean, has an effort been made to that end?"

Mr. Quinn: "No. Is not that the idea, the plan that you want to be brought about in time of Peace?"

Gen. Scott: "I can only speak for myself."

Mr. Quinn: "Yes; I understand, you can only speak for yourself."

Gen. Scott: "I feel that the armies of all civilized countries of great size, or countries that are in danger of being invaded, have been obliged to come to that; and I see that while England stood out until now, she is coming to it now, although they are late about it."

Mr. Quinn: "But England did not come to that until she was engaged in war, did she?"

Gen. Scott: "She had much better have come to it before the war began."

Mr. Quinn: "That is a matter of opinion, General. I am speaking of this country in time of peace. Do you favor compulsory military service in time of peace?"

Gen. Scott: "Yes; at this moment."

Scott's advocacy of compulsory military service was, of course, attributed to Wood who, while before the Committee, said: "There is no logical method of ducking, side-stepping, or dodging it. Whether they like it or not, men generally realize that the principle is sound. They realize that a man can not exercise the suffrage as a right, and assume that he has the privilege of deciding whether or not he is to render service in case of necessity." He quoted the President himself regarding a "citizenry trained to arms," and showed how such a citizenry might be trained, how alone it could be maintained. Even as it was the most efficient form of national defense, it was also, he pointed out, the most democratic.

During the short time Harvey spent overseas, he saw enough to convince him of two things—that intervention by America on the side of the Entente Allies should come without further delay, and that Wilson and America were both in ill-repute among all the belligerents. Moreover he learned from Page the real purpose of House's mission; and what he found on his return late in January, only

added to his convictions. Nobody could tell, he said bitterly, whether our Administration "was really awake, or was merely talking in its sleep." As for the President himself, he had "ceased to lead"; he had not only failed to safeguard American rights, but he no longer expressed the convictions in relation to the war, of representative Americans.

Wilson's troubles were not to end with the revolt of the Bryanites, and the open opposition of the War Department. Having no more knowledge than Bryan of the President's real purposes, Lansing now created an issue which threatened to produce not only a quarrel with the Allies, but a domestic crisis involving Wilson's party leadership.

Since the preceding Autumn, Lansing had been seeking for some answer to the German complaint that it was impossible for a submarine to conform with the laws of visit and search, in view of the ability of an armed merchant vessel to destroy the submarine when it appeared. He finally decided that it was wisest to abandon the rule permitting the arming of merchant vessels. Without considering what this would mean to the Allies, but seeing in it a tremendous advantage for himself, the President allowed Lansing to address, on January 18, 1916, an informal note to the British and French Ambassadors, suggesting that all merchantmen be disarmed in consideration of Germany's promise that they would then not be attacked without warning.

One may readily imagine the effect of such a proposal upon the Allies. It came like the explosion of a bombshell, in the midst of the secret negotiations which Marburg and House were carrying on in London. How on earth, in the face of such a proposal, could Wilson pretend friendliness to belligerents whose vital commerce he wished to place at the mercy of an illegal submarine blockade? Was he work-ing secretly with the Wilhelmstrasse, just as he was with Grey and Balfour? Were any of these Americans to be trusted? Was it not obvious, after all, that Wilson had no real interest in the principles involved in the conflict, and that his sole purpose from the first had merely been to make

use of British support, essential to the success of his own selfish schemes? How could Britain and France seriously contemplate entering into a league of nations, which it was Wilson's plain purpose to dominate?

Having championed Wilson against those in the Entente Governments who had never trusted his motives, Grey found himself on the defensive. Like Marburg, he foresaw the charges that would certainly be brought against the British Government, when this last American note became public. The whole scheme of a league of nations, which had, from the first, depended upon an understanding between the British and American governments, was likely to come to an abrupt end. In anticipation of a public uproar in Britain and France, Grey appeared, on January 26, 1916, before the House of Commons, to assure the Allies that the British Government contemplated no such surrender of principle as suggested by Wilson.

On August 26, 1915, he had said publicly: "If there are to be guaranties against future war, let them be equal, comprehensive, and effective guaranties that bind Germany as well as other nations, including ourselves." Now he declared: "But the great object to be attained—and, until it is attained, the War must proceed—is that there shall not again be this sort of militarism in Europe, which, in time of peace, causes the whole of the Continent discomfort by its continual menace, and then, when it thinks the moment has come that suits itself, plunges the Continent into war."

Closely cooperating with Grey, Wilson said in a speech at Des Moines, on February 1, 1916: "I pray God that if this contest have no other result, it will at least have the result of creating an international tribunal, and producing some sort of joint guarantee of peace on the part of the great Nations of the World."

But if these statements by Grey and Wilson served to satisfy the League to Enforce Peace, they did not appease public opinion in England and France. When the last American note came to light, the Entente press as well as the anti-Administration newspapers in America, fulminated

against Wilson's alleged "outrageous surrender to Germany."

"Secretary Lansing to Colonel House " (Telegram)

"Washington, February 3, 1916.

". . . Page cables that Grey is seriously disturbed over proposal, as he claims it is wholly in favor of the Central Powers and against Allies.

"Page fears that this proposal will be considered a German victory, and that all our influence with the Allies will be lost.

"I feel strongly that the proposal is fair, and the only humane solution of submarine warfare. If merchant vessels are armed and guns are used to sink attacking submarines, as has been done and as merchant vessels are now instructed to do, then it is unreasonable to insist that submarines should risk coming to the surface to give warning.

"I feel that the alleged refusal to consider the proposal calmly, will strengthen Germany's position. This proposal has no relation to the Lusitania settlement, and has not been mentioned to Germany, but is made necessary by conditions in Mediterranean, as merchant vessels are arriving here carrying guns. I feel we are asking too much of Germany in the case..."[103]

"LANSING."

Fully advised of House's presence in London, the Wilhelmstrasse was quick to take advantage of the situation to widen the rift between Britain and America, and thereby defeat all possibility of a union between the latter and Germany's enemies. Thus it announced, on February 10th, that after the 29th, armed merchant vessels would be dealt with as warships.

Wilson saw, all too late, the terrible mistake into which he had been led by the guileless Lansing; nor did he feel the slightest obligation to stand by the Secretary of State. Advised by Page of the effect of his blunder on British public opinion, and by House that it had rendered the British cabinet helpless with respect to Marburg's program, he did not hesitate; but publicly repudiated the proposal, as merely a tentative suggestion of the Secretary of State. At the same time, he declared merchantmen had the legal right to arm.

and defend themselves, if attacked by submarines. He thus discredited Lansing, and convicted himself of assent to an unwarranted and unwise proposal.

It is true that Wilson was responsible for his aides who, having no idea what was in his mind, were bound to sub-ject him to a continuous series of political embarrassments. The fact remains that the strain on him of these mistakes, was none the less severe. It is astonishing that he was able to stand up under it so long.

Wilson's appeal for "preparedness" deepened in eloquence as he moved westward, and his demands for party unity became more and more emphatic, as he became convinced that ignorance of the country's needs alone, motivated his opponents. "With extraordinary adroitness," says Hagedorn, "he satisfied the people who were against Germany, by talking of an enlarged army, and pleased those who were against England, by demanding 'incomparably the greatest navy in the world.'"

While Wilson was engaged in this rhetorical legerder-main, he learned with amazement of what had taken place before Congress. In leaguing himself with Wood, Garrison, as Wilson saw it, had been guilty of no less than treachery.

Wilson had no idea of countenancing compulsory military service. At the same time, the National Guard bitterly opposed his own program, which called for the creation of a citizens reserve; this through a lobby headed by the Hon. John Hay, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the House. The upshot was that, upon Wilson's return from his tour of the West which he deemed "a triumph," a compromise was effected, resulting in the introduction of the "Hay Bill," which had the approval of neither Garrison nor the General Staff. It provided for, first, a Regular Army to reach a strength of 180,000 in 1920 by five annual increments; second, an enlisted reserve which was to exist in time of peace, but only on paper; third, a National Guard of 17,000 officers and 440,000 men; and fourth, a Volunteer Army to be raised only in time of war, in such numbers as Congress should authorize. Thus

the bill provided for a paper increase only. Nevertheless, the proponents of real preparedness had been thoroughly outwitted. They were left bewildered and sputtering. "As a political maneuver at the beginning of a presidential year," says Hagedorn, "it was immense."

Their correspondence does not disclose exactly what occurred between Wilson and Garrison, when the former returned from the West. The scene was, no doubt, a stormy one. Unlike Lansing, Garrison was not an adviser to accept orders contrary to his convictions. "I never could obey orders in matters of opinion," he declared in a public interview. "I wasn't obstinate, but a task was odious, and a command made me an outlaw at once." Having controlled for over a year, his indignation over the defeat of his untiring efforts to build up the National defense upon a sound basis, he tendered his resignation on February 10th, 1916.

"It is evident," he wrote the President, "that we hopelessly disagree upon what I conceive to be fundamental principles. This makes manifest the impropriety of my longer remaining your seeming representative with respect to these matters."

Thus the far abler Garrison went the way of Bryan, though for different reasons. Within the Administration he was looked upon as more or less of a "sore-head." Even Houston did not hold him blameless for what he deemed "over-insistence" on Garrison's part.

Wilson had not liked Scott's testimony before Congress, in direct opposition to his own military proposals. Yet he did not hold the old soldier to blame for his adherence to Wood's progressive ideas. When Scott tendered the customary resignation, after Garrison's departure, he received the following letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
"February 14, 1916.

"MY DEAR GENERAL SCOTT:—

"I am sincerely obliged to you for your letter of the eleventh, because I know that it was prompted by a desire to relieve me of all embarrassment; but let me assure you that it is my sincere

desire that you should retain your present position and duties "I did think it regrettable that in the testimony given before the Committee of the House of Representatives on Military Affairs, your own opinion and the opinion of others in favor of compulsory military training should have been made to seem part of the judgment of the Department of War in favor of a "continental" reserve; but I fully recognized the fact that you were merely giving your frank professional opinion, and that it was your undoubted right to do so when questioned by a committee of the Congress. I meant no personal censure in what I said in my recent letter to Mr. Garrison, and you may rest assured that you continue to enjoy, as you have always enjoyed, my trustful confidence. I am glad to be associated with you in your present capacity as Acting Secretary of War. "Cordially and sincerely yours,

"WOODROW WILSON."

Pending the appointment of a new Secretary of War, the Chief of Staff as Acting Secretary, was invited by Wilson to sit with the Cabinet, a departure from precedent, as herewith indicated:

WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
"FEBRUARY 28, 1916.

"MY DEAR GENERAL SCOTT:—
"Thank you very warmly for your full letter of February twenty-fourth about Captain M. E. Sliney of the Philippine Scouts. I entirely approve of the course you propose taking, and think that it is in every way the right course. "Cordially and sincerely yours,

"WOODROW WILSON."

"P.S. I hope that you will feel inclined, while you are acting as Secretary of War, to attend the Cabinet meetings on Tuesdays and Fridays."

Newton D. Baker, appointed to succeed Garrison, was, like Daniels, claimed by the pacifists. He understood that official studies and discussions of the war in Europe by the General Staff, were not desired by the President. The military were to confine their attention to the Mexican situa-

tion, to avoid any impression that the Administration was contemplating participation in the European conflict.

" 'I am going to look up to you as to my father,' he told me," says Scott. " 'I am going to do what you advise me, and if either of us have to leave this building, I am going first.' This put us on relations of confidence at once, which I am happy to say nothing ever occurred to alter." [191]

Upon resigning, Garrison advocated in the public journals, more comprehensive military measures than those proposed by the President; and effectually discredited the whole military program of the Administration.*

If Wilson and Baker hoped to cajole or intimidate General Scott, they mistook their man. Once he had made up his mind, the old soldier was as tenacious as he was fearless. In the annual report which, as Chief of Staff, he presented to Baker, he discussed the whole question of national defense. After reviewing recent British experience, and pointing out the defective organization of both Regular Army and Militia, as well as the inadequacy of the pending Hay Bill, he wrote:

"In my judgment, the country will never be prepared for defense, until we do as other great nations do that have large interests to guard, like Germany, Japan, and France, where everybody is ready and does perform military service in time of peace, as he would pay every other tax, and is willing to make sacrifices for the protection he gets and the country gets in return. The volunteer system in this country, in view of the highly organized, trained, and disciplined armies that our possible opponents possess, should be relegated to the past. There is no reason why one woman's son should go out and defend or be trained to defend another woman and her son, who refuses to take training or give service. The only democratic method is for every man in his youth to become trained, in order that he may render efficient service if called upon in war."

He then went on to present the whole theory of universal compulsory military service.** At the instance of Wood, a popular history of the institution was prepared,

* Century Magazine, March, 1916.

**Annual Report, War Department, 1916, Vol. 1, p. 159.

to show that it was the only fair system under which to marshal America's vast manpower.* Wood continued to urge the application of the same democratic principle to the mobilization of labor. By the Administration press he was charged with "out-Prussianing the Prussians." [93]

In any future estimate of Woodrow Wilson as an executive, the historian cannot ignore the questions that here arise. What would have been the effect upon the Nation's fortunes, had he been wise enough to be guided by Wood and the General Staff at this time, instead of by the Honorable John Hay? Would there have been any draft riots in 1917? Would there have been a soldier's bonus after the war? And had the railway carriers now been mobilized as urged by Wood, would this have forestalled the strikes of 1916, and their bitter experiences under the hastily devised scheme of Federal control adopted in 1917?

* The Call of the Republic, Wise, Dutton & Co. Upon this study the Provost Marshal General was later to base his Spirit of Selective Service, designed to popularize the "draft" to which Wilson eventually gave his consent.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Wilson Agrees Conditionally to Intervene on the Side of the Allies. The House-Grey Memorandum of February 22, 1916. House's Futile Visit to Germany and France. Returns to Washington. The Congressional Revolt Crushed.

AFTER MARBURG and House had reached their under-demanding with the British Government, it was decided that House should make one more effort to induce the Kaiser to accept the principle of a league of nations, and to "put over" in Germany the idea of the "freedom of the seas." Therefore he again visited Berlin, only to find that the Wilhelmstrasse was fully informed of the Anglo-American scheme.[85,103] In France, he could hardly obtain a respectful hearing. Returning to England on February 9, 1916, he reported to Grey the ill success of his efforts. The German Government was being pushed by the militarists and public opinion, toward the resumption of unrestrained submarine warfare. It would consider nothing but a "victor's peace."

Marburg, Grey, and House now recognized a possible alternative. The United States might wait until the Germans withdrew their submarine promise, and enter the war upon the submarine issue, or the President might demand a peace conference and, if Germany refused the "reasonable" terms which would be offered, the United States would enter the war to enforce them.

Of the two courses, the Internationalists preferred the latter. It would at least give Germany the opportunity to yield. If she did not embrace it, the entrance of the United States into the war could be based upon the clearest and highest of motives. America could say to the Allies in

definite accents: "We have come to help in a war to end war. But when the victory is won, we shall insist that you join with us to make a peace of justice and security, and not of revenge or selfish profit."

Meantime Page's early belief that Marburg and House had in mind far more than a mere league of peace, had ripened into conviction. He saw with the utmost alarm, their attempted alliances with the Fabians and Socialists generally. This was what was behind their "democracy!" Socialism and International Finance were working hand in hand to democratize the world, and to break down militarism. This unholy alliance threatened to let loose forces which could not be controlled. With these ideas in mind, he held himself resolutely aloof from all further negotiations between House and the British Government, no doubt by agreement with Harvey who had, by this time, also discerned the nature of Wilson's Internationalism.

House was furious, and strove to convince Wilson that Page was simply pig-headed in his opposition.

"We dined at the Embassy," he wrote on February 10th, "in order that Page and I might have a quiet talk. My entire evening was spent in listening to his denunciation of the President and Lansing, and of the Administration in general. He thought the State Department should be 'cleaned out from top to bottom.' He humorously suggested that the Department should not remain in the same quarters, but should take a large tent, and place it on the green near the Washington Monument, in order to raze the present building to its foundations, and start afresh with new surroundings and a new force.

"I did not argue with him. . . . 'The President has no policy. He has lost the respect of Great Britain and the world. Lansing insults every one with his notes, etc., etc.'"[103]

The following memorandum made by Page is significant:

House told me that we'd have a meeting on Monday—Asquith, Grey, Reading, Lloyd George, he, and I. No, we won t.

No member of the Government can afford to discuss any such subject; not one of them has any confidence in the strength of the President for action.

Therefore, on Friday, 11 th of February, I told House that I couldn't go with him to any such conference, and I wouldn't.

Page's opinion that the leading members of the British Government would not discuss House's scheme, proved to be without foundation. On February 14th, the conference was held as planned. House was hampered by Page's refusal to cooperate, for his attitude necessarily weakened faith in Wilson. Even so, they approved in principle of the American offer, though they refused to set a date for intervention. They still wished to try the fortunes of war against Germany, unhampered by any conditions as to the terms they might lay down in case of victory. On the other hand, they agreed that if, in the future, it became apparent that they could make no serious impression on the German lines, Wilson should demand a peace conference.[103]

At this juncture Page made still another effort to save Wilson. Writing on February 15th, he urged the immediate severence of diplomatic relations with the Central Allies, and an embargo on all shipments to them. This, he declared, would destroy Germany's credit, and end the war without entangling America. Wilson would make himself immortal. Even the German people in the end would thank him.

The effort was vain. Grey has recorded what followed.

"In February, 1916," he declares, "House drafted with me a memorandum to define as precisely as could be done in advance, the action that President Wilson would be prepared to take, and the terms of peace that he would use all the influence of his country to secure."

Now the Allies were to reap the result of House's last visit to Berlin. Alarmed by the rising clamor of the Socialists in Germany to whom Wilson was appealing strongly, those in control of the German Government decided to make a great effort to deliver a knock-out blow to the French. This commenced with the great attack launched by them at Verdun on February 21, 1916. Thus the inter[429]

meddling of the Internationalists in European affairs was again to be attended with the most direful consequences. The German diplomatic representatives in the United States and Mexico were concurrently directed to spare no effort to embroil the United States with Mexico, if at all possible.

When the new German offensive was launched, there was no longer need for House to remain in England. It was with peculiar historic fitness, as he and Marburg saw it, that the memorandum of Wilson's purpose upon which Grey had insisted, was signed by the Super-Ambassador on Washington's birthday—February 22, 1916. No wonder Page was bitter. He did not fail to see what neither House nor Grey have recorded—that Wilson was, in effect, secretly bartering principle for assurance of support from the Entente Governments, and the League to Enforce Peace, in the coming election. To Page, the danger of stirring up the Socialists was obvious. As he saw it, there was far more than political expediency involved in Wilson's course. He deemed it positively dishonest for the President to conceal from the American people on the eve of the coming election, the fact that he had committed himself to something which he dared not submit to their approval. It was a type of so-called statesmanship which Page could not condone.

The day that House signed the memorandum described, the Democratic insurgents made good their threat. Had Bernstorff informed Bryan and Stone of the Wilson-Grey agreement? At any rate, with true Jeffersonian inconsistency, Jeff McLemore, of Texas, introduced in the House on Washington's birthday, the resolution to which Wilson had refused assent. Champ Clark, the Speaker, called upon the President, at the head of a delegation of Democratic Congressmen, to notify him that the McLemore resolution, should it come to a vote, would be carried two to one. Three days later Gore, of Oklahoma, introduced a similar resolution in the Senate. So did the "Bryanites" lay down the gauge of battle to Wilson.

How was he to handle this revolt?

Having been advised by Page, House, and Gerard, that

the division of opinion in Congress over his foreign policy was militating against him abroad, Wilson did not hesitate. He wrote Senator Stone as follows:

"No group of nations has the right, while war is in progress, to alter or disregard the principles which all nations have agreed upon in mitigation of the horrors and sufferings of war, and if the clear rights of American citizens should very unhappily be abridged or denied by any such action, we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be.

"For my part, I cannot consent to any abridgment of the rights of American citizens in any respect. The honor and self-respect of the nation is involved. We covet peace, and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. . . . Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands, piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter, is of the very essence of the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotence as a nation, and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world. . . ."

With what Josephus Daniels characterizes as "dramatic swiftness," he also addressed himself sharply to the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House.

He denounced as false, the report current in Congress of "industrious use" being made "in foreign capitals" of these "divided counsels." Yet he felt "justified," because of the harm it might do, in asking the committee to act promptly on the pending resolution. "The matter is of so grave importance and is so clearly within the field of executive initiative, that I venture to hope that your committee will not think that I am taking an unwarraned liberty in making this suggestion as to the business of the House; and I very earnestly commend it to their immediate consideration."

He thus ensured quick action on the important House resolution, knowing that, in the absence of serious discussion, he could depend on the party whips to defeat it. The

utmost pressure was also brought to bear on Gore, though of what nature, does not appear. In any event, Gore substituted for his original resolution, a new one declaring that "the sinking by any submarine, without notice or warning, of an armed merchant vessel of her public enemy, re-sulting in the death of a citizen of the United States, would constitute a just and sufficient cause for war between the United States and the German Empire."

From Gore's action in thus reversing himself, we may deduce that Wilson had convinced him of the country's imminent peril. With Gore detached from the revolt, the Senate, under Wilson's whip, tabled the Gore Resolution by a vote of 68 to 14, Gore himself voting with the majority.

Wilson had been playing a shrewder game than even the Democratic leaders realized. He had won the secret support of the Entente Governments, and had ended the attacks of the British and French press. Leaving Marburg in London, House sailed on February 25th from Falmouth. As the fruit of British propaganda, the press on both sides of the Atlantic applauded the skill with which he had explained the President's policy, and the political value of the resulting understanding.

"Colonel House's visit to us, which has just come to an end," said the London Nation, "stands, we think, for a landmark in the war. No one has had anything like his chances of valuing the general factors which will decide the fate of Europe, now dreadfully in the balance. This is not a small function. Save for the conferences of the Allies, diplomacy has come to an end over the great field of Europe. Neither side knows what the other side thinks; and the more men strain the ear, the more loudly sounds the roar of the cannon. It is well, therefore, for the world to have at least one carrier of ideas and intelligence. Colonel House has impressed everybody with his sense, prudence, reserve, sincerity, power of estimating forces, and giving them their due weight in the balance of affairs."

"No Englishman knows of Germany as Colonel House

knows," said an American paper. "No German has had Colonel House's opportunity for weighing public opinion and the possibilities of the future in England and France. He has gone his way, heard all the stories of all sides, and has kept his own counsel. He has absorbed, but has given out nothing, and will reach home without having made an enemy, spoken an imprudent word, or raised a suspicion."

Even the anti-Wilson papers in New York, were compelled to print the laudatory articles of their British correspondents.

"House managed to be both elusive and significant," said an article in the Tribune, "and this without departing from his ordinary manner. He saw everything and heard everything, while showing himself a notable master in the gentle art of saying as little as possible. His glance showed that his silence covered a good deal of humor. He succeeded so well in the difficult task of being both taciturn and agreeable, that he was even popular with the newspaper reporters when he told them nothing. Clearly one of the shrewdest of men."

In London, the Observer suggested that Grey should follow Wilson's example, and "send some sufficiently distinguished and authoritative statesman upon a special mission to the American Government and the American people. That mission would imply no reflection on other persons and previous methods. It would recognize that the situation cannot be adequately dealt with by professional diplomacy, no matter how assiduous and accomplished in its sphere. . . . Colonel House will have a remarkable report to make to President Wilson, and we hold a strong opinion that this country ought to enjoy a similar advantage."

Gerard wrote, later, from Berlin that the German Government was considering sending over some "Colonel House" of their own.

House arrived in Washington on March 6th, and made his report to the President. Garvin had cabled the New York Tribune:

"When House has his first long walk alone with President Wilson, the walls in Washington, if walls had ears, would have a very exceptional privilege. The preliminaries of that conversation are locked in the safe deposit of Colonel House's own breast. I will not attempt to guess at them."

As a matter of fact, the conference took place in the open air. "After lunch," wrote House, "the President, Mrs. Wilson, and I took an automobile ride of something over two hours. During this time, I outlined every important detail of my mission. The President, on our return, dropped me at the State Department, and I had an interview of an hour with Lansing, giving him a summary of what I had told the President.

"I returned to the White House, and the President and I went into session again until nearly seven o'clock.' I showed him the memorandum which Sir Edward Grey and I had agreed was the substance of my understanding with France and Great Britain. The President accepted it in toto, only suggesting that the word 'probably' be inserted in the ninth line after the word 'would,' and before the word 'leave.' He also suggested that tomorrow we write out the full text of the reply which I shall send Grey. . . ."

Immediately after House's report, the party leaders and whips were assembled by the President. The McLemore Resolution was called up on March 7th. Debate was shut off, and the resolution defeated by a vote of 275 to 135. The fact that 102 Republicans and only 33 Democrats voted to kill the resolution, does not, of course, imply that the Republicans wished to abandon American rights. They were simply endeavoring to embarrass the President with his own party.

The result was taken as a great victory for Wilson. He was again heralded by the dominant group of his supporters, as the champion of "strict accountability."

The next day—March 8th—Wilson typed with his own hands the following cable to Grey, to which he signed House's name for obvious reasons, confirming the memo-randum of February 22, 1916:

" (Telegram)

"New York, March 8, 1916. "I reported to the President the general conclusions of our conference of the 14th of February, and in the light of those conclusions, he authorizes me to say that, so far as he can speak for the future action of the United States, he agrees to the memorandum with which you furnished me, with only this correction: that the word "probably" be added after the word "would" and before the word "leave" in line number nine. "Please acknowledge receipt of this cable.

"E. M. HOUSE." [103]

The memorandum has been quoted by both Grey and House as follows:

"(Confidential)

"Colonel House told me that President Wilson was ready, on hearing from France and England that the moment was opportune, to propose that a Conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. Should the Allies accept this proposal, and should Germany refuse it, the United States would probably enter war against Germany.

"Colonel House expressed the opinion that, if such a Conference met, it would secure peace on terms not unfavorable to the Allies; and, if it failed to secure peace, the United States would leave the Conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies, if Germany was unreasonable. Colonel House expressed an opinion decidedly favorable to the restoration of Belgium, the transfer of Alsace and Lorraine to France, and the acquisition by Russia of an outlet to the sea, though he thought that the loss of territory incurred by Germany in one place would have to be compensated to her by concessions to her in other places outside Europe. If the Allies delayed accepting the offer of President Wilson, and if, later on, the course of the war was so unfavorable to them that the intervention of the United States would not be effective, the United States would probably disinterest themselves in Europe, and look to their own protection in their own way.

"I said that I felt the statement, coming from the President of the United States, to be a matter of such importance that I must inform the Prime Minister and my colleagues; but that I could say nothing until it had received their consideration. The British Government could, under no circumstances, accept

or make any proposal, except in consultation and agreement with the Allies. I thought that the Cabinet would probably feel that the present situation would not justify them in approaching their Allies on this subject at the present moment; but, as Colonel House had had an intimate conversation with M. Briand and M. Jules Cambon in Paris, I should think it right to tell M. Briand privately, through the French Ambassador in London, what Colonel House had said to us; and I should, of course, whenever there was an opportunity, be ready to talk the matter over with M. Briand, if he desired it.

" (Initialed) E. G."

On its face, this was a mere memorandum. Taken along with the negotiations and understandings leading up to it, it was no less than an agreement. It was plainly designed to express the obligation which the preceding express statements of Wilson had imposed upon him, and to place written evidence of it, in the hands of Grey.

Wilson was, at this time, being attacked for his supreme indifference to the cause of justice and humanity. Never had Roosevelt been more outspoken. It was with "weasel words," he declared, that Wilson had misled the Nation into allowing the Allies to save civilization from the "barbarous Huns," while keeping the United States from doing its part. Public opinion in Britain and France was openly contemptuous. In carefully written communications to the Secretary of State, Page continued to epitomize the gist of British opinion, taking as his text the cruel gibes that were poked at the President on the music-hall stage, and the humor of the trenches, which christened the unexploded dud a "Wilson!" He spoke eloquently of the moderate opinion of the average Briton.

"The British have concluded that our Government does not understand the moral meaning of their struggle against a destructive military autocracy . . . They doubt our appreciation of the necessity of English-speaking sympathy, our national unity, our national aims, our national virility. They doubt whether we keep our old vision of the necessary supremacy of democracy as the only safeguard against predatory absolutism. They have not expected us to abandon neutrality. But since

they are fighting for the preservation of free government, they are disappointed that our Government seems to them to make no moral distinction between them and the enemies of free government. They feel that the moral judgment of practically the whole civilized world is on their side, except only the Government of the United States. They wonder whether our Government will show, in the future, a trustworthy character in world affairs."

To all this, Wilson could not, of course, reply. He could not even make an attempt at self-justification, knowing, as he did, that to disclose what he had done, would almost certainly encompass his defeat in the coming election.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Lane Organizes the Department of the Interior Behind Wilson. Marburg's Success Alarms von Tirpitz and his Party. Villa and Pershing. The Destruction of the "Sussex." House and Grey Demand Action. Wilson Between Two Fires. The Influence of Wood's Presidential Boom. Wilson Notifies Grey of his Intention to Intervene. Marburg Prevents Intervention.

FRANKLIN LANE is shown by his own letters[114] to have been one of the shrewdest politicians, and ablest members of Wilson's Cabinet. He now undertook to make use, on Wilson's behalf, of the great army of Federal employees, and of party patronage, to an extent never before attempted.

Among the Western States, the influence of the Department of the Interior was especially potent. An analysis of recent presidential elections, showed that a small number could decide the electoral vote of half a score of States. If the great army at Lane's command were highly organized behind Wilson, the result would be astonishing. Lane set about the task with a vim, early in the Spring, without consulting the party Chairman.

Meantime Marburg had remained in England to aid Grey in building up popular approval of the Internationalist program. He had already published, in The Nation, an article advocating the formation of a League of Nations, which had attracted attention throughout the world, and had, besides, addressed numerous groups on the subject. The Fabians were now active in his support, so that appeals by the Militarists to the patriotism of the Pan-German Socialists were becoming less and less effective. It seemed

certain they would not respond much longer, especially in Austria and Hungary. The Turks were known to like the British and French far more than the Germans.[155,221]

Von Tirpitz and his party were thoroughly alarmed. Something had to be done to counteract the Wilson propaganda among the Pan-Germans.[109]

Such was the situation when, on March 9, 1916, Pancho Villa, at the head of a force of fifteen hundred so-called bandits, crossed the border and attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico. After killing eleven civilians and nine soldiers, and wounding many others, he looted the place, and burned a number of buildings. Although the 13th Cavalry pursued the raiders and killed forty of them, public opinion did not propose to let Villa himself go unpunished. A punitive force must be sent in pursuit!

According to those best qualified to judge, the recognition of Carranza had proved a mistake. "It had the effect," says General Scott, "of solidifying the power of the man, who had rewarded us with kicks on every occasion."

The day after the looting of Columbus, Baker went from a meeting of the Cabinet to the office of the Chief of Staff, to whom he said: "I want you to start an expedition into Mexico to catch Villa." Apparently Baker, like Bryan and Daniels, did not understand that the sending of an armed force into a neighbor's territory, was an act of war. Pacifists all, they seemed to believe they could do anything they wanted to, as long as it was not labeled "war."

"Mr. Secretary, do you want the United States to make war on one man?" Scott asked Baker. "Suppose he should get on the train and go to Guatemala, Yucatan, or South America; are you going to go after him?"

He said, "Well, no, I am not."

"That is not what you want then. You want his band captured or destroyed," I suggested.

"Yes," he said, "that is what I really want." The following code telegram was then sent, with his approval, to General Funston at San Antonio, without mention of the capture of Villa himself.

WAR DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

"Washington, March 10, 1916. "(Translation)

"Commanding General, Southern Department,

"Fort Sam Houston, Texas. "Number 833. "You will promptly organize an adequate military force of troops from your department, under the command of Brigadier-General John J. Pershing, and will direct him to proceed promptly across the border in pursuit of the Mexican band which attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and the troops there, on the morning of the ninth instant. Those troops will be withdrawn to American territory as soon as the de facto government of Mexico is able to relieve them of this work. In any event, the work of these troops will be regarded as finished, as soon as Villa's band or bands are known to be broken up. In carrying out these instructions, you are authorized to employ whatever guides and interpreters are necessary, and you are given general authority to employ such transportation, including motor transportation, with necessary civilian personnel, as may be required. The President desires his following instructions to be carefully adhered to, and to be strictly confidential. You will instruct the commanders of your troops on the border opposite the states of Chihuahua and Sonora, or, roughly, within the field of possible de facto government, that they are authorized to use the same tactics of defense and pursuit, in the event of similar raids across the border and into the United States, by a band or bands such as attacked Columbus, New Mexico, yesterday. You are instructed to make all practicable use of the aeroplanes at San Antonio, Texas, for observation. Telegraph for whatever reinforcements or material you need. Notify this office as to force selected, and expedite movement."

Fate thus played against Roosevelt and Wood, in denying them the great opportunity for which they longed, to serve their country, and favored another.

"As General Pershing was at El Paso near by, the troops for the pursuit were being taken from his command, and I recommended that he be the one to go in charge of the punitive expedition, which Secretary Baker approved, and

the force was then launched in pursuit. Secretary Lansing returned from the same Cabinet meeting, and was met by the press correspondents, searching for news. He told them, 'We are sending an expedition into Mexico to catch Villa.' "[191]

Henceforth the name of "Black Jack" Pershing was to be on every American tongue. The press represented him as a superman; and a good soldier he proved himself to be.

The attitude of the Cabinet at this time is well expressed by Lane. "I hope," he wrote the President, on March 13th, 1916, "that you may find your way made less difficult than now appears possible, as to entering Mexico. My judgment is that to fail in getting Villa, would ruin us in the eyes of all Latin-Americans. I do not say that they respect only force, but, like children, they pile insult upon insult, if they are not stopped when the first insult is given." [114]

Wilson had, now, no more idea of admitting that the country was at war with Mexico, than when he caused Vera Cruz to be seized. Administration propaganda represented that, since the Carranza Government was powerless to prevent further marauding expeditions, beyond what had already occurred, there was ample precedent for the sending of a punitive expedition into Mexico as an act short of war. It was, in substance, but a repetition of Jackson's invasion of Florida to punish the Seminoles. In order not to offend the Carranzistas, no towns were to be occupied by Pershing, nor was a clash with the Mexican Federal forces to be brought on, short of the absolute necessity of self-defense. Villa was to be vigorously pursued, until public opinion had been satisfied.

Pershing proceeded into the wastes of the desert from Columbus, at the head of a column consisting of two regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, a battery of horse artillery, an aero squadron, and the necessary auxiliaries. A flanking column of two regiments of cavalry and a horse battery, moved with equal speed further West.

Since March 9th, a number of British and French vessels had been destroyed, under circumstances which indi-

cated the inability of the German Chancellor to control the Navy, while to Marburg and Grey, it seemed certain, from the information in their hands, that Villa was in the employ of Germany.[244]

The very day that Villa made his raid, von Tirpitz took decisive action, calculated to compel a choice between the Naval Party, and the restraining counsels of Bernstorff. Declaring that the Imperial Government had only been "nibbling" at the problem confronting it, that it must face the facts or bring certain defeat upon Germany, he requested to be relieved.[222]

Fully informed of this at once, a conference between Marburg and Grey showed them in complete accord. According to Marburg, the British Foreign Secretary expressed the view "that if some such plan" as Marburg's, "had been in operation when the present war threatened, Germany would have been forced to accept the offer of a conference, and the war would not have been possible." He added that he would even go further than Marburg's program—he would enforce an arbitral judgment or award, if the people would stand for it. He felt, like Taft, that nations should be willing to face the possibility of an occasional adverse decision, and to submit all questions to arbitration or judicial decision.* [142]

The result of von Tirpitz' action was as he anticipated. The German Navy had no idea of abandoning his program, and, to force the hand of the wavering Chancellor, the British unarmed channel ferry Sussex, was destroyed without warning on March 24th. About eighty noncom-batant passengers of all ages and sexes were killed or wounded.

Von Tirpitz saw, in this bold act, what he deemed the crisis of the war. Bernstorff, however, appears to have been mystified as to its significance. Several days elapsed without a word from him.[103] House, however, had no doubt of the import of this new outrage. He believed that the plan agreed upon in the memorandum of February 22nd, under

* League of Nations, Marburg, p. 99.

which Wilson was first to offer mediation, and then propose a league of nations, had become impractical, and that intervention on the side of the Entente was necessary to prevent German victory.

It was late on the 28th when he reached the White House in response to a summons from Wilson. He had heard nothing as yet from Marburg or Grey. Lansing, who was now bellicose, had already written Wilson a letter urging immediate severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. Referring to his conference with Wilson, House wrote: "We had only a few minutes before dinner, and agreed to postpone more detailed discussion of affairs until tomorrow. We talked enough, however, for me to fathom what was in his mind; and from the way he looked at me, I am inclined to believe that he intends making excuses for not acting promptly in this new submarine crisis forced upon him by the sinking of the Sussex . . . He does not seem to realize that one of the main points of criticism against him is that he talks boldly, but acts weakly."

In this criticism Lansing agreed. Neither he nor House seemed to understand that Wilson was awaiting advices from overseas, and depending, not on them, but on the master mind of Marburg.

By this time eight vessels, each with Americans aboard, had been attacked, and both the American and Entente press were reflecting a tremendous popular demand for American action.

In the memorandum of February 22, 1916, Grey had expressly declared that no action looking to peace, except in accord with Britain's allies, would be taken by the As-quith Government. As yet, however, France, Russia, and Italy had not been committed to the principle of a league of nations, based upon a general disarmament pact. Marburg felt that Wilson was, as yet, in no position to seek popular sanction of the peace proposals which both had had in mind. Before he could successfully commit the United States to Internationalism, in association with other governments, he must be in a position to prove that such action would ensure a sound and enduring peace. The

United States could never unite with a Russia controlled by Rasputin and the reactionaries. The Jews alone could probably prevent this, just as they had compelled the abrogation by Congress of the old Russian Commercial Treaty in 1912.

Marburg was, further, still convinced, as Wilson and House had been, that any action by the United States, leading to the overthrow of the Pan-German militarists, would, at this time, but substitute the menace of the reactionary Czarist government for that of the Prussian Junkers, a victory quite unpalatable to the Internationalists.

These were the considerations which undoubtedly dictated Marburg's advice to Wilson, and caused the latter to direct House, on the 30th, to seek out Bernstorff. To the "Silent Partner's" utter amazement, he was now told to extract from the German Government, if possible, a new promise that would satisfy American public opinion. While this was being done, Marburg put the utmost pressure on Grey to commit the Allied Governments to the principle of a disarmament pact, so that Wilson might go ahead with the general plan.

Unaware of what was going on behind the scenes, more and more prominent Democrats began to protest against Wilson's apparent inaction. Even the New York Times had reached the limit of trying to defend Wilson's foreign policy, while the Republicans were confident of being able to encompass his defeat, if they could get together. Two of them did—Root, the Internationalist, and Roosevelt, the Nationalist! Did it mean that Carnegie and Root, despairing of international peace, now proposed to save their country first? In any event, they had finally abandoned Butler, Taft, and Marburg, and persuaded even Lodge, former advocate of a league of nations, to join them. It looked as if "The Cowboy President" might re-enter the White House; but no such idea occurred to Root and Lodge, who knew that Butler, Taft, Marburg and other Internationalists, as well as scores of old-time Republicans, could never be persuaded to support Roosevelt.

In Wood's diary, appears, under date of March 31st, the following entry:

"Lunch with Robert Bacon, Roosevelt, Root, Lodge and I. First meeting for years. All passed off well. Roosevelt and Root seemed to be glad to be together again, really so. Roosevelt cussed out Wilson, as did Root and Lodge. Opinion that the country was never so low in standing before. Much talk about Mexico, what they would have done had they been in power. . . . Roosevelt said to me, in the presence of Root, that he would be for me in case things went right; a quiet way of letting what he would do, be known. Were there about three hours."

From this it seems certain that Roosevelt was planning to force a compromise between the two wings of the Republican party, with Root's aid, and throw the Presidency to Wood, as the advocate of national defense and armed intervention.

The meeting created a sensation. The reconciliation of Roosevelt with Root, who had been responsible, more than any other man, for his failure to secure the Republican nomination in 1912, completely altered the political situation. Foreshadowing the reunion of the Progressives and Republicans, it instantly placed Roosevelt, in the public mind, in the forefront of contenders for the Republican nomination.

Wood's presence at this meeting, not unnaturally angered the Administration. "I told you so," said one Democrat to another. Official Washington was "amazed." Many Democrats had long suspected that the training camps were merely a blind for the organization behind Wood, of the young men of the country. Now the cat was out of the bag! If there had ever been "pernicious political activity, here it was," they declared. "The commanding officer of the great Department of the East is making an eyesore of military discipline."

House saw Bernstorff as directed, but, apparently still uninformed of Wilson's purpose, was not enthusiastic over his mission. Good politics, he believed, demanded forceful action in the face of the Republican designs. On April 2nd

he wrote: "The President's penchant for inaction makes him hesitate to take the plunge. . . . His immediate entourage, from the Secretary of State down, are having an unhappy time just now. He is consulting none of them and they are ignorant of his intention as the man on the street. I believe he will follow the advice I give him . . . but even to me he has not expressed his intentions. This, however, is not unusual, as he seldom or never says what he will do. I merely know from past experience. ..."

Convinced that nothing would come of Bernstorff's efforts, House returned to New York, still of the opinion, as shown by his letters to Wilson, that diplomatic relations ought to be severed at once; but events compelled a speedy return to Washington. Marburg had devised, perhaps in concert with Grey, a clever scheme to force action by the Entente Governments in favor of Wilson's proposals. They were to be told that they must choose between the prolongation of the war by the entrance of America into the conflict without any obligation to them, and the acceptance of the principle of a league of nations based on a general disarmament pact! They could not fail to see that if they chose the former course, America would proceed, as indicated by Wilson in the memorandum of February 22nd, to take care of herself. With their vital supply of munitions thus cut off, their defeat by Germany would be almost certain. Accordingly Wilson himself despatched, on April 6th, the following message to Grey:

"Since it seems probable that this country must break with Germany on the submarine question unless the unexpected happens, and since, if this country should once become a belligerent, the war would undoubtedly be prolonged, I beg to suggest that if you had any thought of acting at an early date on the plan we agreed upon, you do so."

Believing that if Wood were taken into the Administration's confidence as to the reason for its apparent inaction, the danger of the Republicans in Congress compelling a severance of diplomatic relations would be avoided, House urged the "full use" of Wood, pending action by the

Entente Governments. Baker also deemed it wise to call upon the Republicans for aid at this time. "Putting them forward" in the matter of national defense, would undoubtedly help to convince the country as well as the Germans that Wilson was preparing to take definite and final action.

Conscious that he was no longer dictating Wilson's course, House became more and more impatient as the days passed with no word from Grey.

"What I should like," he wrote on the 11th, "is for Wilson to go before Congress after the break is made, and deliver a philippic against Germany—not, indeed, against the German people, but against the cult that has made this calamity possible. No one as yet has brought the indictment of civilization against them as strongly as it might be done, and I would like the President to do this in a masterly way."

Eventually, Grey succeeded in winning the British and French Governments over to Marburg's ideas. Agreeing that it would be unwise for America to plunge into the war before being committed in the impending presidential campaign to a league of nations, and that further efforts were needed to prepare both Germany and Russia for the general disarmament which alone could establish an enduring peace, they expressed their willingness to continue to back Wilson.

"The difficulty," declared Grey to Marburg, "is in making public announcements at a time, and in a language, which will prevent them from being misunderstood."[142] Even Wilson recognized the force of the demand that he adopt a "strong tone" in his protest to Germany. This was absolutely necessary if the Entente peoples were to retain any faith in him. Nothing else would enable the Entente Governments to support any course on his part short of severance of diplomatic relations with Germany. It was also insisted that Marburg bring pressure to bear on Congress, to procure passage of a resolution authorizing Wilson to offer mediation, and propose the formation of a league of nations. The Entente Governments would give public assurance at the proper time of their cooperation.[27,30,92a,103]

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The "Sussex" Note. The Obregon Conference. Scott Saves Pershing. McCombs Tenders his Resigation. Assails Wilson for the violation of his "One Term" Pledge. A Crisis in the War. Germany Accedes to Wilson's Demand with Reservations. "He Kept Us Out of War." The New Shipping Bill.

RELIEVED FROM the immediate necessity of dismissing Bernstorff, Wilson discarded the note to Germany which Lansing had already prepared. While he was drafting a new one, House addressed himself to his old task of trying to scare the Wilhelmstrasse through Bernstorff and Gerard.[27,85]

Wilson's new note embodied the ideas of A. H. Pollen and Sir Horace Plunkett, eminent British Internationalists, of whom Plunkett had been courted especially by House, because of his great international influence upon the Irish.*

House did not like Wilson's additions. "I objected to the last page of the note," he says, "as being inconclusive, and as opening up the entire question for more argument. . . . He patiently urged the matter . . . but refused to admit any sort of weakness in it.

"His contention was that, if he did as we advised, it would mean a declaration of war, and he could not declare war without the consent of Congress. I thought if he left it as it was, it would place him in a bad position, for the reason that it would give Germany a chance to come back with another note, asserting she was willing to make the concessions he demanded, provided Great Britain obeyed the letter of the law as well. The President did not agree

* Rural Life in America, Plunkett.

with me, but, at my suggestion, cut out the last paragraph, which strengthened the note somewhat. He also inserted the word 'immediately,' which strengthened it further.

"I urged him to say, if Germany declined to agree immediately to cease her submarine warfare, that Ambassador Gerard was instructed to ask for his passports. This, I told the President, would come nearer preserving the peace than his plan, because the alternative of peace or war would be placed directly up to Germany in this single note, whereas the other wording would still leave room for argument, and, in the end, war would probably follow."

From this it is obvious that House, no longer bellicose, was doing the bidding of the League to Enforce Peace, by actually counseling the course best calculated to prevent a breach with Germany.

"We were in conference for two hours or, indeed, until the President had to leave for an eleven o'clock Cabinet meeting. He was undecided whether to read the note to the Cabinet. . . . He finally decided to read them the note almost in its entirety, but as an argument he had in his own mind against submarine warfare, and not as a note which he had prepared to present to Germany."[103]

After several days more of sparring between House and Bernstorff, Wilson adopted House's suggestions, and, on April 18th, despatched the famous Sussex note.

Following a full resume of the voluminous correspondence with the German Government to date, it went on to say that "again and again the Imperial German Government has given this Government its solemn assurances," and "again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard these assurances of Germany in sincerity and good faith," and that America had "hoped even against hope," that these promises would be kept. Nevertheless, Germany had been unable "to put any restraints upon its warfare," and it had become "painfully evident that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants."

After thus admitting the hopelessness of his old policy, Wilson now completely reversed his original position that neutrality of thought was the moral duty of the Nation.

"We cannot forget that we are in some sort, and by the force of circumstances, the responsible spokesman of the rights of humanity. . . . We can not remain silent while those rights seem in process of being utterly swept away in the maelstrom of this terrible war."

Thus did Wilson publicly and irrevocably cast the die of the internationalistic policy to which he had long been secretly committed. With the aid of Marburg and House, he was gradually leading the "moribund" Democratic party out of the "wilderness" of its alleged "narrow nationalism."

Finally the note said that "unless the Imperial German 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."

According to House, he warned Bernstorff at once against the suggestion of a compromise, and urged that the Chancellor yield "handsomely and gracefully."

Some comment on the note pointed out that, if it were now America's duty to speak on behalf of humanity, it had been her duty to do so all along. Nevertheless the note was accepted as satisfactory, under the influence of the general propaganda, by all except the advocates of war. With eminent Republicans like Taft, Root, Lodge, Butler, innumerable college presidents, bishops, priests, rabbis, editors, writers, labor leaders, and bankers, urging the support of the President, those who protested against the policy of the Administration were put down by the man on the street as "croakers." To this extent had Theodore Marburg succeeded in influencing American public opinion.

With the Sussex note out of the way, it remained for Wilson to deal with the Mexicans.

"Naturally enough," says Scott, "the Mexican Government was very much upset at the presence of Pershing and our troops in Mexico. In April, 1916, I was directed to go

from Washington to San Antonio for a conference with General Funston, and, while still there, we were both ordered to El Paso to confer with General Obregon, then Secretary of War of Mexico."

Scott explained to Obregon that an attack on Pershing would certainly lead to war, and that this the President did not want. Obregon insisted that Pershing evacuate his forces, but Scott would not consent to this. He was merely to draw back toward the border. Carranza refused to sanction this arrangement, and forbade Pershing's further use of the railroad south of El Paso.

"I took this matter to the State Department," wrote Scott, "saying that if Carranza got in my way, I would run over him, but was told I would not be allowed to do this. I said this was the only way we had to supply Pershing. Shoulders were shrugged, and I was told that the supply of Pershing was not the affair of the State Department; that that body was truly sorry to discommode me, but that Car-ranza's orders must be respected about the railroad. I was so angry at such callousness about our troops, four hundred miles South in Mexico, that I could hardly find my way back to my office, and so appalled at the inevitable consequences to our men, if not supplied with food and ammunition promptly, that I could have burned down the State Department with everybody in it."

Had the Mexicans risen against Pershing at a time when his food and ammunition were low, the consequences might have been appalling. Even the stolid old Chief of Staff, who had been selected to do the Administration's bidding without complaint, had lost patience. Without any authority, he ordered the Quartermaster General to purchase at once, in the open market, the motor trucks necessary to supply Pershing.

When the Secretary of War returned to Washington, Scott said to him: "You will have to use your good offices with the President, Mr. Secretary, to keep me out of jail," and added that he wished to confess, before being caught, that he had expended $450,000 of public money appropriated for other purposes, which was a penitentiary offense.

"Ho!" replied Baker, "that's nothing. If anybody goes to jail, I'll be the man—I'll go to jail for everybody."

By thus supporting Scott, Baker won the confidence of the General Staff, and the War Department.

"While Pershing was still in Mexico," goes on Sqott "Obregon began to talk... about taking San Antonio in two weeks, knowing nothing more about conditions in the North, than did General Weyler of the Spanish Army, who talked of landing at Charleston, S. C., and marching through the South, gathering up recruits with which to overwhelm the North, because the North and the South had once been at war, and the South would like to assist Spain in overcoming the North. But things were beginning to warm up again on the Mexican side. I advised the President to call out the militia, and put them along the border. He opposed this, saying that such action would only have the effect of provoking the Mexicans. I told him that I thought it would have the opposite effect. . . . But the President did not want to provoke the Mexicans by a show of force on the border, as he did not want to provoke Germany by preparation, which seemed to me to be a pernicious doctrine." [190]

Claiming to have the blood of the royal O'Briens of the Emerald Isle in his veins, Obregon was much impressed by Scott's firmness, and expressed surprise that the old soldier could be "such a good politician and yet so honest."

Meanwhile the struggle between the military and naval chiefs and the civil authorities in Germany continued. The Socialists were determined to prevent a break with the United States if possible. On the other hand, the war party refused to yield. With each day of delay, the outcome seemed to be more doubtful. While all this was going on, Wilson's efforts to rid himself of McCombs, were finally crowned with success. Without regard to his merits or demerits as Chairman of the National Committee, it was in the interest of the Committee to support Wilson. Accordingly McCombs wrote Wilson, on April 24th, that business reasons would compel him to resign at the coming Convention. Wilson replied, expressing his appreciation of Mc-

Combs' great "sacrifices," and his regrets over the necessity of this action—which was, of course, mere persiflage!

In an editorial in the New York Sun of April 26th, no doubt inspired by McCombs, and plainly directed against Wilson's renomination, the fact that Wilson and the party had pledged themselves unequivocally to a single term, was stressed as the principal reason for McCombs' action. Wilson had, indeed, confessed to McCombs that he was not opposed even to a third term. The question in McCombs' mind was, how long Wilson intended to remain in the White House. And he had in mind further questions:

Ought not the primary system serve to affirm party obligations? Had it not tended to create blocs in Congress, and compel the president to adopt the methods of a premier, in order to accomplish anything? If his Congressional majority was not bound to carry out the party pledges, how could the Chief Executive be held to them? Would not the abolition of the primary and limitation of the President to a single longer term, release him from an increasingly difficult situation, preserve the orginal system of government, and render delegation of executive authority to irresponsible private citizens like House, inexcusable and illegal.

Poor McCombs! Guileless as ever, he was the victim of forces of which he was completely ignorant. The politicians would probably have been glad to give Wilson a third term, to remain in power. Knowing this, Wilson made no answer to the Sun's scathing editorial. Nevertheless, without regard to McCombs' personality and his motives, it remains to the American people to consider seriously what reforms are necessary to insure the persistence of representative government in America.*

* It is significant that, as these lines were written, immediately after the International Chamber of Commerce had put forward at its meeting in Washington (May, 1931) the old proposals of Marburg, and while Sir George Paish, the leading Internationalist of Britain, plead loudly in America in their behalf, House suddenly broke his silence of several years, and announced his return to the field of national politics. The question arises, were the Internationalists, looking to 1932 as another Democratic year, planning to place House again in the White House as the Silent Partner of another President?

Wilson was now able to proceed with the transformation of the Democratic party without the embarrassment of a hostile Chairman. Ten days had passed since his despatch of the Sussex note, when, on the 28th, the Wilhelmstrasse cabled Bernstorff that the Imperial Government was anxious to avoid a break if possible. What was meant in Wilson's note by "illegal submarine warfare?" Just how far could it go? If it acceded to Wilson's demands, would he bring pressure upon Great Britain in regard to her blockade?

Bernstorff did his best to find out from House, the least that would satisfy Wilson. According to House, Wilson had, until now, seemed so disinclined to deal firmly with Germany, that there seemed to be danger of his weakening. From Bernstorff's advances the President now deduced that the Wilhelmstrasse wanted to trade; from this he concluded that the extremists did not have the upper hand. He spoke with such feeling concerning Germany's responsibility for the war, seemed so bent on personal punishment being meted out to the guilty ones, was so unyielding and belligerent, that House now deemed him not anxious enough to avert war.

This may have been a shrewd pose on Wilson's part in order to exert, through House, the maximum effect possible upon Bernstorff. Bernstorff now was told by House that only an immediate and unequivocal abandonment of unlawful acts by Germany, would be acceptable to Wilson.

Nevertheless, it seems certain that House who, like Wilson, was exceedingly anxious for at least a nominal diplomatic victory over Germany before the election, did not stop with this. Bernstorff insists that he gathered the distinct impression from House that an early offer of mediation, to be followed by proposals not altogether unfavorable to Germany, would be forthcoming from Wilson, if the Imperial Government should comply promptly with his demands. Moreover, when Gerard learned, on May 1st, that the war party had finally succeeded in dictating a note rejecting these demands, he hastened to assure the Chancellor that this would prevent the early offer of mediation

being contemplated by Wilson.[85,103] It does not seem likely that Gerard would have dared do this without House's cooperation.

In the end, a compromise was reached by the contending factions within the Imperial Government. It might be true that Wilson would propose terms favorable to Germany, but no such terms would be accepted by the Allies. Upon their rejection by the latter, the German masses would be consolidated behind the Government. Therefore it seemed the part of wisdom to suspend unrestricted submarine warfare until the Flanders submarine flotilla was ready. So it was that the reply to Wilson, already drafted, was amended. The note despatched by the Chancellor to Bernstorff on May 4th, and delivered to Lansing that day, accompanied by a notice that an early offer of mediation was expected, bore evidence on its face of having been altered from a rejection to a qualified compliance. Stupidly brusque and ill-tempered in taking issue with assertions of fact in the American note, it closed with ironic complaint over Wilson's failure to compel Britain to modify her food blockade.

It seems certain that, whether with or without Wilson's knowledge, House and Gerard had succeeded in wringing from Germany through representations upon which the Chancellor had depended, a reply which Wilson could accept, despite Lansing's objections to the German reservations. Deemed by Bernstorff a personal triumph over the extremists, the German note was immediately published amid claims by the Administration press of a great victory for Wilson.

"Hurrah for Wilson! He's won out at last! And he's kept us out of war besides!" Such was the cry of the Democrats. So originated the slogan—"he kept us out of war"— that was to be effectively employed by them in the coming presidential campaign.

The Pan-Germans generally, however, were not happy. Gerard wrote, on May 5th, that "fifty million Germans cry themselves asleep, because all Mexico has not risen against us." And several days later, he wrote that while he

believed the Imperial Government would live up to its last promise for a while, at least, this was only because "the plain people" were weary of the war, and believed that further acts offensive to America would prevent mediation, and thereby prolong strife. Boasting of his part in saving the situation, he complained bitterly to House of lack of information and cooperation from Washington, while Bernstorff began to press for mediation.

Wilson had, of course, no idea of offering mediation until after he had obtained the country's sanction for a league of nations, as Bernstorff was soon to find out.

The shipping and commercial interests were protesting loudly against British practices under The Trading with the Enemy Act. The British Government had published a "black-list" of neutral firms with German affiliations, which, the Secret Service had shown, were continuing to trade with Germany. More than 1000 American exporting houses had been proscribed. British vessels were forbidden to accept cargoes from them, while neutral vessels chartered by them were denied bunker coal at British ports. Even Page regarded this as tactless and unjust. Nevertheless, despite numerous protests from Washington, and his own sharp discussions with the Foreign Office, he had been unable to alter the British course. There was, moreover, among Wilson's "trade advisers," a conviction, which all of Page's explanations had not altered, that Great Britain was using the blockade as a means of destroying American commerce, and securing America's customers for herself. This the "black-list" had seemed to confirm. At any rate, it had given both Bryan and Bernstorff fresh fuel to exploit.

There was another side to the picture. Was America taking advantage of the war and her own neutrality, to insure her maritime supremacy on the coming of peace? Certainly the British were not ignorant of the economic influences bearing upon America's foreign policy, and the tremendous advantage which America, as a neutral, possessed.[150,82] Moreover had Wilson himself not been urging with all his might and main the upbuilding of an

American merchant marine, that could not fail to affect Britain's whole economic system?

Whatever the respective merits and demerits of Britain's and America's positions may have been, the experiences of the war had enabled the advocates of preparedness to enlist the support of trade interests for a comprehensive naval program, and now Republicans and Democrats in Congress, were alike supporting it. In order to relieve Wilson from attacks by the Pacifists, and at the same time meet the growing demand for the upbuilding of the Navy, the Administration press was heralding Swanson of Virginia, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, as the proponent and champion of a "Big Navy," just as it had placed the responsibility on Hay for the pending National Defense Bill. Such was the situation when a bill with provisions retaliatory against the British blacklist, was introduced in Congress, and when, on May 8th, the Administration abandoned the old and unpopular Jones-Hobson Shipping Bill, which numerous appeals on Wilson's part had failed to carry through Congress, in favor of the Alexander Bill.*

At this time, Lane, who was making great progress with his plan to capture the West, wrote Frank I. Cobb, Editor of the New York World: "Here is a memorandum that has been drafted respecting the leasing bill, that we are now pushing to have taken up by the Senate. This bill, as you know, covers oil, phosphate, and potash lands. . . . There are three million acres of phosphate lands, two and a half million acres of oil lands, and a small acreage of potash lands, under withdrawal now, that can not be developed because of lack of legislation. . . ."[114]

Lane had also been making powerful appeals to the Indians by urging their more general enfranchisement. But although Wilson had not approved this, there were thousands of Indians concentrated in a few Western States with small white populations who, under the provisions of the General Allotment Act of 1887, were already qualified

* This Bill, as amended, was eventually to take the form of the Merchant Marine Act by which the Shipping Board was created.

to vote, but had not asserted their right. Although Lane could not confer a right to vote upon any Indian not already qualified under the law, seeing the value of the Indian vote in Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming Montana, and the Dakotas, he designed a patriotic ceremony for the elevation of these potential voters to full citizenship, and set out in May on a tour of the Indian reservations.

"Forasmuch as the President has said that I am worthy to be a citizen of the United States, I now promise this flag that I will give my hands, my head, and my heart to the doing of all that will make me a true American citizen."

This was the Indian pledge in the stirring ritual by which Lane undertook to secure for Wilson, the political support of many leading Indians.[114]

Another new source of support in 1916 was the sudden and tremendous enthusiasm displayed by Zionist Jewry for Woodrow Wilson. About this there is perhaps little mystery. Reference to a pamphlet published in 1936 by Samuel Landman, Solicitor and Secretary of the Zionist organization during the War, purports to make quite clear the switch in Jewish support from the German to the Allied cause:—The initial bias was not simply anti-Russian, but pro-German. The reason was that the Zionists had expected to "close a deal" with Germany, for the later possession of Palestine, which they subsequently effected with the Allies.

Jewish influence had much to do with Wilson's initial anti-Entente bias. Later, it influenced him in the opposite direction. The Jewish backing he enjoyed in 1916 constitutes strong circumstantial evidence that Wilson had subscribed, at least tentatively, to the British deal with the Zionists, of which more hereafter.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Marburg Assembles the Internationalists in Washington. Wilson, Taft, Lodge, Baker, Marburg and others address the League to Enforce Peace. The Adverse Effect upon the Allies of Wilson's Address.

MARBURG, HOUSE, AND GREY had not been deceived in the least by the apparent surrender of Germany. In the face of her real purpose, they saw that no time must be lost in committing Congress to a League of Nations, in order that an offer of mediation might be made by the President of the United States with the formation of such an association in view. This they believed might cause the "plain people" and more particularly the Socialists and revolutionaries of Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Russia, to compel their governments to subscribe to the general disarmament pact, upon which the league was to be based. Moreover, once a Democratic Congress had been committed to the principle of enforced peace, Wilson need no longer fear Bryan and the Pacifists.

It was necessary, however, to commit the leaders of both national parties to the scheme, since, if both parties came out for it, neither candidate would be subject to the risk of the Pro-Germans, the Pacifists, and the out-and-out Nationalists consolidating against him on this score. Then, too, Bryan would be compelled to support the Democratic candidate, despite his bitter objection to a League of Nations and the principle of enforced peace.

It was also especially important, in the opinion of Marburg and House, that Wilson be afforded an early opportunity to appeal to the masses of Europe, over the heads of the belligerent governments, and call upon them to compel

their governments, in the name of humanity, to accept the principle of a League of Nations.* In making this appeal, Wilson could again undertake to convince the Pan-Germans that he was not partisan to the Entente Cause.

Having formed the League of Nations Society in England, organized the Fabian Socialists behind the Internationalist project, and jockeyed the British and French governments into the support of Wilson's Sussex note, Marburg, on returning to the United States, set to work at once to bring about a great non-partisan gathering in Washington on May 26th and 27th, at the invitation of the League to Enforce Peace. The object of the assembly was to be widely published—"to devise and determine upon measures for giving effect to the proposals adopted at the Conference held in Philadelphia in June, 1915." All the different interests of the country, without regard to party affiliations, were to be called upon to send delegates. As drawing cards, and evidence of the non-partisan object of the gathering, Wilson, Taft, Baker, Lodge, Lowell, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Gompers, and numerous other men of eminence were advertised as speakers. Thus even Gompers and Organized Labor were to be committed to a League of Nations. This having been arranged, a preliminary meeting of the League was set for May 12th in New York, in order to organize an effort that would insure a spectacular setting for Wilson and the other speakers, while Grey was called on to send Marburg a message, to be read at this meeting, pledging Britain's cooperation in the formation of a League of Nations.

Having insured wide publicity for Grey's message, it was read by Marburg at the dinner following the meeting of the 12th.

"Long before the war," said the Chicago Daily News next day, "Sir Edward Grey hoped for a League of Nations that would be united, quick and instant to prevent,

* House. Letter of May 6th to Wilson. (House claims that he suggested that Wilson be invited. It is the one instance in which he refers, in his compendious work, to the League to Enforce Peace, and even then he refrains from mentioning Marburg by name.)

and, if need be, punish violations of international treaties, of public right, and of national independence; and would say to the nations that came forward with grievances and claims: 'Put them before an impartial tribunal; subject your claims to the test of law or the judgment of impartial men. If you can win at this bar, you will get what you want; if you can not, you shall not have what you want; and if you start war, we shall adjudge you the common enemy of humanity and treat you accordingly. As footpads, burglars, and incendiaries are suppressed in a community, so those who would commit these crimes and incalculably more than these crimes, will be suppressed among the nations.' "

Bryan, Page and Harvey looked on in silence. The "Great Commoner" had been silenced, but Lansing stepped into the breach with a letter to Wilson, on the 25th, setting forth his objections, on principle, to the general plan of the League to Enforce Peace. In his judgment, as in that of Bryan, Page, and Harvey, its purpose, whatever the form proposed, was incompatible with the Monroe doctrine.

Marburg and his aids achieved an amazing success. As a result of their efforts and propaganda, more than two thousand delegates, representing every walk of life, from every State in the Union, and from Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, had registered their attendance, two days before the date appointed, while others were coming in on every train. The hall which had been engaged by the Committee on Arrangements had to be hastily abandoned for the larger auditorium of the Belasco Theatre. Hundreds of applications for tickets to the closing dinner at which Wilson was to speak, had to be rejected. By this time Lansing had little or no influence with Wilson. Seeing the great opportunity presented him to speak to both America and Europe through this unprecedented audience, Wilson did not even answer the protest of his Secretary of State.[115]

As President of the League, Taft presided at all sessions, though he was obliged to absent himself from part of the first two. A number of the honorary vice-presidents, other

officers, and committeemen occupied seats on the stage, while the auditorium was packed with delegates.

The program had been very carefully worked out, to cover all phases of the League's proposals, and the subjects assigned to speakers of national prominence best qualified to deal with them. "The Platform," "Practicability of the League Program," and "Plans for Giving Effect to the League Program," comprised the three general subjects. One session was set apart for questions and discussions by delegates, while the addresses at the closing dinner dealt with the broader aspects of the League.

Among those who spoke or read papers during the sessions were William Howard Taft, Thomas Raeburn White, Edward A. Filene, Hamilton Holt, George Grafton Wilson, Talcott Williams, John Bates Clark, K. C. Rhett, H. A. Wheeler, Samuel Gompers, Carl Vrooman, Newton D. Baker, Philip H. Gadsden, J. Mott Hallowell, Herbert S. Houston, William H. Wadhams, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Shailer Mathews, Franklin H. Giddings, A. Lawrence Lowell, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Frank S. Streeter, and Nehemiah Boynton. Marburg himself presented fully the plan of the League.

"To Theodore Marburg, as an envoy of the American Branch of the League to Enforce Peace," said Edward A. Filene, President of William Filene's Sons Co., of Boston, and Director of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, "there has been given by letter and by word of mouth, assurance of the unqualified support of the proposal by such statesmen as Sir Edward Grey, Lord Bryce, Premier Asquith, and others."

A storm of applause shook the building when Marburg arose. "We have," he said, "the whole-hearted endorsement of the principles of the League to Enforce Peace by President Wilson, by Senator Root, by the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and by a host of eminent Americans. If now we can add to this support of private individuals and officials, a resolution of the Congress of the United States, favoring the principle, we could then ask Mr. Taft to go abroad as the representative of this unofficial

body, and endeavor to secure the adherence of foreign powers. You will recall the fact that the Congress of Vienna did only so much as it was obliged to do by the preliminary Treaty of Paris. And, unless we get the Powers committed now, there is grave danger that, when the war is over, we will find it difficult to get a hearing. On the other hand, if they do so commit themselves now, the various governments can proceed at once to a study of the project, and the envoys who meet to frame a treaty of peace, will come not only with a matured plan, but with positive instructions to reach an agreement if possible."

It is one of the seeming anomalies of American history that while William Jennings Bryan, Walter Hines Page, George Harvey, and Theodore Roosevelt were opposing a league of nations, Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft, Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Alton B. Parker should be advocating its formation. Yet the explanation is simple. In the first place, as the proposed international association had yet taken no definite political form, Root, Lodge, and Parker had no idea of abandoning American principles.[129]

"To apply the principle of cooperation, based on altruism, to the Society of Nations, as it has already been applied within the state, is the aim and purpose of the League to Enforce Peace," said Marburg at this time. "Its platform lacks details and elaboration; it does not lack definition, nor has there been lack of study and public discussion of its possible workings. We have to overcome the initial difficulty of getting the powers to agree to any plan. Therefore the simplicity of this one. It is felt that if the nations can be induced to subscribe to its fundamental principles, the envoys charged with the duty of perfecting the plan, will be equal to all questions of detail, program, or organization. The plan contemplates 'not a league of some states against others, but a union of as many as possible in their common interest.' The central idea of the League is that wars are the result of the condition of international anarchy out of which the world has never yet risen; that they will

not cease until justice prevails, and that justice can not triumph until the world organizes for justice."

No one, of course, could object to the general principle here laid down. It was that principle, and not the ulterior objects of Wilson, Marburg, and the Internationalists, which Root, Lodge, Eliot, Beck, and others believed they were supporting through the League to Enforce Peace.[41] Lodge's own address on this occasion, in which he expressly declared that the League had no desire to interfere in the present war, or in the affairs of Europe after the war, indicates such an attitude.

Many of the speeches at the great gathering staged by Marburg, though cloaked in altruistic expressions, plainly reflected the ideals of international finance. In them, may be found almost every idea expressed by Wilson in the long series of state papers and addresses which he had given to the world since Marburg's return from Belgium in 1913.[129] Throughout, there appeared the natural interest which businessmen and bankers had in peace, and its influence upon the stabilization of finance.

"By common consent," said Charles Frederick Carter, speaking of the concluding banquet, "the list of addresses at this dinner was conceded to be one of the best ever heard at a public dinner in Washington.

"President Wilson's address in particular, which was read with profound interest throughout the world, was a notable utterance. It was the formulation of a new and nobler conception of world statesmanship—a Declaration of Human Rights destined to live in history."[41]

The President played his part with consummate skill. After pointing out how profoundly the war had affected America, he repeated what he had often said before—"with the causes and objects of the war, this country is not concerned." With a strange absence of logic, he then went on to say that the American people "were not mere disconnected lookers-on."

"The longer the war lasts, the more deeply we become concerned that it should be brought to an end, and the world be permitted to resume its normal life again."

"And when it does come to an end," he continued, "we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war, to see peace assume some aspect of permanence; . . . give some assurance that peace and war shall always, hereafter, be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind. We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair, as well as the affair of the Nations of Europe and of Asia."

Wilson continued that, if before the resort of the belligerents to war in 1914, a powerful influence could have been exerted by the United States, because both sides would have had regard for "our moral and economic strength," and even "our physical strength." The lesson of the war was, then, that "only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert, when a nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence, and claiming to be finally established."

Nor did Wilson hesitate to declare that he was sure he spoke "the mind and wish of the people of America," when he said that the United States was "willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations, formed in order to realize these objects, and make them secure against violation"; that we Americans were willing "to limit" ourselves "along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others, which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs." *

As Bernstorff had been resorting to every known diplomatic artifice to obtain an offer of mediation from Wilson, and the Wilhelmstrasse had been continually complaining of Wilson's partiality, it seems certain that the trade dis-

* At Arlington, three days later, Wilson elaborated his ideas, and at the same time declared: "America is the champion of humanity."

pute with Great Britain and Bernstorff together, had exerted a strong influence on Wilson.

"In this speech," says Bernstorff, "Mr. Wilson made public, for the first time, his plan for the League of Nations. ... It displayed all the characteristics of his oratory; brilliant command of the English language, dazzling wealth of vocabulary, and nebulous sentence construction which made the purpose clear only to the initiated. Nevertheless, the vital points of the speech could not be misunderstood. It prepared the world for American mediation by strong emphasis of the league of nations idea."[27] And in his report to the Wilhelmstrasse on the League speech, Bernstorff said that House had assured him the "peace vote" was growing. "No one who has been here any length of time can help coming to the conclusion that peaceful money-making is America's chief interest in life." Only when that was interrupted, he declared, was there danger.

But although the speech pleased Bernstorff by reason of the assurances to Germany which he construed it to contain, it did not please the Entente Governments. Again Wilson had, in the effort to overcome the impression in Germany that he was partisan to the Entente Cause, used unfortunate terms.

"Unquestionably," wrote Sir Horace Plunkett on June 7th, "the misunderstanding of the President's Peace League speech has done immense harm to the popular feeling in England. ... I took the words 'with its causes and objects we are not concerned,' to mean that the United States had absolutely no part or responsibility in the outbreak of the war, that the immediate issues were restricted to the international relations in Europe, and that, whatever objects were sought by the belligerents, whether in Europe, in Asia or in Africa, were equally no concern to your country. On the other hand, principles which vitally concerned the whole of Western civilization were at stake, and the neutral rights which had been prejudiced were largely American. All this, of course, is perfectly true, but you can not prevent people, in these stirring times, seizing upon some

sentence—the shorter the better, because the easier remembered—and putting their own interpretation upon it."

Nor was Grey pleased. "I read the speech in the light of my talks with you, and welcomed it," he wrote House. But even he was, like House, impatient with an ill-chosen rhetoric, which gave rise to the more or less general impression among the Allies, that Wilson was placing France and England on the same plane as Germany. They felt that if Wilson did not know that the Kaiser started the war, and that they were fighting to protect the rights of small nations, he ought not to make speeches. Bernstorff, they insisted, had fooled him, and the speech was merely a lever to start a German peace drive.

Page was openly bitter. "The President's peace speech before the League for the Enforcement of Peace has created confusion. Some things in it were so admirably said that the British see that he does understand, and some things in it seem to them to imply that he doesn't in the least understand the war, and show, as they think, that he was speaking only to the gallery filled with peace cranks . . . They are therefore skittish about the President . . . They can't quite see what he is driving at. Hence they say, as you will observe from the enclosed clippings, that he is merely playing politics. To that extent, therefore, the waters are somewhat muddy again. The peace racket doesn't assuage anybody; it raises doubts and fears—fears that we won't understand the war at all. The confounded flurry gets worse. There is just now more talk in London about the American (and the President's) 'inability to understand the war,' and about our falling into the German peace-talk trap, than there is about the war itself. The President's sentence about our not being concerned with the objects of the war, is another 'too-proud-to-fight,' as the English view it. I have moods in which I lose my patience with them, and I have to put on two muzzles and a tight corset to hold myself in. But peace-talk doesn't go down here now, and the less we indulge in it, the better. The German peace-talk game has made the very word offensive to Englishmen. Then, too, they get more and more on

edge as the strain becomes severer. There'll soon be very few sane people left in the world."

As for the German Government, it was not deceived in the least. Knowing the temper of the Allies, the Wilhelm-strasse said, in reply to Bernstorff's report, that Wilson's proposals were not likely to be accepted in England, and that, in Germany, mediation by "a statesman so partial to England, and at the same time so naive as President Wilson," was not favored. If the British by any chance should show a tendency to accept mediation, Bernstorff was to prevent an offer by Wilson, if possible, so as to safeguard Germany against being put in the wrong.

Wilson had again failed to take full advantage of the great opportunity with which Marburg had presented him. He may have advanced the cause of a league of nations in America, but overlooking the psychology of Europe, he had not helped it there. It is certain that the bitter criticism which the speech brought down upon him from the Allies, tended to estrange him from their cause. As he saw it, they were utterly unreasonable. He felt that they should recognize, like Grey, that he could not draw Germany and Russia into a disarmament pact for the common good of humanity, unless he assumed an impartial attitude, no matter what his personal convictions as to the right or wrong of the several belligerents might be.

CHAPTER XL

Wilson Aggrieved by the Tongue of Scandal. The National Defense Act of June 3, 1916. Pershing Recalled. Wilson Writes His Own Platform. "To Hell With the Platform—He Kept Us Out of War." Wilson and Hughes Nominated. McCombs Replaced as Party Chairman by McCormick.

ALTHOUGH WILSON was undoubtedly one of the most adroit politicians of his age, perhaps the most skillful party leader who had ever occupied the White House, he had not learned the "give and take" of "the game." As the national conventions approached, he winced under the bitter attacks made on him personally, as well as on his Administration. Cleveland's characterization of him as "intellectually dishonest," his alleged betrayals of Senator Smith, the New Jersey bosses, Harvey, and McCombs; Watterson's terrible castigations of him, and various personal matters were dug up by his political opponents. It was openly charged that a group of White House intimates were profiting enormously on the stock market through advance information.

"I had a talk with the President the other day which was very touching," wrote Lane at this time. "He made reference to the infamous stories that are being circulated regarding him, with such indignation and pathos that I felt really very sorry for him. I suppose that these stories will be believed by some, and made the basis of a very nasty kind of campaign. But there is no truth in them, and yet a man can't deny them. It is a strange thing that when a man is not liable to any other charge, they trump up some story about a woman. ..."[114]

All the changes were being rung on "neutrality of

thought," "America First," "Too Proud to Fight," "Strict Accountability," "He Kept Us Out of War," and similar expressions on his part. Inasmuch as this was being done by Wilson's opponents, the pro-Germans were convinced that the Republican party was bent upon intervention, on behalf of the Allies, while it served to estrange both Wilson and the West from the Entente cause. Bernstorff, of course, took full advantage of this. The pro-German press began to defend Wilson against British and French criticism.

The Progressive and Republican Conventions had been called to assemble in Chicago on June 5th and 7th, respectively, and the Democratic Convention in St. Louis on June 14th. The Progressive leaders planned to nominate Roosevelt first, in the hope of forcing the Republicans to accept him.

General Scott's conference with Obregon had produced only a temporary stay of hostile Mexican operations against the United States. Throughout May, there were constant skirmishes between Pershing's column and Mexican raiders along the border. The question of the national defense was, therefore, of the utmost importance, without regard to the European war. The Democratic border states were demanding more adequate protection, while the Republicans and Progressives were likely to unite upon a "preparedness platform." Against this contingency, Wilson had endorsed the "Hay Bill," or the minimum measure which it was thought might satisfy the country, and it had won for him much organized support among the Militia, whom the Administration had championed against Garrison and the General Staff. Everywhere among military men, it was recognized as a "militia bill." Recognizing the political expediency of forcing its passage before the national conventions assembled, the spurs were applied to Congress, and, on June 3, 1916, it passed the so-called National Defense Act. Wood was authorized, at the same time, to reopen the Plattsburg Camp.

The public could not, of course, discern the defects of this wholly inadequate measure. Providing for the gradual increase of the regular army to a strength of 175,000 men

of all arms, a regular reserve, and an Officers' Reserve Corps, with a maximum war strength for the entire regular establishment of 287,846, it authorized the federalization, in an emergency, of about 425,000 state troops. Provision was also made for the enlargement of the National Academies, for training camps, and for vocational training for the army.[83] Although the Act was, in the opinion of Wood and the General Staff, wholly inadequate as well as reactionary in many respects, it was heralded by the Administration as evidence that Wilson was the champion of "preparedness." Thus adroitly did Wilson undertake to silence his opponents on this issue.

Like Butler and the Internationalists, some of the original Simon-Pure Progressives had disapproved of the coincidence of the Republican and Progressive Conventions. As the delegates gathered in Chicago for the two conventions, and the boom for Wood began to gain impetus, it became apparent that Charles Evans Hughes was the candidate of Taft, Marburg and Butler, as well as the conservative Republicans, who had never forgiven Roosevelt, and regarded Wood as his spokesman. The politicians, however, did not like Hughes, so that more and more men, high in the councils of the party, began to consider Wood seriously.

"Went to Oyster Bay in p.m. by motor," wrote Wood in his diary, "while the committee was in session. Long talk with the Colonel. His views unchanged and purposes to do what he can." . . . "The Colonel has urged harmony and union of two forces. He will reply forcibly to any request for information as to his attitude on my speech; anything which will give R. a chance will bring his endorsement."

From this, it is obvious what Roosevelt was trying to do. By threatening the Republican party with a division, he was merely seeking to name a Nationalist candidate, and one who would arm the country, with the reunited Republican party behind him.

Unfortunately for the Republican party, Nicholas Murray Butler, the personal friend of Hughes, was now

asserting his full influence as President of the American Peace Society, in the Councils of the Republican party, and was, like Taft and Marburg, determined to prevent the nomination of either Roosevelt or Wood at any cost. Throughout the night, the Republican and Progressive representatives wrangled with each other. In vain the latter insisted that Roosevelt must have his way, or the country face another three-cornered fight. The Internationalists had learned nothing from 1912. Thus, with a Republican victory almost assured, the more astute Republican leaders finally saw that it was useless to oppose Roosevelt further.

"We will take any man the Colonel will name," "Joe" Cannon said to Gutzon Borglum, who was working for Wood, "provided the Colonel will go with the man."

Shortly before two o'clock on Saturday morning, Butler called Roosevelt on the telephone.

Butler—"The Joint conference committee is locked up tight, and we can not make them move. A stampede is expected at any moment, and no one knows what will happen. The joint conference is waiting to hear from you, and you simply must announce your candidate."

Roosevelt—"As I have told you from the beginning, I refuse to name a candidate."

Butler—"But you must name a candidate, and one whom you will support absolutely and entirely."

Roosevelt—"I will not name a candidate."

Butler—"Then you must name some one to whom you will give your entire and energetic support."

Roosevelt—"I think Leonard Wood is the best possible man you could select. Wood is sound, shrewd, and very diplomatic. I am sure he would support all the policies which I favor, and I believe would be acceptable to the people."

Butler—"But we will not nominate a soldier."

Roosevelt—"Then that's all."

The "we" that Butler used in this conversation did not mean old line Republicans like Cannon, but the Internationalists. Roosevelt subsequently declared that Butler called him up again, and asked whether he would support

Henry Cabot Lodge. He had hesitated, he said, hardly knowing what to say. Lodge was his lifelong friend. He had the greatest respect for his ability, but he knew that Lodge had no chance.

"Yes, but—," said Butler, and, according to Roosevelt, did not wait to hear his objection. Instead he hung up the receiver and informed the joint conference committee that Roosevelt suggested Lodge as the compromise candidate, nor did he say that Roosevelt had first named Wood.

A telegram to Roosevelt brought no response. The fact was that having named one President, with dire results, he was reluctant to insist too strongly upon one whom Butler had already declared the Republicans would not support.

Whether the Republicans would have accepted Wood had Roosevelt's choice been stated by Butler to the committee, must ever remain problematical, even in the face of Cannon's statement. Nevertheless, it is plain that Butler had no intention of risking the result. Nor is there any doubt that he and the Internationalists were responsible for what followed. To break the deadlock among the conferees, Roosevelt, having failed to bring about the nomination of Wood, and seeing that Wood's nomination by the Progressives would only insure a split, allowed himself to be nominated, on the theory that the Republicans might, with certain defeat staring them in the face, give in after all.

It soon became plain, however, that the Republicans would not take him back. Butler succeeded in convincing the "Machine" that Roosevelt had so antagonized the Pacifists and all the anti-American votes, that he might not be a winning candidate. Accordingly, looking for a candidate to please everybody, and yet have enough personal strength to be a leader, they allowed Butler and the Internationalists to have their way, and nominate Charles Evans Hughes, former Governor of New York State. A few days later, Roosevelt, with the highest patriotism, publicly announced that he would not accept the Progressive nomination, but would support Justice Hughes, because he re-

garded the defeat of Wilson as "the most vital object before the American people."

Hughes' platform declared that the times were dangerous, and the future fraught with perils. "The great issue of the day has been confused by words and phrases." There was nothing affirmative in the Republican platform; it was a miserable straddle reflecting the varying views that had dictated it.

The nomination of Wilson was inevitable. With the recall of Pershing from Mexico, Bryan and his following in the Middle West were well satisfied. The South, with its tremendous representation in the Administration, could be counted on to support the party nominee as usual. Still the Southern people generally were in that state of intellectual vassalage in which they would, as the Tammany leaders declared, "vote for Abraham Lincoln on the Democratic ticket." As a political problem, they were "out of the picture," being in the hands of "peanut politicians," whose one idea was to keep alive the racial and sectional issues which insured their control.

Although Wilson had of late lambasted the pro-Germans, they had much less to fear from him than from a Republican, who could only be elected as a result of a change of sentiment toward Wilson's policy. They may have hated Wilson and deemed him the enemy of Germany, but he was the lesser of two evils. They felt that with his return to power, they would know exactly what to expect— "peace at any price"—"watchful waiting."

The country had prospered handsomely in a commercial way, since the development of its munition industries. Threatened in 1913 and the early part of 1914 with the usual slump under a Democratic Administration, it had enjoyed a veritable boom period by reason of the unprecedented demands of the Allies for foodstuffs, all manner of supplies, and arms and munitions. It would not be difficult for the Administration to claim the credit for this prosperity, however artificial and questionable the Republicans might declare it to be. The latter would have to deal with mere theories. Here were real tangible benefits, which

were the direct results of the Administration's neutral policy. So long as trade with the Allies was sanctioned by the Government, it was expecting too much of the commercial interests to show any tender regard for the moralities of a situation that would continue, if maintained, to yield them steady profits. Human nature being what it is, the politicians might rely on powerful support for Wilson.

On the other hand, Wilson had been shrewd in committing himself to the League to Enforce Peace. The organized propaganda of the great peace foundations would be worth countless votes to him. Think of a presidential candidate starting off with The American Peace Society and the World Peace League, to say nothing of all the other pacifist organizations behind him, as well as the pro-Germans!

"President Wilson's first term," says McCombs, "had been saved by the declaration of the European War in 1914. This was pretty generally conceded among all the Democrats. Of course, the minds of the American people were centered upon one question: namely, keeping out of the terrible conflagration. They thought that Wilson, having been President for one term, should be reelected for the second."

As soon as Hughes was nominated, Wilson set about writing the platform on which he proposed to stand for reelection.

"I see by the papers," Lane wrote him on June 8th, "that you are writing the platform. Now I want to take the liberty of saying that this is not altogether good news to me. Our Platform should contain such an appreciation of you and your administration, that you could not write it, much less have it known that you have written it. It should be one long joyful shout of exultation over the achievements of the Administration, and I can't quite see you leading the shout.

"The Republican party was for half a century a constructive party, and the Democratic party was the party of negation and complaint. We have taken the play from them. The Democratic party has become the party of con-

struction. You have outlined new policies and put them into effect through every department, from State to Labor. Therefore, our platform should be generously filled with words of boasting that will hearten and make proud the Democrats of the country; a plain tale of large things simply done.

"If there is any truth at all in the newspaper statement, and any purpose in making it, perhaps the end that is desired might be reached by a statement that you are not undertaking to write the platform, but that, at the request of some of the leaders, you are giving them a concrete statement of your foreign policy."[114]

Wilson did not propose to entrust the task he had assumed to any one else, or even to share it with others. He was fully prepared when the Convention assembled to dictate his desires.

"Everybody at the Convention," says McCombs, "was saying, 'Wilson kept us out of war! To h --------1 with the rest of the platform.' "

Nevertheless, the very definite platform written by Wilson was adopted. It endorsed the Administration, the Underwood tariff, and the non-partisan Tariff Commission.

In denouncing foreign intrigues in the United States, Wilson was particularly adroit. Convinced that, much as they really disliked him, Bernstorff and the pro-Germans would support him, because they believed the Republicans intended intervention, which he would never sanction, the platform took advantage of the Republican straddle: "Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare, or to injure this Government in its foreign relations, or cripple or destroy its industries at home ... is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him, and is disloyal to his country." . . . And in his speech of acceptance, he said: "I neither seek the favor nor fear the displeasure of the small alien element amongst us, which puts loyalty to any foreign Power before loyalty to the United States."

This, of course, pleased the Hundred Percent Ameri-

cans greatly, and, by creating the impression of a grave internal danger, could not fail to relieve Wilson, in some measure, from the hostility of the Pacifists. Thus, he was free to insert a plank advocating an army adequate for order, safety, and defense, and an adequate citizens' reserve. The platform further declared for the self-determination of small nations, the Monroe Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, against intervention in Mexico, and advocated the formation of a League of Nations in the following language: "The world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles. . . ."

This language committed the party to nothing which every reasonable man could not approve. What was a "feasible" association was a matter of individual opinion.

The Shipping Bill was endorsed, and also "the extension of the franchise to women, state by state, on the same terms as to the men." As to general internal policies, the same ground was taken as in 1908 and 1912. Nothing was said about limiting the presidency to a single term.

Wilson was promptly nominated by acclamation, just as it had long been foreseen he would be. His speech of acceptance was cited by his enemies as evidence of his alleged duplicity. In it, he declared that the United States had remained neutral "because it was the fixed and traditional policy of the United States to stand aloof from the politics of Europe." Almost in the next breath he urged that it prepare itself for "the anxious and difficult days of restoration and healing which were to come, days when, with its great resources, it must help to build up the new house of peace."

"America must contribute the full force of our enthusiasm and our authority as a nation, to the organization of that peace upon world-wide foundations that can not easily be shaken . . . The nations of the world must unite in joint guarantees."

Little did those who heard these words, imagine that he was appealing to the country to ratify a policy to which, as its Chief Executive, he had already secretly committed it, in so far as that was possible.

He had, at last, succeeded in his purpose. He had transformed the Democratic party from the highly nationalistic model of Jefferson, into the Internationalist party which had been the avowed ideal of Edwin M. House. It only remained for the Internationalists to capture Congress, in order to revolutionize American foreign policy.

Silenced by the influences which induced his resignation, McCombs said nothing at the Convention about Wilson's abandonment of party principle. Before yielding his post as Chairman, he was, however, to strike one more blow at Wilson.

It was generally known that Wilson did not care much for Marshall, and that he had, throughout his Administration, given him slight consideration. Finding that the Mc-Adoo-Tumulty-Burleson-Daniels coterie were determined to deny Marshall a renomination, and that they had split over whether it should go to Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, or A. Mitchell Palmer, Alien Property Custodian, McCombs lined up his old friends among the bosses, including Taggart of Indiana, Murphy of New York, Sullivan of Illinois, and Cox of Ohio, and succeeded in renominating Marshall.

"I heard rumors," says McCombs, "some weeks before the Convention that Mr. Baker was to be a candidate for Vice President. The larger leaders, I know, were very much opposed to him. They were very much offended by what they thought was Mr. Wilson's idea, of getting a candidate more to his liking as Vice President. It was understood that he wanted Baker, because it was thought that Baker never made a move without Wilson's direction. Furthermore, Baker used classical English.

"I saw the lickspittles of the White House tugging at the lapels of the leaders. The Baker boom first came to my headquarters as Chairman. I had received many telegrams about it. I saw no reason for changing the order or

things. In my mind, at that very time Marshall was superior to Wilson. If there were to be any succession by fate, we could not go very far wrong with Marshall. So I said to a gentleman who claimed to come from the White House, that it was customary for the candidate for the Vice Presidency to have the delegation from his own State with him. He had better see Judge A. and one of the leaders of the Ohio delegation, who was close by.

"Then I said: 'Now, I suggest that you go and discuss this matter with Ohio and Judge A. Go in and see him.'

"He left. I called up Judge A. and told him the facts. He said: 'I'm glad you have given me the privilege of trimming our little Secretary.' So Judge A. received the Baker envoy, and told him that he did not think he could get Ohio. The man went to a number of other delegations. Judge A. knew how to be busier at a Convention than did this man. So the boom of Baker died aborning." *

McCombs was succeeded as Democratic Chairman by Vance McCormick of Pennsylvania, whose selection was, of course, dictated by Wilson.

* McCombs, p. 278.

CHAPTER XLI

Pershing Assailed by the United Mexicans. A New Mobilization. Page Writes an Historic Letter Pleading for Democracy and an English Speaking Union. Wood Doomed. Beck's Great. Success in Europe. The "Deutschland" Appears in America.

TO A FRIEND, Roosevelt wrote, under date of June 13th, that he deemed the defeat of Wilson absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country. "I shall do all I can for Mr. Hughes. But don't forget that Mr. Hughes alone can make it possible for me to be efficient in his behalf. If he merely speaks like Mr. Wilson, only a little more weakly, he will rob my support of its effectiveness. Speeches such as those of mine, to which you kindly allude, have their merit only if delivered for a man who is himself speaking uncompromisingly and without equivocation. I have just sent word to Hughes through one of our big New York financiers to make a smashing attack on Wilson for his actions, and to do it immediately, in connection with this Democratic Nominating Convention. Wilson was afraid of me. He never dared answer me; but if Hughes lets him, he will proceeed to take the offensive against Hughes. I shall do everything I can for him, but don't forget that the efficiency of what I must do, must largely depend upon Hughes." [211]

Hardly had these words been uttered when, encouraged by the Democratic affirmation of Wilson's policy of non-intervention, the Mexicans of all parties began to crowd in more insistently upon Pershing. Thereafter, on June 18th, it became necessary to call out the militia to defend the border. When, on June 20th, in accordance with Scott's agreement with Obregon, Pershing's withdrawal

commenced, a small party of Americans was assailed by a large force of Carranzistas. The American loss was 38 killed and wounded. Now that Wilson had been renominated on a "preparedness" platform, there was no serious opposition to the mobilization. Fifty thousand men were to be placed at Nogales, Arizona, fifty thousand at El Paso, and fifty thousand at Brownsville, Texas. The plan was to invade Mexico on three lines, along the main railways, should it become necessary. All the important points on the border were guarded, since Obregon had boasted openly of Carranza's purpose to invade the United States. Having decided to organize the troops, upon arrival, in three divisions under Funston, Bell, and Pershing, respectively, and having received Wood's application for field service, Scott recommended Wood, as senior major general, to command the entire army. This recommendation was, according to Scott, clearly unpalatable to Baker. When the Chief of Staff refused to suggest some one else in place of Wood, the Secretary of War requested that nothing be done in the matter for the present.

Wilson's political supporters promptly took the field to silence the Pacifists and pro-Germans. Lane was particularly active. Two days after Pershing was attacked, Lane made an extremely narrow and bombastic speech at Brown University. Knowing that Wilson had no intention of intervening in Mexico, Page wrote, on June 22, 1916, to President Alderman, of the University of Virginia, what was destined to be a truly historic letter.

"You will recall," he said, "more clearly than I, certain horrible, catastrophic, universal-ruin passages in Revelation—monsters swallowing the universe, blood and fire and clouds and an eternal crash, rolling ruin enveloping all things—well, all that's come. There are, perhaps, ten million men dead of this war and, perhaps, one hundred million persons to whom death would be a blessing. Add to these as many millions more, whose views of life are so distorted that blank idiocy would be a better mental outlook, and you'll get a hint (and only a hint) of what the continent has already become—a bankrupt slaughterhouse in-

habited by unmated women. We have talked of 'problems' in our day. We never had a problem; for the worst task we ever saw was a mere blithe pastime compared with what these women, and a few men that will remain here, must face. The hills about Verdun are not blown to pieces worse than the whole social structure, and intellectual and spiritual life of Europe. I wonder that anybody is sane.

"Now we have swung into a period and a state of mind wherein all this seems normal. A lady said to me at a dinner party (think of a dinner party at all!), 'Oh, how I shall miss the war when it ends! Life without it will surely be dull and tame. What can we talk about? Will the old subjects ever interest us again?' I said, 'Let's you and me try and see.' So we talked about books—not war books—old country houses that we both knew, gardens and gold and what not: and in fifteen minutes we swung back to the war before we were aware.

"I get out of it, as the days rush by, certain fundamental convictions, which seem to me not only true—true beyond any possible cavil—truer than any other political things are true—and far more important than any other contemporary facts whatsoever in any branch of endeavor, but better worth while than anything else that men now living may try to further."

In the remainder of this remarkable letter, Page embodied the philosophy which was the inspiration of all his efforts. As between this, and the internationalism of Wilson, it is for posterity to judge.

"The cure for democracy is more democracy. The danger to the world lies in autocrats and autocracies and privileged classes; and these things have everywhere been dangerous, and always will be. There's no security in any part of the world where people can not think of a government without a king, and there never will be. You cannot conceive of a democracy that will, unprovoked, set out on a a career of conquest. If all our religious missionary zeal and cash could be turned into convincing Europe of this simple and obvious fact, the longest step would be taken for human advancement that has been taken since 1776.

If Carnegie, or, after he is gone, his Peace People could see this, his Trust might possibly do some good.

"As the world stands, the United States and Great Britain must work together to keep the predatory nations in order. A League to Enforce Peace, and the President's idea of disentangling alliances are all in the right direction, but vague and general and cumbersome, a sort of bastard children of neutrality, The thing, the only thing is—a perfect understanding between the English-speaking peoples. That's necessary, and that's all that's necessary. We must boldly take the lead in that. I frankly tell my friends here that the English have got to throw away their damned arrogance, and their insularity, and that we Americans have got to throw away our provincial ignorance, ('What is abroad to us?'), hang our Irish agitators, and shoot our hyphenates, and bring up our children with reverence for English history, and in the awe of English literature. This is the only job now in the world worth the whole zeal and energy of all first-class, thoroughbred English-speaking men. . . .

"The best informed English opinion is ripe for a complete working understanding with us. We've got to work up our end—get rid of our ignorance of foreign affairs, our shirt-sleeve, complaining kind of diplomacy, our sport of twisting the lion's tail and such things, and fall to and bring the English out. It's the one race in this world that's got the guts."

It was of such ideas, of course, that the English Speaking Union was born. How much, in truth, would Wilson have contributed to humanity, had he undertaken to enthrone them!

The troops having arrived at the border with remarkable celerity, Scott again urged upon Baker, on June 27th, the assignment of Wood to their command.

"Do you want to change your recommendation?" asked the Secretary.

Scott replied that he stood by it. "It is impossible," Baker answered. "The President directs that, in the event of trouble, you yourself shall take command."

Wood, of whose services there was no longer any need, was, as a soldier, already doomed. He received no reply from the War Department to his request for field service. But apparently nothing could silence Wood. He continued to go about making addresses plainly hostile to Wilson's military policy. Scott was in despair. "Wood will be ruined if he doesn't look out," he exclaimed. "There is a war coming on, and he won't be in it."

The open fight now in progress between the Administration and a general officer in active service, was undignified—it was in no way creditable to Wilson as the Chief Executive.

The attitude of the world toward the United States during the summer of 1916 was described by Beck as follows:

"So far as neutral nations are concerned, they looked, at the beginning of this struggle, to the United States, as the greatest of the neutral nations, to voice, as a leader, the moral authority of civilization, and to a considerable extent they looked in vain. As a result, the United States has fallen in their estimation from the high place which it once occupied as the land of exalted idealism.

"The attitude of the Entente nations towards the United States is one of disappointment and disillusion. They do not feel hostile to the United States, but, on the contrary, for practical and sentimental reasons, sincerely desire its friendship. They are eager to learn the American point of view, and are quite willing to take into consideration any circumstances which explain the negative attitude of the United States in the greatest moral crisis of civilization. They partly understand the historical reasons which made inevitable the American policy of neutrality, but they fail to understand why, when the very foundations of civilization are crumbling, the United States, with its traditional devotion to the loftiest humanita-rianism, should remain silent and inactive." [24]

Roosevelt was far less restrained than Beck. Continuing to thunder imprecations at the Administration, he said:

"Apparently President Wilson has believed that the American people would permanently forget their dead, and would slur over the dishonor and disgrace to the United States by that

basest of all the base pleas of cowardly souls, which finds expression in the statement: 'Oh, well, anyway the President kept us out of war!' The people who make this plea assert with quavering voices that they 'are behind the President.' So they are; well behind him. The farther away from the position of duty and honor and hazard he has backed, the farther behind him these gentry have stood—or run." [24]

Wilson's last speech had had upon the Entente peoples so adverse an effect, that Grey was in despair. Deeply impressed with the importance of interpreting America's real attitude to the people of Britain and France, James M. Beck, who had won the attention of the world with his notable book—The Evidence in the Case—decided, early in the summer of 1916, to visit Europe to counteract the effect of Wilson's words. This design had the approval of Marburg and Grey, and also of Sir William Wiseman, who was fully aware of the propaganda value of a series of addresses by Beck.

Although an active partisan of the League to Enforce Peace, Beck, like many other members, believed Hughes more capable of promoting a League of Nations than Wilson; and, like Lodge, considered it unnecessary to sacrifice the fundamental principles of American nationalism to this end. Yet he was careful not to criticise the President, either in his Paris speech, or in the nine speeches which he made in England. Indeed, he went out of his way to explain the latter's difficult situation, actually defending Wilson against adverse public opinion overseas. Replying to Lord Bryce in an address before the Pilgrims Society on July 5th, he undertook, with his usual polished oratory and commanding logic, to show America's moral allies that, despite all the evidences to the contrary, an overwhelming majority of the American people were heart and soul with the Entente.

Beck was everywhere received with the utmost enthusiasm, while Sir William Wiseman, now head of the British Secret Service and propaganda in America, made the most of Beck's speeches, to allay the hostility which Wilson had

engendered.* Many Americans overseas heard Beck's glowing words with pride.

Meantime Wilson's campaign had not gone well in the East. Therefore the Democrats all but abandoned their efforts to capture this section, concentrating their efforts on the West and Middle West, where Lane and Bryan were obtaining good results.

"There is no telling what way this campaign is going," Lane wrote his wife on July 4th.

Berlin had long seen that it must do something to counteract the propaganda of the League to Enforce Peace. If Wilson and the American people were planning to join the Allies, there was a way to scare them, and, at the same time, encourage the pro-Germans and Mexicans, by despatching to America the monster submarines, which Germany had been building to demonstrate her sea power. Possibly, too, these unarmed vessels intended to establish submerged fuel bases off the North Atlantic Coast, just as was done off the coasts of Ireland and Spain, so that other submarines might operate there later.

It hardly seems likely that the German Government would have risked this step, without some assurance in advance as to the official attitude of Washington. Berns-torff was perhaps able to convince Wilson that it would exert a profound influence for peace, and lend weight to his arguments in the trade dispute with Great Britain. If the Mexicans should suspend hostilities during these visits, it would add to the impression that Wilson had ended his difficulties with them, as well as with Germany. Certainly it would be a good way to save Pershing from further danger.

The Deutschland accordingly appeared at the port of Baltimore on July 8th, and was at once accepted by the Government as a purely non-combatant vessel. The description by Bernstorff of her reception indicates in part, at least, why she was sent.

"Apart from those that followed the agreement on the Arabic incident," says Bernstorff, "the few days after the arrival of the Deutschland were the pleasantest I experi-

* British Propaganda, Saturday Evening Post, 1928.

enced in America during the War. Feeling on all sides was openly friendly, and Captain Konig was the most popular man in the United States. If we had sent ten such merchant submarines to America, and, for the rest, had carried on the submarine campaign according to the principles laid down for cruiser warfare, we should have attained far greater political results than has been the case.

"The arrival of the submarine Deutschland at Baltimore, and Captain Konig's first visit to the town, resembled a triumphal procession. I had intended to go there at once to welcome the hero of the day and his bold seamen, but thought it better to wait and see what would be the American attitude towards the protests of the English and French Ambassadors, who had both claimed that the Deutschland, as a submarine, should be regarded without hesitation as a ship of war. On the 13th of July, a most minute inspection of the Deutschland was made by an American Government Commission, consisting of three naval officers, and she was recognized as a genuine merchant vessel. In consequence, the Deutschland had a right to lie at Baltimore as long as was necessary to take a cargo on board for the return journey. It was now possible for me to pay an official visit to Baltimore, and to view the Deutschland. The Mayor of the town accompanied me, and went down with me, in spite of the terrific heat of about 400^0 centigrade, into the lowest parts of the submarine, which cost the stoutly-built gentleman considerable effort, and a deal of perspiration. In the evening the Mayor gave a banquet, which passed off as in the good days before the war. The rooms were decorated with German and American flags, the band played the 'Wacht am Rhein,' and many speeches were made on the good relations between the two countries."

It is significant that the Mexicans desisted from further attacks upon Pershing, while the Deutschland was in an American port. The actions of Wilson while the great vessel was basking at Baltimore in the pro-German sunshine, also indicate cooperation between Washington and Berlin. Speaking on International Trade before the Sales-

manship Congress in Detroit on July 10th, Wilson took up again his plan to create a great merchant marine.

"It is necessary," he said, "because America will play a new part of unprecedented opportunity and of greatly increased responsibility." She must "play a great part in the world, whether we choose it or not." With their ships Americans "are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity," wherever they go. American salesmen must sell goods "that will make the world more comfortable and more happy, and convert it to the principle of America!"

The Allies enquired with amazement how humanity as a whole was to be benefited by the profits of American shipping and salesmanship. Was this not the same idea as "America First" for American economic supremacy? And was not this speech, delivered while the Deutschland lay in an American port, conclusive evidence of Wilson's friendship for Germany? Certainly it was not calculated to overcome the ill-feeling engendered by his previous remarks. Aside from this, it had the opposite effect from that intended. It convinced the American people that they would, in their unarmed state, be more or less at the mercy of victorious Germany, while it displayed to the Entente a President hopelessly hostile to their interests.

Pershing had meanwhile carried out a delicate task with consummate skill. With little or no modern transportation, he had penetrated deeply into a veritable desert, surrounded by an intensely hostile population, to say nothing of the armed factions; and had then brought his army safely home, despite his orders to attack one of the factions only, while both were united, under the incitation of German agents. His position has been aptly likened to that of a man sent into a leopards' lair, with orders to assail a particular leopard only, and this with no possible way of telling them apart from their spots.

And he had done just this. Certainly he had strongly recommended himself to a President who might soon be in need of a military commander on whose skill, tact, and absolute loyalty, he could implicitly rely.

CHAPTER XLII

Wilson's Remarkable Skill as a Politician. Gompers and the Threatened Railroad Strike. The Mexican-American Joint Commission. Wilson Captures Organized Labor with the Eight-Hour Law. Congress Authorizes Mediation and Endorses a League of Nations. Page's Picture of Wilson and Washington.

UNFLINCHING IN HIS RESOLVE to secure his reelection, Wilson showed, in public, no signs of the terrible strain to which he was subject. Never more emphatic in his public utterances, he was seen by House, Tumulty, Lansing, Houston, Lane, and others to be laboring, in private, under a terrible distress of mind. Sometimes he seemed almost inarticulate—obviously his domination of America was at the expense of a tremendous physical strain. Yet, despite his obvious mental distress, his wit as a politician seemed to sharpen under the strain of the conflict. His was the strain of a Savonarola, whose fierce determination to conquer was only intensified by opposition. Over and over came reports from Gerard and others, that Germany was about to recommence her submarine campaign. The holiness of his self-appointed mission seemed to absolve him of all blame for concealing the facts—his acts purified by their objective. Aided by crafty partisans, he was more adroit as a party leader than ever. The most astute political bosses beheld with admiration the manner in which he now mended his political fences. Mercilessly but skillfully, he drove the Congressional majority to do his bidding. There was no longer a murmur against him from the Democrats—their political bread and meat was at stake —they obeyed the whips!

Yet there was one problem he had been unable to solve.

Ever since the passage of the Clayton Act, Organized Labor had been bitterly hostile to the Administration, especially after Wilson had turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the railroad workers' unions for an eight-hour labor law, plainly designed to increase wages. In the present situation-Gompers and his Federation saw a unique opportunity to secure such legislation. By calling for a nation-wide railroad strike, the Labor leaders could compel Wilson to support their demands, or else risk the almost certain defeat in November which such a calamity, coupled with the continued opposition of Organized Labor, would entail. Gompers was in a commanding position to trade with Wilson, when a strike was called for September 4th. Nor was there any doubt that Bernstorff and his agents were promoting the strike in every way possible, in order to enable the Mexicans to assail the United States more effectively, when the time came for Germany to resume unrestricted submarine warfare.

In the face of all these dangers, Wilson's first need was to avert further hostilities by Mexico. Authorized by him, Lane reviewed the Mexican policy of the Administration, in a lengthy interview on July 16th. Denying any hostile intent, and appealing to South America to support Wilson's Pan-American policy, he definitely proposed the creation of a joint commission, as a basis for action by the ABC Powers.[190]

"In July, 1916," says General Scott, "Secretary Baker, coming from the White House one day, informed me that there was in contemplation a commission, with Secretary Lane as Chairman, to meet with a similar commission from Mexico, to discuss and arrange matters in which the two governments were at variance, and he added that he wished me to be a member.

"I demurred somewhat at this, saying, 'You will do me a very great kindness, Mr. Secretary, if you will leave me off the list.' The secretary seemed somewhat surprised at this, and said, 'You are wanted on the commission, because of your knowledge of Spanish and experience with the Span-

ish speaking peoples. Why don't you want to be a member?'

" 'It is because of that experience to which you refer that I know now the outcome of that Commission,' I replied. 'Secretary Lane will be the chairman, and because of his position as a cabinet officer, he will completely dominate it, and my views will receive scant consideration. Secretary Lane is entirely without experience with Latin American peoples—their peculiar psychology and how to deal with them—and I will be at variance with him all the time. I have known in the past how to treat such questions successfully, when I have had them to myself, but I know now the futility of this Commission. Those Mexicans are past masters in drawing red herrings across the trail, if you allow them to do it—leading you away from the point at issue, into a wilderness of words—and you end up where you began, nowhere. Those Mexicans are going to play horse with Secretary Lane all summer, and after it is all over, no one will be proud of having been on the commission. I will take it as a very great kindness, Mr. Secretary, if you will omit my name from the list.' And he very considerately did so."

Scott's estimate of Lane's fitness to deal with Mexicans, does not seem to have been erroneous, judging from a letter written at this time by Lane:

"Can you warm up to them? How do you get the truth out of them? And how do you get them to stay by their word? What are they suspicious of, silence or volubility? Do they expect you to ask for more than you expect to get? Do they appreciate candor and fair dealing, or must you be crafty and indirect? If they expect the latter, I am not the man for the job, but I can be patient and listen."[114]

Wilson and Lane had reckoned without their host. Carranza remained obdurate, apparently strongly committed to Germany.

"I have been turned all topsy turvy by the Mexican situation," Lane wrote his brother, "and have suggested to the President the establishment of a commission to deal with this matter upon a fundamental basis; but Carranza is

obsessed with the idea that he is a real god and not a tin god, that he holds thunderbolts in his hands instead of confetti, and he won't let us help him." [114]

Such was the situation when the Entente Governments as well as the ABC Powers of South America, became greatly alarmed. The danger of the American munition supply being cut off from the Allies, and of a consequent German victory, was apparent. On the other hand, the Latin-Americans still viewed askance any war between Mexico and the United States. It might be but the first step of aggression in their direction. Once before they had prevented this—now they must do so again.

Nor is it unlikely that there was some understanding on the part of Washington and Berlin at this time, since German submarines continued to arrive throughout the Summer. All the while Bernstorff represented that Germany desired mediation by Wilson. Obviously Wilson could not be convinced that Germany was serious, while the Wil-helmstrasse fomented a war with Mexico, which would end all chance of his reelection. On the other hand, a suspension of Mexican hostilities, while Bernstorff continued to promote the strike that was to make their resumption possible, could do no harm to Germany, pending the time when submarine warfare was to commence in earnest. It is especially significant that both Page and Sharp, who were openly hostile to Germany, were now, at House's instance, called to Washington, where they would be powerless to provoke any new issue with Germany, while a "change of atmosphere" might help them to better understanding of the problems of the Administration.[99,103] This might very well have been part of the price demanded by Bernstorff for his continued support of Wilson.

Having fully informed himself by conferences with Grey, Asquith, and Bryce, of the British Government's position, Page sailed with his wife, on August 3rd, from Liverpool, arriving in New York on the 11th.

Meantime Beck had returned from Europe. Knowing that the British Press had despatched full reports of his speeches in England to America, he was puzzled by the

brief notices they had received in the home papers, and enquired the reason of Melville Stone, General Manager of the Associated Press. "Because," replied Stone, "the President has brought to bear the fullest influence which he could exert, to keep everything you have said out of the news columns. He wants no expressions on the war by any other American, published."

The incident is mentioned to show how far Wilson would go to prevent what he deemed a trespass upon his exclusive sphere of action. As he saw it, no one had a right to express opinions about the war, that were in conflict with his own policies.*

Page arrived in Washington on August 13th, the same day that Wilson invited the disputants in the labor controversy to confer, before reaching any final decision.

"The President was very courteous to me, in his way," says Page. "He invited me to luncheon the day after I arrived. Nothing was said about England or foreign relations. He explained that the threatened railway strike engaged his whole mind. He suggested that I go off and have a good rest."

Page, however, declined to do this, as he deemed it imperative for him to talk with Wilson at the first possible moment. He therefore decided to remain in Washington, subject to Wilson's convenience.

Speaking of the conferences with Gompers and the railroad executives, Tumulty has given a vivid picture of Wilson's efforts to prevent the threatened strike.

"I well remember," he says, "the patience of the President at these conferences, day after day. He would first hold conferences with the Brotherhood representatives, and then with the railroad managers; but his efforts were unavailing. It is regrettable that the men on both sides were indifferent to the President's appeals, and apparently un-

* During the Versailles Peace Conference, word was given out that the French Academy was to elect Beck to membership, in recognition of his great service to humanity. According to Henri Bergson, Wilson let it be known he would regard this as an unfriendly act.

mindful of the consequences to the country that would inevitably follow a nation-wide strike.

"I remember what he said to me as he left the Green Room, at the conclusion of his final conference with the heads of the Brotherhoods. Shaking his head in a despair-ing way, he said: 'I was not able to make the slightest impression upon those men. They feel so strongly the justice of their cause, that they are blind to all the consequences of their action in declaring and prosecuting a strike. I was shocked to find a peculiar stiffness and hardness about these men. When I pictured to them the distress of our people in case this strike became a reality, they sat unmoved, and apparently indifferent to the seriousness of the whole bad business. I am at the end of my tether, and I do not know what further to do.'

"His conferences with the managers were equally unproductive of results. Gathered about him in a semi-circle in his office, they were grim and determined men, some of them even resentful of the President's attempt to suggest a settlement of any kind to prevent the strike."

Having failed to achieve a compromise between the parties to the controversy, despite the utmost personal influence he could bring to bear on them, Wilson finally elected to support the Federation of Labor. He appealed in the end to the railroad executives to meet the demands of labor.*

"I shall never forget his last appeal to them. I sat in a little room off the Cabinet room, and could hear what went on. Seated about him were the heads of all the important railroads in the country. Looking straight at them, he said: 'I have not summoned you to Washington as President of the United States to confer with me on this matter, for I have no power to do so. I have invited you merely as a fellow-citizen, to discuss this great and critical situation. Frankly, I say to you that if I had the power as President, I would say to you that this strike is unthinkable, and must not be permitted to happen. What I want you to see, if

* August 19th.

you will, is the whole picture that presents itself to me, and visualize the terrible consequences to the country and its people, of a nation-wide strike at this time, both as affecting our own people, and its effect upon the Allied forces across the sea. For a moment I wish you to forget that I am President, and let us, as fellow-citizens, consider the consequences of such action. A nation-wide strike at this time would mean absolute famine and starvation for the people of America. You gentlemen must understand just what this means. Will your interests be served by the passions and hatreds that will flow from such an unhappy condition in the country? If this strike should occur, forces will be released that may threaten the security of everything we hold dear. Think of its effect upon the people of this country, who must have bread to eat, and coal to keep them warm. They will not quietly submit to a strike that will keep these things of life away from them. The rich will not suffer, in case these great arteries of trade and commerce are temporarily abandoned, for they can provide themselves against the horror of famine and the distress of this critical situation. It is the poor unfortunate men, and their wives and children, who will suffer and die. I cannot speak to you without a show of emotion, for, my friends, beneath the surface in America there is a baneful seething which may express itself in radical action, the consequences of which no man can foresee. In asking your cooperation to settle this dispute, I am but striving, as we stand in the shadow of a great war, to keep these forces in check and under control.'"[215]

But still those present remained unmoved. Tumulty then goes on to tell how, getting close to them and lowering his voice, Wilson played his last card.

"The Allies are fighting our battle, the battle of civilization, across the way. They can not 'carry on' without supplies and means of sustenance, which the railroads of America bring to them. I am probably asking you to make a sacrifice at this time, but is not the sacrifice worth while because of the things involved? Only last night I was thinking about this war and its far-reaching effects. No

man can foresee its extent or its evil effects upon the world itself. It is a world cataclysm, and, before it ends, it may unsettle everything fine and wholesome in America. We of America, although we are cut off from its terrible sweep, can not be unmindful of these consequences, for we stand in the midst of it all. We must keep our own house in order, so that we shall be prepared to act when action becomes necessary. Who knows, gentlemen, but by tomorrow a situation will arise, where it shall be found necessary for us to get into the midst of this bloody thing? You can see, therefore, that we must go to the very limit to prevent a strike that would bring about a paralysis of these arteries of trade and commerce. If you will agree with me in this matter, I will address Congress, and frankly ask for an increase of rates, and do everything I can to make up for the loss you may sustain. I know that the things I ask you to do may be disagreeable and inconvenient, but I am not asking you to make a bloody sacrifice. Our boys may be called upon any minute to make that sacrifice for us."

In this statement is, perhaps, one of the most terrible though unconscious condemnations of Wilson which has ever been made. Though maintaining a policy of neutrality, he is represented as admitting that the Allies were fighting not only the battle of America, but that of civilization! And this while he was actually engaged, with the aid of Germany, in trying to enforce an indecisive peace upon the belligerents!

Nevertheless, although in this instance, just as when he called upon Congress to repeal the Panama Tolls Exemption Act, he did not hesitate to resort to methods of intimidation to enforce his will, he did not now succeed. As he saw it, there was nothing left for him to do but meet the demands of Gompers. Accordingly, he gave out a statement to the press that "Society" had rendered judgment in favor of an "eight-hour day."

When it became apparent that there would be no strike, even if Wilson had to whip through the legislation which would prevent it, Carranza could not fail to see that his "jig was up." He would not now dare assail Pershing in

force, since that would mean war, with the power on the part of the United States to supply its army. The ABC Powers, in ways known to themselves, succeeded in compelling him to agree to the joint commission which Lane had proposed, and to suspend hostilities during its sessions. It was a great victory for Wilson. With Lane as chairman, Judge George Gray, of Delaware, and John R. Mott, Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, as the other American members, and Louis Cabrera, Carranza's Minister of Finance, Alberto Pane, and Ignatio Bonillas representing Mexico, the Commission agreed, on August 22nd, to convene at New London, Connecticut, on September 1st. House was to be on hand, as Wilson's personal representative, to see that nothing went wrong. The Commission was to be established in the luxurious Hotel Griswold, where the Mexican diplomats and their ladies were to be royally entertained.

On August 25th, the Workmen's Compensation Act, for which Gompers had also been striving, was passed with more or less general approval.

There now occurred a happy event for the Entente cause. After what had seemed endless and hopelessly stupid negotiations with Roumania, a number of Russian victories decided the course of this new ally. On August 27th, Roumania declared war on Germany. The next day the Kaiser relieved Falkenhayn as Chief of Staff, appointed Hindenburg to succeed him, and entrusted to him and to Ludendorf, the joint control of military affairs.[44,71a] Rumania was to be crushed as quickly as possible.[101,130,222]

It was obvious to the world that it was useless for Wilson to talk of peace, so long as Brusiloff, supported by Roumania, led the huge Russian army forward. The Germans now began to talk of an armistice, while reports reached Page from London that the Wilhelmstrasse wanted Wilson to suggest this to the belligerents, while Germany organized a new effort, to overcome her present difficulties.

As a result of the immense propaganda put out by the Carnegie Endowment, the League for a World Court, and the League To Enforce Peace, the legislatures of several

states had already endorsed a League of Nations and with the active aid of Taft, Root, Knox, Parker, Lodge, Beck, Gompers, and many others, both in and out of Congress, a similar endorsement by Congress was assured. A joint ses-sion of Congress for August 29th had been arranged, to pass the desired resolution. It was before this session that Wilson determined to appear in person, to recommend the legislation which Gompers had demanded as the price of calling off the strike.

While willing enough to authorize mediation, as Wilson and Marburg wished, and endorse a League of Nations, the Democrats were not happy over Wilson's apparent surrender to Gompers. Lane undertook, in a tactful letter on August 28th, to warn him that he might be making a grave mistake:

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—

"I have had talks this morning with three men, all of them Democrats, all of them strongly for you under any circumstances. None of them are related to railroads or to labor unions. Two of them have recently been out of this city, and believe that they have a knowledge of the feeling of the country. All express the same view, and I want to tell it to you in case you write a message to Congress.

"They say that the people do not grasp the meaning of your statement that society has made its judgment in favor of an eight-hour day. This, the people think, is a matter that can be arbitrated. They ask, why can't it be arbitrated? They say that the country feels that you have lined yourself up with the labor unions irrevocably for an eight-hour day, as against the railroads, who wish to arbitrate the necessity for putting in an eight-hour day immediately, and irrespective of the additional cost to the railroads. They say that the men are attempting to bludgeon the railroads into granting their demand, which has not been shown to the people to be reasonable. This demand is that the men should have ten hours pay for eight hours work, or less. They say that if this question can not be arbitrated, the railroads must yield on every question, and that freight rates and passenger rates, instead of going down, as they have for the past twenty years, must inevitably increasingly go up. They say that the people do not realize that you have

been willing to entertain any proposition made by the railroads, but that you have stood steadfastly for something which the men have demanded.

"Now all of this indicates a lack of knowledge of what your position has been. I am giving you the gist of these conversations, because they represent a point of view, so that, if you desire, you may meet such criticism.

"You must remember, Mr. President, that the American people have not had for fifty years, a President who was not, at this period in a campaign, bending all of his power to purely personal and political ends. Your ideality and unselfishness are so rare, that things need to be made particularly clear to them.

"Faithfully yours,
"FRANKLIN K. LANE."

Wilson had, of course, gone too far with Gompers, to contemplate abandoning his plan. There must be no strike, he must have the Labor vote, and the support of Labor for the League of Nations!

Having been in Washington two weeks without seeing Wilson again, Page was invited to luncheon at the White House on the 29th. He and Ambassador Sharp were the only guests present, besides some ladies. Again nothing was said of foreign relations, or of the purpose of his presence in Washington. After luncheon, the whole party drove to the Capitol to hear Wilson's address to Congress, which he read clearly and audibly. Now and then there was applause. Following Wilson back to the White House, Page found, to his amazement, that no conference with him was expected. Again he turned away disconsolate, with bitterness in his heart.

August 29, 1916, was truly an historic day:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided. It looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, but it realizes that no single nation can disarm, and that, without a common agreement upon the subject, every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength.

"In view of the premises, the President is authorized and requested to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference, which shall be. charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament, and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law, and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference." *

Such was the substance of the Joint Resolution, passed, August 29th, 1916, in the form of a rider to the comprehensive Naval Appropriations Act. This act provided for the enlargement of the Navy and Marine Corps, and the creation of a Naval Reserve and a Navy Flying Corps, for which Republicans and Democrats alike had long been pressing.

An amazing victory for Wilson, House, and the Internationalists, it was fraught with deep significance. It marked the beginning, in earnest, of the struggle of the Internationalists to revolutionize the American Government and its traditional foreign policy, to set aside the Counsels of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Monroe, and the earlier convictions of Wilson himself, as expressed in his George Washington, in favor of an Internationalism designed to enable America to dominate the world. For this Theodore Marburg, a man whose name was almost unknown to the American people as a whole, and his secret agent, Edwin M. House, a confessed revolutionary, were primarily responsible. These are the cold bare facts, which, apparently, not even Lodge, destined eventually, to overthrow the Internationalists, suspected.[129]

The Administration's Shipping Bill was passed the following day, and, on the next, Adamson of Georgia intro-

* H. R. 15947, Public 241.

duced the so-called "Adamson Eight-Hour Bill" which, after several unsuccessful attempts at amendment, was passed by the House on September 1st, and the Senate on the 2nd. Wilson announced that he would sign it, wher-upon, no doubt by previous agreement with Gompers, the threatened railway strike was called off. This, too, was a great victory for Wilson.

The picture of Wilson and official Washington at this time, as painted by Page, may be colored by his prejudices, but is none the less vivid. It seemed incredible to Page that Wilson could have recalled his Ambassadors to Britain and France, without reason, at such a time. With his mind wholly engrossed by the European holocaust, he looked upon life in Washington, as a man walking in a dream. In Wilson's policies and leadership, he saw "no democracy whatever." He had found that discussion of the European situation was "taboo" in official circles, because Wilson wished nothing said which might militate against his efforts toward peace. The visitor from overseas was utterly amazed at the atmosphere surrounding the President.

"There is not a man in our State Department or in our Government," wrote Page, "who has ever met any prominent statesmen in any European Government—except the Third Assistant Secretary of State, who has no authority in forming policies; there is not a man who knows the atmosphere of Europe. Yet when I proposed that one of the under-Secretaries should go to England on a visit of a few weeks for observation, the objection arose that such a visit would not be 'neutral.' "

The extraordinary feature of this experience was that Page and Sharp had been officially summoned home, presumably to discuss the European situation, and that, apparently neither the President nor the State Department took the slightest interest in them.

"The President," Page wrote Laughlin, "dominates the whole show in a most extraordinary way. The men about him (and he sees them only on 'business') are very nearly all very, very small fry, or worse—the narrowest twopenny lot I've ever come across. He has no real companions. No-

body talks to him freely and frankly. I've never known quite such a condition in American life."

While Wilson had no desire to discuss inconvenient matters with his Ambassador to Great Britain, Page was determined to have an interview with him. "I'm not going back to London," he wrote Laughlin, "till the President has said something to me, or at least till I have said something to him. I am now going down to Garden City and New York, till the President sends for me; or, if he does not send for me, I'm going to his house, and sit on his front steps till he comes out!"

Page had brought home from England one of the medals which the Germans had struck in honor of the Lusitania sinking. One reason why he particularly wished to see the President alone, was to show him this memento."

"Of one thing I am sure," Page wrote to his wife from Washington, while waiting to see Wilson. "We wish to come home March 4th at midnight, and to go about our proper business. There's nothing here that I would for the world be mixed up with. As soon as I can escape with dignity, I shall make my bow and exit. . . . But I am not unhappy or hopeless for the long run. They'll find out the truth some day, paying, I fear, a heavy penalty for delay. But the visit here has confirmed me in our previous conclusions—that if we can carry the load until March 4th, midnight, we shall be grateful that we have pulled through."

CHAPTER XLIII

Germany Seeks an Armistice. The House-Bernstorff Intrigue Continues. A New German Scheme. Gerard Ordered Home. Page Confers with Wilson at Last. Wilson's Increasing Hostility to the Entente Cause.

WITH THE PASSAGE of the Workmen's Compensation Act, the "Eight Hour" Law, the National Defense Act, the Philippine Act, the Naval Appropriations Act, and the Joint Resolution authorizing mediation and endorsing a league of nations, Wilson was in a splendid position to take up the campaign in earnest.

The reports that Germany desired an armistice were confirmed by Bernstorff, who at once sought out House.

"In order that my visit should not attract attention," wrote Bernstorff, "I went to stay with friends in New Hampshire for the customary September holiday (Labor Day). From there I motored to New London, where Colonel House had been spending the Summer. The conversation brought out that the President considered a postponement of mediation unavoidable, because the Entente were now filled with hopes of victory, in consequence of Rumania's entry into the war. In all my conversations with Colonel House, we both proceeded from the assumption that an attempt to bring about American mediation could only succeed, provided that the Entente had given up hope of victory, without the entry into the war of the United States. For this reason Colonel House repeated his advice that there should be less public talk in Berlin of an early peace than had hitherto been the case, since in this way we were betraying weakness, and making America's task more difficult.

"Colonel House also said that the President now in-

tended to await the further development of the war, and, if he should be reelected, immediately to take steps toward the mediation. Before the presidential election, the time was too short for any action, for the Entente would pay no heed to the mediation of a problematical candidate."

The question arises, is this statement to be credited? If so, House was undeniably seeking to curry favor with Germany on Wilson's behalf. One of the decisive reasons for Wilson's delay was obviously not stated by House. Wilson had no idea of risking the rejection of an offer of mediation by either group of belligerents before the election, since this could not have failed to militate against him politically.

It seems incredible that House dared to deal with the German Ambassador in this way, even harder to believe that he could have had Wilson's sanction. In the face of Wilson's relations with Grey, it would, to say the least, have been "double-crossing" the Allies.

Yet strange things were going on. There is little doubt that Bernstorff had been tolerated, in a measure, because of the tremendous political influence it was possible for the German Government to exercise through its propaganda. All the Entente Ambassadors had come to believe this, and had continually protested to their Governments against it.* [92a, 99,156]

The campaign which now approached fever heat, was extraordinary with respect to the dual position which Wilson successfully assumed. Though claiming credit for having kept America out of the war, he appealed for support because he had armed the nation. In one breath he was a Pacifist, and, in the next, the champion of "strict accountability." His policy of "watchful waiting" itself implied a readiness to enforce America's rights.

The strangest inconsistency on Wilson's part was his claim to the traditional policy of holding aloof from European entanglements, while actually advocating its abandonment in favor of a League of Nations.

* Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Jusserand.

In the matter of hyphenism, Wilson was equally adroit. Knowing he had nothing to lose, he wrote, early in the campaign, to Jeremiah O'Leary, a notorious "hyphenate," that he "would feel mortified" to have his support, or that of anybody like him. "Since you have access to many disloyal Americans, and I have not," he wrote, "I will ask you to convey that message to them." This brilliant retort silenced many of O'Leary's kind, and greatly pleased Americans generally.

There was unquestionably no deep-seated enthusiasm for the Entente Cause in the Middle West, which was reacting in favor of Wilson. The people of this unindustrial-ized, largely agricultural region were the most provincial in the country. Without ports, lacking direct contacts of any kind with Britain, France, and Italy, they were more remote from European influences than any others. Therefore the ceaseless preaching of Wilson and Bryan about the moral nobility of neutrality, necessarily affected them. It was because of their purer Americanism, and not because they were Pacifist, or pro-German, that the policy of "America First" seemed sound, that "he kept us out of war" made the strongest appeal to them. Furthermore, it was only natural that the danger of "hyphenism" on which Wilson constantly dwelt, should seem greater to them than it really was, since they had no first-hand knowledge of it. Wilson's appeal to their patriotism stirred them deeply, because of their ignorance of the facts.

In the far West, Lane had thoroughly organized the army of Federal employees under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior, into a great political machine. The Park and Forestry Services, and the Bureau of Mines, as well as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, furnished splendid agencies through which to reach the voters.

The Republican platform had left latitude for the straddling of the "hyphenate" question, and upon this Butler insisted. Attaching himself to Hughes in the capacity of personal adviser, he took practical charge of Hughes' campaign. Determined to advance the Internationalist

cause in every way possible, the influence of Roosevelt was largely nullified, while Root himself was silenced.

"Hughes' speeches have been a surprise and a disappointment to me," wrote Lane in August to a Republican friend. "One might fancy a candidate for Congress doing no better, but not a man of such record and position. I think your dear old party relies upon holding the regular party men out of loyalty and protection, and buying enough Democrats and crooks to get the majority. But I don't believe it can be done. The Republican organization is perfect, but the people are not as gullible as once they were."

Since no one had any doubt that the Republicans would demand firm action, the "hyphenates" were not deceived, while many Republican votes were lost. The German propaganda spared no effort to confirm the West's peculiar form of patriotism, which was bound to react against Hughes. While the German agents were throwing the support of the real "hyphenates" to Wilson, they were also confirming the "hundred percent" Americans in their distrust of Hughes, who was sedulously represented as trading on disloyalty.

Notwithstanding House's statements, Berlin was not sure mediation would ever be offered by Wilson. Yet it was essential to prepare for the withdrawal of the Sussex pledge, to insure the sanction of the German people, and the Socialists especially. The latter now controlled about a third of the Reichstag. A new scheme was therefore devised for inducing action by Wilson, and outmanoeuvering the Allies.

Since the British and Americans were known to be decoding German despatches, von Jagow was to call on Bern-storff to have Gerard ordered home, to deliver to Wilson in person a message too important to be entrusted to code. While peace was intimated as its object, its exact nature was not to be disclosed even to House, lest the latter inform Downing Street. This would serve to get rid of Gerard, who was too well informed of what was going on in Germany. He was to tell Wilson of the German purpose to crush Rumania at once, and to say that, as soon as

Rumania had been disposed of, the Kaiser would call on the belligerents, in the name of humanity and civilization, to lay down their arms pending mediation by Wilson. Wilson was to be told exactly what it would be necessary for him to say to the belligerents, to insure the acceptance of his proposals by all the Central Allies. Nor is it unlikely that the threat of cutting off all loans to belligerents, along with enforcement of the Retaliation Act, unless they agreed to an armistice, was to be suggested.

Such a proposition, it was believed in Berlin, could not fail to appeal to Wilson. Did it not include all he had been trying to get from Germany—the promise of serious consideration of the terms of peace which had been proposed by him and by the British? Would the Kaiser make such a proposal unless prepared to accept these terms? Also it insured, by implication, Germany's continued political support of Wilson.

Page had been infuriated by the passage of the Retaliation Act. When advised that Gerard had been ordered home to propose an armistice, he could no longer restrain his impatience, after waiting six weeks to see Wilson.

"While I am waiting for a convenient time to come, when you will see me for a conference report," he wrote Wilson on September 21st, "I send you notes on conversations with Lord Grey and Lord Bryce. They are, in effect, though of course not in form, messages to you.

"The situation between our government and Great Britain seems to me most alarming; and (let me add) easily removable, if I can get the ear of anybody in authority. But I find here only an atmosphere of suspicion—unwarranted by facts, and easily dissipated by straight and simple friendly methods. I am sure of this.

"I have, besides, a most important and confidential message for you from the British Government which they prefer should be orally delivered.

"And I have written out a statement of my own study of the situation and of certain proposals which, I think, if they commend themselves to you, will go far to remove this

dangerous tension. I hope to go over them with you at your convenience."

This appeal brought a telegram from Tumulty, inviting Page to spend the next week-end at "Shadow Lawn," the seaside house on the New Jersey coast, in which Wilson was spending the Summer. Wilson received his old friend with great courtesy, and listened quietly and with apparent interest to all that he had to say. The written statement to which Page refers in his letter, told the story of Anglo-American relations from the time of the Panama Tolls repeal up to the time of Page's visit. The document was an eloquent plea for American cooperation with the Allies, for the dismissal of Bernstorff, for the adoption of a manly attitude toward Germany, and for the vindication of a high type of Americanism. Page showed the President the Lusitania medal. It did not especially impress him.

Knowing how intimate were the relations between Page and the British Government, and convinced by constant representations that Page was a mere Anglo-maniac, Wilson appears to have adopted a strong anti-British attitude, just as he had often done with House, hoping, no doubt, that this would have a good effect on the British Government.

He told Page that, when the war began, he and all the people he met were in hearty sympathy with the Allies, but that the sentiment toward England had changed greatly. Now he saw no one who was not vexed and irritated by the arbitrary English course. So he defended the retaliatory Act.

"Tell those gentlemen for me," he said—then followed a homily to the effect that a damage done to any American citizen was a damage to him. He described the war as a result of many causes, some of early origin. England had the earth, and Germany wanted it. Admitting that the German system was hostile to everything American, he seemed to see nothing morally reprehensible in it.

As for the retaliatory Act—he would do nothing until after the election to enforce its provisions, "lest it might seem he was playing politics." But he hinted that, if the

British persisted in their provocations, he would later make use of it.

Here, then, was his real reason for postponing an offer of mediation. In a position to cut off the supply of munitions vital to the Allies, he was able to trade with all the belligerent governments. Neither group dared oppose him openly in the campaign, while the danger of his enforcing the Act after election, compelled the Allies to consider his proposals seriously.

Wilson went on to tell Page that one of the worst provocations of which the British were guilty, was their delay in answering the American notes. "Was this delay due to fear or shame?" He evidently felt that such a delay showed contempt. He spoke of the Bryan treaty. "But on no question had the British 'locked horns' with us," he said— "on no question had they come to a clear issue, so that the matter might be referred to the Commission."

At this juncture, Page delivered his message from As-quith, Grey, and Bryce, to the effect that Great Britain would not grant the armistice Germany was seeking, since Germany had no other purpose but to place the Allies in the wrong, and gain time for the completion of her submarine flotilla. This confirmed Gerard, Marye, Sharp, Thomas Nelson Page, Whitlock, Morris, and the American Minister to Switzerland. Wilson then disclosed his purpose to meet the German advances.

"If an armistice, no," he said. "That's a military matter, and is none of my business. But if they propose an armistice looking toward peace—yes, I shall be glad."

So ended the conference." Yet Page was not angry, nor did Wilson impress him as merely perverse. He had learned the truth of Wilson's statement that he saw only people with complaints against the Allies. The same seemed true of the Secretary of State, the Trade Bureau, and official Washington generally. "But in Boston, in New York, and in the South, and in Auburn, New York," wrote Page, "I saw no one whose sympathy with the Allies had undergone any fundamental change. I saw men who felt vexed at such an act as the blacklist, but that was merely vexation,

not a fundamental change of feeling. Of course, there came to see me men who had 'cases.' Now these are the only kind of men, I fear, whom the Government at Washington sees—these and the members of Congress whom the Germans have scared, or have 'put up' to scare the Govern-ment—who are 'twisting the lion's tail,' in a word."

The fact that Wilson was so solitary, that he seemed to be so completely out of touch with men, and with the living thoughts of the world, appealed strongly to Page's sympathies. Therefore Page looked on Wilson as a pathetic figure, and sympathized with him in his perplexity. As he rose to say goodbye, he put his hand on Wilson's shoulder. At this Wilson's eyes filled with tears, and he gave Page an affectionate farewell.[99]

The two old friends seemed to know that they were, never to meet again, that this was the end of a relationship which had commenced with such high hopes in their boyhood in Atlanta, when Wilson was an aspiring young lawyer, and Page one of Pulitzer's reporters,—that their ways had parted forever.

"I think the President is the loneliest man I ever saw," Page remarked to his son after leaving "Shadow Lawn."

The experience of Thomas Nelson Page differed little from that of the American Ambassadors to Great Britain and France. He came to Washington, as he thought, to confer with the President, only to return to his post without seeing him. A mild and loyal man, he held his tongue; but henceforth he too, like Walter Hines Page, was a disillusioned Democrat.

CHAPTER XLIV

Lane and the Mexican Commission. Harvey at Last Abandons Wilson. Gerard Returns. Wilson Accepts the Kaiser's Proposal. Further German Efforts to Intimidate America.

IT HAD NOT taken Lane long to find out what it meant to be Chairman of the Commission, which he had proposed with such utter confidence. Writing to his son on September 29th, he said:

"It looks to me, at long range, as if Johnson would surely carry California. Whether Wilson will, or not, is a question. I hope to God he may. Whether I shall get an opportunity to get out and stump for him, depends entirely upon this Commission, which is holding me down hard. We are working from ten in the morning till twelve at night, and not making as rapid progress as we should, because of the Latin-American temperament. They want to start a government afresh down there; that is, go upon the theory that there never was any government, and that they now know how a government should be formed, and the kind of laws there should be, disregarding all that is past, and basing their plans upon ideals which sometimes are very impracticable. They distrust us. They will not believe that we do not want to take some of their territory." [114]

At the same time, he wrote Alexander Vogelsang:

"I am not worrying about you, because I haven't got time to. I'll take your job if you will take mine. The interpreting of a city charter is nothing to the interpreting of the Mexican mind. Dealing with Congress is not so difficult as dealing with Mexican statesmen. I have had some jobs in my life, but none in which I was put to it as I am in this. Now I have not only a question as to what to do in the making of a nation, the development of its opportunity, the education of its people, the

establishment of its finances, and the opening of its industries in the establishment of its relations with other countries, but also the problem as to where the men can be found that can carry out the program, once it is made. If I were a Dictator, I could handle the thing, I think, all right. The hardest "part of all is to convince a proud and obstinate people that they really need any help." [114]

The Commission had accomplished nothing material except a protocol, under which the two governments agreed to disperse their armies. This was, no doubt, dictated by the Germans, who, now that they were almost ready to resume the submarine campaign, did not desire to have the American militia held in the Federal service any longer. The militia was complaining bitterly about its detention in the service, and while it was on the border, there was much more chance of a conflict than if it were recalled. This would be fatal to Wilson's chances. Late in September, orders were therefore issued, withdrawing it. The weather having grown cold in New England, Lane moved his Commission to the more pleasant environment of Atlantic City, where the Mexicans might be more content. Though, hopelessly deadlocked from the first, it was kept in session, because of the important aid it gave Wilson in keeping the Mexicans quiet.

"The militia," says Scott, "considered itself abused when its desire for Federal service was taken at face value, and charged that the move had been made to show up its deficiencies, which were many and great. As a matter of fact, a broader benefit than imagined, had been afforded by their very faults; and the mere fact that their quota was never filled, made it plain to the meanest intellect that conscription must be resorted to in the next war, or failure faced. The experience had an invaluable effect in the training of officers for the World War; this was true in the regular service as well as in the militia, in the line as well as on the staff." [191]

Being of that school of reactionary Regulars who looked with contempt upon all but professional soldiers, General Scott could not understand the attitude of a citizen soldier,

willing enough to serve with the colors in time of war, but resentful at leaving his business to do police duty, and being treated as a joke, while so doing, by those under whom he was called to serve. Of course the militia was inefficient. How could it be otherwise under the circumstances of its training?

Nevertheless, as Scott declared, this service on the border afforded training for thousands, soon to be called to the colors again. Furthermore there was virtually no distinction now between the young officers and recruits of Federal and State establishments.

The part played by the League of Nations idea was to be temporarily negative. In a debate at the Lake Mohonk Conference, in September, on the proposal to found such a league, Bryan took the negative against Taft. One of the four objections to a League of Nations cited, was its inconsistency with Washington's advice against "entangling alliances" with Europe.

"I have not the slightest thought," said Bryan, "that any argument that can be presented in behalf of any plan that connects us with the quarrels of Europe, will ever bring to the support of that plan, anything like a majority of the American people."

Bryan thus returned to the position of John Quincy Adams with respect to the "Holy Alliance." In addition he declared adherence to such a league by the United States to be unconstitutional, since the right to declare war was vested in Congress, and could not be delegated to Europeans.

Inasmuch as he supported Wilson manfully in all other respects, and his opposition to the League of Nations was more or less harmless, it elicited no protest from the party leaders.

Ever since his return from Europe in January, Harvey had urged Wilson to amend his ways, and especially his military policy. He had striven to retain his faith in the man, whose renomination had been his own plan. When the campaign was approaching its height in September, he had declared himself still a Democrat, who expected to vote

for Wilson. But after the President refused to advocate effective military preparedness, and after Harvey had heard the result of Page's conference, he came out in the October number of Harvey's Review for Hughes.

His position was that the Wilson Administration must be rebuked for its "criminal blundering with respect to Mexico, and its fatuous timidity in dealing with belligerent powers." On the other hand, "Upon the clearly marked issues, and as between the candidates, there is no reason why any professed Republican, and thoughtful Progressive, or any principled Democrat should not, and every reason why every patriotic American should, vote for Charles Evans Hughes as President." That was his judgment in October, a month before the election, which, he predicted, would result in the election of Hughes.

What Wilson's feelings may have been, when Harvey— the man who had made him President—turned on him at last, it is impossible to say. In outward appearance, he was little disturbed.

In answer to the attacks made upon his Mexican policy, Wilson now undertook to explain further, in an article which he published in the Ladies Home Journal.[196] In this he merely reiterated previous utterances. The service of humanity was the ideal he had been pursuing.

"It is painful," he said, "to observe how few of the suggestions as to what the United States ought to do with regard to Mexico, are based upon sympathy with the Mexican people, or any effort even to understand what they need and desire. I can say with knowledge, that most of the suggestions of action come from those who wish to possess her, who wish to use her, who regard her people with condescension and a touch of contempt, who believe that they are fit only to serve, and not fit for liberty of any sort. Such men can not, and will not, determine the policy of the United States. They are not of the true American breed or motive." [196]

These words were plainly directed at the advocates of intervention like Page and Harvey, who had insisted upon the protection of American life and property, which the

Mexicans themselves seemed bent on destroying. Wilson chose to overlook the fact that he himself had undertaken to dictate and control the internal political affairs of Mexico, and had twice ordered an invasion of her territory, and the killing of her citizens.

Meantime an important change in British policy had been adopted. The British propaganda in America, which had heretofore been conducted by Sir Gilbert Parker, was placed under the direction of Sir William Wiseman, a young invalided British officer of extraordinary energy and ability. As the secret head of the British Naval Intelligence in America, with a "Black Chamber" of his own hidden away in New York, he was not even suspected by the Germans. It was his policy not to revile the Germans, but to expose ceaselessly their propaganda and conspiracies.* With the complete confidence of House he was perhaps one of the greatest political powers in America during the campaign, furnishing the Administration with invaluable information.[110]

While Hughes did not commit himself to a League of Nations as unreservedly as Taft, he pointed, in an address at Baltimore on October 10th, to the need of organizing peace through provision for the adjustment of international disputes by judicial methods and by conciliation, backed by frequent conferences called to correct trouble-brewing conditions.

The day after this speech, Gerard arrived in New York. German submarines were now known to be operating off Nantucket, where the German commercial submarines may have planted stores of fuel. The early collapse of Rou-mania was also impending, while the formerly victorious Russian armies had been hurled back by Hindenburg. Upon Gerard's arrival, he was credited with declaring that Germany had virtually won the war. He had warned Wilson repeatedly of Germany's real purpose, and he did not hesitate to reiterate the warning in the preface to a book, in which his gloomy views were quoted.[208]

* Propaganda by a Propagandist, Saturday Evening Post (1928). America and the War, Sir Gilbert Parker, Harper's Magazine, May, 1928.

He was soon summoned to "Shadow Lawn." What he told Wilson will probably never be known, although his own opinion of the sincerity of the German proposal which he carried, was evident.

"I sincerely believe," he wrote, "that the only object of the Germans in making these peace offers, was first to get the Allies, if possible, in a conference, and there detach some or one of them by the offer of separate terms; or, if this scheme failed, then it was believed that the general offer and talk about peace would create a sentiment so favourable to the Germans that they might, without fear of action by the United States, resume ruthless submarine warfare against England." [85]

The Kaiser's proposal seems, nevertheless, to have made a profound impression on Wilson. He apparently failed to realize, despite Gerard's warnings, that the Kaiser wielded no such power at this time as did the President.

Meanwhile Grey had to defend the Asquith regime against charges of undue friendliness to Wilson. On October 23rd, he said in Parliament: "In the United States, a League had already sprung up, supported by various distinguished people, with the object, not of interfering with belligerents in this war, but of getting ready for some international association, after this war is over, which shall do its part in making peace secure in future. I would like to say that, if we seem to have little time to give to such ideas ourselves while we are engaged in this struggle, such a work in neutral countries is one to which we should all look with favour and with hope. . . . We say to neutrals who are occupying themselves with this question, that we are in favour of it. . . . The object of this League is to insist upon treaties being kept, and some other settlement being tried before resort to war. In July, 1914, there was no such league in existence. Supposing, a generation hence, such a condition of things as in July, 1914, recurs, and there is such a League in existence, it may, and it ought to keep the peace. Everything will depend upon whether the national sentiment behind it, is so penetrated by the lessons of this war, as to feel that in the future each nation, although not

immediately concerned in this dispute, is doing something, even if it be by force, to keep the peace."

Grey, influenced, perhaps, by Page's expectation of Wilson's defeat, may have intended his remarks as no more than a campaign speech against the American pacifists and pro-Germans. But while Grey was undoubtedly speaking for the Entente Governments, still the British, French and Russian people generally showed no disposition to go into a League of Nations blindfolded. They insisted upon knowing from Germany exactly what her terms would be, before they committed themselves. Knowing this, Wilson felt that the time had come for him to reply to the Kaiser. Having already made frequent references to a League of Nations, Wilson, four days after Grey's statement, said in a speech at Cincinnati: "The nations of the world must get together and say, 'Nobody can hereafter be neutral as respects the disturbance of the world's peace, for an object which the world's opinion can not sanction.' The world's peace ought to be disturbed if the fundamental rights of humanity are invaded, but it ought not to be disturbed for any other thing that I can think of, and America was established in order to vindicate, at any rate in one Government, the fundamental rights of man. America must hereafter be ready, as a member of the family of nations, to exert her whole force, moral and physical, to the assertion of those rights throughout the round globe."

This non-partisan speech the Kaiser might well accept as a favorable response from Wilson.

Perhaps to exert an eleventh-hour effect upon the election by scaring the timid into Wilson's support, six merchant vessels, including the Marina, were destroyed off Nantucket, within two days, with some loss of American lives. Meantime, however, no effort had been spared by the Administration to suppress the evidence of Germany's real purpose, so that the Administration press was able to minimize the significance of these events.

Mayor Mitchel of New York had arranged a great ceremony for the lighting of the Statue of Liberty on November 2nd, the semi-centennial of its presentation by France,

and had invited Wilson, as the champion of democracy, to switch on the current. Wilson had accepted, but on finding Wood's name in the list of proposed guests, had stricken it out, no doubt to avoid the impression among the pro-Germans and pacifists that he was in sympathy with Wood's program. With characteristic courage, Mitchel invited Wood nonetheless, and let it be known that there would be no ceremony without him. The Germans, however, had a card up their sleeve—the day before the ceremony, the Deutschland arrived on her second visit at New London. Thus while Wilson was championing the cause of liberty, and the Republican principles of France, German submarines were actually murdering Americans within gunshot of the American coast, while the vessel which was, perhaps, supplying them, lay peacefully at anchor in a New. England port.

CHAPTER XLV

Wilson Reelected. The Election Analyzed. The Zionist Bargain.

WHILE WILSON had shown unusual political adroitness, Hughes had early manifested an incapacity to hold his organization together. The Republican campaign had been badly mismanaged, due largely to Butler's dual purpose of trying to capture both the advocates of preparedness and the pacifists, with the same bait. Hughes had been put to the torture of making two transcontinental journeys, in which he had to speak incessantly. The electoral vote of California was lost to him through the gross mismanagement of Butler, who did everything possible to estrange the Progressives; in consequence, while Governor Johnson swept the state on the Progressive ticket, Hughes lost it.

Taft was an active, but ineffective, speaker during the campaign, addressing himself almost exclusively to his hobby of a League of Nations, which had become a nonpartisan issue.

Roosevelt made a number of telling speeches for Hughes, but it was beyond his power to counterbalance Butler's control of the candidate; indeed, his speeches, by their firm tone, seemed to be more against Hughes than for him.

Grown fat and lazy in dominating the country, the old Republican leaders gave Hughes little effective aid. They had learned nothing from 1912. Few of them had had a new thought in a generation. It almost seemed that most of them were incapable of entertaining one, that their minds were atrophied! Claiming to be "conservatives"—

always a catch word for the vested interests—they were as indolent mentally now, as they showed themselves to be three years later, when they instituted the Harding regime. In short, they were political "fat-heads" who feared a new idea above all else, and who knew no more of guiding principles than the Democrats themselves. Wilson never spoke more truthfully than when he declared that both parties were moribund as to principles. A man who loved his country more than party, might look in vain to either national organization for the expression of the ideals of Washington. This man was working for Labor, or for Prohibition, that man for American commerce, or a better currency, while all seemed to have run wild with the idea of the new internationalism, which no one had attempted clearly to define.

But where was the statesman who set the welfare of the Republic ahead of all else, or who struggled to prevent the further dissolution of its basic institutions? No one declared: "The things that Woodrow Wilson has done these past four years with the plain purpose of transforming the Democratic party, of substituting the Continental bloc system for the bi-party system, and a premier for a constitutional executive, are wrong." No one found courage to proclaim: "an end to an outworn sectionalism. The past with all its glorious deeds and traditions is gone. Radicalism, ever sapping the fundamental institutions of the Republic, is thriving on sectionalism. Let the conservatives of the North, South, and West, whatever their prior party affiliations, unite to save the Republic. Let there be industrial relief for the North, farm and currency relief for the West, and an end to the race issue in the South by an intelligent and honest limitation of the franchise, through a joint property and educational qualification that will relieve the Nation of the hypocrisy of the Fifteenth Amendment. But let the conservatives unite, for LaFollette is no more of a Republican than Blease of South Carolina, and the latter is no more of a Democrat on principle than Henry Cabot Lodge or Boies Penrose. Democrats on principle like Oscar Underwood and Walter Hines Page have no

more standing in their own party than a real Washing-tonian Nationalist has in the Republican party."

There was not a statesman in the country big, intelligent, and courageous enough to say these things. Plutocratic reactionaries calling themselves Republicans, and radicals calling themselves either Progressives or Democrats, were alike lost in a maze of words.

The extent to which foreign propaganda was being employed in the campaign by the Germans and British has been fully shown.[27,167] In addition, there was the domestic propaganda of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the American Peace Society, the New York Peace Society, the League for World's Peace, the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, the League for a World's Court, the National Security League, the League to Enforce Peace and numerous other peace, preparedness, internationalist and patriotic associations, each with its special axe to grind.

A subject of unique interest, and of alleged influence on the President's post-election policy, is set forth in a pamphlet published in London in 1937, entitled Great Britain, The Jews and Palestine, by Samuel Landman, M. A. The author was Honorary Secretary of the Joint Zionist Council of the United Kingdom in 1912, Joint Editor of The Zionist in 1913 and 1914, and Solicitor and Secretary to the Zionist Organization from 1917 to 1922; and is the present adviser to the New Zionist Organization. Known as the author of two previous works on the subject, he may claim to have written with some authority on his subject, and his statements appear to have been accepted, among others, by The Manchester Guardian.*

* The Pamphlet referred to is, actually a condensation of two articles by the same author which appeared in a British magazine, World Jewry, in February and March, 1935. It seems reasonably evident that no steps were taken by the British Government to contradict the author's statement; otherwise, it would obviously be impossible to repeat the statements made two years before, in the pamphlet referred to above.

No confirmation from governmental sources has, however, been obtainable by the publisher; indeed, denial of some of Mr. Landman's statements

Mr. Landman writes as follows: "During the critical days of 1916, and of the impending defection of Russia, Jewry, as a whole, was against the Czarist regime, and hoped that Germany, if victorious, would, in certain circumstances, give them Palestine." Naturally, under such circumstances, the "powerful" Zionist Organizations, further described in the same pamphlet as of "unsuspected influence," had good reasons for desiring German success, and for opposing, in consequence, the involvement of the United States in the conflict. He suggests, therefore, that until the hopes of the Zionists were dashed by a final German refusal in 1916, we may envisage this "unsuspected influence" may have acted as a restraint on Wilson in his support of the Entente, perhaps through prominent individual leaders among American Jews, of the President's acquaintance.

In 1916, the Zionist Organizations abandoned according to Landman, all hope of a German deal, and attempted, with eventual success, to trade with the Allied Governments, instead. In considering the alleged transaction, it should be borne in mind that it was in no sense a question of religion that was involved. The Zionist movement was essentially of a political and social nature, endorsed by many Christians, and opposed by a large number of Jews, including many men of prominence. The Zionist Organizations had as much right to drive a bargain with the Allies as any other political or social entity.

Landman insists that a definite bargain was made with Great Britain, which was later endorsed by the other Allies. If it were, it must have been disclosed to President Wilson, and have met with his approval. It was in line with his often expressed views on Racial Minorities; he favored the move specifically at the Peace Conference; his whole conduct from 1916 onwards, as well as the enthusiastic support

has issued from certain individuals of distinction. The publisher can not under the circumstances, guarantee the authenticity of Mr. Landman's pamphlet, either as a whole or in part.

given him by some of the Zionists, suggests the existence of a mutual understanding.

The Landman pamphlet undertakes to bare an ostensible state of facts previously unknown to the vast majority of Anglo-Saxons, who have thought of the Palestine Mandate as a wise and gracious post-war gesture on England's part. It was, according to Landman, actually the mere fulfillment of a previous bargain, though no less wise on that account. Landman's account of the transaction follows.

"An interesting account of the negotiations has already appeared in the Jewish press, and need not be repeated here in detail, except to recall that immediately after the 'gentlemen's agreement' between Sir Mark Sykes, authorized by the War Cabinet, and the Zionists, cable facilities through the War Office, the Foreign Office, and British Embassies, Legations, etc., were given the latter to communicate the glad tidings to their friends and organizations in America and elsewhere, and the change in public and official opinion, as reflected in the American press, in favor of joining the Allies in the War, was as gratifying as it was surprisingly rapid ... In Germany, the value of the bargain to the Allies, apparently, was duly and carefully noted."

In addition to this, Wickham Steed, one of the earliest proponents of a league of nations, and the constant correspondent of both Marburg and House, points out the great influence of the Zionist agreement upon Wilson.* On the other hand, soon after the War, Ludendorff stated to Sir Alfred Mond (later Lord Melchett) that the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1916 was one of the cleverest things done by the Allies in the way of propaganda, and that he wished that Germany had thought of it first. "The fact," says Landman, "that it was Jewish help that brought the U. S. A. into the War on the side of the Allies, has rankled ever since in German—especially Nazi—minds, and has contribu-

* Through Thirty Years, Steed.

ted in no small measure to the prominence which anti-semitism occupies in the Nazi program." *

The actual negotiations were, we are told, in the hands of one, James A. Malcolm, of whom Landman writes; "Mr. James A. Malcolm, who was already aware of German prewar efforts to secure a foothold in Palestine through the Zionist Jews, and of the abortive Anglo-French demarches at Washington and New York; and knew that Mr. Wood-row Wilson, for good and sufficient reasons, always attached the greatest importance to the advice of a very prominent Zionist (Mr. Justice Brandeis, of the U. S. Supreme Court) ; and was in close touch with Mr. Greenberg, Editor of the Jewish Chronicle (of London) ; and knew that several important Zionist Jewish leaders had already gravitated to London on the qui vive, awaiting events; and appreciated and realized the depth and strength of Jewish national aspirations; spontaneously took the initiative to convince, first of all, Sir Mark Sykes, (Under Secretary to the War Cabinet) and afterwards Monsieur Georges Picot, (of the French Embassy in London,) and Monsieur Gout (of the Quai d'Orsay, Eastern Section,) that the best and perhaps the only way (which proved so to be) ** to induce the American President to come into the War, was to secure the cooperation of the Zionist Jews, by promising them Palestine, and thus enlist and mobilize the hitherto un-suspectedly powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere, in favour of the Allies on a quid pro quo basis. Thus, as will be seen, the Zionists, having carried out their part, and greatly helped to bring America in, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was but the public confirmation of the

* The alleged fact is unproved; nor did the Zionists form more than a small minority of Jewry at that time. Granting Mr. Landman's premise as to the Zionist-Ally deal, which may have influenced Wilson against the Germans initially, the actual, much later entrance into the War of the United States was directly provoked by specific German acts, having no relation to the Zionist incident.

** This is a second instance of the rather loose type of reasoning after the fact, referred to in footnote above. It is quite likely that the Zionist deal intensified Wilson's inclination toward the Allies. It remains impossible to connect the situation with the much later entry of the United States into the war.

necessarily secret 'Gentlemen's agreement' of 1916, made with the previous knowledge, acquiescence and/or approval of the Arabs, and of the British, American, French and other Allied Governments."

Lord Bryce had lately declared that the so-called free press, rapidly becoming more and more subservient to controlling interests, was likely to prove the greatest danger to popular government, both in Britain and America. Never did man speak with clearer prevision. So long as deception of any kind, whether by the Government, the party leaders, or the press, could be put down to "propaganda," it passed muster. The two-edged nature of this new weapon was seen, all too late, to be destructive of truth. Untruth became a virtue—the world was in a hysteria of falsehood!

In consequence of all this, American thought became involved in a maze of misunderstanding on almost every issue. Struggling in the dark labyrinth of falsehood, confused, misled, the ordinary voter knew not what sign to believe, whither to turn, where to go.

When the campaign commenced, many believed that Hughes would be an easy winner, but when the American people went to the polls, every shade of opinion seemed to be found among the supporters of Wilson. There were Democrats on principle, Internationalists; the saner partisans of the peace movement; abject pacifists of the Bryan ilk; "hyphenates"; those with natural German and Mexican sympathies; the fanatic Anti-British Irish; purely selfish commercialists; the Sectionalists of the "Solid South"; the "old guard" type of Democrats to whom party success meant the bread and butter of continued opportunity to control the government; the Bryanites or radicals of the West who saw in the defeat of Hughes the best opportunity for representation in the Government through the influence of the "Great Commoner" upon party counsels; Laborites and taxpayers opposed to military expenditures. It was a motley aggregation—a sort of Falstaffian political army — similar to that which Jefferson commanded in 1800— anti-Federalists, decentralists, anti-British, French Republicans, Girondists, the frontier democracy, the "Tammany-

ites," those without property interests, social democrats, anarchists, the "rag-tags" and "tatterdemalions" of political thought, whom he proposed, in 1798, to organize into the Democratic Republican party.

Wilson himself had come to doubt, before the election, that he represented a majority of the American people. As the returns came in, he and House sat in the President's study.

"I am satisfied of my defeat," said Wilson, "and tomorrow or next day I will resign as President of the United States, and turn the office over to Mr. Hughes. Since he is the choice of the people, and a situation of tremendous uncertainty is caused by the World War, it is only fair that he should take the helm immediately. Gregory (then Attorney General) assures me that my program is entirely legal. It is this: Vice-President Marshall will resign. I will-remove Lansing (Secretary of State), and appoint Hughes in his place. Then, having done this, I will resign myself." *

There was, perhaps, no more highly elated man in America on election night than Wood. It was said that, when it seemed certain Hughes was elected, he gave expression to his joy within the hearing of the Chairman of the Democratic party, for which, of course, it was to be expected that soon or late he would pay the penalty.

Hughes awoke the following morning to find himself widely hailed as the President-elect. The next few days were hectic, as the great Western States were counted one by one for Wilson. Soon it was clear that the final result depended on California, where Hughes had been particularly unwise in his dealings with the Republican organization, headed by Hiram Johnson. When this normally Republican State returned Wilson with a majority of 3,777, it became evident that Hughes had thrown the presidency away in an election that gave Wilson a popular majority of but 568,822 out of 18,528,743, the largest presidential vote ever cast. Thus was Woodrow Wilson reelected President on the Democratic slogan—"He kept us out of War!"

A comparison of the election figures with those of 1912 shows that while Hughes received 928,279 votes more than

* Boston Post, June 4, 1931, quoting House.

Roosevelt and Taft combined, the Wilson vote had increased 2,843,392. In other words, Wilson received about three-fourths of the total increase of 3,771,671 votes. An examination of the returns, state by state, shows that an unduly large portion of the Democratic increase occurred in the normally Republican sections of the country. This indicates that Hughes, Taft, and Roosevelt together were unable to heal the breach between the Regular and Progressive Republicans. In other words, rather than vote for Hughes, thousands of Progressives either did not vote at all, or shifted their vote to Wilson. The district returns of the industrial states indicated a large shift of sentiment among the laboring classes, as well as among the German-Americans, and an abnormally large Irish-American Democratic vote.

It has been accepted as a fact that Butler and Hiram Johnson together, caused the loss of California to Hughes. But they were not entirely responsible for this.

"Speaking of the election," wrote Lane on November 11th, "there are two things I want you to bear distinctly in mind, my dear Mr. Cobb. One is that the States which the Interior Department deals with, are the states which elected Mr. Wilson. . . . And the second is that we kept the Mexican situation from blowing up in a most critical part of the campaign, which is also due to the Secretary of the Interior, damn you! In fact, next to you, I think the Secretary of the Interior is the most important part of this whole show!"

To J. K. Moffitt, he wrote the following day; "It was fine of you to send me that telegram, and I am not too modest to 'allow,' as Artemus Ward used to say, as how the Interior Department is rather stuck up over the result. The Department certainly had not been popular in the West. . . . All of us will be taken a bit more seriously now, I guess. I wired Cushing and the others who led in the fight, and I am going to write a note to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who from the first, be it said to his credit, claimed California for Wilson. Wheeler is certainly a thoroughbred. I wish I could get your way soon, and see you all, and rejoice with you.

"I have just received a telegram from Bryan, reading: 'Shake. Many thanks. It was great. The West, a stone which the builders rejected, has become the head of the corner!' "

But if Lane had no illusions about the part he had made the Department of the Interior play in the election, he also had none about the permanency of Wilson's strength. "Wilson will have a mere shadow of a party," he wrote Benjamin Ide Wheeler, on November 14th, "unless he takes an interest in reorganizing it. He has drawn a lot of young men to him, who should be tied together, as we were in the early Cleveland days. Of course, we must have a cause, not merely a slogan."[114]

A single fact is sufficient to prove the emotional character of much of the patriotism to which Wilson had ap-pealed. Most of those who supported him believed that he represented "one hundred percent Americanism," when he was, in reality, appealing to the country to abandon its traditional nationalism for the internationalism of a League of Nations. After events were to show that, when they came to understand the meaning of such a league, they had no idea of abandoning their traditional policy of isolation for this doubtful "new freedom" advocated by Wilson and Taft; that a majority of the Democratic party preferred Bryan to Wilson on that score.

It is evident, from the effective use made by Bryan of appeals to the kind of insular patriotism which has been described, that the heart of the country was sound, that "hyphenism" was no real danger, and that at no time during the ordeal of the past several years, would the Nation have failed to respond to a great moral appeal to assert its rights. Wilson seems to have been reelected because he had kept the country out of the war; not because it was really unwilling to defend its rights, but because, in its confusion of thought, it actually believed it was fighting for the rights of America.

Bryan, not Wilson, was generally credited with having carried the Middle West for his party, and after the election received the written thanks of Wilson.

CHAPTER XLVI

Page Tenders His Resignation and Urges Immediate Intervention. The Fall of Asquith and Grey. Lloyd George and the New British Government Mistrust Wilson. The German Peace Offer. Britain Refuses to "Play the Game" with Wilson.

SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS! For the political Ulysses who found himself reelected President of the United States in November, 1916, there had been not merely one peril, but a veritable succession of hazards. With unexampled skill he had steered between the Pacifists and the National Security Leaguers by advocating a paper army, had come to be hailed as the champion of National defense although there were no more soldiers or warships than the year before. With the same skill, he had avoided being crushed between the stones of Capital and Labor, Nationalism and Internationalism, Pro-Germanism and Pro-Ally sentiment, and finally between the anti-interventionists, including the purely commercial interests, and the war party. From the standpoint of politics, it was unexampled!

Apparently there was little so-called Anglo-Saxonism left in America. With utter contempt for a form of patriotism which they deemed sheer blatancy, the Mexicans, Turks, and Pan-Germans curled their lips in scorn. They did not understand that Americans were, like themselves, victims of a far-flung political conspiracy. Yet they were glad that Wilson had been reelected.[27,222] Though lightly esteemed by the Wilhelmstrasse, Bernstorff was congratulated upon his contribution to the result.[27]

The political success of Wilson was one thing, the situation in which he now found himself, another. It was no

haven of placid waters. The German submarines off Nantucket were still murdering neutrals, while the German military authorities had begun to deport Belgian non-combatants into virtual slavery, to break down the resistance of the heroic little army between the Yser and the sea. At the same time the problem presented by the disaffection of the Armenians, was being solved through wholesale massacres by the Kaiser's Turkish Allies. The destruction of the Marina was but the first act hostile to America in the projected operations, so that prominent Democrats like Parker and Underwood, to say nothing of the venerable Charles Eliot and other real humanists, insisted that Wilson present the final demand to Germany which would so thoroughly unite the Nation behind him, that "hyphenism" would not dare raise its head. Bernstorff and the Deutsch-land must leave American shores! To the straight-thinking mind, their presence was a travesty upon neutrality.

Psychology, too, was to play its part in the waging of the war. It had been lately discovered by the psychologists that, under the circumstances of modern war, the processes of human reasoning were apt to go awry. A so-called psychiatric test was accordingly applied to fightingmen, lest those incapable of normal thought, while under the stress of battle, should find themselves in positions of responsibility over their fellows. It was a test which might well have been applied to the politicians, diplomats, and so-called statesmen of the world.

In retrospect, it seems certain that Wilson had never spoken more truthfully than when he confessed to Tumulty in 1910, his own mental unfitness to deal with war—still an unescapable outstanding fact of international life. This being so, it was a cruel stroke of fate that his reelection, on the slogan "he kept us out of war," should have been accompanied by German submarine activity in American waters.

One wonders, looking back, how American minds could have been so confused, that the evil portent was not perceived. It is easy to see, in retrospect, that it was the logical

consequence of allowing Bernstorff, Dumba, Dernburg, Boy-Ed, von Papen, Albert, Biinz and other Pan-German conspirators to violate American hospitality with impunity. Surely the administration had paid a large price for Pan-German political support. What the American people needed above all was another Grant—a leader so truly humane that he could, with apparent brutality, steel his heart to sacrifices beyond his power to avoid, to lead his people out of the wilderness, into which they had wandered through no fault of their own. Never, never had they been morally deficient, never too proud to fight for the right. All that had been lacking was a call to arms.

Wilson himself seems to have been convinced by Bryan and the party leaders that his reelection was evidence of an enduring desire on the part of the country to remain aloof from the war. Stone, in particular, insisted that this was the will of the Senate, whose support was indispensable. As chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, Stone had long since bitterly resented the control which House asserted; nor was it difficult for him to organize a Congressional cabal against House. Although Martin, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and Flood, Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, believed, like Bryan, that Wilson was an "egotistical autocrat," they recognized the necessity for obedience to him as their party leader. But they did not propose to have the "Silent Partner," far from silent these days, lauding it over them, and asserting the dictatorial powers he had arrogated to himself. If McCombs did nothing else, he succeeded in poisoning the "old line" Democrats against House. They read Grey's hopeful words to Parliament about the possibility of early aid from America, and were convinced that House was covertly trying to involve the country in a pro-British war. They all agreed with Stone that a Democratic Congress was not going to help England pull her political chestnuts out of the fire, in order to go on running the world; and that Wilson might just as well tell all the belligerents what they would have

to do, if they wanted America to help them put an end to the war. "Let him be frank about it, too, and not fool with House any more." After Wilson had shown a willingness to follow their advice, they would see what they could do.to help him. This was the talk going the rounds in the anterooms and corridors of the Capitol, when Wilson was reelected.

The Germans, however, were not to remain idle much longer. With the extremists thoroughly reestablished in control of the Government, the Navy was tugging at the leash. The destruction of the Marina was soon followed by that of the Arabia, while British vessels were being destroyed indiscriminately.

In the face of the crisis confronting the Liberal British Government, by reason of the popular demand among the Entente peoples for a more energetic prosecution of the war, an offer of mediation by Wilson would only embarrass Asquith and Grey. When Wilson manifested no disposition to do anything, House began, with Marburg's approval, to urge intervention on behalf of the Allies which, he declared, could alone save the Liberals, and Wilson's own prestige. It was unthinkable, he said, that German submarines should be allowed to go on operating in American waters with impunity.

He was soon to discover how strongly Wilson had fallen under other influences. Wilson did not, of course, tell him of the scheme in which he was engaged with the Kaiser. Wilson held himself bound by the mandate of the American people contained in the Resolution of Congress and the Democratic platform upon which he had been reelected, to offer mediation before taking any other action. He declared it his purpose to fulfill to the letter, his part of the agreement expressed in the Grey-House memorandum of February 22, 1916. To his utter amazement, House was directed to continue negotiations with Bernstorff. So the old intrigue between House and Bernstorff continued, with House suspicious of Wilson, but ignorant of his real purpose.

The Kaiser had noted Wilson's remarks of October

29th, on the formation of a League of Nations, when peace should be established. This he had construed as a public acceptance of his proposal. Meantime the American people had ratified Wilson's own proposal. Accordingly, the Chancellor notified the world, in a speech to the Reichstag on November 9th that Germany proposed to join with the other powers, after the war, to form a League of Nations. Thus Wilson and the Kaiser had reached an accord, and it was now time for Wilson to proceed.

"Immediately after the official announcement of his reelection, Mr. Wilson wrote a peace note," says Bernstorff, which, according to him, was kept in Wilson's desk. "At this time," he adds, "Mr. Wilson was in the habit of typing drafts of his notes and speeches himself, and only submitting them to his advisers on points of law or other technicalities."

While holding numerous conferences with Gerard, from which even House was excluded, Wilson had been drafting the offer of mediation which he proposed to despatch to the belligerents, as soon as the Kaiser should do his part; and although Bernstorff had learned from House that Wilson was writing the supposed "peace note," House himself did not know what was in it. On the 21st, Wilson wrote House that he was confirmed in his impression the moment was near, if not already at hand, for him to act. He said that he had just completed his message to Congress, and was about to sketch the draft of the peace note. He hoped to make all the haste consistent with his desire to have the paper the strongest and most convincing he had ever written.

The questions now in Marburg's mind were how to save the Asquith Government, and how to discourage Wilson from offering mediation, and thereby making the mistake of playing into Germany's hands. The plan he decided on, was to call a meeting of the League to Enforce Peace for the 24th in New York, and at the dinner arranged for the occasion, read a new statement from Grey designed to show that, although Great Britain would welcome the opportunity to join in the formation of a League of Nations

upon the coming of peace, the Allies had no idea of accepting an inconclusive peace.

When Page who, expecting Wilson's defeat, had hoped to "stick it out" until March 4th, learned from Grey of Wilson's purpose to offer mediation, and thereby ignore him further, he concluded that the best way to impress his views and those of the British Government on Wilson was to tender his resignation, and at the same time point out the attitude of the Allies. Therefore, on the 24th, the very day Stunner resigned as Premier of Russia, and Marburg assembled the League to Enforce Peace in New York, Page wrote Wilson:

"We have all known for many years that the rich and populous and organized States in which the big cities are, do not constitute the political United States, but, I confess', I hardly expected so soon to see this fact proclaimed at the ballot box. To me, that's the surprise of the election. And you have remade the ancient and demoralized Democratic party. Four years ago it consisted of protest and of the wreck wrought by Mr. Bryan's long captaincy."

This beginning was utterly inconsistent with what followed. After pointing out the need of building up "a clearer and more positive foreign policy," Page went on to say:

"I have the conviction, as you know, that this whole round globe now hangs as a ripe apple for our plucking, if we use the right ladder while the chance lasts. I do not mean that we want or could get the apple for ourselves, but that we can see to it that it is put to proper uses. What we have to do, in my judgment, is to go back to our political fathers for our clue. If my longtime memory be good, they were sure that their establishment of a great free Republic would soon be imitated by European peoples—that Democracies would take the place of autocracies in all so-called civilized countries; for that was the form that the fight took, in their day, against organized Privilege. But for one reason or another—in our life-time, partly because we chose so completely to isolate ourselves—the democratic idea took root in Europe with disappointing slowness. It is, for instance, now perhaps for the first time, in a thoroughgoing way, within sight

in this Kingdom. The dream of the American Fathers, therefore, is not yet come true. They fought against organized Privilege exerted from over the sea. In principle it is the same fight that we have made, in our domestic field, during recent decades. Now the same fight has come on a far larger scale than men ever dreamed of before.

"It isn't, therefore, for merely doctrinal reasons that we are concerned for the spread of democracy, nor merely because a democracy is the only scheme of organization yet wrought out that keeps the door of opportunity open, and invites all men to their fullest development. But we are interested in it, because under no other system can the world be made an even reasonably safe place to live in. For only autocracies wage aggressive wars. Aggressive autocracies, especially military autocracies, must be softened down by peace, (and they have never been so softened), or destroyed by war. The All-Highest doctrine of Germany today is the same as the Taxation-without-Representation of George III—only more virulent, stronger, and farther-reaching. Only by its end, can the German people recover and build up their character, and take the permanent place in the world that they—thus changed—will be entitled to. They will either reduce Europe to the vassalage of a military autocracy, or they must, through stages of Liberalism, work their way toward some approach to a democracy; and there is no doubt which event is impending. The Liberal idea will win this struggle, and Europe will be out of danger of a general assault on free institutions, till some other autocracy which has a military caste try the same Napoleonic game. The defeat of Germany, therefore, will make for the spread of the doctrine of our Fathers and our doctrine yet.

"An interesting book might be made of concrete evidences of the natural antipathy that the present German autocracy has for successful democracy, and hence for us. A new instance has just come to me. My son, Arthur, who succeeded to most of my activities at home, has been over here for a month, and he has just come from a visit to France. In Paris he had a long conversation with Delcasse, who told him that the Kaiser himself once made a proposal to him to join in producing "the complete isolation" of the United States. What the Kaiser meant was, that if the great Powers of Europe would hold off, he would put the Monroe Doctrine to the test, and smash it.

"The great tide of the world will, by reason of the war, now

flow toward democracy—at present, alas! a tide of blood. For a century, democracies and Liberal governments have kept themselves too much isolated, trusting prematurely and too simply to international law, and treaties, and Hague conventions. These things have never been respected, except as springes to catch woodcock, where the Divine Right held sway. The outgrowing or the overthrow of the Divine Right, is a condition precedent to the effectiveness of international law and treaties.

"It has seemed to me, looking at the subject only with reference to our country's duty and safety, that somehow and at some early time, our championship of democracy must lead us to redeclare our faith, and to show that we believe in our historic creed. Then we may escape falling away from the Liberal forces of the Old World, and escape the suspicion of indifference to the great scheme of government, which was set up by our fathers' giving their blood for it. I see no other way for us to take the best and biggest opportunity that has ever come to prove true to our faith, as well as to secure our own safety, and the safety of the world. Only some sort of active and open identification with the Allies can put us in effective protest against the assassins of the Armenians, and the assassins of Belgium, Poland, and Serbia, and in a friendly attitude to the German people themselves, as distinguished from their military rulers. This is the attitude, surely, that our fathers would have wished us to take—and would have expected us to take—and that our children will be proud of us for taking; for it is our proper historic attitude, whether looked at from the past, or looked back at from the future. There can be no historic approval of neutrality for years, while the world is bleeding to death.

"The complete severance of relations, diplomatic at first, and later possibly economic as well, with the Turks and the Germans, would probably not cost us a man in battle, nor any considerable treasure; for the moral effect of withdrawing even our formal approval of their conduct—at least our passive acquiescence—would be—that the Germans would see that practically all the Liberal world stands against their system, and the war would end before we should need to, or could, put an army in the field. The Liberal Germans are themselves beginning to see that it is not they, but the German system, that is the object of attack, because it is the dangerous thing in the world. Maximilian Harden presents this view in his Berlin paper. He says,

in effect, that Germany must get rid of its predatory feudalism. That was all that was the matter with George III.

"Among the practical results of such action by us would, I believe, be the following:

"1. The early ending of the war and the saving of, perhaps, millions of lives and of incalculable treasure;

"2. The establishment in Germany of some form of more liberal government;

"3. A league to enforce peace, ready-made, under our guidance—i.e., the Allies and ourselves;

"4. The sympathetic cooperation and the moral force of every Allied Government in dealing with Mexico;

"5. The acceptance—and even documentary approval—of every Allied Government of the Monroe Doctrine;

"6. The warding off and, no doubt, the final prevention of danger from Japan, and, most of all, the impressive and memorable spectacle of our Great Democracy thus putting an end to this colossal crime, merely from the impulse and necessity to keep our own ideals, and to lead the world right on. We should do for Europe on a large scale essentially what we did for Cuba on a small scale, and thereby usher in a new era in human history.

"I write thus freely, Mr. President, because at no time can I write in any other way, and because I am sure that all these things can quickly be brought to pass under your strong leadership. The United States would stand, as no other nation has ever stood in the world—predominant and unselfish—on the highest ideals ever reached in human government. It is a vision as splendid as the Holy Grail. Nor have I a shadow of doubt of the eager and faithful following of our people, who would thereby reestablish once for all our weakened nationality. We are made of the stuff that our Fathers were made of.

"And I write this now for the additional reason that I am within sight of the early end of my service here. When you called me, I answered, not only because you did me great honour, and laid a definite patriotic duty on me, but because, also, of my personal loyalty to you, and my pride in helping forward the great principles in which we both believe. But I understood then (and I as sure the subject lay in your mind in the same way) that my service would be for four years at the most. I made all my arrangements, professional and domestic, on this supposition. I shall, therefore, be ready to lay down my

work here on March 4th, or as soon thereafter as meets your pleasure.

"I am more than proud of the confidence that you have shown in me. To it, I am indebted for the opportunity I have had to give such public service to my country as I could, as well as for the most profitable experience of my life. A proper and sympathetic understanding between the two English-speaking worlds, seems to me the most important duty of far-seeing men in either country. It has taken such a profound hold on me that I shall, in whatever way I can, work for its complete realization as long as I can work for anything."

The terms of the Allies having thus been clearly outlined to Wilson by Page, in obvious concert with Grey, along with the most impressive protest possible against mediation—Page's resignation—Grey cabled Marburg the message requested by him, to be read to the League to Enforce Peace: "I think public utterances must have already made it clear that I sincerely desire to see a League of Nations formed and made effective to secure future peace of the world, after this war is over. I regard this as the best, if not the only, prospect of preserving treaties, and of saving the world from aggressive wars in years to come. If there is any doubt about my sentiments in the matter, I hope this telegram in reply to your own, will remove it."[142]

Of Page's new dissertation to Wilson on democracy, which savoured strongly of Lecky and Marburg,. Hendrick says:

"This letter was written at a time when President Wilson was exerting his best energies to bring about peace. ... At the time Page's letter was received, the President was thinking only of a peace based upon a stalemate; it was then his apparent conviction that both sides to the struggle were about equally in the wrong, and that a decisive victory of either would not be a good thing for the world. . . That autocracies are a constant menace to world peace, that the United States owes it to its democratic tradition to take up arms against the enemy of free government, that in doing this, it was not making war upon the German people, but upon its imperialistic masters—these were the arguments

which Page laid before the President in his letter of resignation. . . . There are even sentences in Page's communication which seem to foreshadow Mr. Wilson's assertion that 'The World must be made safe for democracy.' " [99]

For the moment, however, Page's letter was repellent to Wilson. It only confirmed his belief that he need not look further to the Allies for cooperation. Moreover, so annoyed was he by Page's continued lecturing, that the letter was left unanswered, and, apparently for the same reason that Page had not been removed from office, his tender of resignation was ignored.

Wilson at last summoned House on November 27th. "After dinner we went to his study," wrote House, "and began the discussion of the object of my visit. He read several letters and despatches from abroad, which Polk had already shown me. He then read a draft of the proposed note to the belligerents, urging them to state what terms they demanded as a basis of peace.

"It was a wonderfully well-written document, yet, strangely enough, he had fallen again into the same error of saying something which would have made the Allies frantic with rage. I have called his attention to this time after time, and yet, in almost every instance where he speaks of the war, he offends in the same way."

Having learned that Wilson's mind was made up, House saw that it was useless to oppose further an offer of mediation. The best he could do was to prevent, by urging amendments, as much harm as possible. The sentence to which he objected most strongly was: "The cause and objects of the war are obscure."

"I told him the Allies thought, if there was one thing clearer than another, it was this: that their quarrel with him was, that he did not seem to understand their viewpoint. They hold that Germany started the war for conquest; that she broke all international obligations and laws of humanity in pursuit of it. They claim to be fighting to make such another war impossible, and so to break Prussian militarism that a permanent peace may be established.

"I urged him to insert a clause, in lieu of the one to

which I objected, which would make the Allies believe he sympathized with their viewpoint. I thought he could do it in a way to which Germany would not object, and might even take as vindication of her own position.

"I also suggested another clause, which he inserted, stating specifically he was not trying to mediate or demand peace."

Although Wilson agreed to the amendments proposed, House, having learned that Wilson was no longer under his exclusive control, did not trust him.[103] He feared the influence of Bernstorff, Stone, and the pacifists. Upon returning to New York, he repeated the objections of the Internationalists to an offer of mediation, but with no result.

Not knowing of the Kaiser's purpose, Bernstorff had assumed that the only reason why Wilson had waited to despatch the note, was because of the anti-German wave sweeping over the United States, as a result of the wholesale Belgian deportations.

"One had to go back to the times of the Medes and the Persians to find a like example of a whole people carried into bondage," said Cardinal Farley to Gerard.

While Wilson was, no doubt, greatly embarrassed by this new and indefensible crime, he did not waver in his purpose. He was in the habit of saying that he possessed, by reason of his blood heritage, a dual personality. When the Irish influence was in the ascendent, he knew a sense of bounding exuberance, which, soon or late, was succeeded by a gloomy Scotch mood of inhibitions and self-restraint.[16,17] The old conviction that he was the chosen of Providence, had been confirmed by his reelection. Now he was subject to the deep moral and religious sense of his Presbyterian forbears, which the Kaiser was attributing to himself in order to appeal to Wilson's sympathies, to make him feel that they were brothers through the kindred passion of their souls. It was, therefore, with the inflexible determination and the fervid zeal of a Calvin, or a Knox, that he was now laboring for peace. Not only the mandate of Congress, and of his reelection, but that of God seemed to rest upon him. In this mood, he did not recall the old

Psalm—"The righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the vengeance: He shall wash his feet in the blood of the wicked; so that men shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous: Verily, there is a God that judgeth in the earth." He was, on the contrary, able to look on the torture of the Belgians much as Torquemada viewed the Inquisition—a distressing incident in the martyrdom of man, which was not to be allowed to obscure the supreme wisdom of God's ultimate purpose.

To impress on the Kaiser the difficult situation in which he was placed by the German Government, he instructed Gerard to sail on December 4th, to protest against the Belgian deportations. He abandoned, at the same time, his plan to tighten America's purse strings, as an additional means of enforcing peace on the Allies, which Bernstorff has shown he was actually contemplating.[27] This, he saw, the country would not sanction under existing conditions. This, too, no doubt, was to be explained to the Kaiser.

From his numerous conferences with Wilson, Gerard was convinced, when he sailed, that Wilson "desired above all things to keep and to make peace." He thought Wilson would still despite all obstacles, "go very far towards forcing peace."

Yet enough has been said to show that Wilson contemplated no armed intervention, for this purpose. In his message to Congress on December 5th, dealing almost wholly with labor problems, he did not even refer to foreign relations. He saw that it was imposible to do so, without a discussion of the Belgian atrocities, which would further inflame public sentiment. He was determined to pave the way, as much as possible, for the Kaiser's proposals.

On the very day of the message, an event of great importance occurred. With the recent German victories, the demand among the Allies for more definite results, became louder and louder. The defeat of Russia, and the certain downfall of Rumania, sealed the doom of the British Ministry. As anticipated by the Wilhelmstrasse, the Liberal Ministers resigned on December 5th, to be succeeded by Lloyd-George as the new Premier.

The fall of Asquith and Grey was a tremendous blow to Wilson, Marburg, House, and the Internationalist Cause. Pledged to an uncompromising prosecution of the war with victory as its avowed aim, and warned by experience of Wilson, the new British Government was not likely to temper its efforts from consideration for his peace plans. Though public criticism of Wilson was wisely suppressed, the British and French had alike wearied of him. He might be friendly to them, as declared by Grey, but he had not proved it. They wanted no more of his dictation and interference. They were thoroughly convinced that he was pro-German in sympathy.

Events were now moving rapidly. The day after the fall of the British Ministry, Mackensen, having dispersed the remnant of the Rumanian army, entered Bucharest. It was obvious to Wilson that the Kaiser must soon proceed with his part, since it was particularly desirable for Germany to obtain an armistice, before the new British Government could organize a stronger joint effort.

When Gerard reached Germany, he found that von Jagow had been succeeded by Zimmermann, and that the extremists were in complete control. Upon protesting to the Chancellor against the Belgian deportations, and the employment of Belgian civil prisoners in the manufacture of munitions, he received no satisfaction. He warned Wilson again through House that the Germans would stop at nothing to attain a victory; yet Wilson heeded neither of them.

"We are on the verge of war," wrote House at this time, "and not a move is being taken in the direction of immediate preparation ..."

No wonder Bernstorff gloated when, on December 12th, a "diplomatic bombshell" exploded, in the form of a German note to Wilson, expressing willingness "to enter forthwith into peace negotiations with the Allied Powers." The neutral powers were asked to bring the communication to the notice of belligerent governments. The terms of peace were not stated. These were reserved to be laid before the proposed conference. A separate statement was made,

at the same time, by the Government of Austria-Hungary, although Germany had undertaken to speak in the name of the entire group of Central Allies. The purpose of this was to negative the growing idea that Austria-Hungary was weakening in her resolve to stand by Germany.

Coincidentally, the Chancellor announced to the Reichstag, in language plainly designed to appeal to Wilson, that "in a deep moral and religious sense of duty towards this nation, and beyond it to humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action towards peace."

In a message to his army commanders, the Kaiser said: "Soldiers! In agreement with the Sovereigns of my Allies, and with the consciousness of victory, I have made an offer of peace to the enemy. Whether it will be accepted, is still uncertain. Until that moment arrives, you will fight on."

The omission in Gerard's book of all matter relating to his visit to "Shadow Lawn," and the fact that he showed no surprise at the Kaiser's declaration, seems conclusive that he himself expected it. Nevertheless it took even Bernstorff by surprise. He deemed it a great mistake. "The American mediation would have anticipated our peace offer," he wrote, "and, therefore, would probably have succeeded, because we would not then have reopened the unrestricted submarine campaign, without letting the mediation run its course." So too, he thought it bound to rob the offer of mediation by Wilson, of any effect it might have. Plainly, should Wilson now make such an offer, he would be accused of collusion with Germany. This was just what Bernstorff had been laboring to prevent.

CHAPTER XLVII

Wilson's Offer of Mediation Insults the Allies. Bryce and The League of Nations Society of England Protest against Wilson's Course. The Roosevelt Division.

"WHAT GOD IS, I know not, what he is not, I know," said Socrates. The position of the Entente Governments with respect to peace was much the same. They saw the grotesque aspect of the Kaiser's pose, as one acting in the name of "humanity," inspired by a "deep moral and religious sense," while enslaving Belgians, and destroying American non-combatants off the New England Coast. They believed, as pointed out by Gerard to Wilson, that a Pax Germanna meant that Germany, immensely more powerful than before reducing Europe to submission, would proceed with an effort to conquer the Western Hemisphere. This seemed to be the object of the propaganda which the League of Truth in Germany was actually putting out against Wilson and the League to Enforce Peace, while Wilson was cooperating with the Kaiser by threatening to retaliate against Britain, and cut off American loans and munitions from the Entente Allies.

Nevertheless Sir William Wiseman and Marburg saw an opportunity to outmaneuver the Germans, by drawing out the discussion in a way that would expose their real purpose, and thereby turn the trick on them. Accordingly, at House's suggestion, Wilson caused Lansing to notify Bernstorff that the notes of the Central Powers would be transmitted without any offer of mediation on his part. Meantime he would hold himself in readiness to act according to developments. Despite Wiseman's efforts, how-

ever, Page confirmed the new British Government in the conviction that it was useless to deal further with Germany through Wilson, so that it promptly declined to enter into any further discussions, in the absence of a statement in advance by Germany of the terms of peace she would accept. Inasmuch as Gerard now reported what those terms were—a virtual victory for Germany—they believed this would end Wilson's efforts at peace for the moment at least. Nor did they trust either Wilson or House, any more than did the Germans. The latter particularly was deemed by them shifty and unreliable.[197] In this they had been confirmed by Page.[150a]

Enraged like House by Page's action, Wilson still allowed him to remain at his post.[103]

With his pride offended by the arbitrary manner in which the new British Government had manifested its purpose of closing the diplomatic door on him, Wilson was not only embittered against Lloyd-George, but convinced that nothing more was to be expected from his regime, than from the French and Russians. Apparently he did not see the indefensible position which he would occupy, if he allowed himself, against the advice of Marburg, House, Page, and Gerard, to continue as the coadjutor of the Kaiser. While German submarines were destroying American lives, and the German Government was enslaving the Belgians, he struck out of the note which he had written, one of the amendments proposed by House and, after inserting some prefatory remarks designed to negative the idea that he was acting in concert with the Kaiser, he directed Lansing to transmit the following written instructions:

"The Secretary of State to Ambassador Gerard

"Department of State, "Washington, December 18, 1916. "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 Imperial German Government a course of action

with regard to the present war, which he hopes that the Imperial 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 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 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 amidst 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 the 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 cooperate 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 towards 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 al1 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.

"LANSING."

A communication was, at the same time, addressed to the Allies, requesting a specific statement of the terms upon which they would agree to consider the conclusion of peace, in order that, by this exchange of notes, a basis might be found for negotiation, while a copy of the note to Germany was furnished all the neutrals.

At last the cat was out of the bag! Was this not what Gerard had come to America so suddenly to arrange!

It was useless for Wilson to allege that there had been no cooperation between him and the Kaiser. With sardonic satisfaction, Bernstorff wrote: "As I expected, the President did not allow himself to be turned from his purpose, and, on the 18th of December, despatched the Note which had long been ready, with certain alterations, to the belligerent Powers. ... It could not help but bear out our peace plans, and was therefore regarded throughout America as 'pro-German.' ... A few anti-German newspapers began to suspect that I was the only diplomat in Washington who knew anything of the President's intentions."

When Marburg and House received a copy of the President's note, they were both angry and chagrined. "The objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war," Wilson had written, "are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own peoples and to the world." The Internationalists knew that, while this sentence was verbally accurate, Wilson himself could not have believed that the objects of the belligerents were even similar, much less "virtually the same." He had clearly distinguished between them for nearly four years, and had been secretly cooperating with Grey to bring the Pan-Germans under the control of a British-American combine. How could he then imply in good faith, that those with whom he had entered into a written understanding, were on a moral parity with those whom it had been his purpose to overthrow? It was, in their opinion, but another striking example of that "intellectual dishonesty" of his, like his "neutrality in thought," of which Cleveland had complained.

The effect upon the Stock Exchange was instant. "War Babies" slumped. Everywhere Bernstorff, McAdoo, Tumulty, and others believed to be "on the inside," were charged with having made millions out of advance information.

Having ignored the advice of Marburg and House, and omitted the phrasing suggested by the latter, Wilson wrote

the "Silent Partner," on December 19th, that events had moved too fast to permit of further conference.

The State Department was overwhelmed with enquiries. "The United States," Lansing explained, "had the greatest interest in bringing the war to an end, because otherwise she would be drawn in herself."

To those trying to defend Wilson's "idealism," this was an appalling admission of indifference to humanity as a whole. On account of the Marina and Arabia incidents, several newspapers took it, not unnaturally, to mean that the United States would enter the war against Germany, if Wilson's offer of mediation came to nothing. Wilson saw that such an interpretation of the proposal would seriously jeopardize his peace move. If the Allies could hope for American participation, there would, naturally, be no chance of their consenting to a peace without victory. He called on Lansing, therefore, to contradict at once the statements of the Press, with the observation that there was no probability of the United States entering the war.

The British were naturally amazed. Even Page deemed Wilson's words insulting. "The dominant tone in public and private comment on the President's suggestion," he wrote House, "is surprise and sorrowful consternation, and all public comment so far, is visibly restrained . . . The President's suggestion itself would have provoked little or no criticism, if it had been made at another time. But his remarks accompanying his suggestion, are interpreted as placing the Allies and the Central Powers on the same level."

Even Bryce despaired of Wilson. "He came to see me," wrote Page, "in a great depression."

While Northcliffe commanded his newspapers, the Times and the Daily Mail, to discuss the note in a judicial spirit, he himself told Page that everybody was as "angry as hell." When someone attempted to discuss the note with Asquith, he brushed the subject away with a despairing gesture. "Don't talk to me about it," he said. "It is most disheartening." Even so sincere an admirer of Wilson as Plunkett, could not conceal his regret that Wilson had

made his proposal of mediation at such a time, and in such a way, while Lord Robert Cecil asked Page if the statement that the positions of the Allies had become "intolerable," was a veiled threat. Reassured by Page, he told him in the most solemn way, there was nothing the American Government or any other human power could do to end the war, before the Allies had spent their utmost force to secure a victory. "It is far better to die," he said, "in an effort to defeat the bloodiest tyranny that has ever been organized, than to perish under its success." But the man in England who was perhaps the most affected, was King George. A gentleman who attended luncheon at Buckingham Palace on December 21st, gave Page a description of the royal distress. The King actually wept over Wilson's attitude. What had he meant by all the assurances he had been giving through Marburg and House? What kind of tricks had they been up to, trading on the confidence of Britain? Was it true, as many declared, that they were pure charlatans? And did they really represent Wilson? If so, did he represent the American people?

With the flush of shame on their cheeks, Marburg, House and their associates in Britain and France, were greatly alarmed by Wilson's turning from them, which they could not well explain to the Entente Governments. They recognized that Wilson was falling more and more strongly under other influences. "I have been in constant communication with Washington regarding foreign affairs," House wrote on December 23rd. "The State Department is worried sick over the President's laissez-faire policy... I have promised to go (to Washington) next week, but I have no stomach for it. It is practically impossible to get the President to have a general consultation. I see him, and then I see Lansing; and the result is, we get nowhere. What is needed is consulation between the three of us, and a definite program worked out, and followed as consistently as circumstances will permit "

Despite House's discouragement, Marburg had no idea of losing control of the situation. He therefore called on Bryce, as President of the League of Nations Society of

England, to lay down the law to Wilson. In a letter to House, intended for Wilson, Bryce at once replied, that while no reasonable man supposed Wilson to have been influenced by the Germans, his words had certainly been taken to suggest that both sides were equally innocent or equally culpable. He then proceeded to give five reasons why the general feeling was against opening negotiations with the German and Austrian Governments. This was the feeling, he said, not of Jingoes, but of peace-lovers like himself. There was every reason to believe that Germany, Austria, and Turkey would not offer any acceptable terms. If that was an error, let them state their basis for negotiation. There was, in the second place, every reason to believe that they would not accept any terms the Allies could possibly offer. In the third place, it was easy for Germany, who dominated Austria and Turkey, to state terms, but very difficult for the Allies, because they included so many independent Powers, with differing views. Bryce admitted that the terms of each Power laid down, would be governed largely by its prospects of success.

In the fourth place, the British distrusted utterly the German Government's good faith, and believed it was merely trying to gain time. Finally, he was certain that Americans failed to realize the indignation and horror aroused by German war methods, and by their disregard of international rights and common justice, as shown by the Belgian deportations and Armenian massacres. Men asked, he said, "How can we make peace with such a Government, until we have defeated it? It will be a standing danger to all its neighbors, until it has been defeated and taught that lawlessness and savagery don't pay."

Roosevelt had, like Page and many others, been almost hopelessly discouraged by Wilson's reelection. But when he saw that Wilson was again under the influence of the Pacifists, he decided, with the moral support of Wood, to institute a new kind of propaganda to replace the training camps. This was the enrollment of a division of carefully selected volunteers, prepared to follow him to France on a declaration of war. Such an undertaking could not fail to

accentuate the true condition of the national defense. With Headquarters and a Chief of Staff in New York, the superior officers were, for political reasons, drawn from different sections.* The project aroused the greatest enthusiasm, and thousands of young men applied at once for enrollment. Even members of the G. A. R. and Confederate Veterans, begged to be included. Unlimited funds were rendered available for the immediate equipment of the division without expense to the Government, while a complete double cadre of officers and non-commissioned officers, all of the latter with good records in the army, navy, or militia, were soon enrolled. It was soon evident that two divisions might be raised—a spectacular story for the press. Wilson's friends declared in vain, that Roosevelt's "moral convictions" about the war, were inspired by overweening military ambitions, that he was actually presuming to usurp the functions of the War Department, the General Staff, and the army combined! Roosevelt's name was on every front page, despite the propaganda put out by the Democrats and the War Department, to discredit an enterprise destined to raise the military ardor of the country to a high pitch.

The British Government made no public response to Wilson—silence seemed the best policy.

* John Greenway, an old friend in the Rough Riders, was to be a brigadier. Captains Philip Sheridan, Fitzhugh Lee, George Lee, and Hugh D. Wise, of the Regular Army, were enrolled as Colonels. Nathan Bedford Forrest, and the writer, were commissioned to raise regiments in Tennessee and Virginia.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Wilson Turns Away from House. The Russian Situation. Germany's Decision to Resume Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. The Mexican Commission Disperses. Hoover Undertakes to Advise Wilson. The Wilson-Stone Plan to Prevent Intervention. "Peace Without Victory" and another Hornet's Nest.

GREAT EVENTS MUST be viewed in their historical setting, to be understood. God in His mercy never, perhaps, saw humanity pass through a more tragic ordeal than when Wilson found himself, on New Year's Day, 1917, at still another cross roads in his political career. Indeed Lenin, the disciple of Karl Marx, preached from his enforced exile in Switzerland, that there was no God to whom suffering mankind might look for mercy, that the human will—the will to be free of war and the tyranny of the old social and economic orders—was the only true form of omnipotence. No one, however, saw more clearly than Marburg, the necessity of ending strife if anything were to be saved from the wreck. A League to Enforce Peace could not serve humanity by awaiting a belligerent stalemate, which could serve only to overthrow conservatism and the capitalistic order.

Had House's conscience begun to smite him? We know only that, on January 7th, the "Silent Partner" arrived at the White House, with Bryce's letter in hand, to make another plea for intervention. According to his account, Wilson appeared to have lost "all punch," and to be "drifting aimlessly." It was only when he had pointed out to Wilson, with his usual suavity, the significance of the letter

as a virtual ultimatum from the Entente Governments, that he learned what was really in Wilson's mind.

The rejection of his proposal of December 18th by the Entente Governments, seemed to Wilson arbitrary in the extreme. In their unrelenting determination not to compromise with their enemies, he saw only a remorseless desire to conquer. With nostrils free of the smoke and stench of the life and death struggle in Europe, he thought singly of the future significance to mankind of a League of Nations under America's leadership, not of humanity's present need. That Britons of Bryce's stamp looked on a League of Nations as but a means to an end, and would never sacrifice principle to a political form which possessed in itself no inherent virtue over and above its object, only embittered the President against the British Government. To House's suggestion that the time had come for intervention on behalf of the Allies, he replied impatiently: "There will be no war. This country does not intend to become involved in this war. We are the only one of the great white nations that is free from war today, and it would be a crime against civilization for us to go in." [103]

In these few words, Wilson again disclosed the conviction on which his attitude had, from the first, been based. He still felt that he must remain neutral between the belligerents, irrespective of their merits, in order that America might serve humanity in the future, through the leadership it would be possible for him to give the world.

House saw philosophy which envisaged self-preservation as a first duty to humanity, just as Cleveland had seen it, when he branded Wilson as intellectually dishonest. Moreover, in the face of the Armenian massacres and the Belgian deportations to which Bryce referred, and of the continued destruction of neutral lives and property by Germany, how was it reasonable to speak, as Wilson had done in his last note to Berlin, of Germany's "high regard for international obligations?"

Some men grow bold as they look back. The probability is that in fact House was much more complacent than his own words indicate.

"As I have said before," House wrote after this interview, "he often changes his mind, and he may do so again."

The situation was hardly one which would long permit Wilson to drift, however much he may have disliked dealing with the Entente Governments. House knew that the approaching breakdown of the Russian Government was changing the whole situation.

Wilson had been pressing Marye for over two years, to negotiate a treaty which would reestablish amicable relations between Washington and St. Petersburg. In this Marye had failed utterly. Despite the patent shortcomings of the Russian Government, he had come to believe that reforms, though inevitable, could not be accomplished during the war by outside pressure. He had, therefore, urged continually that the Czar be supported instead of embar-rassed, since to help the existing Government was the best way to serve the Entente Cause. Knowing Germany, he had been, besides, an ardent advocate of American military preparedness. All this had not only been out of tune with Washington, but had actually intensified the misunderstanding between the two Governments. Inasmuch as it was known that Marye, who was the recipient of special honors from the Czar, and Wilson, his First Secretary, were both friendly to the Russian Government and the Entente Cause, Bernstorff, under the necessity of preventing America from aiding Russia, had lost no opportunity to discredit Marye with Wilson in Washington by ceaseless protests against their partiality, as in the case of Page, so that Wilson had long since felt them to be obstacles in his path.

Nor had the attempt of the Wilhelmstrasse to weaken Germany's enemies been limited to the diplomatic intrigues carried on through Bernstorff in Washington. For years, no effort had been spared to detach Russia from her allies through agents in the highest quarters of the Czar's Court, and throughout the Imperial Government. In the opinion of many, Rasputin, himself, was a German agent. Treason had finally rendered impotent, the once great war machine of Russia. In the face of the appalling sacrifice of over 4,000,000 Russian casualties, the very patriotism of the

Nation now caused it to demand those reforms in Government, which would enable it to aid more effectively in the defeat of Germany.[150,223] Even members of the Imperial family had come to look upon the existing regime as indefensible.[147]

Recognizing the danger of a more efficient Russian Government, the Germans had redoubled their efforts to promote a revolution that would produce a state of chaos. According to Gerard's reports to Wilson, the German military authorities were releasing the Social Democrats, Communists, and other revolutionaries among the Russian prisoners, and returning them to Russia to cooperate with German agents in disseminating distrust of the Government, and preaching the doctrines of Marx. Knowing all this, unable to obtain any support from Washington, still under pressure to obtain a treaty acceptable to the American Jews, and seeing the impossible position in which he was placed, Marye finally concluded that the "political combinations at home" were too much for him, and, late in December, resigned.[150] Bernstorff had again succeeded!

On the day of the conference between Wilson and House, Bernstorff was notified by the Wilhelmstrasse that mediation was no longer desired. On January 9th at Pless, the Imperial Council made the formal decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. Gerard was informed on "the best authority" that the Chancellor planned to negotiate peace with France and Russia separately, on the most favorable terms to them, and, after crushing Britain, to settle matters with Japan, and the United States, if need were.[85,222]

Fully informed of Germany's maneuvers through House, Wilson saw that it was useless to depend upon Bernstorff further, that he could no longer drift. Something must be done and done quickly. But what could he do that he had not already done?

It was at this juncture that a new figure in international politics, one who had served humanity by deeds alone, appeared to guide Wilson by his counsel. Thoroughly familiar with the European situation as administrator of

Belgian relief, Herbert Hoover was of opinion that the belligerents would never publicly state the terms of peace they would accept, in advance of an armistice, and it was equally useless to expect the Allies to accept an armistice that would merely strengthen Germany's hand. He therefore suggested to House that Wilson be induced to make a public statement of the general principles of a just peace, and call upon the belligerents to point out wherein they differed from him. This, he believed, would tend to narrow the issue, and place upon each of the belligerents the responsibility for a continuance of the war.

House felt that if such a step were explained in advance to the Allies, their cooperation in the effort to "smoke out Germany" would be assured. If, on the other hand, Germany failed to reply adequately, the opposition of Stone and the Pacifists to intervention, would be disarmed.

Unreliable as House had proved as an adviser, Wilson's new counsellor was possibly worse. Hoover believed, like the "Great Commoner," that the trouble in bringing about a peace, was due to the governments, and not the people of Europe. The latter, he insisted, were but the victims of their stupid and autocratic rulers. And notwithstanding Page to the contrary, he believed the British Government as bad as the rest. Since democracy was the cure for all human ills, Europe ought to be liberalized with the aid of the Democratic party. The time had come, therefore, for Wilson, representing the American democracy, to appeal to the downtrodden peoples of Europe in a way that would place the responsibility for a continuance of the war upon the Romanoffs and the Lloyd-Georges, as well as upon the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs. Even if it did not end the war by bringing the belligerent governments to their senses, such an impartial arraignment would serve to discredit them all so thoroughly, that the demand in America for intervention on behalf of the Allies, would be silenced.

Wilson's wish was generally father to his thought. Stone had pointed out what was seemingly the only way to hold America neutral. Consequently, like most Americans, Wilson seems to have assumed that the Social Democrats of

Germany, Russia, Poland and Austria, were something akin to the Liberals of Britain and France.[85] Apparently the history of communism meant little to him. Karl Marx, the suppressed Russian revolution of 1905, the Internationale, the widely published teachings of Lenin, the threatened Revolution of 1914, did not enter into his calculations. He seems to have confused the Internationale, which the Russian revolutionaries sang in 1914, with the Marseillaise. At any rate, he took no stock in the warnings of Gerard and Marye.

With the latter's views he had no sympathy whatever. He saw a strong Russia as but a threat to his scheme of general disarmament. Russia was incapable of reform under the existing order. The history of the Decembrists was not unknown to him. Even in the days of the Emperor Nicholas, the veterans of the Napoleonic wars had attempted to overthrow the Czarist regime, and set up a constitutional government patterned after that of the United States. The Austrians and Hungarians were, according to the most recent information, not only bitter against Germany, but becoming so increasingly hostile to each other, that the Emperor did not dare assemble Parliament. The Hungarians and the Poles in Germany and Austria were, by reason of the Kossuth and Kosciusko traditions, known to be much impressed with American political ideals. With the German Socialists controlling one-third of the Reichstag, was it not reasonable to assume that the sentiment among the Germans, Russians, Poles, and Hungarians for a more liberal government, was now more widespread than in past generations?

Reasoning thus, Wilson decided finally that Marburg, Page, Stone, and Bryan were right; that in the democratization, not alone of Russia, but of the world, lay the salvation of mankind. The decision was a momentous one. Darius, Pyrrhus, Philip, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Pompey, Genghis, Tamerlane, Napoleon, Alexander I, even the Kaiser, had dreamed of no such empire as he had in mind. No more had Confucius, or Buddha, or Jesus, or Mahomet, or the Vatican. All these conquerors, temporal and spirit-

ual alike, had contemplated the persistence of nations, with political institutions as varied as their blood, and their individual traditions. They had not sought to contravene the evolutionary theory, or the principle of the survival of the fittest. They had all recognized that fitness was determined by environment. Until now, only Karl Marx and the Communists had insisted upon a single politico-economic form. But Wilson, without regard to racial affinities, cosmogonies, histories, traditions, and present political boundaries and forms, had made up his mind to appeal as a last resort to the emotions of the world—to Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Poles, Balkans, Turks, Arabs, Chinese alike—for a universal democracy which was to express itself through the medium of a League of Nations, or a super-government that would recognize but a single political form. So it was with this idea in mind, that he decided to accept Marye's resignation at once, to appoint David R. Francis of Missouri, a friend of Stone's, to replace Marye, and to transfer Wilson from St. Petersburg to Madrid, where he could do no harm. With more obedient and effective representatives in St. Petersburg, he would force the hand of the Russian Government, even to the point of its overthrow.

All this decided on, Wilson addressed himself to the preparation of the speech in which he proposed to make a new and even more urgent appeal to the belligerent peoples to arise in their might, and assist him in the democratization of the world. That a student of history like V/ilson should fail to see that such evils as Menshevism, Bolshevism, Spartacism, Fascism, were bound to spring from the political Pandora's box he proposed to open, seems almost incredible. He apparently believed that all dangers incident to his plan, might be averted by the sheer magic of his words.

Tumulty alone, besides Stone, seems to have known what was in Wilson's mind. Fearful of the result of the projected move, he had warned House when, under date of January 17th, the latter finally heard from Wilson. After collaborating with Stone, wrote Wilson, he had decided to

deliver an address to the Senate, as soon as coded copies for the various embassies were complete. He had endeavored, he said, to make it the greatest appeal he had ever made. Under the pressure of circumstances, he had found it impossible, he explained, to consult with House further. Stone had promised him full support.

Marburg, Taft, and their Internationalist coadjutors saw, too late, the Frankenstein they had loosed. Efforts toward the democratization of the world were progressing altogether too fast to suit them. Their theories were being taken too literally. As Montesquieu had written, monarchies might be created by the fiat of law, but not democracies. The statement of Page that democracy would have to be shot into the Mexicans, might, with equal truth, have been made of the Russians, Turks, and Arabs. In vain House repeated Hoover's advice. Convinced that the German Government would be scared into abandoning the Pless decision by the German Socialists, Wilson was bent on dealing in the old way with Berlin. House was accordingly furnished by him with a formal memorandum to be read to Bernstorff, immediately after the address was delivered to the Senate, in which the Wilhelmstrasse was assured that if it would confide Germany's best terms to Wilson, he would endeavor to negotiate a secret agreement with the Allies, before a peace conference was called. He was still relying on secret diplomacy.

Nothing was left for Marburg and House to do, but prepare Bryce and Sir William Wiseman for what might be expected, and leave it to them to minimize, as best they could, the evil effects of Wilson's words.

Wilson had again miscalculated. His purpose leaked out to Bernstorff, who was now in close touch with Stone. When the German Government heard of his projected move, it sensed not only a grave danger to itself, but the threat of a major disaster to Russia. The appeal to the revolutionaries would eliminate Russia as a military factor, while the German Socialists could be suppressed by force as a last resort. Germany had no idea of ignoring the opportunity to make capital of Wilson's speech. Accordingly,

Bernstorff was formally notified on January 19th of the decision taken at Pless. At the same time, the German Minister to Mexico was directed to promote a Mexican-Japanese offensive alliance against the United States. The consideration to be offered Mexico was assistance by Germany in the conquest of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. There being no further need for the Mexican-American Joint Commission, the Mexican diplomats now folded their tents like Arabs and vanished in the night. Nothing in the way of an agreement had been accomplished by the Commission.

On January 22nd, 1917, the President addressed the Senate:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE:

"On the eighteenth 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 sufficent 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 powers 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 the policy 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."

Having laid down this premise, one that was absolutely contrary to his counsels of 1914 and 1915, he then proceeded to dictate to the world the terms of peace it should adopt.

"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 condition precedent to permanency, should be spoken now, not afterwards, when it may be too late.

"No covenant of cooperative 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."

This was plain notice to the belligerents that Wilson intended to prevent intervention on behalf of the Allies, if possible, and so far he had merely stated the fundamental principles of the League to Enforce Peace.

"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 implication 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."

By these words Wilson plainly indicated that Hoover's counsel had not failed to exercise some influence upon his mind. But now again he was to fall victim to the verbal nemesis which had pursued him throughout his career.

"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."

Despite all of Wilson's argument, here again he had expressed the idea that belligerents who had sacrificed their best manhood in support of principles dear to them, must accept, as the only honorable peace, one that would yield them an indecisive result. In other words, they must all admit that they had been wrong in fighting for what they held dear.

* Italics added.

"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 comity of arrangement, no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce."

The abstract principle here stated by Wilson was indubitably sound, but what of a would-be mediator in the affairs of Europe who confessed, in advance, a plain purpose to encourage Russian subjects to reject their present political allegiance? What could the Czar think of this, how else could he construe it except as open hostility to Russia?

"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 cooperation. 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 cooperation 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 programs 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 cannot 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."

Here was another open threat to Great Britain—"the Mistress of the Seas"—who was even now policing the world with no little benefit to democracy! Yet the rule of Britannia was to come to an end in those halycon days of peace, when the great American merchant marine which Wilson was advocating was to command the trade of the world.

"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 program 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 ;ome 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 fulfillment, 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 policy

over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, 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 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."

The Monroe Doctrine was to be applied to the entire world, in order that the American people might, with impunity, adjust the affairs of humanity in a way satisfactory to themselves. The association Wilson proposed would necessarily be an entangling alliance for America, since it would make her party to a pact designed to regulate the affairs of Europe.

Although Lansing was amazed by Wilson's words, and Houston deemed the "peace without victory" idea, and the reference to the freedom of the seas, "most unfortunate," House obediently summoned Bernstorff, on the morning of the 23rd, and read him the memorandum prepared by Wilson, in which mediation was again formally proposed. Convinced by House that Wilson was prepared to use his full influence to compel the Allies to accept reasonable terms on the part of Germany, Bernstorff set to work at

once to obtain them, and thereby prevent his mission from being destroyed by the extremists.

As a result of Administration, German, and Entente propaganda, the first reaction to the speech was not unfavorable. Almost completely ignorant of the forces at play in Europe, of the political implications of the war among the belligerents, and ready, as usual, to ascribe to their own Government only the most open and above-board methods, with the reverse to all others, the American people generally looked upon this new pronunciamento as the height of Wilson's idealism. Was it not a declaration of American democratic principle, which Republicans and Democrats might alike endorse?

In England, Bryce and the Internationalists, seeing the wisdom of not estranging Wilson further, had done their, best, on the advice of House and Wiseman, to prevent another popular outburst. The Manchester Guardian immediately warned the British Government, in no uncertain terms, that it must harken to Wilson's words. Other Internationalist newspapers hailed it as a "new charter of human liberties."

"Let President Wilson take heart from the first reception of his remarkable speech," wrote Hall Caine in England. "The best opinion is one of deep feeling and profound admiration."

House, however, seems to have foreseen what was to come. Calling attention to these first favorable comments, he wrote Wilson, on the night of the 23rd, that Wiseman was going to sound out real opinion abroad, and that Hoover had repeated his proposal that a public call be made upon all the belligerent governments to state their attitudes.

When Page read the speech, he was outraged. In it he recognized a remarkable combination of his own democratic, and Marburg's internationalistic, idealism. His quarrel was not with the principles stated, but with their misapplication. Sound as they were in the abstract, they had been made the basis of a lecture to Europe, in which each of the belligerents had been touched to the quick.

"The President's address," he wrote, "shows that he thinks he can play peace-maker. He does not at all understand (or if he does, so much the worse for him) that the Entente Powers, especially Great Britain and France, 'cannot make peace without victory.' If they do, they will become vassals of Germany. In a word, the President does not know the Germans; and he is, unconsciously, under their influence in his thought. His speech plays into their hands."

In America, Wilson's enemies were quick to seize, as anticipated by Tumulty, the phrase "peace without victory." He might have meant a peace without reconciliation, they declared, but why did he not say what he meant, if he really understood the principle which Marburg and others had been advocating as the basis of an enduring peace? Peace without victory in a struggle between moral right and wrong, like neutrality "in thought as well as in deed," building up a great merchant marine in order that America might "better serve humanity," being "too proud to fight," "America First," and the "aims and objects" of the belligerents being "virtually the same," were, they declared, "sheer buncombe." What if Germany should reply, "let us have peace and leave things just as they were in 1914?"

Wilson wrote House on the 24th, that, while he was deeply interested in Wiseman's promised report, he was chiefly concerned over the German attitude. He closed with renewed thanks for the encouragement and support which House had given him. He confessed that, in spite of himself, he felt, at times, very lonely, and very low in his mind. He might well be despondent, for the second reaction in Europe, which Wiseman reported, was most unfavorable.

The French shrugged their shoulders deprecatingly, as usual, and polished their bayonets. To them as to Europeans generally, the speech seemed but the repetition of a previous offense. Feeling that while being bled white in defense of principle, Wilson claimed the benefits of neutrality, they heard this "new lecture" with anger rather

than surprise. The venerable philosopher, Frederick Harrison, second only to Bryce in the intellectual circles of England, promptly exhumed from the musty diplomatic archives of America, a letter from Dom Pedro of Brazil to Lincoln. When the Federal blockade had all but destroyed the trade of South America with the Confederate States, the wily old Portuguese, responsive to popular clamor, and with no interest whatever in the moral aspects of the conflict, had suggested to Lincoln that a peace without victory might yield the United States greater fruits than continuance of the war. Honest, straight-thinking, with no more quirks in his mind than Washington, Grant and Cleveland, Lincoln had disdained to reply.

But if the thinking peoples of Europe were weary of being lectured by a man who seemed to wish the war to end in a drawn battle between the great moral and political principles which they believed involved, was it any wonder that the danger of Wilson was now discussed in every Chancellery in Europe?

All the European diplomats and statesmen knew that, before turning on the Allies, Wilson had long dealt with them in the most unneutral way, while professing impartiality as between the belligerents. How could he be trusted? Just what would he do at the peace table? No one could be sure, except that there was to be no victory for any of the belligerents if he could prevent it, and that American interests would be first in his mind. And wherein resided the power of the United States? Was the Marburg-House-Wilson combine, or the constituted government supreme?

The German Chancellor declared that this last speech was one of the principal reasons for the resumption by Germany of ruthless submarine warfare.[85] This was necessarily false, since Gerard had notified Wilson of the decision taken at Pless, nearly a fortnight before the speech was made. Nevertheless Bethmann-Holweg having in mind the general tenor of the addresses culminating in this one, probably meant that the German Government had long known of Wilson's purpose to destroy it "lock, stock

and barrel," along with Russia, and the Dual Monarchy, and to claim for the United States the control of the ocean trade which Ballin, the Krupps, and von Tirpitz together, had proposed to transfer from Britannia to Germania.

Nor could the speech fail to convince the Czar that Wilson was still the enemy of Russia, and thus help the reactionaries to block the reforms necessary to save the Imperial regime. On the other hand, Trotsky recently stated that he and Lenin had not hoped for such an early opportunity to initiate the Communist Revolution, as that which now appeared imminent.[213]

"Behold, my son, with how little wisdom the world is governed." Political events have often evoked a similar exclamation since the days of Oxenstiern. "Thou little thinkest," observed Pope, "what a little foolery governs the world."

Truisms though these be, posterity does not base its judgment, in fixing the place of a statesman in history, on his motives or hopes, but only on his actual achievements. What, in the face of the known results, will be said of Wilson's wisdom in ignoring the counsels of Page, Gerard, and Marye during the long period of fruitless efforts culminating in Germany's return to unrestricted submarine warfare? What had been his contribution to universal peace? By reason of his part in hastening the downfall of the Czarist regime, posterity may well hold Wilson immediately responsible for the success of Lenin and Trotsky; for the Communist leaders were, after all, but seeking to apply the same principles that Wilson preached. They, too, wished to establish a single worldwide political system, whose tyranny Stalin is today seeking, with the aid of economic forces, to extend over all mankind.*

Marburg and House could not fail to see that Wilson, with his rhetoric, was making the formation of a League of Nations more difficult; but neither of them suspected that he had, in fact, already made such an association based upon altruistic principles, impossible. This the Interna-

* The Soviet Primer.

tionalists were later to discover to their sorrow, when the peace table of Versailles turned out to be nothing more than a bargain counter. But that story of how the "Silent Partner" at last threw his mask aside, shed the lion's skin from which he had been roaring the catch words of the Democratic party, and, in trying to override Wilson, disclosed his real master, is an epic in itself.

CHAPTER XLIX

The Allies Unmoved. The League of Nations Society of England Protests. The Mailed Gauntlet. Wilson Clutching at Straws. The Internationalists Threaten to Publish the Zimmermann Telegram Unless Diplomatic Negotiations Are Secured.

WHATEVER BRYCE may have thought of Wilson's last address, he saw the unwisdom of further estranging Wilson by quibbling over words. On behalf of the League of Nations Society of England, he was quick to respond. He wrote House with great tact on the 24th, that while the spirit of Wilson's speech was "warmly appreciated," and while the British would like to see the conditions which Wilson had stated as precedent to the formation of a league of nations, fulfilled, he was not optimistic, in view of the nature of the German Government—"a Government which goes on showing its utter disregard of justice and humanity, by slave-raiding and other cruelties in Belgium, and by its entire contempt for the faith of treaties, and other international obligations." He then proceeded to state once more the irreducible terms of peace. The yielding of Belgium, Alsace, and Lorraine by Germany, the Trentino by Austria, and Armenia by the Turks, were necessary as concessions essential to the stability and security of Europe.

Wilson had failed again to move the Allies! Both of his ventures, independent of the Internationalists, had proved futile, if not disastrous. House was saying: "I told you so."

Meantime the Zimmermann cablegram had been decoded by the British, and a copy furnished to Page.[109,103] Its contents were read with joy. It would be, henceforth,

preposterous for Wilson to go on speaking impartially of the belligerents, with Germany actually preparing to conquer American territory! A kind fate had placed in the hands of the Allies and the Internationalists, the means of forcing action on both President and Senate. The Pacifists were completely undone. Page transmitted the information, immediately, to the Department of State.

Bernstorff had, meanwhile, accomplished nothing with the Wilhelmstrasse. It seems certain that, despite the convictions of Wilson and House that he was a friend of peace, his sole interest was the success of his own mission—to prevent America from joining Germany's enemies, before they had been crushed. With the Flanders submarine fleet now ready to be launched, the Naval party had no idea of abandoning the one chance left. After ordering the engines of all interned German vessels to be incapacitated, Bernstorff gave House a letter setting forth the German terms; and on the following day, January 31st, delivered to Lansing a written announcement of the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare. "From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic," ran the notice, "is to be stopped with every available weapon, and without further notice" in a barred zone surrounding the British Isles, and in the Mediterranean. "Neutral ships navigating these blockade zones do so at their own risk." Sailings of regular American passenger steamers might continue on certain conditions; namely, that the steamers followed a lane designated by the Germans, bore certain distinguishing marks (red and white stripes on the hull, and a red and white chequered flag), and carried no contraband, as per the German contraband list. Under such conditions, one steamer a week might sail in each direction.

The unintentional grim humor of these stipulations, did not, to American eyes, rob the notification of its sinister significance. This was the climax of the long controversy between Germany and the United States. This was the magnificent achievement of the Internationalists, at the end of four long bitter years of secret diplomacy. Never once had the German diplomats been deceived by any artifice

of Wilson or his counsellors. It was obvious that von Tirpitz and his party were now fighting for more than Germany and the Kaiser—they were fighting for their very existence.

Wilson knew that it would be fatal to publish the Zimmermann note. The good hard common sense of the American people forbade them any claim to hold themselves aloof from war, as champions of humanity, to help mankind. Ignorant of Europe and its political problems, misled as to the real issues by those they had trusted, and told by the President, Bryan, and others, that they were in no wise concerned with what was going on in Europe, they had not unnaturally taken the course of least resistance. It had been a profitable course, materially; but the average man who had profited, would have made any reasonable sacrifice, on the sinking of the Lusitania, to support the Allies, if called on. And now that he had learned the facts, he regarded it as buncombe that America would, on entering the war, be fighting for humanity. If aware of Germany's plan to seize part of the United States, and turn it over to Mexico, the American people would have instantly demanded war. Therefore Wilson suppressed the telegram temporarily. Yet act he must, for unless something were done at once, the Allies would themselves publish the telegram, and take matters out of his hands. The Senate would then be powerless.

Bernstorff now resorted to a clever device to prevent intervention. The Dutch Minister, friendly to Germany, was persuaded to suggest, through Stone, the immediate calling of a conference of neutrals on the freedom of the seas, which would, of course, have Bryan's and Stone's approval. In other words, Germany wished to achieve, with the aid of the Dutch, what the Lysistratans had previously attempted—to cut off supplies and munitions from the Allies.

Having, in a measure, shifted the responsibility to the shoulders of the Senate, Wilson was now in position to go to Stone and the other leaders, with the question: "what next?" Accordingly, the day the German ultimatum was

delivered, he proceeded to his office at the Capitol, and summoned Stone and other Senators.

No more pathetic incident has, perhaps, occurred, in the history of the presidency, than this search by Wilson for encouragement of his purpose, unless it were Madison's ride, alone but for a negro servant, to reconnoitre the unimpeded advance of the British army upon the National Capital in 1814.

"You know the situation in all its details," Wilson said to Stone. "I wonder what you are thinking I should do?"

Satisfied that Wilson had spared no practical effort to carry out the desire of the Senate for a peace conference, one Senator replied: "Give the German Ambassador his passports, and order him forthwith to leave the country." Another declared: "I heartily approve of that suggestion.','

Still believing that the neutrals and Austro-Hungarians might respond if given more time, Stone suggested that another note of remonstrance be despatched to Germany. Wilson saw in the expression on all faces, that they considered this course futile. According to Senator Robinson, his jaws snapped. "His features became pale and rigid. Drawing himself erect, and casting a stern glance upon the crowd which had gathered while the consultation was in progress, he said in substance: 'Let us be done with diplomatic notes. The hour to act has come. We scarcely can hope that Germany will recede. The German Ambassador will be advised that, unless immediate abandonment of the submarine policy is announced, his further presence in the United States is not desired.'"

It must not be concluded, however, that he had decided to abandon Stone. On the contrary, they both had in mind further efforts to prevent intervention. There was still the possibility of organizing the neutrals as suggested by van Rappard, in order to enforce peace on the Allies. Before returning to the White House, Wilson promised Stone that he would, under no circumstances, dismiss Bernstorff until Stone had returned from St. Louis, whither he had been called. This having been done, he telegraphed for House. The "Silent Partner" arrived next morning. He found

that Lansing alone had been consulted by Wilson. They went over the whole situation, and it was agreed, though without much encouragement from House, that he should fully explore the Austrian situation, and see what could be done through Marburg and the Swiss Government.

When the Cabinet assembled for its regular Friday meeting, Houston and Lane had heard only rumors of the German ultimatum. Notwithstanding the fact that Wilson had been fully apprised by Page, Sharp, Gerard, House and the British Intelligence, of Germany's undoubted purpose, he declared that he had received no intimation of Germany's reversal of policy. It had come to him, he said, as an "astonishing surprise." Indeed "Zimmermann, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs," he added, "had within ten days told Gerard that such a thing was an 'impossibility.' "

Lansing was astonished. He said that he had good reason to believe the note had been in Bernstorff's possession fully ten days, and that he had held it back because of the President's last address.[114] Thus it is evident that Lansing knew of the negotiations, which Wilson had been carrying on through House.

Wilson next asked what the Cabinet thought should be done. "Shall I break off diplomatic relations with Germany?"[106]

In answer to the question which side he wished to see win, he replied that he "didn't wish to see either side win,— for both had been equally indifferent to the rights of neutrals—though Germany had been brutal in taking life, and England only in taking property." He would like to see the neutrals unite to prevent a victory by either side.[114]

Lane was amazed. Did Wilson not see that neutrality could only serve to help Germany win? Self-defense, he and others insisted, demanded that the Allies be helped. How, on the other hand, could small powers like Switzerland, Holland, Denmark and the other Scandinavian countries, who were at the mercy of Germany, be expected to oppose the Central Alliance? Was it not obvious that vanRap-pard's proposals had been made on behalf of Germany?

An effort to organize the neutrals now, would almost certainly drive many of them into the arms of the Pan-Germans. It was a proposition which none of the Cabinet would support.

Knowing that the Russian people had lately threatened to make an independent peace with Germany, the danger of Russia's abandoning the war was next discussed. Lane pointed out that, unless Russia were supported now, the end of the war would likely see a German-Russian-Japa-nese alliance. Conscious of the revolutionary spirit which his own words had been fanning, Wilson declared that the Russian peasant might save the world this misfortune. He wished to speak quite frankly on this point. "If he felt that, in order to keep the white race, or part of it, strong to meet the yellow race—Japan, for instance, in alliance with' Russia, dominating China—it was wise to do nothing, he would do nothing, and would submit to anything, and any imputation of weakness or cowardice."[106]

This, as declared by Houston, was a novel and unexpected angle to the discussion. He himself, he declared, was not apprehensive in the least about Japan, or about Japan, Russia, and China combined. "They were relatively weak intellectually, industrially, and morally; and at best the danger from them was remote."[106]

Wilson now tried to end the discussion. He felt, he said, that nothing should be done now—that an "overt act" by Germany should be awaited. Then he would go to Congress to ask for the power necessary to defend American rights!

Baker and Daniels were impressed with Wilson's "long look ahead," but McAdoo and Redfield were for prompt action. While admitting that the Allies were violating international law, Burleson agreed that "we should make good our warning to Germany and our implied pledge to our people." Wilson observed that such an expression was the result of a natural impulse, but that it did not aid him greatly. Thereupon, speaking for the Internationalists, Houston said: "We are now confronting a grave and pressing menace. Civilization is at stake. Justice and funda-

mental national rights are involved. We must start from where we are, and take the next right step. Nothing worse can ever befall us than what Germany proposes, and no greater insult can be offered to any people. If we acquiesce, we ought not to pose as a Nation, or a free people. We ought to invite the Kaiser to set up as our permanent dictator. I have heard nothing which Japan stands for, that I would not prefer. If we are capable of submitting, Japan, or anybody else who would take us, ought to have us. We would not be worth saving. Granting that the Allies have violated law, and are not free from selfishness, normally, essentially, they stand for law and order. I am for asserting our rights, for doing our part, for our sake and humanity's."[106]

This was good plain talk. Houston had touched the President on a tender spot—"our part" for humanity.

"Very well," replied Wilson. "That does not reach far enough. What is the proposal? What is the concrete suggestion? What shall I propose? I must go to Congress. What shall I say?"

Houston replied that he should not wait to set out a full program. "Immediately sever diplomatic relations, and let come what will. Tell Congress what you have done. Say that you propose to protect American lives and rights. If necessary, ask for additional authority. Let our merchant vessels arm. Let Allied vessels come freely in our harbors. Aid the Allies with money, and, if necessary, with the army and navy. These things could, of course, involve action by Congress, including a declaration that a state of war exists, but such action is not necessary for a severance of diplomatic relations, and the arming of our merchantmen for defense."[106]

After a little more discussion, the Cabinet adjourned without Wilson having committed himself. His advisers would have supported even a declaration of war, then and there, had he himself proposed it. But with his Cabinet, Wilson was like one who says: "I don't know what I should do. Tell me. But don't tell me not to do what I want to do, because that is what I'll probably do anyway."

CHAPTER L

The "New York Times" Threatens to Abandon Wilson. Diplomatic Relations with Germany Severed at Last. Bernstorff Departs.

MARBURG'S ONE IDEA from now on, was to bring about intervention before it was too late. Yet he, too, recognized the possibility of breaking down the' Central Alliance, and worked actively, to this end, with Vienna through the Swiss Government, while putting the utmost pressure on Wilson to prepare for intervention. The financial, shipping, and commercial interests naturally helped, through the press. Even the New York Times now gave Wilson notice that he must act.* House reached Washington on the morning of February ist. "I went directly to the White House, and had breakfast alone. Soon after breakfast, the President appeared." It was plain that the hammering of Houston, Lane, and McAdoo, coupled with the pressure of the Press, Roosevelt's propaganda, and the demands of the Republicans for an extra session, had affected him profoundly. "He was sad and depressed, did not seem able to get his balance," wrote House, with whom Wilson closeted himself until two o'clock.[103] Lansing, it appeared, was preparing a communication to Bernstorff, giving him his passports.[103] "Is it better to dismiss Bernstorff immediately, or wait until Ger-

* During the past year, the writer had been contributing Editor to the International Digest, which was a strong advocate of war. On February 15, 1917, the Times Current History of the War solicited an article from him, and on February 22nd accepted an article specially written for it, entitled: The Immorality of Unneutral Neutrality. It was never published, for reasons which will be shown.

many commits some overt act?" enquired Wilson. House insisted that Lansing was right.

"We had finished the discussion within half an hour, and there was nothing further to say. Meanwhile we were listlessly killing time." Mrs. Wilson enquired of House if he thought it would look badly for the President to visit the golf links. He advised against this. Wilson at last suggested that they play pool. Toward the end of the second game, Lansing was announced. "The President, Lansing, and I then returned to the study. This was about half past eleven o'clock." Wilson nervously rearranged his books, and walked up and down. The Secretary of State attracted little attention. "Lansing read what he had written, and we accepted it." Wilson's hope was that the dismissal of Bernstorff might bring Germany to her senses. Lansing then left, with the understanding that Wilson would address the Senate, and notify it of his decision as soon as Stone returned.

Wilson asked House whether he ought to call the Cabinet at once. House thought there was no need of this, since there would be a regular meeting next day. Bernstorff could not be given his passports until Stone returned, in response to the telegram which had been sent him.[103]

That Wilson was pinning his hopes on Stone, is certain. Although he spoke of Germany as a "madman that should be curbed," he did not believe, according to House, that the proposed rupture of diplomatic relations would lead to intervention. "He reiterated his belief that it would be a crime for this Government to involve itself in war to such an extent, as to make it impossible to save Europe afterward."

House asked him if he though it fair to the Allies to call on them to do the curbing. At this, he winced noticeably, but still held to his determination not to become involved, if it were humanly possible to do otherwise.

During the day a new despatch from Penfield arrived, indicating that the Austro-Hungarians were becoming more and more hostile to Germany. It was therefore decided by Wilson and House to allow County Tarnowski, the new

Austrian Ambassador, to present his credentials, and to remain in Washington after Bernstorff was dismissed, on the distinct understanding that he would not be officially received unless his Government repudiated Germany's programme. Meantime House and Wiseman could deal with Vienna through him. This having been agreed on, House hastened to New York to confer with Wiseman.

Stone returned unexpectedly on the 2nd, and was compelled to recognize the necessity of dismissing Bernstorff at once, as the only means of preventing a declaration of war. That day arrangements were completed for Wilson to address Congress on the morrow. The first notice the Cabinet as a whole received of his decision, was on the morning of February 3rd. They were told that Wilson would address Congress that day at noon.

When Wilson appeared before Congress, the country was agog with expectancy. It was prepared for anything. His appearance was noticeably unusual. His face like his voice showed the signs of great strain. After reviewing again the correspondence with Germany, he said:

"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 to 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 can not 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 willful 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 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 to 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 willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!"

Here, in Wilson's own words, was expressed the "devout" hope on his part that no recourse to force might become necessary. He had nevertheless finally taken action that might, according to the leading British, German, and

American observers, have prevented war, had it been undertaken immediately after Germany's refusal to render full satisfaction for the Lusitania.

The severance of diplomatic relations with Germany and dismissal of Bernstorff, aroused the highest enthusiasm among Americans at home and abroad. There was wild excitement everywhere.

"I believe your speech to Congress to-day," wrote House from New York, "will meet the approval of practically every American."[103] Page, who had still received no reply to his tender of resignation in November, was delighted, as were the Entente Allies.

Page now believed war certain, but House still warned his British friends against the Allies trying to hurry Wilson or force his hand.[90,103] Allowing for Stone's influence, House felt that Wilson would avoid a declaration of war, in any way possible.

When Bernstorff was given his "walking papers" by-Lansing, he was able to console himself by contemplating the great success of his diplomacy in more than one direction. Despite the undoubted will of the American people, he had kept them neutral in the face of all obstacles, by his influence over Wilson, whom he had actually led to the conviction that there was no choice between the belligerents. He had embittered Wilson particularly against the Russian Government, at a time when sympathy for it, and some substantial aid, might have caused the inevitable revolution to make Russia stronger, instead of weaker. He had confirmed Wilson in his purpose of preventing the country from being put in a state of preparedness for war. As he saw it, only the stupidity of von Tirpitz, Holtzendorff, Hindenburg, and the Chancellor, had made it impossible for the President to keep America out of the war.

In Germany, there was general amazement, and consternation. A book written for popular consumption, entitled President Bluff, had led the people to believe Wilson had the power to prevent war, and that he would do so. Even high officials like the Chancellor, Zimmermann, and Streseman, were profoundly surprised.[85]

CHAPTER LI

The Cabinet Demands the Arming of American Merchant Vessels. Harvey Assails Wilson's Military Policy. The Council of National Defense Formed. "Morpheus and Mars." The Principle of Compulsory Military Service Enforced upon Wilson.

ALTHOUGH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS with Germany were severed on February 3, 1917, the Cabinet did not convene until its regular meeting on the 6th. Houston urged at once that American shipping interests be advised that they might arm their vessels. Others too insisted that the situation was highly abnormal, and that the responsibility of deciding on a course of action, should not be left to the shipowners.

Wilson believed, according to Daniels, that he had a right to authorize the ships to be armed.[61] He was, however, opposed to this step. He was still "passionately" determined not to "over-step" the slightest punctilio of honor in dealing with Germany, or interned Germans, or the property of Germans.

McAdoo at once pointed out that the ships had been damaged under Bernstorff's own orders. Was this honorable on Germany's part? But Wilson refused to allow the interned ships to be seized, even though they were being gutted by their crews. He wished the announcement made that all German property, except the ships, would be held in trust for the owners by an alien property custodian, and that sailors interned on merchant ships might enter the United States. "If we are to have war, we must go in with our hands clean, and without any basis for criticism against us." Bernstorff's action was not to move the Government to anything that would look like hostility.[114]

It was finally decided to inform the shipping interests that their rights were "just the same as if Germany had said nothing," and that they might, if they chose, arm for defense.[106]

By the 7th, it had been discovered by Marburg and Wiseman that Germany still held Austria-Hungary under her control. House now advised Wilson "to kick Tarnow-ski and his whole crowd out along with Bernstorff," if Vienna did not repudiate the submarine blockade at once.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 9th, Lansing said that there was no doubt that Germany proposed to hold Gerard as a hostage, and that American ships were still fearful of going to sea. They wanted further assurance, and protection in the form of arms and gun crews. Baker was opposed to selling or loaning them arms, or furnishing naval gun crews. Offensive merchantmen would, he declared, be exposed to danger. It would be better to send naval vessels along, and have a clear test. To this Daniels objected at once.

Although the pacifists in the Cabinet—Baker and Daniels—were thus cooperating with Wilson and Stone to oppose any action looking towards war, Bernstorff, still in the country, anticipated their defeat by an aroused public. He therefore persuaded the Dutch Minister to repeat his proposals on the 10th. The reason why the neutrals had not previously responded, he attributed to Wilson's refusals to cooperate, when they had needed help. Two days later, the Swiss Minister reported that the Emperor did not Care let the Austro-Hungarian Parliament assemble, because of the good feeling for America. He made overtures to Wilson, at the same time, for the resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany, and the prosecution of further peace negotiations. The Department of State was greatly alarmed lest Wilson succumb to these obvious lures. Marburg and House were in no wise deceived. Fully advised as to Wilson's intent, Houston and the great shipping interests in New York pressed McAdoo to reason with his father-in-law, as no one else in the Cabinet could do. At the Cabinet meeting of the 13th, McAdoo urged immediate

intervention. It would be folly, he said, to play into Germany's hands, as was already being done by compelling American ships to tie up in port. Arms and gun crews should be furnished them at once, convoys, too, if necessary to protect them. Wilson replied that Governor McCall of Massachusetts had just urged that the Government go slow, since the people would approve delay for careful consideration, and did not wish precipitate action. He refused to authorize the course urged by McAdoo without the consent of Congress, and he was not yet ready to call on Congress.

McAdoo was not to be put off thus lightly. "You already have authority to arm the ships," he retorted. "Delay is dangerous. The people will gladly face the consequences of protecting American rights." Houston agreed that action was necessary, and urged Wilson to go to Congress as soon as possible, if he desired to fortify himself with additional authority. Others supported this view, but Wilson still balked.

Wood had, of late, remained silent, under the urgings of his friends. But with the country headed straight for war, and still wholly unprepared, something had to be done. Nothing was to be expected of War and Navy Departments, headed by Pacifists. Harvey was called on by the Press to invade Washington, and deliver an assault on the Administration under its very nose. Speaking at the University Club on the 14th, he proposed the formation of a Council of National Defense, such as Wood and he had long urged. The state of the national defense was, as pictured by him, truly alarming.

"Let us have no illusions with respect to what would happen if war should come. The impression seems to be quite general that our participation in the conflict would involve little more than what we are now doing. We would increase the output of munitions for both the Allies and ourselves. We would presumably lift the virtual embargo placed upon our finances by the Federal Reserve Board. We would continue to extend, and perhaps expand, our sympathy for those who are fighting to maintain individual liberty against the power of an overwhelming State. We might even, at a pinch, send a few cruisers

and even battleships down along the coasts of South America, though hardly across the ocean. And that is about all, so far as the present consideration of our people has gone. Having performed those benevolent acts, we would then await patiently and with full consciousness of our moral worth, the actual winning of the war, with victory of course, if need be, but without victory preferably, by the Allies." [108]

He then went on to describe the country's fatuous lack of preparation:

"The navy is no more potent today than it was two years ago, and the pathetic little army, scattered as at present, is not only less effective than it was four years ago, but is forty percent short of its prescribed peace strength. Our situation with respect to equipment is sufficiently indicated by the refusal of the General Board to loan two six-inch guns to an American merchantman, upon the ground, officially stated, that so doing would seriously impair the fighting efficiency of the navy. Moreover, the program for immediate strengthening of the army has been curtailed to a hopeless degree, upon the theory, officially declared, though not in these words, that the navy should have what might be termed first aid to the injured, and that this incapable Nation can attend to but one arm of the service at a time. . . *

"Now it requires no seer to perceive the absolute certainty that, if we should, as we probably shall, be brought into armed conflict, we shall do precisely the same things, commit precisely the same blunders, that we did commit nearly sixty years ago, and that England has committed under our very eyes during the past three years, with only this difference—that, in all human probability, the penalties finally paid will be vastly heavier. Nothing could be more faultful, or more fateful, than this common misapprehension that our going to war would be a lackadaisical affair, that having once engaged in the controversy, we should occupy reserved seats on the side lines, and, from that point of vantage, plumply cheer on the bleeding and dying gladiators, without risk to our own precious selves. The most primitive sense of honor and of pride, to say nothing of the fear of shame and contumely, would impel us instantly to prove our manhood, and to do our bit. If, even in the distressed circumstances under which we now find ourselves, we should fail, within two months, to place at least one hundred thousand of

the finest soldiers in the world, shoulder to shoulder with the gallant sons of France, we would be known, and would deserve to be known, as either the most inefficient, or the most contemptible of all noble races. There is always a psychological time to strike, and that would be the time for us. Picture to your minds the thrill that would pass down that long, thin line stretching from Flanders to Switzerland, when word should come that the vanguard of the fighting sons of liberty and of free America, were hastening eagerly forward over the soil of France, and that behind them, in the great Republic, a million more, and back of them yet another million, were being trained to take over the place of the exhausted soldiers of France, and to win for the children of those soldiers the inestimable benefit of imperishable freedom. . . .

"So I say to you, gentlemen, if we must fight, as we have always fought, willingly, eagerly, gladly, for human liberty and human rights, let there be no faltering, no half-heartedness, no mere firing and falling back, but let all, yes all, to the very last and feeblest of our omnipotent hundred millions, take their stand as one behind our chosen leader, and mean it when we implore the Almighty to give us liberty or give us death. And let us hold back nothing from our Allies, who so long have borne the frightful burden of war for all. No special consideration! No mental reservations! No separate peace! None— upon this sole condition, that this infamous autocracy, and the dastardly rulers who perpetrated this most hideous of crimes, shall be deprived forever of power over their own, or any other people. . . . Then, with whole hearts and whole souls and all our might, let us put the great shoulder of America to the wheel of war, and crush out of existence with irresistible force, any and all who would deprive God's children of their rightful heritage of inherent right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"That is the thing to do, the only thing to do. The time may come when we can utilize a League to Enforce Peace, but what we want now is a League to Enforce War, to the end that peace may come, and come quickly. I know what war is. I know what this war is. With my own eyes, I have seen the flower of their race streaming home in thousands, wounded and dying, to those no less stricken at home. I hate war—even a righteous war. But I fear peace, a craven peace, a sinful peace. And I glory openly and proudly in the present prospect of conflict,

which so many hold calamitous. I revel in the hope that our great, independent America may not be deprived of the privilege of doing her part, in making and keeping the human race free from the menace of tyranny. Above and beyond all, God forbid that poltroonery, in the guise of Pacifism, shall now or ever emerge from the cradle of liberty." [108]

The next day—the very day on which Bernstorff sailed home with his retinue of German propagandists and sabotage agents—Harvey's lurid description appeared in the press throughout the country. Thousands of intelligent people who had relied upon Wilson, shook their heads, and thought: "Is this possible? Something should be done at once." And straightway, on the demand of Lane and Houston, the Council of National Defense, composed of the President, Cabinet, Chief of Staff, and a number of prominent business men, was formed.

At the first meeting of the Council on the 16th, Scott repeated his recommendation that a bill establishing universal compulsory military service, be introduced in Congress at once. During the subsequent important discussion of the renewed proposal to arm the merchant vessels, and of the equipment available, the Chief of Staff fell asleep!

"Mars and Morpheus in one," observed Lane, noting the humor of the situation.[114]

Had the old soldier really been asleep? Or was he merely bored by the babble about him?

In Lane's opinion, Wilson's estimate of himself as a war President was correct. He was certainly manifesting his unfitness to give the country the leadership it required, in the emergency of war.

"In Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, and Europe, we have trouble," wrote Lane. "Our Ambassador in Berlin is held as a hostage! Our Consuls' wives are stripped naked at the border, our ships are sunk, our people are killed—and yet we wait and wait! What for, I do not know. Germany is winning by her bluff, for she has our ships interned in our own harbors! Without positive leadership, the country, though tired of delays, is losing its keenness of conscience, and becoming inured to insult." [114]

At the meeting of the Council on February 17th, Houston and Lane agreed that it was necessary to compel Wilson to do something.

"It is obvious," said the latter, "that the freedom of our country and of the world is at stake. We should side with the Allies promptly and wholly. They are not unselfish, but their brand of selfishness is much better than that of Germany. I should rather see this nation side with the Allies, go down to destruction with them if necessary, and disappear from the map as a Nation, than to see it exist and prosper, subject in the slightest degree to the dictation of an arrogant mediaevel tyrant and his supporters."

To this, even Baker assented.[108] Yet those witnesses have not hesitated, since the event, to insist that Wilson was compelled to prepare the country for such action as he had all along foreseen, it must and should take.

Wilson was actually still hopeful that Marburg and the Swiss Government might accomplish something with Austria. Accordingly, on the 18th, he despatched a note to Vienna, asking for a definite statement regarding the position of the Wilhelmplatz with respect to submarine warfare. Were the assurances that had been given at the time of the sinking of the Persia and Ancona, to be regarded as still in force?

On the 20th, McAdoo again brought up the shipping matter. Normal sailings had, since February 1st, been cut in half. Wilson, in reply, told of intercepted cables to Berlin, saying the American people were against war under any circumstances, and that they sympathized strongly with a neutrality that would keep all Americans off the seas.

"Thus does the Kaiser learn of American sentiment," scornfully observed Lane. "No wonder he sizes us up as cowards.[114] We are all, with the exception of one or two pro-Germans, feeling humiliated by the situation, but nothing can be done."

On the 23rd, the Cabinet fell into a heated altercation. It started with Lane's question about the truth of the report that the wives of American officials were being stripped by the Germans. Lansing replied that it was true. Then

Lane asked Houston if it were true that there were bread riots in New York, because of the tie up of shipping. This, too, appeared to be true. But Daniels interposed to say that the ships would not be convoyed, as urged by McAdoo. Coming to the support of Daniels, Wilson declared that the country was not willing that he should take any risk of bringing on a war. Lane denied this, and stated that "if it knew the facts, including those about the treatment of our women," it would not hesitate a moment. In this McAdoo, Houston, and Redfield agreed.

This was more than Wilson could stand. First, he charged his opponents with the desire to work up propaganda against Germany. When they denied this, indignantly, he turned on McAdoo with especial bitterness because of his unrestrained manner, and declared that he and the others were appealing to the spirit of the "Code Duello." [114] He then said that actions beyond his right or power as a constitutional executive, were being urged on him, and that some of the members of his Cabinet apparently wished him to assume the role of a dictator. No matter what happened, he declared, he would do nothing that savored of dictatorship—the government must "continue to be one of law." Houston again insisted that the ships should be armed, and that Wilson should go before Congress at once, if he felt he lacked authority.

"What shall I say, and for what form of support shall I ask?" enquired Wilson.

"Lay the situation before Congress, point out how, on account of the uncertainty and danger, our commerce is being destroyed, and say that, since Germany has plainly warned us that she would sink our ships if they go about their business in a lawful manner, it was not right that we should ask them to sail unprotected, and that Congress should authorize them to be furnished with guns and crews and any other necessary safeguards."

Much discussion followed. "We have to face the facts," went on Houston. "We can not afford to let Germany dominate us, or cut England off and crush France. We will be next on her list. If she starves England, we alone can stand

for law and order in the world. Germany will demand an abject surrender from England. She would demand her fleet, and would take her colonies and a huge indemnity. She would be the mistress of the world, and her arrogance and ruthlessness would know no bounds."[106]

In his memoirs, Houston says he felt confident that the President held his views, and that his attitude of resistance was wise, inasmuch as it tended to solidify the Cabinet. This seems to have been an afterthought, for Lane contemporaneously recorded the fact that, after the meeting described, Houston spoke of resigning. Lane was sure Mc-Adoo would resign within a year.[114]

At any rate, having started the trouble, Lane tried, after the meeting, to smooth down the situation. "We have had to push, and push, and push, to get the President to take any forward step—the Trade Commission, the Tariff Commission. He comes out right, but he is slower than a glacier—and things are mighty disagreeable, whenever anything has to be done." So he told Houston and McAdoo. Wilson was being abused, he declared, by the Republicans for being slow. This might help. Since Wilson wanted no extra session, the Republicans were fearful he would submit to anything in the way of "indignity" or "national humiliation" without "hitting back." In his opinion, Wilson had been firmly convinced by Bernstorff that the munition manufacturers were back of the Republican demand for an extra session. Aside from this, he did not want to call Congress. While it was adjourned, he would not have to call Cabinet meetings, and could be alone and unbothered.

"I don't know whether the President is an internationalist or a pacifist," Lane wrote his son. "He seems to be very mildly national—his patriotism is covered over with a film of philosophic humanitarianism, that certainly doesn't make for punch at such a time as this."

Perhaps even Lane did not yet suspect the influence Marburg had exerted on Wilson through House and Houston.

CHAPTER LII

The Outbreak of the Russian Revolution. Compelled to Act, Wilson Shifts the Responsibility for the Arming of Merchant Ships. The Publication of the Zimmer-mann Note. Wilson Refuses to Call an Extra Session of Congress. The Stone-LaFollette Filibuster. Wilson's Second Inaugural. He Turns on Stone, and Assails the "Wilful Few."

HOW LONG WILSON would have contented himself with the dismissal of Bernstorff, had it not been for the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, is a matter of conjecture. Exactly how much he had contributed to that dire event, it is also impossible to say. Just a month after his public declaration that Poland—one of the most restless provinces—must be a democracy, there occurred in the strike of the women textile workers of St. Petersburg on February 23, 1917, the first act in the bloody tragedy of the revolution, which Germany had long been promoting in Russia [43, 102, 150, 214, 223]

Wilson seemed to have no understanding of what the strike portended. His mind was wholly engrossed with the idea of keeping America out of war, despite the fact that the practical elimination of Russia as a military factor by the disorders in St. Petersburg, seemed more than likely.

He was no more inclined to take the responsibility for arming the merchant marine. Nor was he inclined to trust Stone in such a matter. The responsibility should and must be shifted to Congress.

Accordingly, on February 26, 1917, he addressed Congress as 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 cooperation 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 Frye, 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 Frye, 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 peo-

ple, 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 of adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce, 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 those 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 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 willful 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 can not 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, and 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 can not imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things."

By this time it was obvious to the world that revolution was abroad in Russia. The troops had, for the first time, proved disloyal to the Czar.[223] Terribly alarmed, the Entente Governments saw only too plainly that Germany had succeeded at last in neutralizing Russia's great military power, that Germany was ever nearer to a victory.[44] Now if ever, America must intervene.[150,166] Thus on the very day-February 27, 1917—that the first blodshed occurred in St. Petersburg, and mutiny broke out among the Imperial troops, which spelled the certain downfall of the existing Russian Government, Wilson was compelled, by the threat of its publication without his consent, to allow the pub-lication of the Zimmermann note.[103] The American people

would never have forgiven him for its willful suppression. He was now himself greatly alarmed, since it was obvious that Germany would soon be able to concentrate against Britain and France. The revolutionary spirit might even spread to France and Britain, as the Germans hoped it would, to such an extent as to weaken them greatly. What would then become of America?

The effect of the publication of the Zimmermann note was anticipated by the Entente, and foreseen by Wilson. Although many persons were prone to doubt the authenticity of the message, Lansing at once formally assured Congress, and Zimmermann himself confessed, that it was genuine. For a time, speculation as to how it had been intercepted, was uncontrolled. It was rumored that the messenger had been caught by American guardsmen on the Mexican border, that a copy had been taken from Bern-storff at Halifax, that it was in a mysterious box seized by the British on the ship upon which Bernstorff had sailed. Apparently the Germans themselves did not know the facts, and few persons suspected the truth—that the Allies had a friend in the Wilhemstrasse, just as the Wilhelmstrasse had friends in Downing Street, in the Quai d'Orsay and in Washington.[109]

Once the American people became convinced that their own territory was threatened, all the old pacifist arguments against war went by the board.[119] It was no longer possible for Wilson to maintain the position that the belligerents were on a parity, that with their aims and objects the country was not concerned. Nor did the country propose to permit Germany any longer to tie up American shipping. The speed with which the House of Representatives responded to Wilson's appeal of February 26, 1917, is indicative of the popular sentiment. A bill authorizing the arming of American merchant vessels, was passed in the House on March 1st, by a vote of 403 to 13.

History will probably never know exactly what was the understanding between Wilson and Stone at this moment, to what extent they were acting in concert. When the House Bill was referred to the Foreign Relations Com-

mittee of the Senate, Chairman Stone instantly set out to kill the measure, nor was Wilson's voice raised against him. Certainly Stone himself, who had not the least understanding of the sentiment of the country, believed at first that he was acting with the approval of Wilson. And the evidence shows that he was surprised at the turn things presently took.

Wilson, of course, had his ear close to the ground. There would seem to be no doubt that final notice was now served on him by the Democratic press, that he must abandon Stone.* At any rate, the Democratic papers at once began to represent Wilson as the proponent of the action to which he had adroitly avoided committing himself in his message to Congress of February 26th, without protest on Wilson's part.

There were those, however, who were not deceived by Wilson's silence. Knowing that he would probably avoid action if Congress adjourned, LaFollette and nine other Republicans started a filibuster on the bill to prevent action thereon before March 4th, and thereby compel an extra session at which war might be declared. Stone joined the filibuster, for an entirely different reason. Bryan stood squarely behind Stone.

The 4th being Sunday, the inaugural ceremony had been arranged for the following day. At Wilson's request, there was to be as little celebration as possible. Yet, under the law, he must be sworn in on the 4th.

It was a sad occasion for Wilson. The aspect of the

* In a letter of March 1st, the Editor of the Times, History wrote the writer as follows: "We owe you an apology, and offer it herein, for our failure to fulfill our decision to use the article that you submitted, but on further consideration, and in the light of developments within the past few days, it seems to us that the article would hardly be available for our publication.

"The revelations regarding the intrigues between Mexico and Germany, and the fact that this was known to the President some weeks ago, and the further fact that the whole course of events now points irresistibly to definite and forceful measures, would seem to anticipate the criticisms in your paper. It could not be published before April, and by that time the inaction of our administration perhaps might be translated into very forcible action, and hence the discussion would seem futile. We thank you very much for the opportunity and herewith return the manuscript."

weather comported with his spirits—the day was dark and gloomy, with high winds, and floods of rain. He and Mrs. Wilson started for the Capitol at 10:30 A.M., in order that he might sign the bills which had, as usual, come in from Congress at the last moment, before he took the oath of office.

Meantime seventy-five Senators, including many Democrats, had signed a statement, which they had made a part of the record of the upper house. In this they declared in favor of the pending bill, and attested their wish to vote for it, had they been able to do so. Wilson seems to have sensed the real sentiment of the country at last, and to have made up his mind openly to repudiate Stone. When he returned to the White House, he was much excited. He denounced the small band of Senators who had undertaken to use the arbitrary rules of the Senate to defeat the wishes of the majority regarding the arming of merchantmen, and especially his old coadjutor, Stone.

"I suggested," says House, "that he say to the public what he was saying to me, and say it immediately. His answer was that he could not put it in his Inaugural Address, because it would spoil the texture of it, but he would put it out in a few days. I urged him to do it now, giving it to the newspapers tomorrow morning, in order to strike while the iron was hot. He wondered whether he could do it so quickly, but said he would try."

Wilson did not wish to dwell, in his inaugural address, on a party fight with Stone and the other filibusters, since it was to be another appeal to the masses of Europe, and particularly to the people of Russia.

He shut himself in practically all the afternoon of the 4th, preparing the statement to be given out for publication to the morning papers. After dinner, he called in McAdoo, Burleson, and Tumulty, to discuss House's suggestion, which they all approved.

Still shaken by a great passion, he told Houston, on the morning of the 5th, that "a little group of wilful men"— Stone, LaFollette, Lodge, Penrose, and seven others— "representing no opinion but their own," had rendered

the government "helpless and contemptible," and commented on the "vanity" of LaFollette and the "slipperi-ness" of Stone. He condemned the rules of the Senate, which had enabled the will of the majority to be defeated. Before the crowd which gathered at the Capitol, he delivered his second inaugural address.

"MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

"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, liberate 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 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 a stage, and in cooperation with the wide and universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirit 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 can not 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 proceeding 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 amongst 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 arrant 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 their 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 of 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." [190]

With this new and tremendous appeal to Europe out of the way, Wilson was free to assail Stone and the "Wilful Few" as bitterly as he chose.

Published a few hours after Congress had adjourned under a heavy cloud of popular disfavor, his statement branding the filibusters as "a little group of wilful men," placed in the hands of other Congressmen, arguments with which they might defend themselves. He now made them his own champions, whatever had been their individual feelings in the past. It crystallized in his favor the opinion

which the filibusters had insulted. Public opinion elevated him to the pedestal of leadership which it had long desired him to occupy. Nothing could have served to efface more quickly the memory of his own supine submission to repeated German affronts.

For this, there was a price. In branding all the fili-busters indiscriminately as hostile to the Nation's best interests, and as lacking in a sense of the national honor, when some of them were, like Lodge, only bent on compelling him to defend it, he made what was eventually seen to be a fatal political mistake. Lodge, Penrose, and La-Follette were powerful in the Councils of the Senate, which knew their real motives. It was only natural that the rest of their political careers should be devoted to a demonstration that they were lacking neither in patriotism, nor in courage to assert their convictions. Henceforth there was to be no compromise with one who had besmirched their motives. God willing, they did not propose to allow Wilson to involve the United States in an internationalist project which might place the interests of others above those of their own country, out of consideration for some ill-defined humanistic principle. And Lodge did, in the end, just what John Quincy Adams had done in 1823— forced a choice by the American people between American tradition and the Internationalism of Europe.[29]

In retrospect, it seems certain that if Wilson had not been trying to deal arbitrarily with the Senate and the American people, if he had been willing to come out fairly and squarely against Germany, in obedience to the undoubted will of the majority, he would not, at least, have defeated his own project of carrying the United States into a league of nations, by making those who distrusted him, suspicious of his purpose.

CHAPTER LIII

Austria Stands Firm. The "Overt Act." "Armed Neutrality." A Revulsion of Popular Feeling. Conscription Opposed by Wilson and Baker. Wilson and Baker Overruled by the Council of National Defense. Wood Disposed of. The League to Enforce Peace Demands Intervention Through House. Houston and Alderman. Wilson Overborne at Last.

THE DAY AFTER Wilson's second inauguration, came, with strangely timed significance, an answer from Vienna. The assurances given at the time of the Ancona incident were repeated. Neutrals would sail on belligerent ships in the barred zone, at their own risk! As if to emphasize Pan-German unity, there occurred, this same day, the "overt act" which Wilson had hoped might never happen. The Cunard liner Laconia was sunk without warning, and with the loss of two American lives—both women!

This response by the Wilhelmplatz was a severe blow to Wilson. All hope of working for peace through Austria was gone! Nothing was left but to refuse to accept Count Tarnowski's credentials, and to sever diplomatic relations with Austria. Having learned from Marye that Francis would be acceptable to the Czar's Government, the latter was appointed, on the 6th, Ambassador to Russia, under the most urgent instructions to press for a new treaty acceptable to Jewish interests. Undoubtedly Francis was also directed to pledge the support of the United States to the new Government which would, it now seemed certain, be formed in Russia.

Against the recent actions of Germany and Austria, there was little popular outcry in the United States. In the

rapid march of events during the past few weeks, the popular mind had become too confused to give definite expression to its convictions. Germany had declared her intent to return to unrestricted submarine warfare. The ship-arming controversy, the Zimmermann note, the Russian Revolution, the Senate Filibuster, the breaking down of party lines in Congress, a complete change of attitude on the part of the press, Wilson's sudden break with Stone, his attack on the Filibusters, the rapid sinking of more American vessels—all these events combined, left the country dazed and inarticulate. A wiser man than Wilson, would have seen in the widespread protest at the recent action of the "Wilful Few" in the Senate, ample sanction for the most drastic action.

He had purposely hardened his mind and heart, and resolved to await the indecisive peace for which he had striven. The dismissal of Bernstorff, coupled with Wilson's assault upon the "Wilful Few," had sent American stock high among the Allies, overseas as well as at home; now it fell as rapidly.

"Ambassador W. H. Page to Colonel House

" (Telegram)

"London, March 9, 1917 "I find that continued delay in sending out American ships, especially American liners, is producing an increasingly unfavorable impression. . . . Delay is taken to mean the submission of our Government to the German blockade. . . . There is a tendency, even in high Government circles, to regard the reasons for delay which are published here, as technicalities which a national crisis should sweep aside. British opinion couples the delay of our ships with the sinking of the Laconia and the Zimmermann telegram, and seems to be reaching the conclusion that our Government will not be able to take positive action under any provocation. The feeling which the newspaper despatches from the United States produce on the British mind, is that our Government is holding back our people until the blockade of our ships, the Zimmermann telegram, and the Laconia shall be forgotten, and until the British navy shall overcome the German submarines. There is danger that

this feeling harden into a conviction, and interfere with any influence that we might otherwise have, when peace comes.

"So friendly a man as Viscount Grey of Falloden writes me privately from his retirement: 'I do not see how the United States can sit still, while neutral shipping is swept off the sea. If no action is taken, it will be like a great blot on history, or a failure that must grievously depress the future history of America.'

"PAGE."

"The United States," wrote Roosevelt, "has not a friend in the world. Its conduct, under the leadership of its official representatives, for the last five years, and, above all, for the last three years, has deprived it of the respect, and has secured for it the contempt, of every one of the great civilized nations of mankind. Peace treaties, and windy Fourth-of-July eloquence, and the base materialism which seeks profit as an incident to the abandonment of duty, will not help us now. For five years, our rulers at Washington have believed that all this people cared for was easy money, absence of risk and effort, and high sounding platitudes, which were not reduced to action. We have so acted as to convince other nations that, in very truth, we are too proud to fight; and the man who is too proud to fight, is in practice always treated as just proud enough to be kicked. We have held our peace when our women and children were slain. We have turned away our eyes from the sight of our brother's woe."

Wilson was not shaken either by Roosevelt's ideas, or by Page's implied argument, that what Grey and the British thought, ought to decide his course. Knowing what was in his mind, both the Cabinet and the State Department were disturbed by his continued unwillingness to act. They looked to House, as the only man who could hurry him.

With Stone gone, what was to be his next turn?

The Senate and the press had, by their overwhelming support of the measure providing for the arming of merchant vessels, clearly indicated the answer, Recalling the armed neutrality of 1780 and 1800, and the action of the United States against France in Adams' Administration,

when merchantmen were armed to defend themselves against attack by French cruisers, he now seized upon this plan as the only means left to prevent intervention; while efforts to encourage a Hungarian revolt, and thereby start the break-up of the Central Alliance, were continued. To satisfy the country and, at the same time, frighten the Pan-Germans, and to gain more time, Wilson called on the Attorney General to advise him if he had authority to arm American passenger and merchant vessels. This frightened the Pan-Germans not at all. Promptly advised that Congressional action was unnecessary, since authority to protect American lives, short of offensive warfare, was already vested in the President, he continued quiescent. But when the Algonquin was sunk, on March 12th, he dared resist no longer, and directed the Secretary of State to issue the necessary orders. An official statement, explaining what required no explanation, was sent to all the diplomatic missions in Washington!

"In view of the announcement of the Imperial German Government on January 31, 1917, that all ships, those of neutrals included, met within certain zones of the high seas, would be sunk, without any precautions being taken for the safety of the persons on board, and without the exercise of visit and search, the Government of the United States has determined to place upon all American merchant vessels sailing through the barred areas, an armed guard for the protection of the vessels, and the lives of the persons on board."

If Wilson had any idea that this notice would serve as a deterrent to the Pan-Germans, he was disappointed. The evidence is clear that the German Government redoubled its direct efforts to insure the military aid of Mexico in the event of a breach with America, and to expedite the collapse of Russia.[244]

Wilson was in the hands of an implacable Fate. He had long directly encouraged revolution in Germany, Austria, and Russia. The Governments of the Central Allies were strong, that of Russia had been utterly discredited. On

March 15th, with a suddenness that was breathtaking, the Czar abdicated in favor of the Grand Duke Michael.

A provisional government was at once proclaimed by the Duma, with Prince Lvov as Premier and Minister of Interior, Milyukov as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Kerensky, a Social Democrat and leader of the working classes, as Vice-Premier and Minister of Justice. Upon the refusal of Michael to mount the throne, a serious problem confronted the Entente. Germany was now free to press her submarine campaign with the utmost vigor. On the 19th, came word that three more American vessels had been sunk, with the loss of fifteen members of the crew of the Vigilancia.

The action of a Nation in the situation of the United States at this time, is governed neither by materialism nor sentiment—rather by a mixture of the two. With the material interests of the country in jeopardy, the vast majority, who had long deplored the subordination of the national honor to commercial interests, were able to take the lead. They were to demonstrate that "where wealth and freedom reign, contentment fails."

The American people had taken to heart Goldwin Smith's admonition: "Don't back into us, Mr. President. We are behind you!"

The Internationalists and the Pacifists had all had their way, while humanity bled to death! With America growing richer and richer, the popular conscience grew uneasy. Under the lashings of Roosevelt, Harvey, Eliot, Beck and a host of others, the Nation awoke at last to reality!

The British, nearer the conflict, and more vitally concerned with its outcome, had been prompt to action. They had freed themselves, at once, from the sloth of pacifism, and the proffered leadership of false humanitarians. Grandly they had cast aside the fatuous doctrines of misguided zealots, to save the world from impending ruin! In mankind's terrible hour of travail and uncertainty, they had struck the Prussian Junkers with all their might and main.

Similarly prompt to action had been the 40,000 Ameri-

can citizens who had enrolled in the armies of the Allies. A ceaseless flow of letters from these gallant warriors appealed to their countrymen to support the cause in which they had enlisted. The Lafayette Escadrille, and the American ambulance and hospital units in France, spoke even more loudly to the conscience of the massses than Roosevelt's volunteers.

Surely, the words of the old Greek orator-patriot held some promise. "Of the dead who have fallen in battle, the wide Earth itself is the sepulchre; their tomb is not the grave in which they are laid, but the undying memory of the generations that come after. They perish, snatched in a moment, in the height of achievement, not from their fear, but from their renown. Fortunate! And you who have lost them, you, who, as mortals, have been subject to disaster, how fortunate are you to whom sorrow comes in such glorious shape!"

There needed no spokesman to paraphrase the words of Demosthenes—"With us the decision rests. If we should decide wrongly, it is not the loss of prestige, it is not the narrowed bounds we have to fear, it is the judgment of the dead, the despair of the living, of the inarticulate myriads who have trusted to us, it is the arraigning eyes of. the unborn. Who can confront this unappalled?" In the ominous silence that now reigned, there spoke a louder demand for leadership than the Nation had ever made before.

Though Wilson remained blind and deaf, the politicians awoke. At the Cabinet meeting on March 20th, the question at once arose whether a special session of Congress should be called. Wilson recounted his order for arming American vessels, and opposed summoning Congress to meet sooner than April 16th, the regularly appointed time.[106]

Houston now took the lead once more. Much more should, he thought, be done. Was Germany not actually making war upon the United States? Was it not obvious that her agents had fomented the hostile acts of the Mexicans? "A big army and navy should," he declared, "be created at once." "The quickest way to hit Germany is to

help the Allies." The Allies should be asked what aid they wanted from this country. The popular objection to a large standing force had no relation to the present emergency. The existing navy should unite forthwith with the navies of the Allies. Ships should be built. Supplies should be shipped immediately to the Allies, and credits extended them. "Send at once to France an expeditionary force of the regulars who can be spared. Send them to return the visit of Rochambeau, for moral reasons!"

Thus, in plain words, spoke Houston the Internationalist. Upon the ear of Wilson, who heard him in silence, his voice fell like the scratching of a diamond on glass.

Even Baker, the pacifist, favored taking immediate steps, though not those urged by Houston. Unless something were done at once, he expected the country to demand the raising of a great army by conscription.

Conscription was exactly what Houston wanted, and he insisted that Congress should be summoned at once, called on to declare war, and pass the necessary measures to provide a great army and navy. "Why wait two weeks?" he enquired. "We are drifting!"

McAdoo spoke to the same effect. Lansing, as usual, forebore to express himself. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, said he had reluctantly come to concur. As he saw it, war already existed—Congress should be called to act, accordingly. Gregory and Redfield, and finally Baker and Burleson, expressed the same opinion. Daniels took no position, merely giving the views of the naval experts, when called upon. Having angered Wilson by what he had said long since, Lane remained sullenly silent, but his mere failure to speak was eloquent.[106]

Wilson then enumerated the principal things which had occurred since he had last addressed Congress: the Russian Revolution, the liberal trend in Germany, and the failure of American ships to sail. If America's entrance into the war would hasten the popular movements in Russia and Germany, lauded in his address of January 22nd, he thought it would be ample justification for such action, but he could not assign this as a reason for calling Congress to

convene at once. Only in the actions of Germany could justification for this be found.[106]

St U hoping the Socialists would prevail, he was manifestly concerned with general political considerations, rather than with the situation of the Allies, or the present sufferings of humanity.

Those present did not propose to allow the discussion to end at this point. As they saw it, the Russian Revolution was a tremendously important and far-reaching factor. It might extend to both Germany and Austria. With the Church behind them, the Revolutionists in Russia might be able to "carry on," but, unless encouraged by the United States, they might also "drop out" of the war. What then? Was Europe to be left to anarchy?

According to Gregory, Burleson insisted, before the meeting was over, that "the people wish the country to go into the war actively." Thereupon Wilson replied: "It does not make so much difference what the people wish, as what is right."

Here again Wilson expressed the conviction which had animated his conduct in office from the first—what the Nation wanted was entirely secondary to what he deemed good for it. Burleson was not to be silenced by any such argument. With a show of impatience which must have surprised Wilson, he retorted that, if he were President in such a situation, he would want to have the people behind him!

"It is not necessary," went on Houston, "to determine here and now the details of an appeal to the country, or the exact recommendations to be made to Congress, but Congress should be called at once!" In this the entire Cabinet agreed.

So ended the fateful meeting. Although Wilson gave no intimation of his purpose, he called on Congress, the following day, to assemble in special session on April 2, 1917. Like the Entente Governments, he recognized the absolute necessity of keeping Russia in the war. To that end, the Provisional Government must be encouraged— his new Ambassador hastened, accordingly, to extend the

recognition of the American Government. After an informal call on Milyukov, Francis, accompanied on the afternoon of the 22nd by the entire personnel of the Embassy, went to the Marensky Palace to meet the assembled Council of Ministers.

"May the cordial relations existing between the two countries continue to obtain, and may they prove mutually satisfactory and beneficial," said Francis. Two days later, the Entente Governments followed the lead of Wilson.

Meantime Wilson had continued to withhold his purpose from the Cabinet. Desperate at his inability to obtain any intimation of Wilson's intentions, Lansing, on March 24th, sought out House. Was there no way the President could be induced to take the reins in his own hands, and guide Congress?[103] McAdoo—the President's son-in-law-was now on the rampage for war. Three of his sons had enlisted. He was so disgusted with the delay that "he felt like resigning from the Cabinet, and raising a regiment for himself."[103]

Since no one had any doubt that Congress would declare war, if urged to do so by Wilson, the Council of National Defense set to work, in anticipation of the event, and even the Cabinet meetings themselves, according to Lane, were no more than councils of war.[114]

Wilson had already expressed the conviction that voluntary service would suffice to meet any possible need. In his opinion, 500,000 volunteers to fill up the regular army and militia, would suffice. Despite his ideas, however, a majority of the Council agreed with the oft-expressed opinions of Wood and Scott. As they saw it, the experiences of Britain were sufficient to dispel the illusions of Bryan that a million volunteers would respond in an emergency. Besides, as pointed out by the Chief of Staff in his last official report, voluntary service was unfair to patriots, as well as injurious to the country, because it destroyed the best men first. It had proved unsatisfactory in every other American emergency, and it surely would in this. The compulsory system alone, they insisted, permitted the intelligent mustering of the Nation's manpower, inasmuch as it enabled

the Government to determine for what service a man was fitted.

Daniels fought the majority view bitterly to the end. Despite his opposition, however, a majority of the Council went on record, on March 24th, as favoring universal compulsory military training, and the immediate raising of an army of 1,000,000 men. Although the Secretary of War still doubted the wisdom of this, he agreed to present the resolution to Wilson. Thus did the Cabinet throw into the discard, in the first emergency, the National Defense Act of 1916, upon which the Administration had prided itself. Wood had, at last, won out for his program of conscription!

But his recent silence was insufficient to save him. When Scott had urged, in February, the introduction of a compulsory service bill, Baker had at once demanded whether this was Wood's suggestion. Scott saw, even then, that his old friend was doomed, despite the efforts of Bliss and himself to protect him.

It is the common belief that Wilson now undertook to punish Wood for his many offenses. Even Hagedorn adopted this idea, but it is only partly true. Those high up in the Democratic party had sensed the temper of the country far more accurately than Wilson. As declared by House in a letter to Page, Congress would declare war when it assembled. Wood must be disposed of at once. It would be bad politics to allow him and Roosevelt to become war heroes.* Upon the declaration of war, a supreme commander for the expeditionary force to France would have to be chosen. Scott was not believed to be capable of filling the post. On the other hand, the selection of Pershing would be highly advantageous to the Administration. His father-in-law, Senator Warren, was a power in the Senate, who might be relied on to consolidate the Republicans behind Wilson, just at the time a united Congress

* To the writer, Senator T. S. Martin, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, said at this time in the Shoreham Hotel in Washington: "Go home, my boy. Forget Roosevelt and his Division. There's not a chance of Roosevelt and Wood being staged in this war. When you are needed, you will be called."

See: The Great Crusade, Wise.

would be necessary. Moreover, Pershing had proved himself capable of obeying orders without question, which was what Wilson would require above all else. The problem was how to avoid the trouble that Roosevelt would stir up, if Wood were overlooked.

It was a novel scheme to which Wilson resorted. Nor is it unlikely that House and the Cabinet, as well as the National Committee, were parties to it. Should the Department of the East be broken up into three parts, and Wood be given his choice between Charleston—a Democratic stronghold—and Hawaii or the Philippines, he would probably choose one of the latter posts as more commensurate with the dignity of his rank. That would dispose of him by a virtual exile, since he would not be available to command the expeditionary force to France, and would be out of the war. If he did not, he would be politically buried in South Carolina. Accordingly, on the afternoon of March 24, 1917, Wilson in person visited the office of the Secretary of War, and gave Baker his orders. The same day Scott, and Bliss, the Assistant Chief of Staff, were informed by Baker of Wilson's purpose to dispose of Wood. That evening Wood received the following telegram:

"The President has ordered the division of present Eastern Department into three parts and has designated General Edwards to command Northeastern Department, headquarters, Boston; Gen. J. Franklin Bell, Eastern Department, headquarters, Governors Island; Southeastern Department, headquarters, Charleston, S.C. Secretary of War directs you be given your option as to taking the latter department, or the more important one at Manila or Hawaii."

The telegram was puzzling, for it was couched in terms foreign to those normally used in official correspondence. Besides, it was customary to notify general officers in advance, when a transfer was contemplated.

One of Wood's aides called the Adjutant General on the telephone:

Aide: "General Wood has received an uncoded telegram from Washington marked 'Personal and confidential,' signed

with your name, which is of such importance that, before acting upon it, he wants to make sure that you sent it. It has to do with the division of this department into three."

Adjutant General: "Tell the general I sent it. I know all about it. That is, I didn't make it, but I sent it."

Aide: "He just wanted to make sure it was all right and not a fake."

Adjutant General: "No. Tell him it was sent by order of the United States. It is all right. And I'm sorry it is all right too."

No one at headquarters had heard, until now, of any intention of subdividing the Department of the East. In Washington, even the Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, George E. Chamberlain, had heard no inkling of it. So that Wood had no doubt what was in the air. He had never liked Pershing, and he knew that Pershing did not like him. Therefore he had never trusted him, despite his professions of loyalty, when he was Chief of Staff. Since then, Scott and Bliss had both warned Wood of what was to be expected, when the time came to select an army commander. Wood was a miserable politician, however, and had not believed it possible that he could be thrust aside by those in power. In fact, he had not even foreseen the influence which Warren could exert in silencing his own friends in the Senate, nor that his intimacy with Roosevelt would actually militate against him among certain other powerful Republican leaders, who held Roosevelt responsible for Wilson, and many of their other troubles. All these things he saw too late, if at all.

At any rate, he had no idea of voluntarily exiling himself. That would simply make it easier for Warren to secure Pershing's appointment. Moreover, he knew that, on the declaration of war, the Department of the Southeast would be one of the most important in the country. Therefore, after sleeping on the order, he wired the Adjutant General as follows:

"Acknowledge receipt of your confidential and personal telegram, March 24, informing that Eastern department is to be

divided into three parts, and tendering me command at Charleston, or command at Manila or Hawaii. I prefer Charleston."

"With a war to the East," he said to a friend, "I have no wish to move West." He refused to comment publicly on his transfer. "I am a soldier," he said, "and I go where I am sent."

No one was deceived. The news of the order created a sensation. Telegrams and letters of indignation poured in on Wood. New York was in a furore. Washington hummed. Wood's transfer was, it was said, the result of the machinations of a cabal. Certain individuals had been going about unfolding horrifying catalogues of his acts of insubordination, and had poisoned Wilson's mind against him. A distinguished English observer in Washington, Sidney Brooks, found that no one pretended that Wood's banishment was in the interest of military efficiency. Even prominent Democrats protested to members of the Cabinet against "such idiotic politics." Were they trying to make Wood the hero of the war?

From one end of the country to the other, the tumult raged. The incident cast a chill over the national fervor. Young men about to enlist growled: "What kind of country is this, anyway? What kind of army? I guess I'll wait till they make me enlist."

An official statement from the War Department that the Army War College, a division of the general staff, had recommended that the Eastern Department be divided into three parts, was denied by "high officers of the Army" in Washington, who declared that they were opposed to the separation. The Administration now took fright. A "high official" of the War Department hurriedly issued a statement to the effect that Wood's transfer to Charleston was in no sense a reflection upon him, but, on the contrary, a special recognition of his merit. The Southeastern Department embraced that quarter of the country where there was less preparedness for war, and less military enthusiasm, than in any other section. The National Guard there was in a weak condition. The Gulf Coast, moreover, strate-

gically of the utmost importance, was weak as a factor in the national defense. Wood, as the principal advocate of preparedness, an organizer of exceptional ability and a consistent leader for universal training, was therefore the best fitted of all officers to "plug up a weak hole in the military line," and to arouse military enthusiasm in the Southeast. Demoted? Exiled? What an idea! He had been given the opportunity to make his services of the greatest value to the United States.

The bland hypocrisy of all this was manifest when Wood gave the press a copy of his orders. Charleston or "the more important post" at Manila or Hawaii! When it was seen that the "high official" had only imperfectly represented the facts of the situation, it was concluded that all the talk about Wood having been selected for the purpose of rousing the South, had been merely a screen to hide the fact that he was being punished for his political activities in the past. If Manila or Hawaii, why not Alaska? enquired impertinent editors. Harvey was violent. There was another outburst from the public, sharper in tone than before. A people about to go to war, did not relish this insult to its intelligence.

The New York Chamber of Commerce and other commercial groups, determined that the defense of the nation's greatest seaport and money market should not be compromised by political considerations, added to the storm of protest which whirled around the War Department and the White House. The Administration thereupon dipped into its bag of tricks, and pulled out a familiar device. From the War Department came intimations that the Administration had changed its mind, and that Wood would remain in command of the Department of the East. If, indeed, he were moved at all, it would be "to a place of even greater importance."

This had the anticipated effect. Public indignation subsided and in the excitement of the moment nobody noted that, for all the fine flourish, the orders under which Wood was eventually to be eliminated from a conspicuous part in the war, remained unchanged.

As a general officer on active duty, Wood had been far from blameless. Although he had rendered the country a great service, he had gambled for high stakes, politically, and had lost. His elimination had long been inevitable, and he had brought it on himself. The unforgivable thing is that Wilson and House had designedly made use of him, so long as he had anything to contribute to the Internationalist scheme, had encouraged him to do what Wilson as President should never have permitted, out of consideration for his own dignity, and had then, for political reasons, denied him the opportunity to serve his country in the way he was best capable of doing. The moral of his life is that a soldier who wishes to achieve success in his profession, must leave politics alone.

As for Roosevelt and his division of volunteers—they never had a chance. Coupled with the Democratic opposition to their project, was the determination of the General Staff to prevent trespass upon its prerogatives. Roosevelt saw from what had happened to Wood, what was to be expected. Thereafter, he merely kept the enterprise alive to enforce action on Wilson, without any real hope that his services would be accepted. Thus the advent of the war was to terminate the careers of three spectacular figures who had attained national prominence almost coincident-ally—Colonel Bryan, Colonel Roosevelt, and General Wood. "The Boy Orator of The Platte" had destroyed himself in his mad pursuit of peace, while the two popular heroes of Santiago had sacrificed themselves to the national honor. In a sense, the three fell victim to Wilson, who had made use of them all. Such is Fate!

Yes, Wood's was another scalp for Wilson. Apparently Wilson was irresistible. Smith, Nugent, Harvey, Watter-son, McCombs, Moore, McReynolds, Bryan, Garrison, Lansing, Breckenridge, Walter Hines Page, Herrick, Gerard, Thomas Nelson Page, Morgenthau, Elkus, Ryan, Pou, Saulsbury, Stone, Wood,—all those who had opposed him within the Administration or the party Councils—had gone the same way. Some he had promoted, some demoted, some dismissed, some merely ignored, but all had fallen be-

fore him. And now he was suspicious even of House, and becoming increasingly restive under his dictation.

Yet he did not dare dismiss the "Silent Partner." When, on March 28th, Wilson, still looking to Marburg, asked House whether he should call on Congress to declare war, or merely recognize that a state of war existed, it was time for the Internationalists to play their last trump. According to House, he now resorted to a combination of criticism and flattery.

"You are too refined, too intellectual, too cultured for the task of conducting a vigorous, brutal, and successful war; but although you are unfit for this by nature, I want you to deal with the situation in that creditable way which alone will enable you to perform the great part which will be yours upon the coming of peace!"

Such, in substance, is what House claims to have said to the man who was President of the United States! House then goes on to say that, taking this more as a compliment than otherwise, Wilson agreed that a man of coarser fibre than himself was demanded for the task ahead of him.[103] Whatever the truth of this may be, it seems certain Wilson was finally told by House that he must call upon Congress to declare war; and, on March 29th, he took up with House the substance of the necessary message to Congress with the purpose, he said, of leaving the actual phraseology to the last moment.

At the Cabinet meeting of the 30th, the question was raised of requisitioning the interned German vessels, and disposing of their crews. Wilson still seemed uncertain of the sentiment of the country. It was at once proposed that the difficulty of the lack of Congressional sanction, might be overcome by taking the crews into custody as aliens, under the immigration laws. This would prevent them from injuring the vessels. As for the sentiment of the country, he was assured by Houston that he need not worry. Houston then read to the Cabinet a stirring letter from Edwin A. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, who was now an active member of the League to Enforce Peace.

As Alderman saw it, a victory for Germany would be a

terrible blow to "democracy"—the deadliest it had ever received. He believed "righteous force" should be applied on behalf of "humanity" at once, in lieu of "soft mediation." The time had come to sound the tocsin of war! No one could do it so well as the President, if he chose. "Democracy" was the word!

A comparison of this letter with the one Page had written Alderman the preceding summer, shows that it was but a transcription of the latter, and of the one which Page had written Wilson in November, 1916. Nevertheless, "with his usual eye and ear for rhetoric, Wilson was at once attracted by Alderman's polished phraseology," for Alderman was, next to the President, one of the most finished Jeffer-sonian rhetoricians in America. Houston sent Alderman's letter to Wilson later that day, with a note of transmittal calling attention to the "admirable expressions" in it. He wanted them to be available to Wilson, when he came to draft his message to Congress. In other words, Marburg was now prompting Wilson not alone through House!

On April 1st, the President had still not committed himself finally. House felt it necessary to reassure him about the Middle West, by laying before him the report of a two weeks' canvass of Kansas and Missouri by a trained observer. This showed that, while the people there were not enthusiastic over war, because they did not know what it was all about, they would follow Wilson even against Bryan.[103] Wilson and House thereupon went into a final executive session, during which the President read the draft of the message he was to deliver to Congress the following day. In it, the democratic idealism of Page and the rhetoric of Alderman had been fully incorporated. It must ever seem an extraordinary thing that, having turned on and cast out the man in whose brain had originated the thoughts now expressed, he was to express them in the "catch-words" of another.

"Why have you not shown the message to the Cabinet?" House asked Wilson.

"Because," was the reply, "if I had, every man in it would have had some suggestion to make, and it would

have been picked to pieces, if I had heeded their criticism." This but confirmed the general idea that he had become increasingly impatient of advice.[103] But having been committed by House at last, Wilson began to escape from the agony of uncertainty which he had long known. On the afternoon of April 1st, he told Cobb, the Editor of the New York World, that he had never been so uncertain about anything in his life, as this decision.

It was too late now for the President to overcome with rhetoric, the evil to which he had already contributed. The Russian Revolution was rapidly passing beyond all control by the original Revolutionists, just as had been the case in the French Revolution. "Lenin," said Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, on Nov. 5, 1919, "was sent into Russia by the Germans in the same way that you might send a phial containing the culture of a poisonous drug, and pour it into the water supply of a great city. And it worked with amazing accuracy. No sooner did Lenin arrive, than he began beckoning a finger here and beckoning a finger there to obscure persons in sheltered streets in New York, in Glasgow, in Berne, and in other cities and countries. He gathered together the leading spirits of a formidable sect, the most formidable sect in the world, of which he was the high priest and chief. With these spirits around him he set out to work with demoniacal ability to tear to pieces every institution on which the Russian state depended. Russia was laid low. Russia had to be laid low. She was laid low in the dust."

In helping "to lay Russia low," Wilson had failed to envisage that which even Ludendorff thoroughly understood. "By sending Lenin to Russia," wrote Ludendorff, "our Government has assumed a great responsibility. From a military point of view his journey was justified, for Russia had to be laid low. But our Government should have seen to it that we also were not involved in her fall." [130]

CHAPTER LIV

The Voice of The Nation and The Declaration of War.

THE SPRING of 1917 was a particularly lovely one in Washington. April the second was one of the brightest gems in its crown. Across the unruffled azure of the sky, flotillas of Viking ships drifted lazily as if, following a great storm, their sails were sunning in the glow.

To a stranger, Wilson would have seemed as calm as the leafing trees, breathlessly drinking in the warm sunshine. Actually, his composure was only apparent. With a spirit wracked and twisted by the relentless storms of the past ten years, he was quivering inwardly with the fear of the next gale. "I could see signs of nervousness on his part," wrote House, who never let him out of his sight during that day. "Neither of us did anything except kill time."

Wilson told House in the morning, that he was determined not to speak until after three o'clock. He believed that, to do so, would make a bad impression—an impression that he was unduly pressing matters. He still did not see that the Nation wished him to speak in the most commanding way. "I told him," says House, "that he should hold himself ready to address Congress, whenever that body indicated its readiness to hear him."

A most significant thing happened during the day. As President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, now an ardent supporter of the Administration, publicly congratulated the Russian masses on the success of their revolution, in the name of "Justice, Freedom and Humanity," Wilson was, in a few hours, to refer to the

new Russian Government as a worthy partner for America in a "league of honor," but it was beyond the power of Wilson or Congress to endow the revolutionary Government with the capacity to make Russia a continuing factor in the war. In the breakdown of the old order, the Communists, backed by the German Government, saw their great opportunity. In a few days, Lenin and Trotsky would arrive in Russia, transported from Switzerland, through Germany, in a sealed box car, like the germs of a dread social disease.[109] Kerensky's dictatorship was doomed to failure. The revolution had in no wise prepared Russia to enter a league of nations. Lenin had other things in mind than the democratization of Russia; Wilson and the Internationalists would have done far better to come to the relief of the Czar, instead of encouraging the debacle in which Lenin found his opportunity.

During the afternoon of the 2nd, word came to the White House that Congress had set eight o'clock for Wilson's reception. Besides the members of the President's family who had gathered to hear the speech that evening, only House dined at the White House. No one adverted to the impending event. Distraught in mind, Wilson was thinking, no doubt, of the implacable Fate which had balked him in his course. Gazing across the Potomac, he could see the verdant slopes of Arlington. Surely the tragedy of another April 2nd—just fifty-six years before— when Robert E. Lee paced the veranda of his home, deliberating the decision which Fate compelled him, too, to make, must have recalled itself to Wilson's mind. Because of the moral victory Lee had won, his name was immortal.

Twilight fell. With outspread sails gleaming in the afterglow, the Viking ships passed over the purple horizon to the haven of Valhalla. In the far distance, a single spire dripped with the blood of the dying sun like a high-poised blade. Did the lonely man in the White House think of the Lusitania, the Arabic, the Sussex—the great fleet and its company—which had passed on to the unknown? Did he think of the moral victory which he, too, might have won, of the many occasions when he might have said:

"Christ came not on earth with peace but a sword. Let us put on the whole armor of God."

In the life of men and Nations alike, there are moments of supreme grandeur, more dramatic than human words can describe, more tragic than the most practised pen may portray.

Such a moment was that when Woodrow Wilson appeared before the Congress of the United States, to deliver a message not conceived in his own mind, but born, despite his own teachings, of the Nation's conscience. It was with the utmost skill at his command and withal a fine dignity, that he now spoke in its behalf. In a clear voice, without suggestion of inward doubt, he said:

"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 third 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 the 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 wind 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 noncombatants, 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 twenty-sixth of February last, I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our rights 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 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 cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident 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, as 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 twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February, and on the twenty-sixth 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 insure 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 of responsibility for wrong, 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 o£ 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, so 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 native 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 knew 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 people, 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 do-

minion. 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 indorsement 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 Tar-nowski, 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 reestablishment 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 friend-

ship, in our daily attitude and actions toward 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." [90]

While, like most of the President's speeches, this was marked by nobility of thought, clothed in distinguished style, no reasoning could reconcile it with his previous appeals for neutrality in thought and deed.[44] Nor was it more consistent with his previous statements concerning "America First," "Peace Without Victory," and his inability to find any material distinction between the aims and the objects of the belligerents.

Wilson commenced speaking at 8:40 and spoke twenty-two minutes. House timed him carefully.

The moral issues involved in the conflict in April, 1917, were no other than in May, 1915. Then, as now, humanity was crying out for the American people to redress its wrongs. The acts of the Central Allies which Eliot, Harvey, Page, Roosevelt, and Beck had always reprobated, while Wilson condoned them, he now condemned in his turn. The war, in 1917, was the Armageddon which Harvey had, in 1914, declared it to be. Wilson must surely have longed to recall much he had previously said.

With his knowledge of history, could he possibly have believed that the revolutionary government recently set up in Russia, possessed the power to repress the seething anarchy of that unhappy land, that it was a fit member for a "League of Honor"?

Was he under the self-infatuation of his own words—a state of mind well known to psychoanalysts? [96]

The press stated that, on the conclusion of the speech "Congress roared cheer after cheer in an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm." Their applause was, in fact, the spontaneous outcry of the impassioned soul of a people, long since become sensitive to the criticism of their course under the speaker's leadership—a people who had long suffered, in their pride, the anguish of a tormenting conscience. In the frenzy of the moment, not merely Congress but the Nation, found that relief which ever comes with the irrevocable confession of an overmastering conviction.

As House sat in the White House, enjoying the confidence of the President and his family, seeing in his pupil the prototype, not of great American patriots, but of an Italian Revolutionist, were his thoughts dwelling on the woes of mankind, or the perhaps impending holocaust in Russia? Apparently not; it was the peculiar excellence of Wilson's speech, the political effect it might have, that concerned both men in this awful hour. House goes on to say: "I could see that the President was relieved that the tension was over, and that the die had been cast. I knew this would happen." [103]

When America was at last called to arms, when a Washington or a Lincoln would have dedicated himself, solemnly

yet in all humility, to the awful and momentous responsibilities confronting him, we find Wilson and House discussing cheerfully with the White House ladies, what would be the effect of Wilson's speech on his reputation! The spectacle of such fantastic egotism is repulsive enough, without considering House's execrable taste in recording it for posterity. Thinking people, pondering his words in sober reflection, felt that he had never spoken more frankly to the masses of Europe than on April 2, 1917. Nor had he hesitated to appropriate ideas which, when expressed, previously, by a faithful ambassador, had more than displeased him.[99] The President had merely revoiced the call of the "New Freedom," sounded by him in 1913 as President-Elect. What joy must his words have brought to his "alter ego!"

Yet, in 1932, when a press photograph showed Franklin D. Roosevelt, just returned from his nomination in Chicago, conferring with House at the latter's Beverley home, the author of Philip Dru: Administrator proclaimed the Presidential nominee a more suitable leader for a new American Revolution than even Woodrow Wilson had been.

In any event, Woodrow Wilson called, in 1917, not merely for the liberalization of existing governments, but for the democratization of the whole world. The least enlightened peoples, the least advanced political societies, were summoned to enlist under his banner, to make the world "safe for democracy!"

Whatever that oft repeated phrase meant to Wilson, we need have no doubt that to his "alter ego" it implied one thing—Revolution.*

In the hysteria of the moment, few of those who heard the President's address, analyzed the import of his stirring words. With minds fixed on the peculiar circumstances of the moment, they did not suspect the speaker's motive. They thought, perhaps, of the unholy alliance between the Germans and the Turks, as the existing menace to freedom, and the object of Wilson's attack. What was in the minds

* See appendix.

of Wilson and his "silent partner," who had collaborated in the preparation of an address to Congress, actually an appeal to the earth's peoples?

"When we returned from the Capitol," writes House, "the President, Mrs. Wilson, Margaret, and I foregathered in the Oval Room, and talked it over, as families are prone to do after some eventful occasion. I had handed the President a clipping from Current Opinion, giving the foreign estimate of him. He read this aloud, and we discussed the article. I thought the President had taken a position as to policies, which no other statesman had yet assumed- He seemed surprised te hear me say this, and thought Webster, Lincoln, and Gladstone had announced the same principles. I differed from him. It seemed to me that he did not have a true conception of the path he was blazing. Of the modern statesmen, Mazzini is the one who had a similar outlook."

Mazzini and Machiavelli—how strange that they should have been impersonated in the White House, on this night above all others, by Wilson and House. Whether wisely or unwisely, and regardless of motive, Machiavelli had done no more to guide his "Prince" than the author of Philip Dru: Administrator, who had, like the mysterious Comte de St. Germain, undertaken not only to counsel the princes of a suffering world, but to furnish them with a definite philosophy.

And with what result? Certainly no man had done more to confuse the American people with oratory and rhetoric than Wilson. Only after years of quibbling, had Germany driven him into an espousal of the cause of humanity.

How great might he have seemed to posterity, had his conscience caused him to call the Nation to its duty long before! For, as the words he had now uttered penetrated the world's intelligence, he became, by the common acceptation of mankind, the most puissant mortal under the sun. It was as if one, speaking from a mountain top with all-seeing wisdom, had once more laid low the idol of the golden calf! House's comparison of Wilson and Mazzini

had a certain merit. The great Italian had voiced, prophetically, the subconscious hopes of the common people, a faculty basic to Wilson's claim to political greatness. As to the claim of his originality, there is less justification. Much that was reminiscent of Webster and Lincoln, is indeed apparent in his idea of the war as a crusade. War undertaken ostensibly for the sake of national liberty, of democracy, of the welfare of mankind, was no historical novelty.

It was not the applause of a jubilant nation which he had evoked. From the Capitol in Washington, his solemn words resounded throughout the land like echoes in a great hush. As the solemn sacramental moment passed, translated by the consciousness of their mission to a higher moral plane, exalted, with heads uplifted, proud in their might, they stood before the world without apology.

And Wilson? About him, at this supreme moment in the life of the Nation, there was much to appeal to one's pity. The tide of events was surging past him, leaving him like a chip in the turbulent surf. Ignorant, still, of the heart of his people, blind to its soul, he was still without the faith which Lincoln had possessed from the first. Harkening to the superficial counsels of petty politicians, who sensed, in the strange silence of the moment, nothing but opposition, he was still fearful of the way the country, and in particular the West, would receive his message. The words he had uttered, had risen against the darkness of the past like the glowing spires of a holy city at the coming of the dawn; but he alone remained unmoved. While the Nation awaited the response of Congress to its unspoken demand, Bryan and Stone knew that their protests would be like the squeakings of mice in a cataclysmic tempest. They were mute. Only Wilson, the supreme egotist, remained blind and deaf to the emotions he had himself called to life.

Obedient to the reawakened conscience of the mightiest nation on earth, Congress passed, on April 6, the Joint Resolution declaring a state of war to exist between the United States of America and Imperial Germany.

"Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government, to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination, all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."[190]

Thus, despite all his fears and all his efforts to prevent it, did Woodrow Wilson find himself a War President of the United States of America.

Under the circumstances narrated in this work, with the art of lying brought to a highly developed state by official propaganda, and the whole world involved in a frenzy of deceit aptly styled, in a recent historical work,* "diplo-mania," it was inevitable that numerous myths concerning Woodrow Wilson should seize the popular imagination. He is still revered as the political successor and spiritual executor of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland—Cleveland, the truly great man who sensed, from the first, the intellectual dishonesty of his supposed disciple!

The absurdity of such ideas is manifest from Wilson's own words. These and his acts are conclusive that he was in nowise a Democrat in principle, rather a natural autocrat. For five years, he had patently striven toward the dictatorship which House had dangled before him, toward just those powers now to be lodged in him by a trusting commonwealth, at the instance of a political party whose principles he had never endorsed, and the continued existence of which he had deprecated.

* Cf. The Last Spanish War by Dr. Orestes Ferrara.

Others see him as an inspired lover of peace, and the foremost Pacifist of his age. This, too, is denied by his own words at Toledo on July 10, 1916:

"I can lose my temper in a minute, but it takes me a long time to keep it, and I think that if you were to subject my Scotch-Irish blood to the proper kind of analysis, you would find that it was fighting blood, and that it is pretty hard for a man born that way to keep quiet, and do things in the way in which his intelligence tells him he ought to do them."

This was a warning, not a promise of peace at any price.

Then he went on to say that he was maintaining neutrality, not because he was afraid to fight, but because "it behooves the United States, just as long as possible, to hold off from becoming involved in a strife, which makes it all the more necessary that some part of the world should keep cool, while all the rest is hot."

This was neither the language, nor the reasoning of a Pacifist. Moreover, did he not voluntarily enter into an arrangement with the Allies, looking to the belligerency of the United States as the step which might, in the end, prove to be the expedient course? Pacifists do not regard war as expedient under any circumstances. Wilson, motivated by quite different considerations, was never a Pacifist by conviction.

Still others declare that he led the American people into war, as soon as he could prepare them to defend their rights. No Pacifist would do this. No rational being would try to prepare a people for war, by urging on them neutrality of thought. Nor would he express continual fear of being drawn into hostilities.

"He had hoped against hope for an allied victory," says David Lawrence. "As he steered the Ship of State to what he believed was a course of benevolent neutrality, he prayed that the Allies would end the war triumphantly, and enable the United States to play a role of peacemaker and healer of the wounds of war." [119]

"Benevolent neutrality," as between right and wrong, is sheer sophistry. He had declared, over and over, that

he did not want a victory for either group of belligerents. While he may have preferred an Allied to a German victory, what he desired was to keep America out of war for political advantage, while the militaristic Governments stalemated themselves in the game of political chess he was playing with them, until obliged to accept his terms of peace. These terms he proposed to enforce by the joint military action of the United States and allied nations, a course which no true Pacifist could approve.

Themistocles, at the height of his power, suddenly said: "Children, we had been undone, had we not been undone!" So might Wilson, in signing the Declaration of War, have said: "I had been undone, had the German Government not undone me!" In retrospect, it appears that when President Eliot declared the gravest danger to the United States, prior to its declaration of war, to be the coming of a peace, to which it had made no moral contribution, he had been right.

History is always in retrospect—the phrase "contemporary history," a misnomer. History, Science, and Religion are our records of the progress of man toward the Infinite— a progress that can be estimated at any stage, only after a long series of intervening years.

As time sweeps on, the attenuated train of history is made up of countless fateful events, some small, all difficult to trace to their sources, or to evaluate accurately with respect to their influence upon the lives of men. Plutarch pointed out, long ago, how difficult it is to extract truth from history: Bolingbroke, Napoleon, and Walpole, all declared it necessarily false. Yet history is "philosophy teaching by experience," and Confucius and Bacon were right when they declared that its study makes men wise.

History shows that human types vary infinitely; it also shows what the sages of antiquity deemed common to all men—a Higher, or spiritual and a Lower, or physical, Ego. Whatever the intellectual capacity of the individual, these early teachers of men taught, like Jesus and St. Paul, that the "false personality" or Lower Ego would dominate, until, by conscious effort and communion of thought with the

Infinite, the Higher Ego had been merged with the Spiritual Divine Ego that draws its light from the Universal and One Self, the God above. "Happy the man who succeeds in saturating his inner Ego with this Higher Self."

However firmly Western materialism, presently in the ascendant among historians as well as statesmen, may reject this antique philosophy of which Christ was a prophet, it is cherished, even in the West, by many who have pondered, with unshackled minds, the mysteries of life; or who have caught by experience, by philosophy, and by long and arduous studies of comparative religion, even a glimmer of divine light. Such thinkers, of liberated minds, undazzled by illusion, will continue, in every age, to write the epitaph of posterity on the contemporary "great." They will note the undoubted gifts of mind and speech which Woodrow Wilson possessed, and oft-times worthily employed; yet will not mistake them for a wisdom transcending that of Washington and the Patriot Fathers.

It is difficult to determine, in the case of a statesman not given to candor, how deeply he understood the basic philosophy of the Republic. If Wilson grasped the principles symbolized by the seal bequeathed by Washington to his people, he was as willing as his trusted advisers, to ignore them! *

* About this seal of the United States, there is no mystery whatever for those who have read beyond the materialistic perversions taught as history to Western youth. Nor are its symbols, as often supposed, of Masonic origin. There do appear in the seal of Solomon, the two interlaced triangles representing the material and spiritual man, the spiritual red superimposed upon the green or earthly triad. But this same symbolism had appeared throughout the world during the so-called Paleolithic Age of human culture, that is, ages before the appearance of the septenary philosophy called Mosaism. Even before Mosaism had been converted into Judaism, Confucius had expounded the political doctrine that government possesses no inherent virtue. Government is justifiable, he pointed out, only to the extent it serves the interests of the governed. The square base of the pyramid on the seal represents the quarternary principle to which mortals are subject, while the triangle appearing on the faces of this symbolic form, represents the trinary principle applicable to the immortal being of the septenary man. Washington selected this symbol to accompany the eagle, or prehistoric American symbol of the Divine Father, because, like the ancient sages and those of his own time, he knew that a successful government must maintain a perfect balance between respect for

Among the lesser mortals around Washington, few understood that the unity for which he was striving, was more than that of thirteen former colonies; that the form was, to him, but an expression of the essence of a political institution. Institutions must, he knew, be designed to meet the needs of a people; peoples as different as Russians and Arabs could not, as Wilson thought, be moulded, by political fiat, to a common enjoyment of the same civilization at the same moment. What would be beneficial for one, might prove baneful for another. Moreover, Washington shared the wisdom of the Indian sachems, embodied in rock carvings and pre-historic monuments all over the Western, as well as the Eastern Hemisphere.

Washington, while the most practical of men in his everyday life, had thought deeply on spiritual things, and absorbed the wisdom of the ages to a remarkable degree. To him, the monumental obelisks at Washington, at Jamestown, and at Bunker Hill would have had deep significance. To a man of Wilson's type, the Bible represented the be-all and the end-all; nor even in the religious testament of his childhood, was he deeply versed. As to the Wisdom of the Sages, it meant little to him. He preferred the Black Magic of House's political trickery to the philosophic guidance of Washington.

The historians of the future, assessing with relatively balanced impartiality the career of Woodrow Wilson, must stress an overweening personal ambition, served by cold selfishness, disloyalty, disingenuousness, and equivocation. Throughout his career, they will find his Higher dominated by his Lower Ego. The evil that he did, in consequence, lives after him—much of the good has perished even now.

the tradition of authority, and the intuitive faculty of the governed. Only through such a balance, symbolized among the Greeks by the scales of Nemesis, could either man or political societies reach the apex of human happiness. The ruler who subverted the right of his people to choose, through the exercise of intuitive faculty, between right and wrong, would harm them by stunting their moral growth, as much as by misleading them into a disregard of authority. In either case, a tyranny would result—the tyranny of a despotism, or that of a pure democracy, both inevitably passing into anarchy.

Writing some twenty years past,* the author predicted that Wilson's fame would prove ephemeral, and that posterity would, from the point of view of lost opportunities, pronounce him a failure, both as man and President. As Professor of Economics and Political Science at a great military school of conservative tendency, he was freely attacked at the time for an alleged harsh and partisan judgment.

Wilson's course had not then been run. His subsequent manifold and wilful departures from the principles of the Patriot Fathers were still to come. His studied betrayals of his fellows, and of his party, his bold assaults on the noble tradition of his great predecessors, who had consecrated themselves to the ideals symbolized by the seal of the Republic, could yield only evil fruit. Historians must never forget that Woodrow Wilson, despite the efforts of the British police, made it possible for Leon Trotsky to enter Russia with an American passport.

His example has already proved a curse to his own country, though the major whirlwinds have not yet been reaped. For Nations, like individuals, must reap as they have sown. The American people cannot undertake to set aside the ideals of Washington without paying the penalty. Truth is mighty, and in truth presidents and nations alike must find their salvation.

* Empire and Armament, Jennings C. Wise, G. P. Putnam's Sons.

FINIS

APPENDIX A

TO UNDERSTAND Colonel House's purposes during his association with President Wilson, it is necessary to consider his utterances and actions during the war, as well as those of the prior period. When this has been done, his intentions become abundantly clear.

At the time war was declared, House confessedly regarded Wilson as a prototype of Mazzini, ergo, of Revolution. He was still broadcasting his ideas through Philip Dru: Administrator, which was reprinted in 1917.

By 1918, the United States was, as a whole, thoroughly committed to the War. The country had been flooded with official propaganda, designed to incite a unity of hate among the American people. A pacifist was now classed, along with the alien friends of the Central Allies, as an enemy of the Republic, of Democracy, and even of civilization. The past teachings of the President were being completely unlearned. House naturally came in for his share of condemnation. Before the Armistice, there appeared his apologia, The Real Colonel House, sponsored, ostensibly, by an admiring newspaper reporter named Smith, who had, however, little to do with its actual writing. In it, House was portrayed as an altruistic and devoted friend of Wilson, and a champion of universal peace and justice. This book was the direct prelude to his appointment by Wilson as one of the American representatives at the Peace Congress of Versailles. House took up his duties, with a continuing purpose to carry on the internal revolution which, with the knowledge of President Wilson, he had previously promoted.

Before the peacemakers assembled, House had done much to supplant any remaining influence Lansing or Page might have had with the President. He did not particularly

want Wilson to go to Paris; having established a separate headquarters there, he dealt almost openly over the President's head. This independent action probably led to the later rift in the relations of Wilson and House.

In 1920, there appeared a new edition of House's novel, now titled Philip Dru: Administrator. A Story of Tomorrow—1920-1935. Despite the significance of the new title, neither President Wilson nor the Democratic campaign orators, expressed themselves publicly as to the Revolutionary theme.

In the light of events today, one passage of Philip Dru is particularly interesting: "Under Dru's instruction, the Commission was to limit the power of the Courts to the extent that they could no longer pass upon the constitutionality of laws, their function being merely to decide, as between litigants, what the law was, as was the practice of all other civilized nations."* This defiance of our Constitution, which provides for a Judiciary as a co-ordinate Department of Government, with powers different from the courts of any other civilized nation, foreshadows President Roosevelt's policies of 1937. "Judges, both Federal and State, were to be appointed for life, subject to compulsory retirement at 70, and to forced retirement at any time by a two-thirds vote of the House and a majority vote of the Senate."

It must have been a great disappointment to House to have Wilson, the man he had tried to make an Administrator of World Affairs, refuse to avail himself of the dictatorial powers with which Congress had entrusted him. In the introduction to The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, he wrote: "In my opinion, it ill serves so great a man as Woodrow Wilson, for his friends, in mistaken zeal, to claim for him impeccability. He had his shortcomings, even as other men, and having them but gives him the more character and virility. As I saw him, at the time, and as I see him in retrospect, his chief defect was temperamental. His prejudices were strong, and oftentimes clouded his judgments. . . ."

* Italics added.

The Democratic defeats, and the reaction against internationalism, kept House silent for years. By 1931, he recognized the fact that the progressive and "wet" Republicans were ready to unite with the Democrats in blaming Hoover for the world-wide economic depression. Colonel House now broke silence by publicly endorsing British proposals for lowering substantially the American tariff wall as a barrier to world commerce.

As the Democratic primaries of 1932 approached, he made numerous public statements advocating the nomination of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency. Press notices show that Roosevelt, who had first met House while Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Wilson, was in constant communication with the "Seer of Beverly," for months before the Democratic convention. His cooperation helped McAdoo materially, in obtaining the nomination for Roosevelt. Finally the Governor flew direct from the Chicago convention to Boston, where his sons were waiting for him in his yawl, and at once sailed to Beverly, to see House. All this was covered cuncurrently by the press.

In 1933 Colonel House was again on the crest of the "Political wave." Accordingly an article of his entitled Does America Need A Dictator?, with a subtitle: A Warning to Selfish Wealth and Narrow-Minded Politicians' Capitalistic Cilivization, appeared in Liberty, January, 7, 1933.

From the time Franklin D. Roosevelt was inducted into office, a stream of official cars travelled between the White House and Beverly. After protests from conservative Democrats, House's name, however, vanished from the news screen and the press. Even during the fiasco of the Wirt Hearing of 1934, in which Dr. Wirt undertook to show Congress that forces subversive of the Constitution were operating within the Federal Government, no reference was made to the part played by Colonel House in forming the "Brain Trust."

The Nexus between the Wilson and the "New Deal" program is evident. In the Wall Street Journal for Wednesday, July 17, 1937, there appeared an article by

Thomas W. Phelps, Chief of the Journal's Washington Bureau, entitled: New Deal's Moves Follow Pattern of Book Written Quarter Century Ago; Col, House Emerges as Prophet. From this article, we quote: "As Congress sweats to put the finishing touches on the legislative program for the first four years of the Roosevelt Administration, Colonel E. M. House, confidant of President Roosevelt, emerges as prophet, if not the real brain trust, of the New Deal. Almost 25 years ago, in an anonymous novel entitled Philip Dru: Administrator—A Story of Tomorrow, 1920-1935, Colonel House, now 77 years old, wrote of a revolution in the United States led by a young West Pointer, Philip Dru, who triumphed in one brief but bloody battle, set himself up as a benevolent dictator under the title of 'Administrator,' and proceeded to reshape the American Government. The amazing thing is that, in its large outlines, almost the entire revolutionary program has been, or is in process of being, realized under the two Democratic presidents who have served since Colonel House turned novelist for a few weeks."

Apparently the writer of these words had just discovered Philip Dru: Administrator. After specifying the measures taken by Philip Dru, the writer continues: "In only one place does Colonel House put the New Deal on the spot. It is when he explains that commodity exchange regulation followed a wave of popular indignation at the tactics of a group of millionaires who, when cotton was selling at eight cents a pound, bought two million bales of it, and burned it, thereby causing the price to run up to 15 cents a pound, making the group $25,000,000 profit on their holdings of cotton futures. The difference between plowing under every third row and burning the surplus, seems to be that burning did more to raise prices."

When the Judiciary Bill of 1937 and the other "must legislation" of the Roosevelt Administration, is compared with the measures of Philip Dru, it seems evident why Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic nominee of 1932, looked "good," to Colonel Edward M. House. However skeptical those who have looked on the "Seer of Beverly" as

a mere "yes-man" may be, the fact is that the judiciary "reforms" of the "New Deal" are the counterpart, even in detail, of the measures consummated by Philip Dru in the "semi-political novel" of Edward M. House, the revolutionary friend and counsellor of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President he had declared to be better suited to carry out the program of "reform" than was Woodrow Wilson!

The issue here is not one of an individual; nor is the writer concerned, primarily, in pillorying, in his last years, Edward M. House. The real issue is that of invisible government versus democracy. Whether Democrat or Republican, every good citizen should resist, in the future, such an institution as secret and unofficial advisorship of Presidents, with its dangerous influence on national policies, and the form of our government. Congress, also, may well recognize such infringments on our system of democratic government, and display a justified resentment. Except through such awakened public reprobation, we can never be sure of freeing the Executive Mansion from revolutionary influences. Meanwhile, let all true Americans unite in the prayer: God save the Republic of Washington!

APPENDIX B

A SIGNIFICANT CHRONOLOGY

THE FOLLOWING chronological order of events and writings, showing the gradual development of the thought behind the growing conflict between Capital and Labor, and behind the World peace movement, leaves no room for doubt as to exactly what was in Wilson's mind at the time he entered the White House. It also traces his transformation from a Hamiltonian Federalist to the leading American exponent of the Internationalism of Carnegie, Marburg, Butler, Knox, Root, Taft, Eliot, and a host of other capitalistic workers for peace.

1875—Wilson enters Princeton, an anti-Republican and anti-Democrat. He is a Gladstone free-trader, believing the British Parliamentary system superior to ours.

1876—Johns Hopkins University established for the study of the higher learning.

1877—Kropotkin begins the publication in Geneva of La Revoke.

1879—Wilson enters the Law School of the University of Virginia. He claims to be a Hamiltonian Federalist, hating Jefferson, and hostile to the Southern political tradition.

1881—Walter Hines Page and Theodore Marburg, both of North Carolina, also non-partisan nationalists, attend Johns Hopkins. Kropotkin publishes the Anarchist appeal to the young men of the world.

1882—Wilson undertakes to practice law in Atlanta. Publicly discourages the Confederate tradition. Under the influence of Page, commences his Congressional Government.

1883—Proudhon publishes God and The State.

1884—With the defeat of Tilden, Wilson seeks to form a Third Party.

1885—Wilson publishes Congressional Government. Enters the faculty of Bryn Mawr College. Advocates Women's Suffrage.

1886—Carnegie publishes Democracy Triumphant, and becomes the spokesman of the capitalistic order. Kropot-kin publishes Law and Authority.

1887—Anarchist disorders in America and Europe.

1888—William of Hohenzollern succeeds to the throne of Germany as William II. Proudhon publishes Economic Contradictions, a plea for Anarchy. Bryce publishes The American Commonwealth, a plea for Democracy. William Jennings Bryan appears on the political stage as spokesman of the radical West. Cleveland defeated for reelection as Democratic President. Wilson deems both parties moribund, and in process of transformation.

1889—International Socialist Congress established. Wilson enters the Faculty of Wesleyan College. He publishes The State, and urges the formation of a Third Party.

1890—Wilson enters the faculty of Princeton.

1892—The Populist Party founded. Bryan elected to Congress from Nebraska on a Free Silver Platform. Cleveland reelected.

1893—Engels publishes third volume of Karl Marx's Capital. Wilson publishes Epochs of History and Division and Reunion. Denies his Southern origin. Marburg enters Oxford.

1894—Japan becomes a World Power. American Imperialism rampant. Hawaii formed into a Republic.

1895—Marburg enters the Ecole de la Science Politique of Paris. The Anglo-American Venezuelan Arbitration. Opposed to Bryanism, Wilson begins to write George Washington.

1896—Bryan nominated by the Democratic party on a Free Silver Platform. In opposition to Bryanism, Marburg publishes the World's Money Problem. Lecky publishes Liberty and Democracy. Wilson publishes George

Washington. Not a Pacifist, he is opposed to Disarmament. The Currency Reforms of Russia and Austria-Hungary begin.

1897—Stead publishes Despairing Democracy.

1898—America becomes an Imperialistic World Power. Marburg publishes The War With Spain.

1899—The First Hague Peace Conference. Stead publishes The United States of Europe opposing disarmament, and proposing a League of Nations to enforce peace.

1900—Marburg granted a degree by Johns Hopkins. He and Wilson plan to enter Heidelberg. Wilson first mentioned as a presidential prospect. Bryan, the "Apostle of Peace," renominated by the Democratic party on an anti-Imperialist, Pacifist, and Socialistic Government ownership platform. The Boxer uprising in China. So-called International cooperation. First indication of a future World War.

1901—Cleveland becomes a Trustee of Princeton.

1902—With Cleveland's support, Wilson becomes President of Princeton. Advocates new standards in political life, and appeals for humanity. Publishes his History of the American People.

1903—The Lake Mohonk Peace Conference and the Conference for International Arbitration.

1904—Harvey suggests Wilson as next Democratic candidate.

1905—The Russian Revolution and the Second Internationale. Lenin appears on the international stage as the leader of Communism.

1906—The Conciliation Internationale and the American Association for International Conciliation founded.

1907—Lord Roberts advocates preparedness. Butler publishes True and False Democracies. The Second Hague Peace Conference. Wilson repudiates Bryan. The Central American Court of Justice and the Pan-American Union founded by Taft and Root. Carnegie endows them. Cornerstone of the Carnegie Peace Palace laid at the Hague. Butler reviews the Progress of Real Internationalism.

1908—Pulitzer and the New York World propose Wilson as Democratic candidate on an anti-Imperialist, anti-Militarist, anti-Bryan, anti-Socialist platform. Still hoping for a Third Party, Wilson is branded by Cleveland as "Intellectually Dishonest." Death of Cleveland. Butler publishes The American As He Is, an Internationalist appeal.

1909—Lea, advocate of preparedness, publishes The Valour of Ignorance. Butler opposes disarmament on behalf of Carnegie and the Internationalists.

1910—Marburg publishes Salient Thoughts on the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. Taft, Root, and Knox advocate a World Court and an International Association. Butler proclaims the United States Its Brothers' Keeper. Wilson elected Democratic Governor of New Jersey on a Popular platform. Carnegie Foundation for International Peace established.

1911—Butler declares the world must be educated for peace. Edward M. House writes Philip Dru: Administrator. Wilson meets Colonel House. The Mexican Revolution. Marburg published The Philosophy of the Third American Peace Conference. Wilson Committed to the Internationalist program by House. They plan to transform the Democratic party, and work a revolution in the American form of Government.

1912—Lea publishes The Day of the Saxon. Butler publishes Why Should We Change Our Form of Government and the International Mind. The Haldane Peace Mission to Berlin. Wilson nominated and elected President.

1913—Taft begins to lecture on Arbitration, and a World Court. Advocating social and economic reforms, Wilson published The New Freedom. Cooperating with Wilson, Marburg, Carnegie, Butler, Taft, Root, Knox, Bryce, the Fabians, and the Political Socialists of France, House publishes anonymously Philip Dru: Administrator, urging economic, social and political reforms, Pan-Americanism, the formation of a World Court and a league of nations to enforce peace. Still believing

that the British Parliamentary system and a Premier are superior to the American constitutional form of Government, and determined to transform the Democratic party and the American Government, Wilson selects his Cabinet with that end in view, and decides to make House his "Silent Partner" in the White House.

APPENDIX C

A summary of the Revolutionary changes in the American Government, proposed in the novel, PHILIP DRU: ADMINISTRATOR. A Story of Tomorrow, 1920-1935, by Colonel Edward M. House. (First edition 1912, reprinted 1917, 1920).

Features in House's Program already adopted by the present administration are printed in italics for the reader's convenience.

THE BOOK OPENS with the portentous sentence: "In the year 1920, the student and statesman saw many indications that the social, financial and industrial troubles that had vexed the United States of America for so long, were about to culminate in civil war." In the book, they do so culminate, whereupon Philip Dru, gaining control of the United States Government, after a single decisive battle, assumes the title of "Administrator of the Republic." The most important changes recommended follow:

He at once appoints an advisor—an economist, and Head of a University. He calls together a board of five great lawyers to define the powers of all courts, State and Federal, to remodel court procedure and eliminate unnecessary courts. This Board was to limit the power of the courts to deciding, as between litigants, what the law was. The courts were no longer to pass on the constitutionality of laws. Judges were to be appointed for life, subject to compulsory retirement at 70; or at any time by a two-thirds vote of the House, and majority vote of the Senate. Judiciary nominations were to be made by the President or Governor, subject to ratification by Congress or State Legislature.

Boards to simplify legal procedure and existing systems of taxation were also to be appointed. A graduated income

tax, with no exemptions, but nominal in the lower brackets, was to be instituted.

State lines, as obsolete, were to be eliminated as jar as possible, in favor of a Centralized Government. Corporations were to share their earnings with the Federal government. They were to have representatives of the Government on their Boards, as well as Representatives of Labor. Strikes were made illegal, differences to be arbitrated under Government supervision. Wages were to vary with the prosperity of the employing corporations, and a percentage of earnings above a reasonable return to Capital, was to go to Labor.

A flexible currency based on commercial assets instead of on national debts.

Utility Holding Companies to be abolished. All Public Service Corporations to be under control of State and National Commissions. "Trusts" to be abolished.

Short Selling in stocks or commodities to be prohibited. The Constitution to be abandoned, and a new one to be substituted.

Additional new laws to be enacted to deal with: Old Age Pensions.

Federal and State Employment for the unemployed.

Labor Insurance.

Cooperative loan societies. Agricultural marketing cooperatives. Federal Unemployment Bureaus. Anti-sweatshop Legislation. Pensions to War Veterans. Under the new Constitution, States are partially displaced by districts, each having one representative from each state, serving for life, subject to recall. Presidential veto on legislation was abolished.

The United States was to join a coalition with England for world peace and commercial freedom, disarmament, and abolition of tariff. The United States, in return for conceding to England Supremacy on the Seas and in the Far East, was to receive Canada, Mexico, and hegemony over South America.

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“In the presence of the illuminating comments of various leaders of thought, printed below, the publishers feel that comment from them would be superfluous.” JOHN B. SNOW, "Director, League for Constitutional Government'.

"Probably the most sensationally controversial biography in a decade." GENERAL J. G. HARBORD, Chairman of the Radio Corporation of America'.

"I found it as fascinating as a mystery novel, and predict a great demand for it. Colonel Wise has shown Woodrow Wilson as a southerner who disavowed it; as a dual personality in whom the higher was dominated by the lower; as a Federalist who became a Democrat in the furtherance of personal ambition; as a democrat for politics but an autocrat by nature; as an internationalist who regarded the World War as an incident on the march to a League of Nations; a product himself of a materialistic age, selfish, coldly ambitious, not always loyal to those who served him—Page, House and even the devoted Tumulty—disingenuous and equivocal at times.

He is represented as early in life to have developed his own philosophy, which he made no attempt to conform to the facts of life, and abandoned to shape his public utterances for the political stage. Much indebted to Bridges and Page, friends of college days who systematically gave him what is called a build-up, he came under the somewhat sinister influence of Colonel House, always an Internationalist of advanced type.

In 1913-14, House—'the silent partner'— was Mr. Wilson's leader as often as he was his follower. Wilson's NEW FREEDOM and House's PHILIP DRU appeared simultaneously, though the latter had been written much earlier, with authorship undisclosed. Its hero was educated as a soldier, who triumphs in one bloody battle and sets himself up as a Dictator under the title of Administrator and proceeds to reshape the American Government. To this mold and end, Colonel Wise believes that Colonel House endeavored to make President Wilson conform. The latter for a long time delegated his judgment and at least part of his authority to the author of 'Philip Dru.' Colonel Wise weighs the evidence of Mr. Wilson's lifelong internationalism, and cites some motives behind the repeal of the Panama Canal Treaty Exemptions, besides the high and honorable ones from which the President urged it to Congress.

The career of President Wilson will for all time constitute a challenge and an opportunity to writers of history and biographers, and it finds a skilful interpreter in Colonel Wise. The real aim of this book, I take it, is to present the alternative of invisible government versus democracy. Every good citizen should oppose such an institution as secret and unofficial advisorship of Presidents, with its dangerous influence on national policies, and the threat thereby to our form of Government. For such advisors there is always needed the pitiless light of publicity preached but not always practiced by President Wilson. Political termites like others of their species, work in the dark and cannot stand the light.

Certainly, this book should be read by thoughtful Americans of all parties. This book is one of the 'last words' yet to be written of Woodrow Wilson, who fought a great war in spite of himself, winning the war and losing the Peace."

CONGRESSMAN JAMES W. WADSWORTH, (ex-U. S. Senator)

"Mr. Wise has gone far in dispelling the clouds and giving a clearer view of Wilson. And yet, I venture to say that even he, after all his hard work, leaves some things unexplained. Perhaps no human being can understand completely the intellectual operations of another, especially of a man like Wilson whose life story is so crowded with contradictions adroitly covered up. I lived fairly close to many of the events chronicled by Mr. Wise and am grateful that he has straightened me out in a better understanding of them. The whole thing is amazingly interesting and fascinating. I dissent from some of the inferences reached by Mr. Wise with, respect to men like Senator Root and Dr. Butler, but aside from these features, and one or two others like them, the picture painted by Mr. Wise is extraordinarily vivid and, in my judgment, accurate. The thoughtful reader will gain much astonishing information from this work, and what is more important, learn a lesson never to be forgotten."

FRANK E. GANNETT (Gannett Newspapers), Chairman, National Committee to Uphold Constitutional Government:

"It is truly a sensational book which Jennings C. Wise has titled 'Woodrow Wilson—Disciple of Revolution.' It is a book which will cause heated controversy. Devoted followers of the World War President will denounce it forthrightly. Those who disagreed either with Wilson's judgment or his policies will welcome it as vindication of their criticism. But whether one praises the book or damns it, hereafter he should never try to speak or write on the subject of Wilson without taking cognizance at least of the fact that this amazing book has been written.

It constitutes a reasonably adequate biography of Wilson from his birth until America's entry into the World War. But more than that, it constitutes an absorbing story, painstakingly gathered and elaborately documented—a behind-the-scenes story of our political and international history in those tense months when war or peace for the United States hung in the balance.

Mr. Wise finds Wilson the victim of powerful revolutionary forces, forces which are still loose in the country today and which he believes are dominating the present administration.

It is obvious, interested though he is in history and careful as is his work as a historian, that Mr. Wise intends his book as a warning.

He denies at the close that he is concerned primarily in pillorying any individual. 'The real issue,' he says, 'is that of invisible government versus democracy. Whether Democrat or Republican, every good citizen should resist, in the future, such an institution as secret and unofficial advisorship of Presidents, with its dangerous influence on national policies and the form of our government.'

JOHN W. NAYLOR, Eminent Texas Journalist:

"It is a work of absorbing interest and one who starts it will have difficulty in putting it down, even for a little while. The reader is astonished at the mass of material which the author has examined in getting the background of his subject and in drawing his conclusions.

Colonel Wise's book will undoubtedly shock many Americans of old stock, especially Southern Democrats, with the picture he gives them of the Rapture of the Democratic party by a crowd of non-Democratic internationalists, mostly recent alien importations. The careful way he has drawn this picture from the printed records should start them seriously to thinking whether the party they have been supporting through sentiment bears any resemblance to the party of their tradition, or whether behind a figurehead posing as a Democrat in the old tradition they have not been betrayed into supporting a foreign revolutionary clique. If their conclusion is the same as that of the author—and the evidence is almost insurmountable—this book may start a movement which will result in the expulsion of such influences from both the great American parties. Every American who reads this record undoubtedly will think so."

HON. GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER, ex-Senator from Pennsylvania:

"Colonel Wise has done much more than assemble in readable form the already available Wilson material. He has applied to it the laboratory method and has drawn from his data a series of startling conclusions. There are multitudes whose loyalty to the War-time President will incline them to resent some of these conclusions. Such loyal friends, however, will have to disprove the primary facts on which Colonel Wise relies; for unless his facts can be falsified, his inferences seem inescapable.

In this book, the reader may trace the workings of the subtle and heavily financed plot to involve the United States in

an international league for the preservation of capitalism by the use of force. He will also find much to convince him that Colonel House was truly the Daddy of the New Deal. And, more interesting than anything else, he will be made aware of the chameleon-like quality of Mr. Wilson himself and of the mysterious contrast between what Colonel Wise contends he really was and what countless millions of people have believed him to be."

EDMUND RANDOLPH WILLIAMS, Eminent Member of the Virginia Bar, and Direct Descendent of George Washington's Attorney-General:

"Diligent and discriminating research has enabled Colonel Wise, an experienced and vigorous historical writer, to present in a masterly way the genesis and evolution of Wilsonianism in an epochal work that takes its place beside the late James M. Beck's Evidence in the Case. Moreover, the book is almost unique in that, rising above partisanry, the author makes bold in an utterly materialistic age to apply a spiritual gauge to men and events, to invoke the living soul of Washington and the Wisdom of the 'Patriot Father' at a time when he seems to have been almost forgotten as the best of politico-economic guides.

The book should be used in every school of history and political science, for no thoughtful person can read it without seeing the evil of allowing a President to employ, as Wilson did, an 'Alter Ego' and 'Silent Partner' like House to deal with other Governments while leaving his Cabinet, the Department of State, his Ambassadors and Congress in the dark, if not deliberately deceiving them. Nevertheless, Colonel Wise has shown that the revolutionary activities and influence of House

have continued unabated and" that the program first presented anonymously in 1913 in 'Philip Dru—Administrator' by this 'mystery man' is, in fact, the program of the New Deal. His book is a thrilling appeal to a suffering Nation for that union of Conservatives which above all will save our heritage."

MESSMORE KENDALL, President General, Sons of the American Revolution:

"In these days when the air is filled with talk of anonymous revolutionaries who are claimed to be secretly directing the affairs of our government the book of Col. Jennings C. Wise entitled Wood-row Wilson, Disciple of Revolution, comes as the most important outspoken contribution on the subject.

In tracing the genesis of the many legislative and executive challenges to our form of government which are alarming patriots today, Colonel Wise presents a startling picture. Our government has been successful not only because of its form but because of the Constitutional guarantees embodied in the Bill of Rights. Colonel Wise believes that the attack upon these guarantees, many of which are so weakened that we are in danger of losing them, began under the auspices of Woodrow Wilson and will inevitably destroy our Constitution, which means our liberties.

Every citizen of our country should read and and ponder this remarkable book."