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Woodrow Wilson, a blog

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# WOODROW WILSON

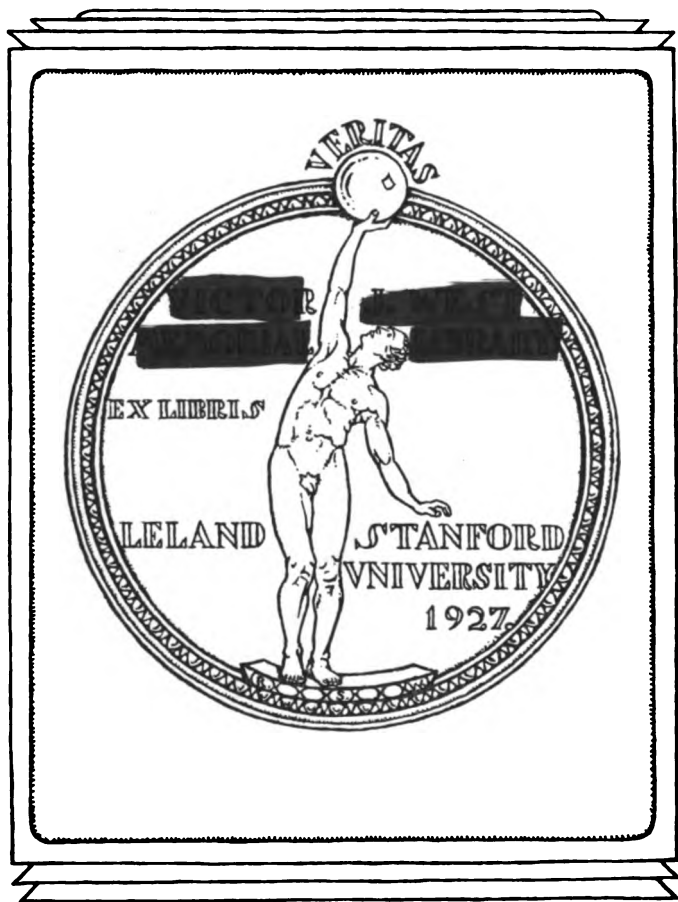
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# Woodrow Wilson

## a biography

With the Full Memorial Address Delivered by President  
Alderman of the University of Virginia Before  
the Joint Session of Congress  
Dec. 15, 1924

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**WOODROW WILSON**

*Twenty-eighth President of the United States of America; born at Staunton, Va., Dec. 28, 1856; inaugurated President March, 1913; re-elected and served a second term until March, 1921; died in Washington, D. C., Feb. 3, 1924*

# WILSON, THE CRUSADER

*The Memorial Address Delivered by Dr. Alderman, President of the University of Virginia, December 15, 1924, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

**T**HIS is the full text of the memorial address in honor of Woodrow Wilson, delivered by Dr. Edwin Anderson Alderman Dec. 15, 1924, in the hall of the House of Representatives. The leaders of the nation—including the President and his Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the members of both houses of Congress—and the representatives of foreign Governments were present to pay tribute to the War President. Dr. Alderman's address is presented as a revealing estimate of Woodrow Wilson, a notable eulogy of a great American and an outstanding achievement in oratory.

By EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN,  
President of the University of Virginia.

**I**N his oration in memory of the first Athenians who fell in the Peloponnesian War, Pericles commended the fitness of the Athenian public funeral, but doubted the wisdom of any speech, declaring that where men's deeds have been great they should be honored in deed only, and that the reputation of many should never depend upon the judgment or want of it of one, and their virtue exalted or not, as he spoke well or ill. I can, in some faint measure, comprehend what was passing in the mind of the great Athenian as I stand here today in this chamber which has often resounded with his own lucid eloquence to seek to make clear in brief speech the character and achievements of Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth President of the United States.

In the case of a statesman, all experience warns us not to attempt to fix its final place in history until the generation that knew him and loved him, or hated him, shall have passed away and a new generation, to whom he was not a familiar figure, shall have come upon the stage, capable of beholding him with eyes undimmed by emotion and judging him with minds unclouded by prejudice or by passion. Loyalty and duty and reverence none the less urge us to set down, while memory

is clear and events are fresh, what we know of men upon whom their fellow-men placed great burdens of power, to whom whole races and nations turned in moments of peril and disaster, and upon whose decisions, from time to time, rested the courses of history. Woodrow Wilson was such a man; and, in such a spirit, I undertake to discover the sources of his power and to perceive the bases of his far-shining fame, more widespread about the earth in his lifetime than the fame of any of his predecessors in office, and more interwoven into the fabric of civilization than any of those who have gone before him, save Washington, the founder of the Republic; Jefferson, the fountain of its idealism, and Lincoln, the exemplar of its magnanimity and the preserver of its internal unity.

## A MIRACLE OF GOOD FORTUNE.

The Presidential office constitutes one of the glories of the framers of our Government and the Presidential succession a miracle of good fortune in the hazard of democratic politics and a constant tribute to the sober instincts of popular judgment. The makers of the Constitution apparently forgot their fear of tyranny when they created the Presidency, and seemed to proceed on the principle that if you place immense authority in a man's hands you kill his greed for usurpation and awake in him a magic capacity and a solemn purpose to transform his weaknesses into strength and his unworthiness into worthiness.

Some American Presidents have been commonplace men, but none of them has ever betrayed his trust or stained his honor; and from George Washington to the present hour the line of American Presidents has surpassed in character, ability and devotion any line of kings and prime ministers known to me in modern history. They have not always been scholars. Indeed, few of them have been scholars, but when chosen—and the method of their choice sometimes bewilders the reflective and grieves the judicious—they have dug out of their latent forces and brought to bear upon their awful tasks such common sense, strong wills, noble industry, uprightness of purpose, that the great office still wears a more than imperial

quality to enrich the imagination and to enlist the faith of mankind.

It would have been wiser to entrust this task of interpretation to one closer to Woodrow Wilson when he was the head of the State and his will shaped the destinies of men. Such was not my privilege. My qualifications are of a simpler and a more unpretentious nature. I studied the shorter catechism, a drastic, bracing, moral tonic, with him in the Presbyterian church of which his father, Joseph R. Wilson, was pastor, in the old City of Wilmington, N. C., my birthplace, where from time to time Thomas Woodrow Wilson would appear at home from college, to my younger eyes a tall, slender youth of curious homeliness, detachment and distinction.

#### THE WORLD'S DEBT TO A FATHER.

As a child, sitting in the pew of my father, who was an officer in that church, and looking into the finely molded face of Joseph R. Wilson and listening to the words he spoke, I had my first perception that beauty and music and power to move even young hearts lay in the English tongue when fitly joined to substantial thought and serious eloquence; and he has remained to me, as he did to his famous son, through the discipline of a generation of sermons, a standard of good preaching to which it is a delight and a comfort now and again to repair. The world owes a great debt to Joseph R. Wilson; for though the son studied under many masters, none influenced him so strongly as his father, who bred in him an impatience of dullness and diffuse thinking, a precise sense of word values, a scorn of priggishness and formal piety, the power to proceed straight to the core of a subject under discussion, and to utter measured thoughts with a vigor and beauty that in later days, and on a grander stage, was destined to awaken the pride of his countrymen and to command the attention of the world.

I do the day's work at the University of Virginia, where Woodrow Wilson "learned the law and the reason thereof." It came to pass that we were associated in the task of training American youth, and I became his friend by reason of the ties that bind men together in such endeavor; and further, because I thought I saw in him, in a new era in the evolution of American democracy, a promise of liberal leadership and of sympathy that never slept for the disadvantaged men who bear the burdens of the world. The sturdiest romantic tradition of American public life has been the rise into power and fame of the youth who struggled up to his heights from humble and unlovely beginnings. The career of Woodrow

Wilson is no part of such tradition, for his racial inheritances and cultural opportunities were about as strong and fine as an American youth can have. His forbears for eight generations belonged to the Scotch race, perhaps the most active of the intellectual aristocracies which govern the United States, modified in the direction of a kindling imagination and a quickened joy of life and battle by Celtic admixture and residence. His parents, his ancestors on both sides, and his associates on all sides, were religious men and women of Presbyterian faith.

#### GIFT OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MANSE.

He was a son, as I have said, of a Presbyterian minister of such distinction that it was in his house that the Southern Presbyterian Church was organized when the Civil War came to rend even the religious life of the nation. His mother was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, in Carlisle, England. He married, in his young manhood, the daughter of a Presbyterian minister. His grandfather, Thomas Woodrow, for whom he was named, was a learned, doughty servant of God, and his uncle, James Woodrow, was a modern-minded Presbyterian minister, who, in his day, upheld stoutly against the allegation of heresy itself the banner of liberal thought and religious tolerance. His elementary and undergraduate education were under Presbyterian influences and in Presbyterian colleges—Davidson College, North Carolina, and Princeton, the College of New Jersey. Later, at the University of Virginia, in the study of law, and at Johns Hopkins University, in the study of politics and jurisprudence, he was to broaden his training and to establish a just claim as the most carefully educated man whom the people of this democracy, somewhat wary of learning and fearful lest intellectual subtlety dull the edge of common understanding, ever dared to place at the head of the Government.

Chester A. Arthur, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson, alone, of our long Presidential line, issued out of the preacher's home into public life. Cleveland and Wilson may be called the direct contributions of the Presbyterian manse to the nation's service; and it is not without significance that the only two great successes, since 1860, of the Democratic Party, in which they now rank as titular saints, were achieved under their leadership. They were quite dissimilar in background and qualities, as a curious fate which opposed them to each other, face to face, in dour antagonism, in later life made very clear, but alike in the firmness of their wills, the fixity of their con-

clusions, and the sensitiveness of their consciences. Surely, the great religious faith that sent forth these two American Presidents is justified of its children.

Woodrow Wilson was born in Virginia in the year 1856, in the middle period of the nineteenth century, and, with the exception of his undergraduate years at Princeton, the first twenty-nine years of his life were passed in five Southern States, in the study of literature, history and jurisprudence. He did not obtain at any of the colleges in which he studied a high reputation as a technical scholar. There surrounds his college career a legend of mature culture, an impression of pursuing a steadfast aim in realms of thought not included in the curriculum, an air of self-reliance untouched by eccentricity or exclusiveness; for he could be gay and charming with the choicest of his fellows, and bold and assertive enough in the rough and tumble of college affairs. He had a way, even in youth, of moving amid the things of the mind and of demeaning himself in the society of books as if they had always been friends of his and he knew where he was going with them. The habit of respecting his mind and using it sternly and reverently clung to him throughout life. The sum of the college tradition about him is, that he was a high-minded, proud-spirited, reflective, ambitious youth, never sturdy of body, eager to learn about men and affairs, and intent upon putting learning to use in action. The era in which he grew to manhood and the mood of the society in which his formative years were passed did much to fashion his ideals and to determine his ambitions.

#### INFLUENCE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The echoes of the great debate over the nature of the Union filled the air, and the towering figures of Calhoun and Webster yet dominated the imagination of opposing political schools. His early youth was passed away from, yet in the midst of, the tumult of the war which lay inherent in the logic of that debate. I am loath to praise any war, for all war is the collapse of human reason; but no sincerer war than this has occurred in human history. It was a war of ideals, of principles, of loyalty to ancient axioms of freedom, held dearer than life by both sides. The influence of the Civil War upon the youth of the man who was destined to be the Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the undivided Republic in the greatest war of all time illustrates alike the calmness of his own mind and the sincerity of the mighty struggle itself. His people, post-Revolutionary in American origin, had become Southern

in sentiment. He records, with deep feeling, how the passing sight of the grave face and regnant figure of Robert E. Lee, long after the war, stirred the emotions of his young heart; but there was developed in him no fierce passion of sectionalism, but rather a stern and cruel will to comprehend the historic forces at play within American life, and to direct those forces toward the fulfillment of the longings of democratic society.

He was of the group of young Southern-born men who knew the contributions of the South to American history, who had no apologies to offer for its part in the great struggle, ennobled by so much valor and self-sacrifice, but who felt that the South must again become whole-heartedly a part of the Federal Union it had done so much to establish. He saw about his hearthstone the faces of grim men who were subjected to such a test of manhood as our poor human nature has seldom been forced to endure. They were not men of the broadest social imagination, but they were men of intense and romantic loyalties to causes, and of an elevation of thought about the State as something to love and serve, and not something to batten on or to profit by. War did not unfold to him in his far Southern home any of its marching splendors and waving banners. He saw only the filthy backwash of war, its ruin and its bitterness, cities in ashes, ignoramuses in power, revenge in action and great leaders led away to imprisonment and obloquy.

#### THE SUPREME TEST TO COME.

It is true that he had heard the civil struggle ended upon a sweet, clear note of "charity to all and malice to none"; and nothing in his life shows the balance of his mind better than his quiet perception of the fact that to his youth a challenge had come to help complete unfinished social and moral tasks, unpoisoned by hate and unwasted by vengeance. It might well have been within the Almighty's inscrutable purpose to give such a man a preparation and such a social background for a supreme far-off test, when a distraught world would have sore need of the man of faith and will who would see clearly and reason accurately, and who would not falter or turn back when once he had set his feet upon a path.

Woodrow Wilson was 29 years old when he quit the formal life of a college student. One may treat as negligible the single year he spent vainly seeking to use a mind absorbed in the philosophy of law and its application to government, in the gainful practice of that profession. The span of his life was yet to stretch over thirty-

seven years, and he was to spend twenty-five of those years in teaching American youth political science and jurisprudence in four different institutions of learning—Bryn Mawr College, Wesleyan College, Johns Hopkins University, Princeton University. Thus the man who was to be entrusted with the mightiest administrative task in American history spent three-fourths of his life as student, teacher, educational administrator and writer of books. It was not the training adapted to equip for his work a prophet of force or a master of political intrigue. Ulysses would not have prescribed it for Telemachus nor Machiavelli for his Prince, but I fancy that all of us who hold the democratic faith will one day be grateful for these studious, reflective years in the life of Woodrow Wilson, when he pondered over the comparative merit of forms of government and modes of culture, when his practical mind, with its adventurous and romantic passion for action, received unfolding for a mighty purpose.

It was in the still air of these laborious days that he reflected how to get things done after the fashion of his dreaming; when he nurtured enthusiasm for men and saw himself as their servant; when, looking deep into the life of the social organism, he saw that not ideas, but ideals, conquered men's souls; when he learned calmness from Wordsworth, concentration of energy from Walter Bagehot, and with Edmund Burke discovered the real difference between a statesman and a pretender in the circumstance that one lives by the way and acts on expediency, the other lives on principles and acts for immortality; when he came to see faith as life's most substantial heroism, and finally, pursuing a lonely road, gained a wide, luminous view of this world, as a world ordered of God, moved by the tides of His spirit, and thus laid the basis of a fame, which one day

*"Full high advanced  
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind."*

#### HIS HIGH GIFTS AS A TEACHER.

Woodrow Wilson was the first professional teacher to pass almost directly from the classroom to the White House. Thousands of Americans today recall with gratitude his high gifts as a teacher, and as a fellow-teacher I would care to commemorate that element of his enduring service to his countrymen. To me and to the hosts of those who teach in this land those quiet, busy years at Princeton as a teacher, characterized by great personal happiness in a home of culture, of intense charm, energy and growing insight, seem to constitute his real golden age. Large classes flocked to his lecture hall to applaud his varied

knowledge and to gain from him new phases of life and truth. There was beauty in the cadences of his voice and power to arouse and persuade the intellect in the clarity and orderliness of his talk, brightened by bland humor and tingling wit. When he entered upon the Presidency of Princeton a new aspect of his qualities appeared. It was clear that he had thought deeply of the meaning of education and of universities as molding forces in a democracy. The problem of education was to him the problem of enriching the nation's life with minds of maturity, integrity of character and social sympathy. "What a man ought never to forget with regard to a college," he once said at Swarthmore, "is that it is a nursery of honor and principle." He inaugurated new principles of education contact, which now lies at the core of the development not alone of his own university but of all institutions of liberal culture in his country.

A dramatic struggle, marked by unusual phases of bitterness and ill will, characterized his administrative career at Princeton. Universities are little worlds in themselves, and, like the greater world about them, have a way of refusing to be reformed and of preferring to be let alone or to be reborn into new aims and processes only under tremendous pressure and the passage of slow time. The total effect on him of all this academic warfare was the hardening of his resolution, the acquisition of formidable political skill to gain his ends, the arousing of his passion for democracy and the fixing of his purpose to rescue universities from material control. He was born to fight for the goodness which is at the heart of things, and this ideal quickly grew into an objective of freedom which caught the eye of the nation at the precise moment when a great tide of liberal hope and opinion was flowing in and over a generation of self-satisfaction and contentment with things as they are. Unlike most cultivated Southerners of his generation, Woodrow Wilson had the impulse to write as well as to talk, and became a writer of eminence, fit to claim a place in the literature of his country along with Jefferson, Madison, Lincoln and Roosevelt.

At 29 he published his first book, "Congressional Government," a post-graduate thesis, revealing the actual operations of our Government and outlining, with a touch of genius, his theory of the wisest and most efficient relation of the Executive to Congress. This book contained a definite system of political philosophy which he put into practice, and to which he clung till the end of his

career. In this respect, a likeness to Thomas Jefferson appears, for each of them had developed before he entered office a definite theory of government and applied its doctrine to the solution of national problems. A series of seven volumes on political and historical subjects: "Congressional Government, a Study in American Politics," "The State," "Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," "Division and Reunion," "George Washington," "A History of the American People," "Constitutional Government in the United States," and four volumes of literary and social studies—"An Old Master and Other Political Essays," "Mere Literature and Other Essays," "Free Life," "The New Freedom," "When a Man Comes to Himself," came from his pen in these days. It is impossible to read these books without concluding that the guiding motive of all his studies pointed toward political life and the goal of political office.

"STUDY HUMANITY ALIVE."

The opportunity to enter politics seemed worlds away to the man who was writing "mere literature" of this quality in 1895—"There is more of a nation's politics to be got out of its poetry than out of all its systematic writers upon public affairs and Constitutions. Epics are better mirrors of manners than chronicles; dramas oftentimes let you into the secrets of statutes; orations stirred by a deep energy of emotion or resolution, passionate pamphlets that survive their mission because of the direct action of their style along permanent lines of thought, contain more history than parliamentary journals. It is not knowledge that moves the world, but ideals, convictions, the opinions or fancies that have been held or followed; and whoever studies humanity ought to study it alive, practice the vivisection of reading literature, and acquaint himself with something more than anatomies which are no longer in use by spirits."

In the year 1910, Woodrow Wilson withdrew from university direction and entered active politics. His last service to education was an effort, far from successful, to give to American universities what he considered a democratic regeneration in spirit, and to bring it about that the "voices of common men should murmur in their corridors." His first political declaration was an avowal that the time had come to reconceive the liberties of America, to break the dominance of cliques and machines, to confer on candidates for high office power and responsibility for leadership, to secure for all men a fairer adjustment of human relationships; and, further, that he was

entering the field of politics in a new era, with no pledges to bind him and no promises to hinder him. Upon such a platform he was elected Governor of New Jersey, and in that office, and through his policies and principles, set forth in public speeches, this historian of his country, this Southern-born Scotch-Irish Presbyterian teacher, an awkward circumlocution but a deadly definition of stubborn idealism, became, in 1912, the nominee of the Democratic Party for President, received a great majority in the Electoral College, and became President of the United States on March 4, 1913.

In 1916 he was renominated and re-elected in the very midst of the greatest crisis in the secular history of mankind. I am conscious that I am summing up, in bald sentences, revolutionary transformations in the career and fortunes of an American citizen such as have seldom happened to any man in our annals, and never before to the teacher or scholar—the nearest approach in breathless action being the transfer of Abraham Lincoln from a Main Street, second-story law office to unimagined burdens of authority. Both stories will forever enrich and adorn the epic of democracy.

LEADERSHIP OF THE PRESIDENT.

Woodrow Wilson once said that the true teacher or the true artist or historian must always work for the whole impression. Working in this spirit, I cannot, at this time and place, attempt even to enumerate the legislative measures which, under his leadership, went forward in the Sixty-third Congress; but I venture to claim that no such well thought out program of financial, social and industrial reform, no such inspiring spectacle of governmental efficiency and concentrated energy, no such display of fearless devotion to public interests, moving high above the plane of partisan advantage or of private gain, has been spread before the eyes of this generation as is afforded by the list of enduring enactments which crowned the accession to power of Woodrow Wilson; and I set up the further claim that a President had come upon the great scene, at a time of one of those strange failures of Government to redress public grievances, who had not only the will and purpose to change the note of industrial life in the nation, and to halt the domination of American politics by its privileged financial interests, but also the sense of direction and skill to carry to some sort of fulfillment the program of emancipation from materialism, and the restoration of equality of opportunity. The Congress that furnished the teamwork in this memorable period of

legislative energy was admirable and intelligent; but leadership lay in the President, not by use of patronage or by social amenities, but by the steady drive of intellectual force which his opponents, within and without his party, could not resist.

The new President concluded his first inaugural with these words: "The nation has been deeply stirred; stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics, but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action. This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!"

Passionate sincerity shines out of these moving words. It was a spiritual moment in our history. Men were looking at life with kinder and juster eyes. A new spokesman of humanity had appeared in our politics, with a will and a purpose and a program. An eager and a nipping air seemed to blow away the atmosphere of materialism which had in varying degree hung over the capital since Lincoln's day. Not since Jefferson had a leader with such a program dwelt at Washington. If in seventeen months a World War had not come to turn the thoughts of mankind to the defense of civilization itself, it is not immoderate to believe that the great reforms already inaugurated would have been followed by others equally vital, and the domestic policy of the nation ordered in accordance with the best liberal thought of modern, self-governing communities.

But war came, apparently falling out of the blue, like some tragic drama of the high gods, upon a busy and peaceful people, bent upon working out here in a favored land some scheme of life by which every man should have liberty, without hindrance, to be what God made him. In reality, there had arrived the moment of explosion of confined passions and forces long gathering

through the ages, the awful fruitage of centuries of human greed and incompetence, of malignant nationalistic ambitions, of scientific progress diverted from high ends to purposes of destruction, of vain and feeble puppets in places of power, of a European polity based on fear and balance of power rather than reason and concert of action. In the twinkling of an eye our gain-getting age became a brawling age of terror and revolution, to be thought of hereafter as the end of an old epoch and the beginning of a new epoch in human annals.

It has been often predicted that this greatest drama in history must needs be one day really written as a drama by some Aeschylus who will paint the darkening sky, the rushing of the wind, the tension of the time, as catastrophe leapt to catastrophe, the movements of the bewildered antagonists amid the muttering of the storm and the lightning. In such a drama alone could one hope to find a just portrait of the peace-loving figure of the American scholar President as he lifts his shoulders to the burdens, seeks to readjust his mind and nature to the tasks of the dreadful hour, and with tragic loneliness and patience grapples with events.

#### THE FULLNESS OF HIS STRENGTH.

I saw Woodrow Wilson for the last time in the fullness of his strength on the evening of April 2, 1917. He was standing at this desk, speaking the momentous words which were to lead this democracy into war, and to teach to all free peoples, then bewildered and depressed, the meaning of the conflict, and to lift up their hearts. All mankind was his audience. The air of this hall was tense with emotion, and the dullest sensed the historic significance of the great scene. There were then etched into my mind, in lines never to be erased, the face and form and manner of Woodrow Wilson—the lithe figure, the bony structure of the forehead, the lean, long visage as of a Covenanter sombre with fixed purpose. The culture of generations was in his tones, the scholar's artistry in his words, the inheritance of a gentleman's breeding in his manner, and calm courage in his discerning eyes. I was somehow reminded of the unbending lineaments and figure of Andrew Jackson, whom Woodrow Wilson resembled physically, and, in the very soul of him, morally exhibiting the same grim resolution, as of a stranger to the fear that weaklings feel.

The direction of American affairs, as the Republic swept into the current of the great war, was in the hands of a liberal statesman, bred of democracy, firm of will, jealous of his country's

honor, gifted with power to argue with cogency, capable of seeing far ahead the movements of social progress, incapable of fear, unmoved by passion or greed of conquest, intent upon justice, dreaming of peace and the righting of immemorial wrongs. I do not intend a résumé of the events of the two years and eight months intervening between the onset of war and the entrance of America into the struggle, but rather an analysis of what Professor L. P. Jacks, a thoughtful English scholar to whom I am indebted for a better understanding of Woodrow Wilson, once called the "war mind" of Woodrow Wilson. To have taken any other primary step than the issuance of a declaration of neutrality in August, 1914, would have been the act of a madman or a superman, and Mr. Wilson was merely the trustee of the most powerful country on earth hitherto dedicated to the tradition of its own non-intervention in foreign affairs and the non-interference of European nations in cisatlantic problems.

#### UNFAMILIAR WITH EUROPE.

The country was unfamiliar with European complications and unaware of the new international position decided for them, in Theodore Roosevelt's words, by fate and the march of events. Even the intellectuals who grasped the truth that the war was a conflict between two opposing schools of civilization would have been shocked by another initial policy than the policy of neutrality. Military glory as an end in itself held no lure for President Wilson and no power to confuse his judgment, as his course in Mexico and his Mobile declaration had shown. I have little doubt as to where lay his sympathies from the first hour of the conflict, but he was not the man in a position of vast responsibility to be swayed by sympathy or prejudice or self-interest. Rather, he was the man, careless of fleeting judgments, to seek the position of moral responsibility imposed upon the United States and to so place its power at the service of mankind that other ages would hold it in grateful remembrance. I have read the speeches of President Wilson from the beginning of the war to its end, and I find in them an amazing strength and unity. I am not troubled by the inconsistency of his early advocacy of peace and his later proclamation of "force to the limit," for there is no inconsistency.

As Lincoln planted his policy not on slavery but on union, Woodrow Wilson tied his policy to the idea that the United States, the most powerful of all States, should be a servant, not a master, among the nations. Never before in the history of mankind has a statesman of the first order made

the humble doctrine of service to humanity a cardinal and guiding principle of world politics. As long as he thought this principle was best served by neutrality, we kept out of the war. The long series of diplomatic papers, the patience that endured the barbarism of the Lusitania and bore without flinching the contumely of foes and the misgivings of friends may justly be thought of as mere incidents in the evolution of this great idea. When at last the insolent brutality of the renewal of submarine warfare taught him that force alone could advance his doctrine, he took us into war. His much derided Notes to the Imperial German Government deserve rank among the enduring documents of international history, and constitute one of the most decisive arguments ever addressed to the conscience of civilization, to illustrate the solemn hesitation that ought to mark the course of rulers who carry nations into war, to give proof that in such a collapse of civilization at least one nation should retain its poise, and to unite his countrymen while he taught the world.

When on March 5, 1914, before the war, in discussing the Panama tolls, he said, "We are too big, too powerful, too self-respecting a nation to interpret with too strained or refined a reading the words of our own promises, just because we have power enough to give us leave to read them as we please," he made clear all that subsequently possessed his mind. When a year later he said, "We do not want anything that does not belong to us. Is not a nation in that position free to serve other nations?" he revealed the heart of his policy; and so when, on the memorable night of April 2 he asked Congress to acknowledge a state of war, it was to a crusade, not to a war, that his steadfast policy had brought his countrymen; and they could not doubt that the diplomatic victory was his, the moral victory was his, that a mighty people were behind him, that the leadership of mankind rested where democracy on a continental scale had begun, in the American Republic.

In December, 1916, the President had sought, through a statement by each side of its war aims, to discover if any basis of peace might be found. This inquiry exhibited diplomatic genius of the first order, for it enraged the Germans and aided the Allies to consolidate their moral position before the world. The great achievement was obscured for a moment by a storm of obloquy from superheated patriots who misread the grim humor and misinterpreted his precise language when he declared that all sides, according to their own general statement to their own people, had the same aims.

A GREAT STATE PAPER.

Again, on Jan. 22, 1917, Mr. Wilson for the last time sought mediation in a speech in which he defined the fundamental conditions of a permanent peace. No greater State paper than this exists in the records of modern States. The result of this master stroke was to bring us nearer war, but also nearer to lasting peace, to establish him still more closely as the one dispassionate voice of mankind, and again to bring upon him an outburst of condemnation for his noblest pre-war utterance, in which he used, but explained none too skillfully, the phrase "peace without victory," by which he meant that only a reconciled Europe could be a tranquil and stable Europe and that community of power must succeed balance of power.

Still preoccupied with the thought of lasting peace, Mr. Wilson appeared before the Congress in the early Winter of 1918, at the darkest moment of the allied fortunes, and formulated fourteen points of peace. These generalizations were almost revolutionary in their scope and idealism and ultimately formed the general basis of the peace to be drafted; but they carried, too, a political adroitness aimed directly at putting an end to the fighting. They planted new seeds of aspiration and new hopes of justice between nations in the minds of men, and it is not easy to ostracize such ideas. Its timeliness, as well as its strength, gives to this document a place among the great charters which have marked the progress of mankind. Our other great papers, the Declaration, the Farewell Address, Virginia Bill of Rights, the Constitution, were local or continental in their application. This paper, and the complementary addresses following it, aimed at nothing less than to endow the broken and weary nations with a new order and a new life. Desperate peoples for an hour looked into the shining face of Hope, and had sight of an old heaven and a new earth, arising out of horror, but ennobled by the self-sacrifice of millions. In Burke's vivid phrase, he was now the Lord of the Ascendant; his speeches had the strength of battalions along the front of battle; his voice was the voice of free peoples; and all over the earth, in the great capitals, among the tribes of the desert, in the islands of the sea, men felt the molding of his thought and sensed the grandeur of his aims.

THE GRIM SILENCE OF FACTS.

The conversion of American energies into war energies, the transformation of the American

spirit and philosophy of life into war spirit and war philosophy, the actual throwing into the furnace of modern war, across 3,000 miles of sea, the resources of men and money and resolution of the American people, takes rank among the greatest practical enterprises of mankind. It may well be conceded that mistakes were made and that judgments went wrong; but "it is the grim silence of facts that counts." Military experts impartially chosen, not political generals, commanded armies in this war. No Congressional committees, as in former wars, directed its strategy and confused its processes. No serious bickerings or scandals or conflicts marred the unity of its course. Far-seeing fiscal and economic legislation gave steadiness to the nation in the vast undertaking. Men and materials flowed to the armies in the field. The genius of the army displayed itself in battle. The genius of the President struck down the enemy morale and laid the foundations of peace. No democracy in history and few autocracies have ever given such an exhibition of efficient cooperation or earned such triumphant success.

The logic of events, to which Wilson's matchless skill in exhortation and argument had contributed so much, now decreed that in ten months ancient dynasties would abdicate and flee, and that under American leadership the mighty war would come to an end, an armistice would be declared and a peace conference come into being. Long generations hence we shall warm our hearts at the fire of the glory that then shone about this Republic, won for it by the genius of its President, the unity of its people, the disinterestedness of its purpose and the valor of its youth unafraid to die.

On Dec. 12 the George Washington, steaming through long lines of gray battleships over a gray sea amid the roar of guns and shoutings, dropped anchor at Brest, and an American President, for the first time, appeared in Europe to take part in a parliament of nations assembled to determine for years to come the course of history. Whether he should have gone at all, or only once, or by whom he should have been accompanied is a sea of fascinating but futile conjecture upon which I shall not embark. Woodrow Wilson was not a master of manipulating men or of dramatizing himself, but a master, and in some sense a slave, of ideas and ideals. It seemed to him that it was his moral responsibility, under God, to go to Europe, heedless of the rocks ahead of him and the whirlpools behind him. It was a fearful responsibility to assume, for all the peace congresses of civilization, from Westphalia and

## WILSON, THE CRUSADER

Vienna to Paris, had satisfied nobody and had generally broken their creators. This congress was the gigantic legatee of the failures of all past congresses, and in none of these congresses of the past did any one man ever occupy a position of such terrible greatness.

I am sure Aristotle's fine summary of tragedy must often have visited his mind as his ship wended her way across the seas—"Tragedy, in its pure idea, shows us a mortal will engaged in an unequal struggle with destiny, whether that destiny be represented by the forces within or without the mind. The conflict reaches its tragic issue when the individual perishes; but through his ruin the disturbed order of the world is restored and the moral forces reassert their sway." Three underlying ideas and purposes, all born of American daring and American experience, guided his mind and drove him on. The first was faith in the whole kindling length and logic of democracy itself; faith in men, faith in the supremacy of spiritual force, given new sacredness by what he saw about him of suffering and death. The second was the essential democratic idea of the right of men everywhere to determine their own affairs. The third was the idea of cooperation of peoples, the partnership of opinion among democratic nations, which once had welded discordant States in a new world into a Federal Union, and might again weld discordant peoples in an old world into a parliament of man.

### THE HIGH TIDES OF HOPE.

For six months, at the Congress of Paris, in an alien air surcharged with cynicism and suspicion, almost single-handed he fought for these principles, buoyed and sustained in the first period of his struggle by high tides of hope and faith that surged up to him out of the bruised hearts of peoples who trusted him to lead them over the failure of brute force into God's peace, and in the second period buffeted by the ebb tides of fading enthusiasm, of disintegrating unity, of selfish domination and ancient fears.

He had gone to Paris with the "fourteen points of peace," accepted alike by his allies and by the central powers, as the basis for the coming settlement. The "fourteen points" lived in his mind as a doctrine of international justice, and the League of Nations was an integral part thereof, conceived as the medium to interpret and administer those principles of justice and to introduce into the relations of modern States the idea of organic international cooperation based on reason. No man could have achieved this program in its entirety or secured a perfect peace of justice at Paris.

The Versailles Treaty, though a huge advance over any one of the five great treaties since Westphalia in sympathy and counsel with the peoples concerned, in the redress of bitter wrongs, in consideration for the weak and thought of the future, proved to be not God's peace. It was a peace shot through with the fear and resentment of suffering and ill-used men; a settlement corrupted by previous bargains among the allied powers made under the lure of traditional policies and the stern necessities of war and inconsistent with the high purpose of the character which Wilson had presented for the guidance of the Congress.

### HE GAINED MORE THAN HE GAVE.

When the odium of nations and races began to beat upon him because he could not perform a task beyond mortal achievement, Wilson saw himself confronted with the alternative of world-wide chaos and disintegration or an imperfect peace with the League of Nations. He could not, with his vast sense of political and social institutions, postpone by headstrong and willful conduct the normal and peaceful ordering of men's lives.

Woodrow Wilson was not a revolutionist. Political reform by "red ruin and the breaking up of laws" was not in his blood. He chose the League of Nations, surrendering, in the anguish of compromise, such portions of his doctrine of international justice as he could not get. I am of those who believe that he gained more than he sacrificed at Versailles, and I know that he alone among mortal men could have salvaged out of that sea of passion the League of Nations, the bravest and most reasonable effort to rationalize national relations in political history. The statement sometimes made that he fell beaten down by the superior adroitness and intelligence of his European colleagues is a piece of analysis entitling its author to a high place in any hierarchy of inferior minds. What was liberal in the Versailles Treaty Wilson's faith and courage helped to put there. What was reactionary he fought against to the limit of his strength, and accepted only to gain an instrument which he believed had in it power to purge and correct.

He had the heart to match the moral hopes of mankind against their passions. He sought to give the twentieth century a faith to inspire it and to justify the sacrifice of millions of lives, and if there was failure it was humanity's failure. To make him, the one undaunted advocate of those hopes, the scapegoat of a world collapse is to visit upon him injustice so cruel that it must perish of its own unreason. Therefore, I do not envisage Woodrow Wilson as a failure, as he

came back to these shores bearing in his hands the Covenant of the League and the imperfect treaty itself. I envisage him rather as a victor and conqueror as he returned to America, untouched by sordidness or dishonor, unsurpassed in moral devotion and offering to his country leadership in the broadest and worthiest cause in all the story of human struggle for a better life. What statesman in the history of world adjudgment, in defense of a code of shining, if unattainable, idealism, had ever borne himself more stoutly or battled with such foes or achieved, with so little support at home or abroad, so astounding a result?

When President Wilson first sailed for Europe, in December, 1918, American sentiment, irrespective of party, generally approved his declared purpose to incorporate in the treaty of peace some sort of league covenant. The heart of the time was then in tune with the age-old dream. The President of the United States had a right to assume that the American people were behind him. Eight years before, in 1910, in his Nobel lecture, Theodore Roosevelt himself said:

IN TUNE WITH AN OLD DREAM.

"It would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a league of peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The man or statesman who should bring about such a condition would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind."

A list of eminent Americans of all parties then in line with that pronouncement in 1918 would be an illuminating contribution to the higher impulses of that era.

When he returned, a different spectacle met his eyes. The great cause for which he had even then given his life had become confused with a group of political policies given by his enemies the generic name of Wilsonism, and about this raged the wrath, despair and hatred of the overstrained time. The tired warrior of the common good, who had kept the faith, fought the fight and won a victory, instead of hearing the acclaim of his own people, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," saw himself ringed about with foes of mind to rend and destroy him.

I cannot give time here to determining whether Wilson himself was to blame, in tactical judgment alone, or how much he was to blame for the change in American opinion; nor do I deny that honest men opposed the League and the treaty; nor do I undertake the task of apportioning with

nice justice the responsibility for the caldron of heat and "sweltered venom" of deadlock and indecision, of partisanship and passion, in which for weary months this largest question of modern times boiled and bubbled. Other ages will make that solemn appraisal. I may be permitted the reflection that something less of malice in the hearts of his enemies, and something more of compromise in his own heart, and something more of political genius and firm purpose in the hearts of those who kept the faith, and there might have been another world!

"I WOULD FORFEIT MY LIFE—"

I have lately been reading, and I wish all of his countrymen might one day quietly read, the thirty speeches made by the President on that fateful Western tour which he undertook in September, 1919, in order to secure from the American people the stamp of approval which he desired for his work in Europe and which the American Senate was unwilling to give. There is no series of political speeches, made under circumstances of such strain, in our annals attaining a higher level of oratory and exposition. He was forewarned, as he fared forth, that his life might be the forfeit of his enterprise. He replied, "I would forfeit my life to attain the end I seek," and he meant it; for he was incapable of melodramatic pose, and the consecration of that statement runs like a thread of gold through the sustained appeal.

Undeterred by the stabbing of physical pain and failing strength, Woodrow Wilson here reveals the scope and depth of his conviction that national isolation for America or any country is forever ended; that the outlawry of war is democracy's next great task; that suicide hovers over civilization in the present system of the relation of States and the present potentialities of destructive warfare; that the hour has struck for the creation of an instrument to gather behind it the organized manhood of the world, bent upon evolving a clearer international conscience, a firmer international law substituting reason for passion in human affairs, and that the Covenant of the League of Nations is such an instrument, if mankind will but adapt it to its uses. But all this force and eloquence and martyrdom were to avail nothing. Woodrow Wilson fell stricken as if in battle at Pueblo, Col., on Sept. 25, 1919, and came home shorn of his unmatched strength to persuade and move the hearts of his countrymen.

The American Senate, in the plain discharge of its constitutional duty, discussed the treaty for a period of eight months, during five months of

which period the President struggled against mortal illness, rejected it on March 20 and elected to remain outside the first organized scheme of international cooperation in modern history.

"GOD GRANT IT MAY COME TRUE!"

The last words spoken to the people at Pueblo by the President were these: "Now that the mists of this great question have cleared away, I believe that men will see the truth, eye to eye and face to face. There is one thing that the American people always rise to and extend their hand to, and that is the truth of justice, liberty and peace. We have accepted that truth, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as this world never dreamed of before." The prophecy of the stricken advocate of reason has not yet come true. There are those who hope and believe that it will never come true. It is not seemly that I should here attempt any controversial discussion; but I should lack the courage of the man I seek to interpret if I did not, as an American citizen, cry out, even in this chamber, God grant that it may come true and gain new authority to protect mankind against its imminent dangers.

It is commonly said that the historic rank of Woodrow Wilson is wrapped up in the destiny of the Covenant; that if it fails his rank will be merely that of one more radiant spirit whose reach exceeded his grasp, and if it succeeds his apotheosis in history is secure. I find the formula too glib and automatic for the forces and ideas it presumes to envelop. Apotheosis and immortality are weighty words that ill fit our poor flesh, so foredoomed to the iniquity of earthly oblivion; but surely the fame of Woodrow Wilson does not rest upon an instrument the orderly growth of which into final usefulness may so change its structure and modify its form as to cause it to become another and an even better instrument. It depends upon an unconquerable idea, so greatly conceived and set forth that it must continue to grow into new and finer form, and his fame must grow with it into whatever bright renown it may attain.

Posterity will be eager to have knowledge of the personality and the salient qualities of a statesman set apart to play such a rôle in the world's affairs. I shall picture him as I knew him—not the Wilson whom mankind will remember as the stern war leader of a mighty nation, but another Wilson, known to me—a Wilson of sprightliness and humor and handsome courtesy, of kindly countenance and fascinating conversation, with power to "beguile you into being informed beyond your

worth, and wise beyond your birthright." The sensitive shyness and reserve that cling to men who cannot capitalize their personal advantages to win friends clung to him. Intimacies were sacred relations to his spirit, but these intimacies could not overflow into inveterate amiability. He did not wear his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at, but tenderness governed his demeanor with those he trusted and he wore about him a quiet grace of dignity.

HIS BELIEF IN GOD'S WILL.

Woodrow Wilson was a deeply religious man. Men who do not understand the religious spirit need not even try to understand him. No man in supreme power in any nation's life since Gladstone was so profoundly penetrated by the Christian faith as Woodrow Wilson. He was sturdily and mystically Christian. He took God Almighty in earnest as the Supreme Reality, and he carried Him into his home and saw His immanence and guidance in private and public life. He had the habit of prayer, and he read and reread the English Bible. Through all his speeches flamed the glory of an insistent belief that morality and politics should march hand in hand. Many of his tendencies, perhaps the most of them that occasioned debate and censure, sprang from his pragmatic belief in God. There was actually such a thing as God's will to this man; and when he thought he had divined that will he knew the right, the absolute right, and he was prepared to stand on that, if friends deserted him or he parted company with friends, if applause came or if the blow fell. "Interest divides men; what unites them is the common pursuit of right," was one of his great utterances, and, not unlike the stout-hearted old medieval Bishops, he stood ready to wield sword or bludgeon if the foe showed his face. "God save us from compromise," "Let's stop being merely practical and find out what's right," were phrases often on his lips.

It was the Christian philosophy at work in his spirit that placed him almost instinctively on the side of the common man and against the privileged and the powerful. Wilson could be and sometimes was aloof and unrelenting to this or that friend or foe; but mankind, in the mass, never failed to soften his spirit and awaken his emotions. He would have gone to the stake to protect mankind, as a whole, from tyranny and injustice; but the ambitions of any individual man, even a friend, stirred him slightly. His greatest defect as a leader of men was this shrinking from human contacts at close range. When he had proved the rightness of his case and

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stated it boldly a strange moral fastidiousness and loyalty to the overlordship of reason prevented him from seeking to win men to his side by talking it over in whispers or by sweet and soothing persuasiveness. As Augustine Birrell aid of Carlyle, "It seemed to him to be his duty to teach, not to tickle mankind." This inhibition left him a master of ideas, but not a master of using men, and substituted admiration and respect for love and enthusiasm in the nature of the mass of his followers.

#### A MAN OF PROPHETIC QUALITY.

Wilson evoked no such popular devotion as did Henry Clay or James G. Blaine or Theodore Roosevelt. Men of his prophetic quality rarely do. Edmund Burke once said of Charles James Fox, with a deep sigh, "He was made to be loved." That sigh often, no doubt, stirred in Woodrow Wilson's heart. He was a selfless man in so far as personal glory or profit was concerned. It was "perfection, not renown" that allured him. It was God's praise, not men's praise, that gave him strength. The ambition which drove him to pre-eminence was the ambition to create new ideals or to reillumine old, neglected ones. Intellectually he does not belong with Kant or Burke or Hamilton or John Marshall; but he had a brain of high order, functioning in a different atmosphere and a broader field, a brain which worked straight and quick; and he suffered ill fools and those of untidy minds. I should call his greatest mental gifts the power to look into the future, to assemble facts, to marshal his propositions in due order, to generalize fairly, and to state his interpretations with such terseness and soundness that they sank into the minds that listened.

As an executive he was not an incarnation of action like Napoleon or Roosevelt. The lightning decision was not after his manner; but his industry was tireless, and his mind did its own thinking, and men could not frighten or deceive or cajole him. The possession of a tenacious memory enabled him to keep the whole before him, to dispense with thrashing around, and to dread irrelevance and bombast. No dogmatism or abruptness controlled his relations to men who approached his problem from the same angle. He gave his entire trust to those who worked with him, defended them against injustice, and upheld them against slander or misrepresentation.

The world used to be full of people busy in discerning, imagining and cataloguing the faults of Woodrow Wilson. Dogmatist and hermit, rhet-

orician and pacifist, egocentric and ingrate, dreamer and drifter were some of the milder coinages of his more civil and restrained enemies. Well, he had his faults. I am not here to portray or to defend his faults. Some of them were protective devices to conserve physical strength, and others lay buried deep in the impulses in his blood; but inhibitions born of pride and courage and high ambition are such as nations learn to forget and forgive, and even to love and cherish. Posterity is incurious about the minor faults of its heroes. England does not concern itself with the flaws of Nelson and William Pitt. Men do not remember Andrew Jackson's stubbornness and prejudice. They recall only the fury and fire of his purpose to preserve the Federal Union.

#### THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE YEAR.

His countrymen will not forever remember the volubility and histrionic arts of Theodore Roosevelt, but they will never let die the memory of the valient force of him penetrating the nation's spirit, increasing the sum of its energies, awakening youth to high adventure and stridently proclaiming the glory of upright living. They do not tattle about Washington's blazing profanity at Monmouth, but see his stately figure riding into the storm of battle beneath the tattered flag of a new nation he would fain bring into the world. They do not whisper about Lincoln's choice of companions or his taste in anecdotes, or his cunning in politics; but they read incised on white marble walls the sacred poems which his literary genius has left to posterity, behold him in the night watches correcting his mistakes and using even his humility as a sword with which to carve out the victory of his cause. And so it will be with Woodrow Wilson in the long perspective of the years. The destiny in his blood decided that he should possess—

*"The unconquerable will  
And courage never to submit or yield  
And what is else, not to be overcome."*

His ambition to serve his country was as intense as Cromwell's. It was not easy for him to forget or to forgive. The pride of righteousness sometimes froze the more genial currents of his soul, but he was willing to die, and did die, to guarantee to humble men a fairer chance in a juster world, and therefore the savage assaults of his enemies will shrivel into the insignificance of Horace Greeley's editorials against Lincoln's policies or the futility of the early century pamphleteers against Thomas Jefferson as iconoclast and antichrist, and his mere detractors will themselves either attain a repellent fame as detractors

## WILSON, THE CRUSADER

of greatness or else they will pass out of memory and no one will ask

*"Who or what they have been  
More than he asks what waves  
Of the midmost ocean have swelled,  
Foamed for a moment and gone."*

The four closing years in the life of Woodrow Wilson were harsh, unheroic, uninspiring years in public affairs, such as generally follow the emotional climaxes of war, and it is a commonplace to describe them as years of personal tragedy to him. A vast disillusionment, a timorous distaste for bold action, a kind of shamefacedness and cynicism in the recollection of its dreams and faith in the triumph of moral ideals, seemed to hold the nation in its grasp. As far as Woodrow Wilson himself was concerned it is well, perhaps, not to confuse the bodily pain, the palsied side and all the cold malignities of the time with the essential meaning of those years. Adversity had been wanting in his career, and now it was come upon him and he was to have acquaintance with its sublime refinement and the country was to gain knowledge of its power to smite the hearts of just men with love for the baffled fighter who had known none too much of popular affection in his career of self-reliant conquest.

### "TRAGEDY COMES SWEEPING BY."

He carried his head high in the dying days of his public service, omitting no duty his strength could bear, meeting the gracious courtesy of his successor at the end with an equal courtesy, as they rode away from the White House, so deeply associated in American history with memories of sorrow and pain, as well as pomp and power, while unseen of human eyes to each of them alike, "tragedy with sceptered pall comes sweeping by."

In the days left to him as the first private citizen of the Republic, unlike Burke, he did not waste his strength in windy opposition or factious controversy. He wrote no memoirs. "With my historical sense, how could I be my own biographer?" he said. He exploited in no way his wide fame, uttered no complaint, suffered no pity, displayed no vainglory. It was as if a great gentleman, "weary of the weight of this unintelligible world," sought his peace at last in a quiet home luminous with love and perfect care and shut out at last from the noises and the storm. From this sanctuary, day by day, it was given him to behold

the processes of his own immortality, as simple men and women gathered about his home and perceived in his wan image the poignant symbol of their great days and the historic link forever binding them to noble enthusiasms.

The very depth and dignity of his silence won through to the imagination of men, and when he spoke the world stood at attention heartened to have knowledge that his high hopes for mankind were undimmed and that there was no faltering in that firm faith of his that liberty guided by reason and not by force was the contribution of his century to human advancement. I doubt not that regrets visited his mind for lost opportunities that might have been better used; but a durable satisfaction must needs have fortified his soul in those long sequestered days that even the devil's advocate must bear witness that

*"He had loved no darkness  
Sophisticated no truth,  
Allowed no fear."*

A grace which his heart craved came in the exaltation and excitement of the vision of a valiant new generation on the march, intent to light its torches at the still-burning fire of his purpose to substitute for the arbitrament of war and death the reign of law, to restore to the land of his love and his loyalty its surrendered ascendancy, and to guarantee to the principles he had fought for eternal validity. The puzzle and complex of his dual nature seemed at last to fall into a mold of simplicity and consistency. "We die but once, and we die without distinction if we are not willing to die the death of sacrifice. Honor and distinction come only as rewards for service to mankind." Thus Woodrow Wilson had spoken in the days of his strength to high-hearted American youth, and now he could of right claim the supreme distinction as his very own! And so, even as death enfolded him in its shadows, men paused in their busy lives and came to comprehend that a man of great faith had lived in their era, revealing to them its beauty and dignity, that a prophet had guided their country and stirred the heart of mankind in an hour of destiny, and that an incorruptible liberal aflame with will to advance the slow ascent of man had joined those whom men call immortal and stood among that high fellowship,

*"Constant as the Northern Star  
Of whose true, fixed and lasting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament."*



*The plaque in memory of Woodrow Wilson, placed by the City of Geneva, Switzerland, on the wall of the terrace of the League of Nations Palace at Geneva. A translation of the French inscription reads: "To the Memory of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, Founder of the League of Nations—The City of Geneva."*

# THE DEATH OF WOODROW WILSON

*End of America's War President after long illness resulting from breakdown in September, 1919—National manifestation of grief marked by tributes from political opponents—Simple ceremonies when statesman was laid to rest in Washington Cathedral*

WOODROW WILSON, twenty-eighth President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and the Navy during the World War, died in his Washington home on Sunday, Feb. 3, at 11:15 A. M. The end was not unexpected, as announcement had been made on Jan. 30 that the War President was suffering from an attack of indigestion, although his condition was not at that time considered serious. The next day, however, reports from the sick-room assumed a more alarming tone, and on the following evening it became evident that death was only a matter of hours.

Dr. Cary T. Grayson, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., who had been detailed as the personal physician of Mr. Wilson since March, 1913, informed Mr. Wilson on Jan. 30 that his end was near. The dying man replied: "I am ready. I am a broken piece of machinery. When the machinery is broken—" His voice failed for a moment. Then he whispered: "I am ready." This was his last complete sentence. Thirty-six hours later he sank into a coma from which he did not awaken. His last word—uttered late on the afternoon of Feb. 2—was the name of his wife, "Edith."

At the bedside were Mrs. Wilson, Miss Margaret Wilson, Dr. Grayson and the two trained nurses, Miss Powderly and Miss Hewlett. Mrs. Wilson sat by the bed, holding her husband's right hand, which had retained its power of feeling after his paralytic stroke in 1919. Miss Wilson was on the other side of the bed, with the others in the background. A few minutes after 11 o'clock Mr. Wilson's eyes opened. His wife and daughter spoke to him, but

there was no indication of recognition, and a few moments later the feeble heart-beats ceased.

Mr. Wilson's fatal illness had its inception in the paralytic stroke caused by the mental and physical exertions of his speaking trip in advocacy of American adherence to the League of Nations in the Summer of 1919. Although far from well when he entered the White House—he was then suffering from incipient Bright's disease, was practically blind in one eye, and in earlier life had been afflicted with a blood clot in one of his legs—by rigid adherence to the regimen laid down by his medical advisers he had been able to meet the demands made on his strength by the duties of his office in wartime. Then came the months of fearful strain and even more fearful loneliness in Paris, the battle with the Senate "irreconcilables" who fought his cherished plan for the League of Nations, and finally the rigors of the Western tour.

It was more than his flesh and blood could stand. The first sign of the impending catastrophe came on Sept. 25, 1919, while the Presidential special train was between Pueblo, Col., and Wichita, Kan. After going to bed the President complained of feeling ill. Dr. Grayson, who had examined him after his speech at Pueblo, realized with a shock that a stroke of paralysis was impending when he saw a drooling of saliva from one corner of the President's mouth and a pronounced drooping of the facial muscles on the left side. Disregarding Mr. Wilson's protests, Dr. Grayson and Mrs. Wilson cut the trip short and returned hastily to Washington,

where Mr. Wilson was able to walk unaided to his automobile. All went well until 4 A. M. on Oct. 5, when Mrs. Wilson was awakened by the President calling in a weak voice from the bathroom. She called Dr. Grayson, and they found Mr. Wilson lying helpless on the floor of the bathroom. His left leg had crumpled under him and he was semi-conscious. Dr. Grayson rolled the helpless form on to a rug, picked up the corners and dragged it across the hall to the bedroom, where with Mrs. Wilson's aid he put the President in bed.

Woodrow Wilson had suffered a cerebral hemorrhage on the right side of the brain. His left side was paralyzed and the shadow of death was upon him. Expert medical attendance, careful nursing and the exercise of undaunted will power prolonged his existence. But his hold on life was weak and he had not enough energy left to withstand any shock arising from digestive or other irregularity.

The news of his death created profound emotion throughout the world, and from the first announcement until the body was laid away in the crypt of the Cathedral on St. Albans Heights at Washington, D. C., a deep sense of grief and sorrow seemed to brood over the civilized earth.

#### PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION

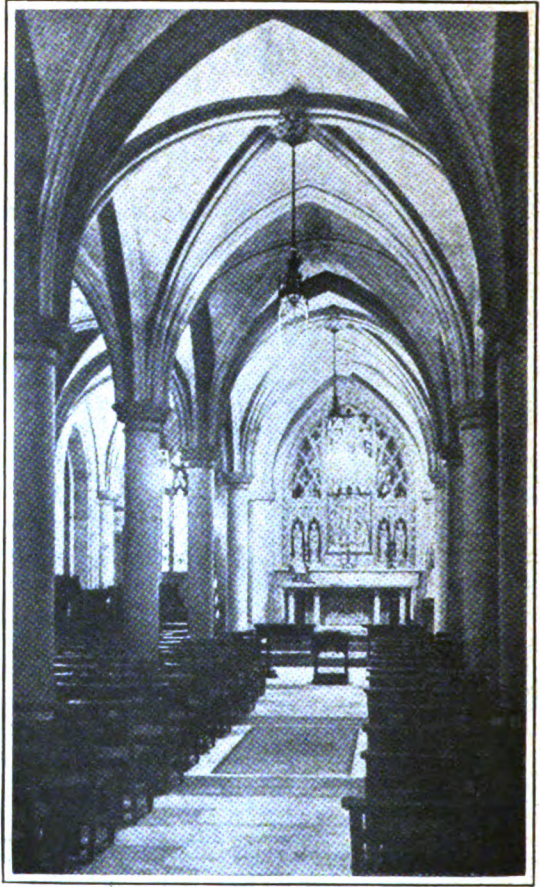
President Coolidge, on being informed of the death of Mr. Wilson, immediately issued the following proclamation:

##### *To the People of the United States:*

The death of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States from March 4, 1913, to March 4, 1921, which occurred at 11:15 o'clock today at his home at Washington, District of Columbia, deprives the country of a most distinguished citizen, and is an event which causes universal and genuine sorrow. To many of us it brings the sense of a profound personal bereavement.

His early profession as a lawyer was abandoned to enter academic life. In this chosen field he attained the highest rank as an educator and has left his impress upon the intellectual thought of the country.

From the Presidency of Princeton Univer-



The crypt in the centre of the aisle in the Bethlehem Chapel where the late President was buried in the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral, Washington

sity he was called by his fellow-citizens to be the Chief Executive of the State of New Jersey. The duties of this high office he so conducted as to win the confidence of the people of the United States, who twice elected him to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic.

As President of the United States he was moved by an earnest desire to promote the best interests of the country as he conceived them. His acts were prompted by high motives and his sincerity of purpose cannot be questioned. He led the nation through the terrific struggle of the World War with a lofty idealism which never failed him. He gave utterance to the aspiration of humanity with an eloquence which held the attention of all the earth and made America a new and enlarged influence in the destiny of mankind.

In testimony of the respect in which his memory is held by the Government and the people of the United States, I do hereby direct that the flags of the White House and of the several departmental buildings be displayed at half-staff for a period of thirty days, and that suitable military and naval honors, under orders of the Secretary of War and of the Secretary of the Navy, may be rendered on the day of the funeral.

Done at the City of Washington this third day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Forty-eighth.

Proclamations of similar import were issued by Governors and Mayors throughout the country. When Congress reassembled on Monday, Feb. 4, the death of Mr. Wilson was officially announced, and after eulogies had been delivered by the Republican and Democratic floor leaders both houses adjourned, the Senate for four days and the House for two.

#### SENATOR LODGE'S EULOGY

Senator Lodge, who was the leader of the irreconcilable opposition to President Wilson's foreign policy, in the course of his eulogy, said:

I can say for myself and, I believe, for all my colleagues on this side of the chamber that we have heard with profound sorrow the formal announcement of the death of President Wilson. In common with all the people of this country, we have felt a very deep sympathy for the suffering of President Wilson during his long illness, which he has borne without complaint and with so much fortitude.

Mr. Wilson was a man of remarkable ability and of strong character. Through laborious years of thought and study he devoted himself to securing a mastery of the historical subjects, the economic questions and the theory and science of politics and government, which commanded his especial interest. He rose to be President of the ancient and honorable university of which he was a graduate. From this high place in the field of education he turned to public life. He was elected to be Governor of New Jersey, one of the thirteen original States eminent in our history and on the soil of which so many of the battles of the Revolu-

tion were fought. He was then elected and re-elected President of the United States, which is to us, and which I believe to be, the greatest office among men.

During his period of service in the Presidency came the war with Germany, the most terrible war from which mankind has suffered during the period of recorded history. After the victory of the Allied and Associated Powers it fell to Mr. Wilson to play the leading part in the unspeakably difficult work of making peace. He stood there, a chief figure in this great transaction, and so he will stand in the pages of history in the days that are to come.

There is no figure more conspicuous than his in the events of that time, which closed one period in the history of mankind and opened another. Here in the capital of the country, the scene of his many triumphs, this remarkable career comes to an end. In sympathy and sorrow, and with every mark



President and Mrs. Coolidge arriving to take part in the funeral ceremonies for the late President



People praying before the late President's death in front of his home in S Street, Washington

of homage, we stand with bowed heads in solemn recognition of this event, at once sad and momentous, which has thus come upon us in the wisdom of the overruling Providence that guides the destinies of mankind.

### SENATOR ROBINSON'S EULOGY

Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic leader of the Senate, who presented the resolution, spoke as follows:

The announcement that former President Woodrow Wilson has passed away causes grief throughout the civilized world. The illness which resulted in his death was prolonged. During his suffering Mr. Wilson received numerous and pathetic evidences of sympathy from his fellow-countrymen. His departure marks the end of a career glorified by many notable achievements.

The eight years while Mr. Wilson served as President may be accounted the most momentous in modern history. Into this short period revolutions of immeasurable importance were crowded. The governmental problems solved during those eight years challenged the prudence, foresight and courage of the Chief Executive. The proper decisions of numerous weighty domestic questions during his Administrations were complicated by disturbed conditions in our foreign relations and by our participation in the great world conflict. Notwithstanding these distracting issues with other nations, the fiscal policy of the Government was revolutionized by far-reaching changes in our banking and taxation systems.

When the storm of war swept Europe in 1914 the United States adopted a neutral policy. Many thought we should openly espouse the cause of the Allies. The great majority of the American people, however, justified Mr. Wilson's course in this particular. It was statesmanship of the most courageous order to keep our country out of the war until public sentiment compelled resentment and hostility toward the Central Powers for the violation of personal and property rights of American citizens. The

decision of Mr. Wilson as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy to send our troops with all available supplies to the rescue of the Allies, fighting for their existence along the battlefronts of Europe, required surpassing will power. Thousands were pleading that we stand on the defensive. The determination to hurry our troops to the front saved England, Italy and France from protracted single-handed war against the enemy. The financing of the war, the organization of an effective quartermaster service, prompt provision for transportation and the mobilization of all the physical and moral resources of the country were a gigantic task, made possible only by the spirit of loyalty and sacrifice which thrilled the men and women of our nation.

It has been suggested that Mr. Wilson unwisely assumed personal direction of our part in the negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference. He felt a personal responsibility—a duty which he could not delegate—to help in bringing about a just peace, an enduring peace. His plan for the preservation of world peace was rejected, and the treaty of peace incorporating it failed of ratification in the Senate, largely because it included the League of Nations Covenant. History must decide whether the rejection of the treaty by the Senate was a mistake.

As the leader of our country in its greatest crisis, he is passing into history with opinion divided as to the wisdom of some of his foreign policies. When confusion has given place to calm conviction he must take high place among the renowned of all the ages, because of his exalted ideals. Neither eulogy nor defamation can materially influence the estimation in which he will be held by future generations. It is unavailing either unduly to applaud or jealously to deprecate what he has done and what he has tried to do. Measured both ways, he is easily recognized as the greatest man of his time.

Men are not always judged by what they do; they are sometimes judged by what they try to do. One thing is certain. In the years to come, if war shall again desolate the earth and the mothers of this land be compelled to yield their sons to bloody strife,

all they who fight and they who sorrow will remember and bless Woodrow Wilson, because he gave himself in an earnest effort to deliver them from the heritage of war. The final judgment of mankind will be fair, in spite of efforts to pervert it. Already there has been a revival of his popularity, and this will gather as the years go by. Leaders in great crises do not depend on favor for renown. Earnestness is indeed the path of immortality, and they who tread that way are certain of enduring fame. In the solemn presence of death we behold the evidences of tender sympathy and universal grief. Tears, tolling bells and heartfelt prayers throughout a grief-stricken land inspire appreciation for his hopes and his dreams—hopes for freedom for every people—dreams of "peace on earth and goodwill toward men."

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Representative Nicholas Longworth, Republican floor leader of the House, announcing the death of Mr. Wilson, said:

President Wilson will be mourned not only throughout the United States of America, but throughout the entire civilized world, of which he was in his time so outstanding a figure. Our hearts go out, I am well assured, with profound sympathy to his bereaved family, and particularly to the gracious lady who was his trusted and well-beloved companion equally in the zenith of his great powers and since illness came slowly but surely to undermine them.

Following Mr. Longworth, Representative Garrett said:

Many there are throughout the world who will proclaim that the foremost character of his generation and one of the foremost in all history has passed on. Others will not accord him such high praise. It is not for us now to enter upon speculation or to attempt to fix Woodrow Wilson's place in history. We

could not do this latter if we would. History itself will adjust that, and it is reasonably safe to assert that it will do so unerringly. We stand too close to his life work; our atmosphere is yet too much surcharged with recollections of his vivid personality and power to enable us to obtain that perspective which will be the final judgment.

Circumstances of social contact and conflict were so shaped that by reason of his position the opportunity was presented wherein his virtue and his genius made him for a time, at least, the outstanding individuality of the world. He walked upon heights untouched before by human foot; he sought to break new trails for mankind. Not alone in Senates, Parliaments and Chancelleries; not only in throne rooms and executive courts and cloisters, was his idealism weighed and analyzed, but its spirit permeated the great masses of men, and from all the tribes and races and peoples of all climes and all civilizations came the profound plaudits of brain and heart and wistful souls.

It is not conceivable that the impressions so created shall perish from the psychology of humanity, but just what the full and ultimate effects are to be history and destiny must combine in coming centuries to tell. For us at this moment is just the sad and simple duty to cease for a brief time our labors that we may join the millions of our fellows and stand in solemn contemplation of the awesome majesty of death.

The following identic resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives and the Senate:

The House [Senate] having learned with profound sensibility and sorrow of the death of Woodrow Wilson, former President of the United States:

Resolved, That as a token of honor to the many virtues, public and private, of the illustrious statesman, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public station, the Speaker of this House shall appoint a committee to attend the funeral of Mr. Wilson on behalf of the House.

Resolved, That such committee may join



The scene outside the late President's home in Washington when his body was taken from the house to be conveyed to the place of burial in the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral on Feb. 6 1924



**The burial of President Wilson:** The automobile hearse conveying the body to the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral

such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate [House] to consider and report by what further token of respect and affection it may be proper for the Congress of the United States to express the deep sensibility of the nation.

Resolved, That the clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate [House] and transmit a copy of the same to the afflicted family of the illustrious dead.

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House [Senate] be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House [Senate].

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect this House [Senate] do now adjourn.

### THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES

The funeral of Mr. Wilson on Feb. 6 was the occasion for a national manifestation of regret and grief. Thousands of people gathered round his house, while tens of thousands lined the route followed by the funeral cortège and gathered in the grounds of St. Albans, the Episcopal Cathedral on the heights overlooking Washington, where the body of the war President was laid to rest. Services were held at the hour of the funeral throughout the nation, and the public services in the Bethlehem Chapel of the cathedral were broadcast by radio to millions of persons east of the Mississippi. Street traffic in New York and other cities was halted at 3

P. M., remaining suspended for a brief period; telegraph wires throughout the nation were also silenced. Memorial services were held throughout the nation and work was suspended in many public and private offices.

The services over Mr. Wilson's body were marked by the utmost simplicity. Members of the family, a few intimate friends and high Government officials, including President Coolidge, who was accompanied by Mrs. Coolidge, joined in the services at the Wilson residence. The Rev. James H. Taylor, pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church which Mr. Wilson attended during his Presidency, read the Twenty-third Psalm. Dr. Sylvester W. Beach, the dead man's pastor for years at Princeton, delivered a brief prayer, and the Right Reverend James E. Freeman, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Washington, read the twenty-seventh verse of the Thirty-third Chapter of Deuteronomy and the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses of the Epistle of Jude. Members of the honor guard of twenty-four, selected from the army, navy and marine corps, then carried the body to the waiting hearse, and the cortège moved slowly through streets lined by silent crowds.

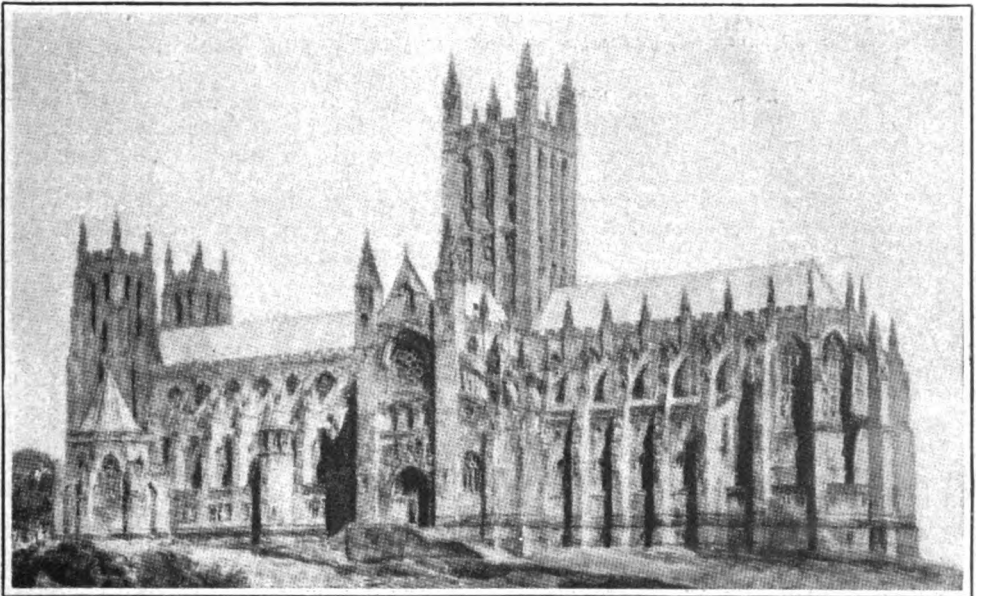
At the cathedral the body, preceded by Dean Bratenahl, the choir and Bishop Freeman, with attending clergymen, was carried to the chancel. Close behind came Mrs. Wilson, heavily veiled. The services opened with an antiphonal reading of the Thirty-ninth Psalm, of which the Rev. Mr. Taylor read the first verse, the congregation responding. Then Bishop Freeman read the lesson from the Order for the Burial of the Dead:

There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.

For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, death is swallowed up in victory. O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory?

The male voices of the choir sang the hymn, "Day Is Dying in the West," and the Apostles Creed, the Lord's Prayer and other prayers from the Episcopal ritual were repeated. Bishop Freeman pronounced the benediction and the congregation retired to the recessional, "The Strife Is O'er, the Battle Done," leaving the members of the family to wait in the north vestibule while workmen removed the slabs of marble and concrete covering the entrance to the crypt of the cathedral. When all was ready Bishop Freeman and the attending clergymen took their places at the side of the opening, the soldier and sailor bearers placed the coffin on supporting beams over the vault and returned to their places near the altar. Mrs. Wilson entered on the arm of William G. McAdoo, followed by the others.

The Episcopal committal service was read, and the little group joined Bishop Freeman in reciting the Lord's Prayer. Bishop Freeman pronounced the benediction, and then, in accordance with Mrs. Wilson's previously expressed wish, recited Tennyson's "Crossing the Bar." The soldiers and sailors stepped forward, and as the notes of "taps," sounded outside



The last resting place of President Wilson: Architect's drawing of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral, Washington, as it will be when completed

the cathedral by an army musician, echoed through the chapel, the coffin was lowered into the vault and placed in its niche. The family stared mutely into the crypt for a moment while the workmen sealed up the niche by the light of their guttering candles. Then Mr. McAdoo led Mrs. Wilson away, the crypt was sealed, and Woodrow Wilson, broken from the battle of life, was left alone with eternity.

#### DEEP GRIEF THROUGHOUT THE WORLD— TRIBUTE BY LLOYD GEORGE

The news of Mr. Wilson's death evoked a world-wide demonstration of sorrow and sympathy. From the heads of neutral States as well as the nations with which the United States was associated during the World War, and likewise from the heads of remote countries throughout the world, came fervent tributes to the War President's memory. The most tender, perhaps, and withal the most penetrating, came from David Lloyd George, Mr. Wilson's collaborator in the war and at the Peace Conference. Mr. Lloyd George said:

Woodrow Wilson was a very great man, and, like all great men, had his defects, but these will be quickly forgotten in the magnitude of his life work. True, he was a failure, but a glorious failure. He failed as Jesus Christ failed, and, like Christ, sacrificed his life in pursuance of his noble ideal. He was just as much a victim of the great war as any soldier who died in the trenches. He ruined his health in the endeavor to create a better and happier existence for the people of the whole world, and I am sure that the failure of his altruistic inspirations hastened his tragic end.

It will perhaps be a generation before the greatness of Woodrow Wilson will be appreciated at its real value by his countrymen and the tragedy which closed his life will bring before the world the unselfishness of his ambitions as nothing else could. Like the tragedy which made for your great martyred Lincoln a permanent place in the hearts of the American people—even of those who disagreed with him, as was made very apparent to me in my recent visit to the Southern States—the sad death of this great statesman, this great American, will indelibly stamp his name among those at the very top of your history.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. Wilson had violent likes and dislikes, and for this, as always is the penalty of greatness, he was violently criticized. I believe I may say that never have I seen such vicious, cruel vituperation as was heaped upon him at home and in Paris at the time of the Peace Conference. Such abuse never was leveled at any man in like position in history and it hurt him terribly. Criticism cut him like a knife. Had he been a lifelong politician he could have overlooked those attacks. Thirty years or so of political life makes one invulnerable. I know. But Wilson's character was such, he was of such fine stuff, that he was immensely sensitive to this public abuse and he suffered more than others would have done. I have no doubt that this helped to bring on his illness.

Besides, he was a tireless worker. I remember when we were in Paris I would see lights in his room at all hours of the night as he worked at his League idea. The rest of us found time for golf and we took our Sundays off, but Wilson, in his zeal, worked incessantly. Only those who were there and witnessed it can realize the effort he expended.

He was a man whose personality grew upon one. When I first met him here in England I did not understand him, nor did Clemenceau in Paris, but when you spend every day for five months with a man you have opportunity to become well acquainted with him, and when it was over I had learned to appreciate his great gifts and to like him very much personally, and I remember Clemenceau at the time telling me his feelings were similar.

Yes, Woodrow Wilson was a very likable man, and I shall mourn his passing. I had the pleasure of spending a pleasant hour with him when I was in Washington recently, and though his physical condition was a shock to me his wit was just as keen and his remarks were as brilliant as they ever were. He had a wonderful mind and, according to Admiral Grayson, whom I knew, he met the terrible agony of his illness with a stoic courage that was remarkable. I can well understand such bravery in such a man.

The prevailing sentiment in France was one of gratitude to Mr. Wilson for American aid in the war, opinions differing as to his greatness as a peace-maker. The Chamber of Deputies on the day of the funeral stopped a fierce political debate to unite all factions in a unanimous vote of sympathy and sorrow to be transmitted to the American Congress, and for a few moments the Chamber stood in silence, after which Premier Poincaré pronounced a brief eulogy.

German public opinion saw in Mr. Wilson's death only the passing of the man who had betrayed Germany by his Fourteen Points. Two Germans, however, had kinder words for him: Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States prior to our entry into the World War, and Maximilian Harden, the publicist. Harden said:

Certain it is that Wilson did not achieve as much as was hoped of him. . . . Equally certain it is, however, that Wilson gained for the United States a moral basis and world rank in which George Washington would see the fulfillment of his ideals. Only blind enmity can today still doubt the noble purity of Wilson's motives.

Wilson was in Paris the same man he was in Princeton, Trenton and Washington. Only, like the giant in ancient Greek mythology, he had lost part of the strength he had sucked from his home soil and therefore could be overcome and conquered in a to him alien element by people who were far from being demigods like Hercules, who lifted up and in the air crushed to death Antaeus, who with his feet on his own ground was invincible.

To President Wilson there remained nothing but hope in his League of Nations. The League could, according to my firm conviction,

tion, if after definitely fixing the boundaries of its rights the United States were to co-operate therein, today achieve the splendid goal of Wilson's aspirations.

The case of Wilson is as tragic as Hamlet's. A noble soul, which for lack of brutality such as Lenin possessed, strains in its physical container, the body. Even as Shakespeare's graduate-Prince, so could the professor-President groan: "The time is out of joint, O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right."

Wilson did not attain his goal. But when, or where either, in all history did high aspiration gain the peak in the first attempt? Wilson felt, thought and spoke as before him never did the head of a great State. The poorest and mightiest, hushed and awed, hearkened to his word that seemed to sound from the threshold of a new era of purified political morality. This will come, because it must come.

Even for the grandest and most glorious of all visions, that of the Savior, an Apostle who knew mankind and earthly things had to build an earthly body around. Perhaps this Paul, too, will America give unto the world. Wilson's glory, however, will sooner or later shine from the darkness again and those who today still hesitate to count him among the great American Presidents, even

they will, when the clouds of partisan political controversies have passed away, be filled with gratitude that Woodrow Wilson, despite his shortcomings, has, through what he did and did not do, left behind among Americans the consciousness, the realization, that to the person of the World War America gave the greatest, noblest, purest figure.

Count von Bernstorff characterized as propaganda the criticisms of Mr. Wilson, and described the War President as "not quite statesman enough to win out against allied diplomacy at Paris."

In Argentina, as well as in other South American countries, and throughout Central America, the day of the funeral was set aside as a day of public mourning. Flags were half-masted not only in the United States but also in many foreign countries.

## THE STATESMANSHIP OF WOODROW WILSON

By JAMES W. GERARD

Former United States Ambassador to Germany

*Measures by which history will estimate the late President's high qualities as initiator of policies and executive—Benefits of the Federal Reserve system—Government aid to farmers—Railroad and commerce legislation—The Mexican crisis—His part in the war and world politics*

THE further we are from the achievements of a man's life the more clearly do we see and understand them. The little details that once seemed so important disappear, and we begin to see the great lines which mark the success or failure of a human career. Woodrow Wilson, the world's greatest idealist, lies in the beautiful cathedral which overlooks the capital City of Washington, and already we begin to measure the greatness and permanence of his statesmanship. A little soon, perhaps, a little uselessly, for history and posterity, not his contemporaries, will render the verdict on his life.

Politician or statesman? That is the

first question. There can be no dispute: Woodrow Wilson was a statesman—never surrendering ideals or ideas or even prejudices for the mere political advantage of the moment.

Today, when it is known that conquest is a great illusion, mere acquisition of territory by a ruler is no longer the criterion of success. But acquisition by peaceful means must still be considered successful statesmanship. The beautiful Danish Islands, during President Wilson's Administration, were added to our colonial crown. Much of the credit for the diplomatic work involved is due to our truly great representative, Maurice Francis

Egan. But the backing of President Wilson insured the success of the negotiations.

Much criticism was directed against Wilson's Mexican policy. Today, as General Obregon drives the rebels into the sea at Vera Cruz, the Wilson policy is successful. I went to Mexico in 1910 as one of the representatives of the United States to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the commencement of the war for Mexican independence. The night before we left there was a grand ball in the patio of the National Palace, and there I had an opportunity to make by farewells to President Diaz. I said: "Mr. President, the next time I come to Mexico I hope to speak better Spanish." With prophetic vision the old warrior replied: "The next time you come I shall not be here." And he went on to say that he had made two grave errors in his Administration. He had not soon enough introduced universal education and he had not forced a division of the lands of the great proprietors so as to create a solid, farming, middle class.

Within a short time Diaz was a fugitive. The Madero revolution was successful, and then General Huerta, turning on Madero, took him prisoner, and while a prisoner Madero was mysteriously assassinated. Huerta as dictator Wilson refused to recognize, taking the position that the United States should not recognize those dictators who had gained their places by assassination. After a period of revolution and counter-revolution Obregon emerged; a statesman and a warrior who forced the division of lands and who was on the point of peacefully surrendering the Presidency to a legally elected successor, when the second Huerta, disappointed candidate, rebelled and sought to gain the Presidency by force of arms. The poor success of his movement shows that Mexico no longer favors election by revolution. The ideals of Woodrow Wilson have prevailed. His much-criticized Mexican policy has been vindicated.

One of the first problems in our foreign policy that presented itself was decided by Wilson in the broad spirit of international justice. He was subjected to attack because he decided that we should strictly observe the provisions of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty and that American ships should

not be toll exempt in the Panama Canal. To decide otherwise meant a decision against the solemn obligation of the treaty. The blame should be placed where it belongs—on the shoulders of Hay and the Administration behind him which negotiated and ratified a treaty so inimical to the interests of the United States.

During President Wilson's Administration, and through his approval of Secretary of State Bryan's idea, arbitration treaties were made with thirty nations. These treaties provide for negotiations for a year after a dispute arises between us and any nation before war can be declared. Certainly the simplest and most practical way to keep the peace. It is interesting to recall that Germany alone of the great powers refused to sign this treaty with the United States, because, as the Secretary for Foreign Affairs told me: "If we sign with you it makes no difference to us, but if we do France, Russia and Great Britain will ask us to sign similar treaties; if we refuse a refusal is almost a declaration of war. If we sign and hold to the treaty we lose our greatest asset in war—our readiness for sudden and unexpected attack."

Since the days of the old United States Bank many suggestions for the improvement and centralization of our banking and currency system had been made. It remained for Woodrow Wilson and his aids, in Congress and out, to crystallize these ideas and produce the system which in troublous times has been the salvation of our banking and business—the Federal Reserve Banks. To the farmer, broken by high interest rates paid for borrowed money, the Federal Farm Loan banks, established during Wilson's Administration, gave a needed relief.

The establishment of the Tariff Commission was the first step to put the tariff where it belongs—outside of the realm of politics. The Federal Trade Commission gives protection to the honest business man. It is not difficult to sit by the fire in an easy chair and criticize the adoption of the eight-hour day on the railroads. But stand on a freight car in snow and sleet, fire a locomotive in the heat of Summer, you will find eight hours ample time when given to assiduous labor. The eight-hour day means more contented workingmen,

better citizens, better educated citizens, healthier children and better homes.

At a time when intolerance raises its ugly head in many places in our country, it is not amiss to call attention to the spirit of toleration which ever animated Woodrow Wilson. Jews and Catholics were his friends and were by him appointed to high offices and administered them well. The crusading spirit of his Puritan ancestors and his Presbyterian upbringing found an outlet in his attacks on injustice and on wrong. No man can be a great statesman who cherishes the intolerant prejudices of the small minded. Woodrow Wilson's last public act was to send me a letter, three days before his death, agreeing to become a member of the committee to raise funds for the suffering and starving intellectuals of Germany.

From the first Woodrow Wilson viewed the World War in its proper scale. He could forget the details and grasp the plan in all the breadth and possibilities of this awful world catastrophe. The ex-Kaiser said to me in the gardens of the château at Charleville during the discussion of submarine war: "Why does not America go after England, which is violating, by its blockade, the rules of international law?" and my answer that if two men came to my house and one of them murdered my sister and the other stepped on the flower beds I would first attack the murderer, was only the reflection and the echo of Woodrow Wilson's broad view of the situation and of the policy we should pursue.

Our War Department may be criticized for not realizing the nearness of war and preparing for it, so that all experiments might have been tried and measures decided upon before we entered the world conflict. This neglect of war details in the War Department cannot be imputed to President Wilson. For when we at last stood shoulder to shoulder with the Allies in the fight for civilization and democracy no nation was ever more gloriously, more efficiently led. By some believed impossible, the selective draft, a great measure of justice, went into operation with the smoothness of a well-oiled and great machine, and in all departments of the war, from the huge number of men required to make our entrance effective to the details



JAMES W. GERARD  
Former United States Ambassador to Germany

of ordering rolling stock sent to General Allenby to enable him to win in Palestine, it was ever Woodrow Wilson who made the decision. Alone in this country he had grasped the vastness of the problem and had grappled with it on the same vast scale.

He did not hesitate—our object was to win and to win quickly—and, seconded by a determined nation inspired by the zeal of Crusaders, the directness of Puritans, he drove on, taking over railroads, fuel, food and telegraphs—all but with one view—victory. A merchant fleet almost by magic came into being—in a word, it was Woodrow Wilson who by the force of his will brought victory and saved us from the forces that would have enslaved a world.

"To err is human," and in the career of Woodrow Wilson it is possible that three mistakes were made. First, it is charged that if he had remained in this country in-

stead of going to the Versailles Conference he would have been able to remain in the background, a great mysterious force, speaking only through his representatives and at the critical moment throwing his power into the scales in behalf of forgiveness and peace and against the Allies' policy of land grabbing and revenge. But in his trip to Paris he learned the greatest point of soreness in the whole European situation—the haunting fear which France has of invasion from Germany. It is this fear—the dread by France, already invaded forty-seven times in her history from the east—of German conquest that makes France today keep on foot the best army in the world and that great fleet of airplanes—a source of fear to turn to the British no longer safe behind the barrier of their silver seas. It is this fear, not hope of reparations, which drove France to seize the Ruhr, source of German munitions of war. The far-seeing eye of Wilson saw all this, and he was ready to promote world peace by pledging security to France.

Second, some critics say that he should have taken with him Republicans like Taft, Lodge and Root, perhaps one day saying, "I am not well today, Taft. Won't you take my place? There is a very important meeting on—the constitution of the World Court, and I am sure you understand that better than I do." Or that, on another day, he might have sent Root or Lodge, so that they all would have had a part in the framing of the treaty and the League. And these critics allege that there is no doubt but that Taft and Lodge and Root would have toured America to advocate the adoption of the League; but would these men have been as helpful as many suppose? Could anything have appeased the implacable political enmity of Lodge? Where was Taft and his League to Enforce Peace as soon as the League of Nations became a football of politics? And could the Big Business friends of Root have viewed with anything but disfavor any connection with one whose policy as to railroads, telegraphs and the eight-hour day they so violently opposed?

A third mistake, based, however, on the

advice of ill-advised and ill-advising politicians, was the demand for a partisan Congress from a nation which during the war had forgotten party, had loyally seconded every move of the Government and which deeply resented this summons on party lines. It is undoubtedly true that the call should have been for the election of patriots, not partisans. It has been said that Wilson's failing, if failing it was, was his failure to understand men. He exacted high service, the service of unfailing machines. He did not realize that men are but grown-up boys who do their best work when patted on the head and given a few words of encouragement. But his confidence once given, his appointment once made, he stood by his subordinates in the face of bitter attacks, crawling intrigue and envious backbiting. He gave great discretionary powers and looked only at the results obtained. He felt that he led a great army of civilians and that he could not be expected to stop in his work and reaffirm to every soldier a confidence once given.

Great internal reforms carried through; the public, business men, workingmen all served; the monetary system, the very fount and basis of all prosperity, stabilized and kept stable; a great war carried to a successful conclusion and the United States of America placed in the forefront of the nations, not as a conquering but as a crusading nation seeking nothing at the peace table but justice for all the world; a great opportunity for the nations struggling in the maze of age-long hatreds and revenges—all this is due to Woodrow Wilson, leader of America, who will stand out in history as the pre-eminent statesman of his age. Nations like individuals have moments at the forked roads of opportunity which are marked failure and success. Napoleon said that great leaders must be merchants of hope. Woodrow Wilson offered to the nations the greatest of all merchandise—permanent and universal peace. That his merchandise was refused does not detract from the undying fame of Woodrow Wilson, leader and statesman.

# THE LATE PRESIDENT'S RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

*A review of Woodrow Wilson's early history, scholastic career, and successes and failures in applying his ideas to the practical problems of State, national and world politics*

**T**HOMAS WOODROW WILSON (he dropped the first name early in life) was born on Dec. 28, 1856, at Staunton, Va., where his father, the Rev. Joseph Rugles Wilson, was pastor of the Presbyterian Church. The elder Wilson was the son of an Ulster immigrant, and had married in Steubenville, Ohio, Jessie Woodrow, the daughter of a Scotch clergyman, who had come to that State via Cumberland and Canada.

Not long after Woodrow Wilson's birth the family moved to Augusta, Ga., where they lived during the Civil War and the early period of reconstruction. Augusta was out of the fighting zone, and the war touched the family only as it touched every family in the South, but those who knew Woodrow Wilson well in later years thought that he got his first stimulus to political thinking under the impressions of the reconstruction period. He received a good many of the essentials of an education at home, and attended at Augusta a private school opened by a Confederate veteran. His studies were continued in an academy at Columbia, S. C., when the family moved there, and in 1873 he entered Davidson College, a Presbyterian institution in North Carolina. Ill health compelled him to leave before the college year was over. In 1875, after preparatory study at home, he entered Princeton.

His undergraduate career was not particularly distinguished: he finished thirty-eighth in a class of 106, with good grades in the literary and political studies, but no very brilliant showing in the natural sciences. He learned, for taking notes at lectures, that shorthand which he afterward used in drafting his notes to the German Government. He had taken some part in oratory and debating, but without distinction and his chief college honor

seems to have been the editorship of The Princetonian.

During his senior year, however, he wrote an essay on "Cabinet Government in the United States," which was published in The International Review. In this may be found the germ of his theories of the place of the Executive in the American Government. In the main it was a protest against entrusting the virtual direction of all legislation to standing committees of the two houses, and an argument in favor of a responsible Cabinet, which should sit in Congress, take over the direction of legislative policy, and be answerable at all times to the people's representatives.

These ideas were more fully developed seven years later in his Ph. D. thesis at Johns Hopkins, but there is a direct and visible connection between the college student, who was elated by the receipt of a small check for his first published article, and the President of the United States who went down into the committee rooms of Congress to urge the passage of measures supported by the Administration.

Immediately after leaving Princeton he entered the Law School of the University of Virginia, where he remained about a year and a half before poor health sent him to Wilmington, N. C., where he completed his legal education by private study. At Virginia he had won considerable distinction in oratory; but he is also said to have expressed an opinion that the law had ceased to be a profession and had become a mere trade.

## HE BECOMES A TEACHER

In 1882 he began to practice in Atlanta, but for law as a trade he appeared to have no aptitude. So in 1883 he entered the graduate school at Johns Hopkins and remained there for two years as a student

and fellow in history and political science. Here he was successful and made a deep impression upon teachers and fellow-students. That impression obtained for him in 1885 an Associate Professorship of History and Political Economy at Bryn Mawr. On June 24 of the same year he was married to Miss Ellen Louise Axson, daughter of a Presbyterian clergyman in Savannah.

A year later he received his Ph. D. from Johns Hopkins, and the thesis written for that degree, entitled "Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics," has gone into numerous editions and been generally used as a textbook. Its central ideas were those suggested in the essay of seven years before, the need of some better supervisor of legislation than irresponsible standing committees. Dr. Wilson was becoming noticed as a political student of growing reputation.

After three years at Bryn Mawr he became professor of history and political economy at Wesleyan, and after two years more (in 1890) he was called to the Chair of Jurisprudence at Princeton. He served his Alma Mater twelve years as professor and then for eight more as President before he resigned to put his political theories into practice. During this period he held outside lectureships from time to time at Columbia, Johns Hopkins and New York University.

In his years as professor he wrote continually, both books and magazine articles, and came constantly into greater demand as a public speaker. A distinction can be drawn between the two fields of his literary work—the historical books and essays, such as "A History of the American People" (1902), "Division and Reunion" (1893), and "George Washington" (1896), were of a general and popular character. They seem to have represented by-products of the large industry of his study of political theory and more particularly political practice, and it is in his writings and speeches on politics during this period that the student can trace clearly a tenacious hanging-on to the original idea of the place of the Executive in the American Government. That place, according to Woodrow Wilson, was as the representative of the whole people, responsible for the advocacy before Congress of the

greater policies which could not be entrusted to a body whose members were concerned with local interests, nor to standing committees, impregnable to criticism and managed largely by log-rolling.

#### A STRONG SUPPORTER OF CLEVELAND

That view was advanced in "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics," published in 1889. It was further developed in an address before the Virginia Bar Association in 1897. It was reflected in an essay on "Mr. Cleveland as President," in which Dr. Wilson expressed high appreciation of the Chief Executive who was going out of office amid so much disapproval.

Those who praised Mr. Cleveland as he was going back into private life were a select and small company, and Dr. Wilson joined them by declaring that "no such great personality has appeared in our politics since Lincoln." One phrase in that essay is of prophetic interest as bearing on Mr. Wilson's conception of public service in general and the Presidency in particular: "A certain tough and stubborn fibre is necessary, which does not easily change, which is unelastically strong."

Dr. Wilson's elevation to the Presidency of Princeton compelled him to restrict the volume of his writing, and perhaps removed the necessity for his more popular ventures. But it increased the demand for him as a public speaker, and in spite of his necessary occupation with problems of university administration and finance, and new questions as to the direction and purpose of a university, he found time to continue the development of his political ideas, one might almost say of his single political idea.

The times were developing it also; a series of lectures at Columbia University in 1908, afterward published under the title of "Constitutional Government in the United States," show some reflection of the change that had come over the methods of American politics. Presidential direction of policy, which had seemed only a dream of the distant future in 1879 and 1885, was becoming a practical possibility with the examples of Cleveland and Roosevelt in memory; it was to become to some a desirable possibility a few years later,

when standpatters and progressives fought for the control over the Government around and over William Howard Taft.

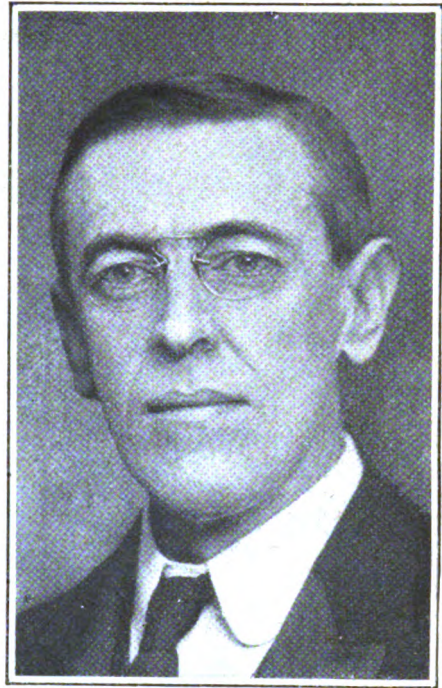
There was more prophecy in one of those lectures. Mr. Wilson had discussed the possibility of the President, if thwarted by the House of Representatives, carrying the issue to the country as the British Premier would do and getting a mandate, and observed that this was out of the question with the Senate. He added:

But there is another course which the President may follow, and which one or two Presidents of unusual political sagacity have followed, with the satisfactory results that were to have been expected. He may himself be less stiff and offish, may himself act in the true spirit of the Constitution and establish intimate relations of confidence with the Senate on his own initiative, not carrying his plans to completion and then laying them in final form before the Senate to be accepted or rejected, but keeping himself in confidential communication with leaders of the Senate while his plans are in course, when their advice will be of service to him and his information of the greatest service to them, in order that there may be veritable counsel and a real accommodation of views instead of a final challenge and contest.

#### ATTRACTS WIDER ATTENTION

By addresses, lectures and writings of this sort he was becoming known to a steadily widening public as a man with clear ideas about practical reform of governmental methods; ideas which he asserted to be founded in the letter and spirit of the Constitution itself, and in conflict only with the perverted practices that had grown up. He was a new man from a new field with clear notions of what should be done and the force that seemed sufficient to do them, and in times when a constantly growing part of the public is becoming convinced that many things needed change he began to stand out as a leader.

He said what he thought and said it well; it remained to be demonstrated that he thought what the new movement thought. Proof of that soon began to accumulate. In Colonel Harvey's *North American Review* for October, 1909, he published a critical article on the Payne-Aldrich tariff. His study included a denunciation of "the policy of silence and secrecy" by which such bills were drawn and a demand for modification of the machinery, which should give the public an opportunity to see what was being done before the result was beyond the reach of criticism. Along with this were observations on a tariff policy, deprecation of a



Woodrow Wilson as Governor of New Jersey in 1912, when he was conducting his first campaign for the Presidency

sweeping return to a purely revenue basis, and an argument in favor of gradual reductions of tariffs to the point where the possibility of competition enforced efficiency of operation.

#### HIS LITERARY WORK

Wilson made a distinct reputation as a scholar and author aside from politics. He began with his doctor's thesis, which gave him a place of acknowledged importance among the interpreters of American institutions, and many of its elucidations were embodied by James Bryce in his "American Commonwealth." From the outset he believed that the fine art of literature should be applied in writing about politics. "Politics," he said in an early essay, "can be expounded by means of the highest literary methods. Only master workers in language and in the groupings and interpretations of heterogeneous materials can achieve the highest success in making real in words the complex life of States. In order really to know anything about government you must see it alive;



PRESIDENT WILSON'S FIRST WIFE  
Ellen Louise Wilson (née Axson), by  
whom he had three daughters and who  
died in 1914

and the object of the writer on politics should be nothing less than this, to paint government to the life; to make it live again upon his page."

This was the standard which Woodrow Wilson set for himself as a historian. All his activities as student and teacher and writer were in conformity with that standard. Yet he was not an author from choice. He never set out consciously to become an author. Of his five-volume "History of the American People," his most brilliant as well as his largest literary achievement, he said: "It grew out of a series of papers or essays on different phases of American history, a number of which were printed. They were not in any way related. I wrote these historical essays as much as anything to make my own conception of American history definite and to give them a body and substance. Then, too, I wished somewhat to let others see American history and American men as I myself viewed them."

After he became President of Princeton

he found no time to write books. An occasional essay, educational addresses and a few speeches commenting on politics and economic questions of the day were his only written expressions. As a college professor, however, he used to devote to writing all the forenoons during which he did not lecture. He often forced himself to work. He trained himself to work methodically. He could not work in any case until his desk was in perfect order.

Mr. Wilson's second book, "The State," was used as a textbook in many schools and colleges. There followed two books of essays, "An Old Master" and "Mere Literature," which showed very clearly his deep literary concerns, the second volume being a protest against the making of literature a scientific study. Other works were "The Free Life" (1913), "The New Freedom" (1913), "When a Man Comes to Reunion" (1893), "George Washington" (1896), "Constitutional Government of the United States" (1908), "State Elements of Historical and Practical Politics" (1889), "Division and Himself" (1915) and "On Being Human" (1916).

#### POLITICAL DRIFT TOWARD HIS IDEAS

While Woodrow Wilson was thus growing in public estimation the times were rapidly preparing for the entry of new forces into politics. The insurgent movement had shattered the Republican Party and was growing in power every day, but the activities of the "lunatic fringe" alarmed many men, who still felt that some change was necessary, and the prospective reappearance of Colonel Roosevelt in politics raised instinctive objections to the third term.

On March 19, 1910, came the revolution in the House of Representatives which overthrew the power of Speaker Cannon. It was an important battle in the campaign for political reform, but it was still more important to Woodrow Wilson. For in recent years the Speaker had in practice exercised that direction and promotion of legislation which in the Wilsonian system was the function of the President. With a powerful influence suddenly removed there was a better chance for bringing in something to take its place. President Taft, meanwhile, condoned measures of which he did not approve, such as the tariff bill, and the Wilson ideas of the Presidential function gained in acceptability accordingly.

Nevertheless, in the years leading up to 1912, not many outside of Dr. Wilson himself seem to have attached much weight to his views on the machinery of the Government; the country at

large was interested in him chiefly as a new and forceful representative of the popular political ideas, who was not handicapped by any accumulation of political enemies. People began to listen for what he said; and when he talked, now and then, to Democratic audiences in New Jersey in the Spring of 1910, his opinions were read with increasing interest.

Hence, as his friend and biographer, Professor Henry Jones Ford, observes: "So constant was Dr. Wilson's attention to public affairs, and so frequent were the occasions on which he gave his views, that it is impossible to point to any event that marked his entrance into public life. It was a thing of gradual development."

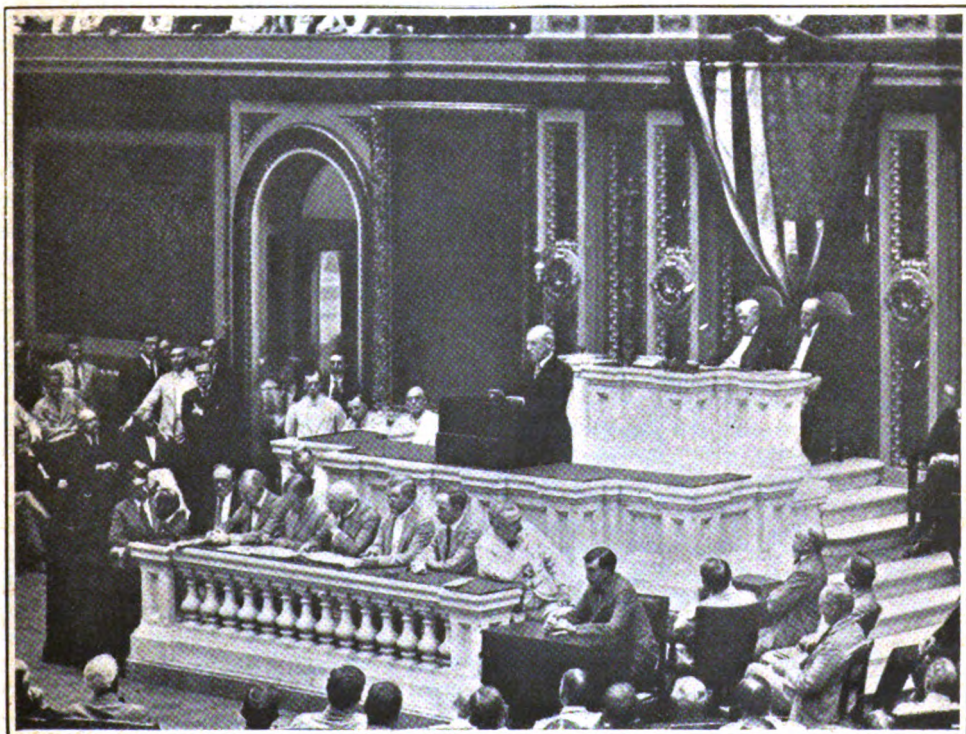
#### THE CONFLICTS AT PRINCETON

Meanwhile his administration at Princeton had given him some preparation for governmental problems, as well as for the meeting of political opposition. When he came into the Presidency of the university in 1902, the current which in the last decades of the nineteenth century had swept science into an overmastering position in American universities had reached its furthest point. It was about time for the ebb-tide, and Mr. Wilson was one of those who helped the process along by emphasis on the enduring value of the classics.

Many universities were at that time dominated by the elective system, which was too apt to result in a product without training or organized knowledge of any sort. Through Mr. Wilson's efforts the Princeton curriculum was organized into groups of studies and the elective system modified so as to provide for a closely prescribed course in the first two years and considerable liberty of choice in the last two.

While Mr. Wilson was thus getting rid of some of the bad features of German education, as introduced into America by German-trained educators, he was introducing into Princeton one of the best features of English universities. The preceptorial system, which he established at Princeton, like the tutorial system in England, provides for the supervision of the work of small groups of undergraduates by a young instructor, who outlines the course of reading and, by frequent conferences, sees that the reading is done. The burden of imparting all knowledge was thus taken off the lecturers, who were enabled to make their talks less soporific; and the practice of learning enough in cram courses to pass the examination received a considerable setback.

These reforms he carried through successfully but other changes which he attempted met with powerful opposition. The English tutorial system



President Wilson addressing Congress in accordance with the practice of the first Presidents of the Republic, which he revived after a lapse of nearly a century

was accepted on its merits, but another feature of English university life, which Mr. Wilson tried to introduce, a modification of the Oxford and Cambridge college system, did not find favor at Princeton. His plan would have established quadrangles, boarding and lodging perhaps a hundred students each, with some younger instructors, in the hope that each quadrangle might become a centre of intellectual and social community life for all its members, such as the Oxford and Cambridge colleges are in theory supposed to be, and sometimes are. It was an effort to solve the social problem afflicting all American colleges and universities, in which comparatively few of the student body get intensive social activity through fraternities or clubs, while the majority are a disorganized, unsocial mass. How the quadrangle plan would have worked in practice is uncertain, for the opposition of the alumni and the upper class clubs of Princeton was enough to lay it on the table after a two years' fight.

During this conflict Mr. Wilson made the comparison of the modern American university to a circus, which aroused feeling on both sides in the dispute. "The side shows have become so numerous, so diverting, so important if you will, that they have eaten up the circus, and we in the main tent are often obliged to whistle before our audiences, humiliated and disgraced." At about the same time he remarked that he wanted Princeton to be a college, not an exclusive country club.

This fight was not ended when the quadrangle plan was dropped in 1907; its repercussions in club life broke out in the undergraduate body after Woodrow Wilson had moved to the White House. It brought him many friends and admirers; it also brought him enemies among the students and alumni of the university.

#### THE GRADUATE SCHOOL CONTROVERSY

A year or so later another fight made more enemies. A project for a graduate school, to be magnificently housed and equipped, had been worked out by Professor Andrew F. West, who was to be dean of the school. The proposal was on an elaborate scale that did not commend itself to Mr. Wilson, whose interest was centred in the development of instruction for the undergraduates. Early in 1910 William Cooper Procter of Cincinnati, who made an excursion into national politics ten years later as a supporter of General Wood, offered the university half a million dollars for a graduate school to be erected on a site specified by himself and removed by some distance from the university.

After considerable debate on the matter, Mr. Wilson refused it. Acceptance would have meant not only decision of the controversy over the graduate school in Dean West's favor, but decision by an outsider whose only claim to be

arbitrator was his possession of money. The refusal aroused much antagonism and sharpened the animosity of those who had opposed Mr. Wilson on the quadrangle issue. Alumni and trustees split on the question and debate was growing more vigorous when the will of Isaac Wyman, an old graduate who had lately died in Massachusetts, was found to leave \$3,000,000 to the university for a graduate school—and one of the trustees was Dean West.

There were not many who would have supported Mr. Wilson in the attempt to refuse this amount of money. He was beaten, plainly, on the graduate school; Mr. Procter's offer was renewed and accepted. The modern American university cannot well go on as before when its Faculty contains a man who has beaten the President, and the demand among some of the alumni for Mr. Wilson's resignation seemed supported by the logic of the situation. In a sense, Dean West had pushed him out of Princeton, but he fell upstairs.

The public had seen in his fight with the "aristocracy" of the clubs, and with moneyed men on the Board of Trustees of the university, a dramatization of the struggle against "special privilege," which was then agitating the country. Wilson was regarded as a champion of democracy against the caste system and the money power; so, for every friend he lost in Princeton he gained a hundred admirers outside. All over the country people began to think that this man could be used in a larger field.

#### ELECTED GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

A Governor of New Jersey was to be elected in 1910. The Democratic Party was certain to benefit in the Congressional elections, and in most State elections, too, by the Republican split and the revolt against Cannonism and the Payne-Aldrich tariff. People began to talk of Woodrow Wilson as a candidate for Governor of New Jersey, and the talk spread so widely that when the Democratic State Convention met on Sept. 15 he was nominated on the first ballot.

The people the country over who had read of and admired Wilson had not hoped for his election as Governor of New Jersey; they were thinking of him as a Presidential possibility. In a sense, his entry into State politics was a sort of minor league "try-out" and seasoning which might fit him for a national rôle. Wilson won the Governorship by 49,000 votes—a great accomplishment in a State which had been Republican in recent years, and an



President Wilson and his first grandchild, Francis Sayre, son of Francis Bowes Sayre and Mrs. Sayre, formerly Miss Jessie Wilson, the President's second daughter. The child was born at the White House on Jan. 17, 1915

accomplishment that could not altogether be accounted for by the general Democratic victory the country over.

The victory at the polls was only the beginning of his preliminary trial, which would make or break him as a Presidential candidate in 1912. There was a great deal of work to be done in New Jersey. The State had been the favorite home for corporations seeking to have their activities made easier by generous laws, and in a time when there was a general distrust of all corporations it was felt that this sort of thing must be ended. New Jersey had political problems of its own; some needed only improved machinery, some required a change of heart. But Mr. Wilson had to undergo another test before he came to the actual work of administration.

In a sense he had been a national candidate for a State office. Men all over the country had hoped that New Jersey would

give him a trial, but this did not alter the fact that he had been nominated by the Democratic State machine, which was controlled by ex-Senator James Smith Jr.

During the campaign Dr. Wilson had promised to fight boss rule in both parties and obtain reforms in governmental machinery by the introduction of independent men into public office and by "pitiless publicity."

The time for "pitiless publicity" was at hand. United States Senators were still elected by Legislatures, but New Jersey had passed a preferential primary law, providing that the Legislature should be bound by the popular vote in its choice of a Senator. The law had not been taken with seriousness, nor was the candidate who won the primary, James E. Martine, so taken. But when the election produced a Legislature with a safe Democratic majority on joint ballot, ex-Senator Smith, who had previously said that his health prevented his entry

into the primary, suddenly let it be known that he would accept an election to the Senate.

Governor Wilson thought otherwise, and before he went into office he turned on the "pitiless publicity." He told legislators that they would be betraying the trust which the people had reposed in them if they refused to abide by the result of the primary; and he told the people that the legislator who did that could hardly be trusted with anything else. The fight was a sharp one for a while; it was argued that Martine was incompetent, it was maintained that the Governor had no right to interfere. Nevertheless, Governor Wilson was firm in his position that as the tribune of the people it was his duty to see that other public officials kept their implicit promise; and when the Legislature met, Martine was elected to the Senate.

### REFORMS WON IN FIRST SESSION

The legislative session which followed set other precedents in co-operation between the Executive and the Legislature. The reform group, headed by Wilson, had an extensive legislative program. One of the most important items was an Electoral Reform bill, which had hard sledding in the lower house. The Smith-Nugent machine was against Wilson, and it seemed that his measures might be beaten.

The Governor went into a party caucus on the Electoral Reform bill and talked more than three hours in its favor. When objection was made to his appearance in this capacity, he pointed to the constitutional provision authorizing the Governor to recommend measures that might serve the public interest—a provision which he construed as meaning that the Governor could recommend and give fullest support to a specific bill. That bill went through, although the Republicans had a majority of three in the State Senate. So did a Corrupt Practices act, an Elective Employers' Liability act, and a bill creating a Public Service Commission. Wherever it was necessary the Governor took a hand himself and acted as what he called the lobbyist for the public.

From the progressive viewpoint, it was a successful session. The next session was not so satisfactory. The Smith-Nugent machine was still bitterly hostile; Nugent had publicly called the Governor "an ingrate and a liar." The Republicans carried Essex County, where that machine was strongest, and the New Jersey system, by which counties vote as a unit, gave them thereby a majority in the Legislature, although the Democrats had an aggregate popular plurality in the State. The Wilson program of reform legislation was slowed down and it looked as if the Governor's career had slowed down, too.

### MENTIONED FOR THE PRESIDENCY

But the apparent triumph of James Smith was of no more consequence than the triumph of Andrew F. West. Wilson had been checked in New Jersey as he had been beaten at Princeton, but once again he fell upstairs. His first year in office had been of great publicity value, and his check at the hands of an established machine helped rather than hurt him the

country over. That first year had demonstrated one thing: that Wilson was not a mere scholar in politics. He was a politician in politics, a man who knew what he wanted and usually could get it done.

Back in the Spring of 1904, when Democratic leaders were cheerlessly looking about them for some one to undertake the task of trying to prevent Theodore Roosevelt getting a second term in the White House, Colonel George Harvey, then editor of *Harper's Weekly*, had suggested Wilson as the logical candidate. His was the voice in the wilderness, and it cried unheard: Wilson was not even mentioned at the convention which nominated Parker. The head of Princeton University was, of course, well known, even at that time, not only as a university executive with new ideas and remarkable energy in putting them into practice, but also as a facile speaker and writer on political topics. His reputation in this direction increased gradually but steadily during the next few years, while the Democratic Party went back to William Jennings Bryan once more with the usual outcome, and leaders of the organization began to cast about them for new men and new methods. Their eagerness had been heightened in 1909, when the Payne-Aldrich tariff split the Republican Party and Democratic victory at the next election began to seem more of an actual possibility.

It was known that this educator had things to say on practical issues in American politics. Mr. Wilson's term as Governor of New Jersey had shown that he not only had ideas on practical issues in American politics, but could put them into effect. He was a liberal; he was called, and he did not much deprecate the term, a radical. People, who had not even thought Harvey's suggestion of 1904 worth laughing at now suddenly found Mr. Wilson seriously talked of as a candidate for the Presidency.

### CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

Neither the jibe of "scholar in politics" nor the protests of the New Jersey Democratic machine could check the growth of Wilson sentiment. Before the end of 1911 the Wilson-for-President movement was well under way all over the United States. All sorts of men were attracted to the Wil-

son banner. In New York a group of younger men, most of whom had come from the South, set to work for Wilson. Among their leaders were William G. McAdoo and William F. McCombs, and they did much work in the next year and a half.

A more valuable accession, perhaps, came from Texas. Edward Mandell House, Colonel by virtue of an appointment to the Governor's staff and politician by innate proclivities, attached himself quietly, almost stealthily, to the Wilson boom.

Wilson was by now prominent enough to cause his opponents to dig into his past for derogatory material. In November, 1911, the story was published that upon leaving Princeton he had applied for a Carnegie teacher's pension, which had not been granted. There was criticism of such action by a man who was going into public office, but Wilson's friends replied that the application had been made before he was elected Governor, when, for all he knew, he might be defeated and out of a job; that he had regarded it as a routine matter, and that the Trustees of the Pension Fund had made a special rule, long after receipt of the application, to justify their failure to act on it.

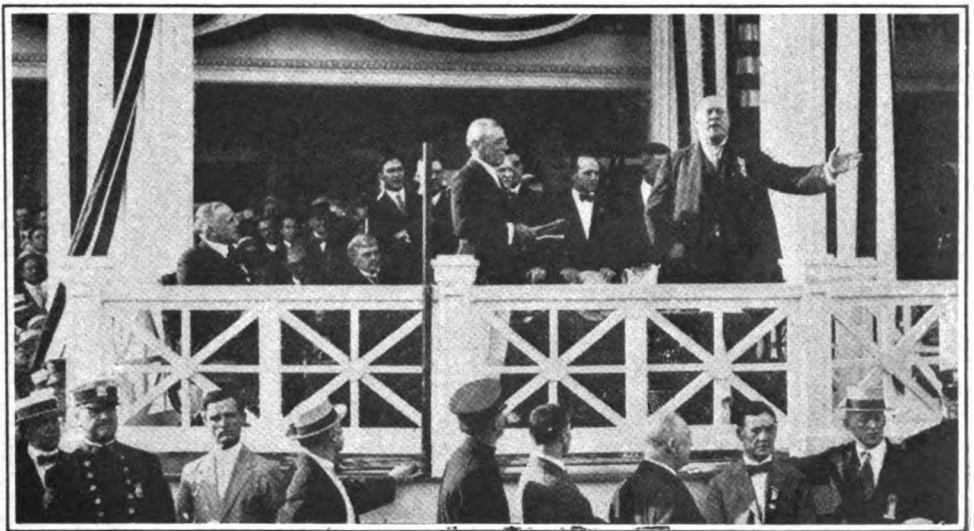
Then came the publication of a letter which Mr. Wilson had written years before

to Adrian H. Joline, a member of the Princeton Board of Trustees, expressing the hope that "something at once dignified and effective" could be done in order "to knock Mr. Bryan into a cocked hat." The country was still buzzing with opinions on this episode when a more interesting matter came to the public attention.

#### BREAK WITH COLONEL HARVEY

Colonel Harvey withdrew from Harper's Weekly the standing motto calling for Wilson for President, and it was learned that he had done it at Wilson's own request. Colonel Henry Watterson told the story of a meeting between himself, Harvey and Wilson at the Manhattan Club, when the point was raised that Harvey's support was hurting Wilson among the Progressives in the West. It was understood that J. P. Morgan & Co. controlled Harper's Weekly, and Wilson was being represented by political opponents as "the candidate of the interests." So Wilson asked Harvey to abandon public support of his candidacy.

This caused a great stir. According to Harvey's friends his speech at Savannah on March 17, 1911, was virtually the formal opening of the Wilson Presidential candidacy. Harvey, they said, had been singing Wilson's praises ever since 1904,



President Wilson being notified of his nomination by the Democratic Party as Presidential candidate in 1916. Ollie James is shown making the announcement at Shadowlawn, Long Branch, N. J.



President and Mrs. Wilson driving to the Capitol for the inauguration ceremony in March, 1917

been decided at Chicago, where the "Old Guard" ran the steam roller over the Roosevelt delegates and renominated Taft. When the Democrats gathered, Roosevelt was already preparing for his third party, and Democratic keenness for the nomination was stimulated by the probability that nomination this year would mean election.

As usual in recent Democratic conventions, Mr. Bryan was on hand prepared for a battle. He denounced Morgan, Ryan and Belmont from the platform and induced the convention to take a somewhat Pickwickian oath that it would never nominate a candidate favored by any special interests. He

only to be discarded in favor of newcomers.

Colonel Harvey poured oil on the fire with an interview in which he said that he had hoped that Wilson would be another Tilden, but had found him "a schoolmaster rather than a politician." In describing the interview at the Manhattan Club, he said that Wilson's manner in rejecting further support "was autocratic if not tyrannous." The Harvey episode seemed likely for a time to do harm to Wilson's chances. Nugent, the Essex County "boss," now had supporters in his cry of "ingrate." But the damage was apparently not permanent, not even with Colonel Harvey, who still allowed a cautious admiration for Wilson to appear in his *North American Review*. The Wilson movement grew steadily, until the Governor of New Jersey began to appear as one of the two or three leading candidates for the nomination.

#### NOMINATED FOR THE PRESIDENCY

The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore in the last week in June, but before it met the outcome of the 1912 campaign had already been decided. It had

went to the platform later and virtually threatened to bolt if anybody was nominated by the decisive help of the New York delegation. He furnished much local color and provoked much feeling, but toward the candidate whom Mr. Bryan plainly had in mind the convention remained cold.

The reaction of Bryan's fulminations, however, had its effect in the balloting. It laid Judson Harmon low and eventually began to hurt Champ Clark, who led through most of the balloting of that long convention and for a time had a majority. But the two-thirds rule was in his way and the unit rule had been abolished at the beginning of the convention, with great profit to the Wilson forces.

Bryan did not support Wilson, but the Wilson men, whenever they had a chance, supported Bryan; and some of Bryan's supporters eventually turned toward Wilson when it became apparent that Clark was not likely to get his two-thirds. The break finally came on the forty-sixth ballot, a break foretold long in advance by the shift to Wilson of the delegates from

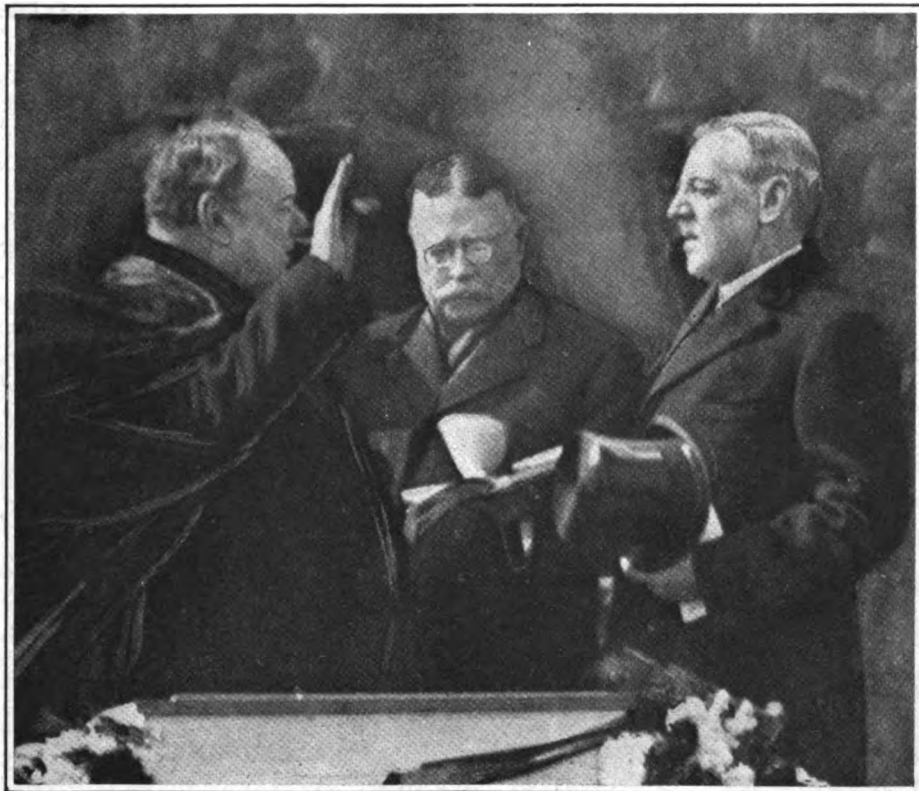
Indiana; and on July 3 Woodrow Wilson was nominated for the Presidency.

In the campaign that followed Theodore Roosevelt and his hand-made party held the centre of attention, but attention does not win elections. Wilson won more and more favor on his speaking tours, and when he gave up these tours after the attempt on Roosevelt's life at Milwaukee, withdrawing from the argument until Roosevelt was well enough to speak again, the generous gesture perhaps appealed to some of the electorate whom Wilson's personality had not touched before.

The election went as was generally expected; Wilson was a minority President, but he had a plurality of more than 2,000,000 over Roosevelt and nearly 3,000,000 over Taft, and he swept the Electoral College with 435 votes to Roosevelt's 88 and Taft's 8. The election also gave the Democrats a heavy majority in Congress, and incidentally restored Wilson's

control over the New Jersey Legislature. Passage of the "Seven Sisters" laws against corporation abuses in that State was the last accomplishment of his administration as Governor and tribune of the people in New Jersey. On March 4, 1913, he was inaugurated as President.

The Cabinet which he had selected was on the whole well adapted for its purpose, which was the control of Congress. Mr. Wilson had a large personal following over the country, but not much of it had been elected to public office. The naming of Bryan as Secretary of State was the obvious thing to do, for at that time Mr. Bryan was still the strongest individual leader in the party, and if the Bryan men in Congress opposed Wilson measures, the participation of the Executive in legislation would come to nothing. Mr. McAdoo's qualifications for Secretary of the Treasury were doubted by some, but on the whole the Cabinet was fairly well received.



President Wilson taking the oath of office on his inauguration for the second time in March, 1917

When Mr. Bryan started off by serving grape juice to diplomats at State dinners, and Secretary Daniels concluded that the first thing to do with the navy was to dry it up, sentiment changed in some quarters. Politics had presented a rather serious spectacle in previous years, and the spectacle of the Secretary of State going about on the Chautauqua circuit with Swiss bell ringers left a distaste among the general masses.

#### WILSON ADDRESSES CONGRESS

On April 7, 1913, the President convened Congress in special session and delivered to it a message on the single topic of tariff reform. The elections of 1910 and 1912 were construed by him as a mandate to cut down the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Mr. Wilson formulated the principle that "the object of the tariff duties, henceforth laid, must be effective competition," and he warned Congress that tariff reduction was a thing that must be done gradually. What most attracted public interest to this message was the fact that Mr. Wilson delivered it personally, coming before Congress and reading his message as no President since John Adams had done. It was merely an incident in his conception of the Presidency, but it was a visible incident which made an impression on the public and roused some protest in Congress. Back of that symbol, however, was a new policy; the President set himself to work to help the new tariff act, ultimately known as the Underwood-Simmons tariff, through Congress. It went through the House without much difficulty, but hung in the Senate through the Summer. There was much lobbying by interests which would be affected, and the President publicly denounced the effort of "great bodies of astute men to create an artificial opinion." The party stood together behind the bill, however, and it became a law on Oct. 3.

Meanwhile the President had given Congress more difficult work to do. While the Senate was engaged with the tariff the President set the House to work on reform of the currency, which had long been an obvious necessity and had become urgent since the panic of 1907. The Aldrich plan had been much discussed during the Taft Administration and furnished a basis for the deliberations of Democratic lead-

ers, who in this field as in that of the tariff had gone through much preliminary work before the new Administration came into office. Taken through the House by Carter Glass and through the Senate by Robert L. Owen, the law was finally signed by the President on Dec. 23. It is regarded by many observers as the most important domestic accomplishment of President Wilson's two Administrations, and, although the Democrats built to a considerable extent on Aldrich's foundations, they received the credit of having at last carried through a currency reform where others had failed.

Minor accomplishments of that first year were the Clayton act, amending the existing anti-trust laws and exempting farmer and labor combinations from their operation, and the bill creating the Federal Trade Commission, from which great things were expected. On the whole, it was a remarkable year's work, and the President was given the credit for it. He had taken part in the deliberations of Congressional committees; he had stood before the country as the advocate of measures in the hands of Congress, and before Congress as the representative of a popular opinion, demanding action. The Wilsonian concept of the Presidency, after more than thirty years, had been vindicated by the spectacle of President Wilson actually functioning as Prime Minister and leading the majority party in the execution of its legislative program. The end was, in the main, satisfactory to the majority of the people, and by the end of that session Mr. Bryan was no longer the most influential leader in his party. Opposition feeling, to be sure, was bitter. Ex-Senator Murray Crane declared that the President had "virtually obliterated Congress"; Representative Albert Johnson of Washington spoke of "the gradual overthrow of representative government."

#### FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS MENACED

There were signs of trouble in foreign politics when Wilson took office. Relations with Japan had begun to be disturbed once more by the land issue in California, and there was unrest in the Philippines. In 1912 Congress had passed a law exempting American coastwise shipping from tolls for passage through the Panama Canal,



PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS WAR CABINET

The Cabinet as it was constituted after Mr. Bryan's resignation. Left to right from the President around the table, beginning at the further side: W. G. McAdoo (Treasury), T. W. Gregory (Attorney General), J. Daniels (Navy), D. F. Houston (Agriculture), W. B. Wilson (Labor), W. C. Redfield (Commerce), F. K. Lane (Interior), A. S. Bursleson (Postmaster General), N. D. Baker (War) and R. Lansing (Secretary of State)

and England, supported by some Continental powers, had protested against the measure as a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Worst of all was the continuing unrest in Mexico, where Madero had driven out Diaz, Huerta had overthrown and killed Madero, while Villa and Carranza had risen against Huerta. Meanwhile, Americans in Mexico were being murdered and American property destroyed. This was the most serious international problem before the new Administration, and President Taft had left the matter of recognizing the Huerta Government to the decision of the incoming President. There was also continuing war in the Balkans, but few persons in America, in the Spring of 1913, had more than an academic interest in that.

The diplomatic service by which the Wilson Administration could meet these problems had been somewhat improved under President Taft, but when William Jennings Bryan filled the State Department and diplomatic service with his friends and followers—"deserving Democrats," in his own phrase—the service was measurably weakened. Bryan did this work of destruction, but Wilson was blamed for letting him do it. Particularly was he blamed by the element who had expected better treatment of the foreign service from a man of Wilson's record. In the higher posts, however, the President made his own selections; and these were generally respectable and often competent. Left to himself, the President's taste ran mainly to novelists for diplomatic positions; but some important posts he could not fill at once and had to leave in charge of Republican hold-overs, such as Myron T. Her-

rick in Paris and Henry Lane Wilson in Mexico City.

The Democrats had announced their intention of ending the Taft-Knox system of "dollar diplomacy." One of the early examples of the new method was the President's opposition to participation by American bankers in the six-power loan to China. This action made him some friends and some enemies. In the Philippines many American employees of the Government were displaced by natives; and when leading Democrats began to talk of giving independence to the islands the Republicans raised the cry of "hauling down the flag." The California land question strained relations with Japan, and the Secretary of State had to make a personal appeal to the Californians for more moderate handling of the question.

Another issue raised sharp opposition to the President at home, but also much support in quarters hitherto not altogether friendly. He insisted that the act giving preferential tolls to American shipping through the Panama Canal must be repealed to conform to the treaty pledge of 1901 made with Great Britain. All the professional haters of England were aroused, and the President was the object of a campaign of vilification. Only two or three years before there had been some ineffectual talk in England of opposition to the fortification of the canal, and this, with the agitation over the Canadian reciprocity proposal in 1911, were used as talking points by defenders of the law. But many Republican leaders in the Senate supported the President's position, and the preferential law was repealed.



President Wilson taking part in the Liberty Day parade in New York in October, 1918. Carrying an American flag, he walked the entire line of march. Next to him on the left Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, his medical adviser, is shown in this photograph

#### DIFFICULTIES WITH MEXICO

The early months of the Wilson Administration resulted in improved relations with Latin America. A speech by the President at the Southern Congress in Mobile, where he declared that America would never seek another foot of soil by annexation, left a good impression in South America. Practical weight was lent to this policy by the negotiation of a treaty with Colombia, which would include a payment of \$25,000,000, virtually as an indemnity for the events leading up to the building of the Panama Canal. As originally drawn this treaty expressed "the sincere regret" of the Government of the United States that good relations between the two countries had been disturbed. This implied criticism of the policy of a Republican Administration roused Republican opposition to the new treaty, and though the project was revived several times during President Wilson's two terms, the treaty was not accepted by the Senate until the offending words were omitted. The mere discussion, however, had a good effect on Latin-American sentiment.

Relations with the countries south of the Isthmus, however, were of minor importance compared with those with Mexico. The demand for intervention was growing daily with new reports of the killing of American citizens by one or

another "patriot" army or robber band fighting over the country. The alternative to intervention seemed to be recognition of Huerta, but the Wilson Administration laid down the principle that a Government which had succeeded to power by violence and assassination must not be recognized. The President invented the phrase "watchful waiting," to describe his Mexican policy; and "watchful waiting" suited neither interventionists nor those who wanted to recognize Huerta. Henry Lane Wilson, Ambassador in Mexico City, and many Consuls were out of sympathy with the Government's policy, and the President resorted to the first of a long series of confidential agents, when he sent William Bayard Hale, who had written one of his campaign biographies, to make a special study of Mexican conditions for him. (It was this same Hale who was greatly discredited during the war for his expressed sympathy with Germany.)

Despite patient endurance all through 1913, things kept getting worse in Mexico, and criticism of the President's policy increased. Villa and Carranza made progress in the north, and in February, 1914, President Wilson lifted the embargo on the shipment of arms into Mexico from the United States. This was of immediate benefit to the constitutionalists near the border, but upholders of Huerta denounced it as the encouragement of brigandage. It began to look as if

"watchful waiting" might continue indefinitely, when a trivial incident almost lead to war. On April 9, 1914, some American marines, who had landed at Tampico from a launch to buy gasoline, were arrested by Huertista officers. They were at once released and the Mexican Government expressed its regret, but Admiral Mayo, commanding our naval forces, demanded that the shore batteries salute the American flag by way of atonement. The Huerta Government refused unless the salute should be reciprocal, which would have implied American recognition of Huerta. On April 14 the President ordered the Atlantic fleet to Mexican waters; there was talk of a Pacific blockade to enforce compliance with the demand, and preparations were made throughout the country for possible war.

The country backed up the President, except for a minority which was more interested in the industrial disturbances then prominently before the public. Yet there was a widespread hope that somehow the trouble could be adjusted with out war. Even among those who thought the Mexican situation had reached a point where intervention was inevitable there was a feeling that the conflict should not be begun over a technical point of etiquette. But the refusal of the salute was only a last straw and in general the nation seemed willing to trust the President.

On April 21 the President appeared before a joint session of Congress and asked the adoption of a resolution justifying the employment of the armed forces of the nation "against Victoriano

Huerta." Congress did not know that at that very hour American naval forces, driven to action by the arrival at Vera Cruz of a German ship loaded with munitions for Huerta, had landed sailors and marines, who were occupying the city after some sharp fighting. But that something of the sort might soon occur was apparent, and there was a feeling that the President was only asking formal approval of a *fait accompli*. Men who believed that war was inevitable wondered why a downright declaration was not asked for. The House adopted the resolution, however, by a vote of 337 to 37. By the time the Senate came to consider it the news of the fighting at Vera Cruz had reached Washington, and in the conviction that this meant that war was at hand the Senate eliminated the personal reference to Huerta and adopted the resolution. Criticism by this time was chiefly leveled at the postponement of a flat declaration of war.

On April 25, however, Argentina, Brazil and Chile offered their mediation, and the President accepted. The general feeling of relief which greeted this action showed that the war spirit was not very high, though a minority still regretted that the opportunity had not been seized to settle the whole matter. General Funston had by this time been sent to Vera Cruz with several thousand regulars, while a conference of American and Mexican delegates, with representatives of the mediating powers, met at Niagara Falls and deliberated. While the conference was engaged, Villa and Carranza, now supplied with



Children strewing flowers in the path of President Wilson on his arrival at Dover, England

arms, were making progress in Northern Mexico, and other rebels against the Huerta Government were extending control over other parts of the republic. Toward the end of the Summer Huerta gave up and left the country.

At this time the President's Mexican policy seemed brilliantly successful. He had removed what seemed to be the principal obstacle to peace in Mexico without getting into war. What was eventually of greater importance, his refusal to go on after the beginning of invasion, and his prompt acceptance of South American mediation, had gone far to restore Latin-American confidence in North American disinterestedness. The fears aroused by the Panama episode were in great measure allayed, and the action of most of the Latin-American powers in following the United States into war in 1917 can be traced back to the impression created by President Wilson's action in this instance.

Complaints against Presidential autocracy were increasing, but most people felt that with Bryan as Secretary of State, betraying little interest in any foreign affairs except his own system of arbitration treaties, the President had to conduct his own foreign policy. Those who wanted intervention in Mexico raised once more the cries of weakness and vacillation which had been heard in connection with the Philippines and the canal tolls issue.

### BEGINNING OF THE WORLD WAR

The outbreak of the European war in August, 1914, seems to have surprised our Government no less than most of those immediately concerned. It found the President in the midst of domestic troubles (Mrs. Wilson was fatally ill and died on Aug. 6), but at the moment it seemed to call only for the formalities of a neutrality proclamation and a general tender of good offices in case any of the warring powers should desire mediation toward peace. In his proclamation the President said:

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. \* \* \* Divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of proper performance of our duty as one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation. \* \* \*

I venture, therefore, my 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 in 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.

The President's purpose was clearly indicated in the suggestion that the time might come when "the one great nation at peace" would be called upon for mediation.

With the President's action at the outbreak of the war the great mass of the people were then and long remained in full agreement; but there was dissent from the language in which he had expressed himself. The neutrality proclamation was quoted by opponents with every event which made the guilt of Germany in bringing on the war, and with the barbarity of Germany in waging the war, more apparent to the American public.

### AGAINST PREPAREDNESS

While the President was thus criticized by those who were beginning to think that the war was our business, there was spreading among others the conviction that, whether it was our business or not, it might yet spread so far that we would become involved in it. America was visibly unready for any war more formidable than an excursion into Mexico. The preparedness movement which began in the Fall of 1914 was countered by organized pacifist activities, with which almost from the first the pro-German faction allied itself. The President's activities for peace at this time were of the purely formal nature required of his office, but the preparedness movement he treated with disdain. He styled some of its advocates "nervous and excitable," and called discussion of the question "good mental exercise." As this agitation was beginning there came the Congressional election of 1914. This left the Democrats with a safe majority in both houses, but the overwhelming preponderance acquired through the Republican split in 1912 had disappeared. The Progressive Party now virtually passed into history. Nothing was left of it but its leaders, many of whom were considering the desirability of going back to the Republican Party as their followers had done.

There was now a growing prospect that even neutrality might not keep America

from uncomfortable entanglements with the warring powers. This danger did not become acute, however, until the Germans on Feb. 4, 1915, declared British waters a war zone and announced the first submarine campaign. The American Government answered within the week with a warning that if American vessels were sunk or American citizens killed in this campaign, it would hold the German Government to "strict accountability." Thereupon began a correspondence between the two Governments, which was paralleled by protests to the British Government against interference with American commerce on the high seas.

#### THE SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA

"Strict accountability," however, had no

terrors for the Germans. The submarines began to kill American citizens by ones and twos and threes. With each new episode more Americans turned against the Germans, and the counter-activities of the pacifists and German agents increased.

Complaints against the failure of the Government to do something effective to make the Germans check the submarines were increasing, chiefly in Republican papers, when the *Lusitania* was sunk on May 7 with the loss of more than 1,200 lives, including upward of a hundred Americans.

There was now a general feeling that something would be done. No word came immediately from the White House; the President was working out his problem alone. The country waited for him to



The Lord Mayor of London presenting President Wilson with the freedom of the city. There were present at the Guildhall on this occasion nearly all the leading statesmen of the British Empire and many other important figures in British public life



President Wilson driving with the Mayor of Manchester, England, through the streets of that city

speak, and waited in confidence. The first word which came from his seclusion, however, was of a vastly different sort from that which had been expected. Addressing a meeting of newly naturalized citizens in Philadelphia three days after the *Lusitania* was sunk, the President invented another of the phrases which his opponents have constantly recalled.

"There is such a thing," he said, "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."

The praise of Germans and Irish, and the condemnation of the outspoken champions of the Allies, played around this expression for three days; but in the meantime the President had completed his note on the *Lusitania*. On May 13 it was dispatched and published. It denied the right in international law to make such attacks as those on the *Lusitania*, and warned the German Government that the Administration would not "omit any word

or act" necessary to defend the rights of Americans.

The country drew a long breath and prepared for whatever might happen. There was violent protest from the leaders of Irish and German racial groups, and from the pacifists, who included by this time most of the radicals and revolutionaries, but the mass of the articulate part of the population seemed ready for war, if that must be, and at that moment there seemed little chance of any other outcome.

The German answer was a series of evasions and exculpations. The President prepared a reply, and there was much speculation as to whether this would mean the breaking off of diplomatic relations. Mr. Bryan thought the note went too far, and resigned as Secretary of State on June 8. His going was generally hailed with relief, and the public reaction made it clear that in allowing the official pilot to abandon the ship of State, Mr. Wilson had lost nothing. The note to Germany with which Mr. Bryan had refused to associate him-

self, however, was not as strong as expected. The fever of the first days after the outrage was somewhat abating. There was another German answer and a third Lusitania note, and still no satisfaction had been given. Meanwhile the number of German outrages in this country had risen, while the shipment of munitions to the Allies steadily increased. Propaganda and sabotage had long been believed to be directed by the German and Austrian embassies and consulates. In August, 1915, documents were published in New York tracing much of this back to agents of the German Government. Although Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, was not shown to be implicated in any projects for criminal violence, his embassy was clearly the centre for this as well as for the purchase of propaganda. Proof was presently offered of the connection of Dr. Dumba, Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, with violations of American neutrality, and he was recalled early in September. A few months later the German military and naval attachés were sent after him, but Bernstorff remained.

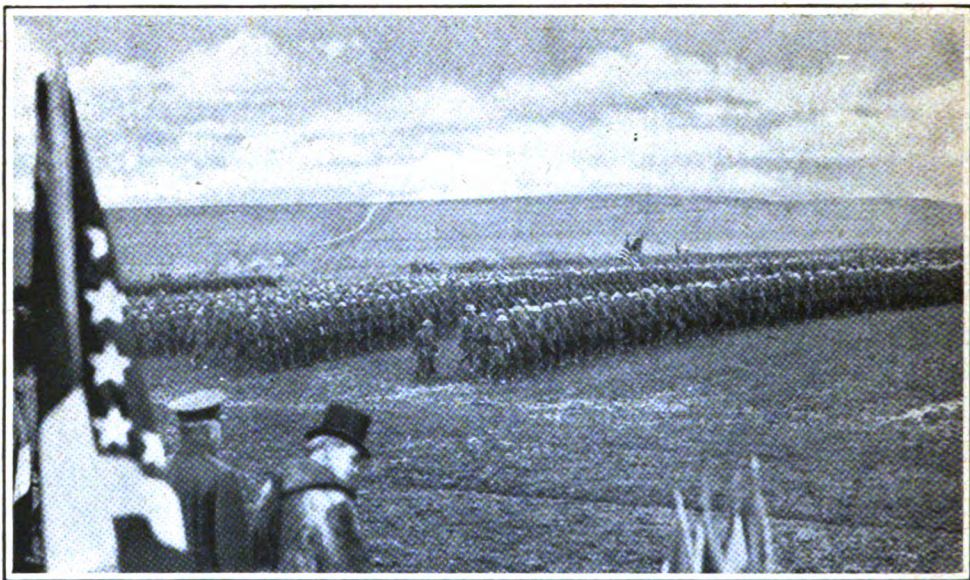
Meanwhile more American lives had been lost by the torpedoing of passenger ships, and the pressure of the American Government obtained from Germany on Sept. 1 a promise to torpedo no more passenger liners without warning. This was supplemented on Oct. 5 by an expression of regret for the Arabic case, the most recent of these episodes, and a renewed promise to permit no more occurrences of the sort. For a time there were no more such occurrences.

The long waiting since the Lusitania affair had wearied many Americans, and the note-writing period created a strong opposition party to the President. Against the group which in general approved the results obtained by the President there were two factions which from that time on were steadily in opposition to him. There were, first, a group of many of the influential leaders of public opinion who could not

forget the Lusitania and felt that national self-respect as well as the principles raised by the war in Europe demanded that Germany be regarded as an enemy. On the other hand, the violent pro-Germans or anti-English were infuriated at the President for calling Germany to account at all. Meanwhile the submarine question refused to disappear. Off the coast of Ireland the submarines displayed some care in selecting their victims, but in the Mediterranean passenger liners were repeatedly sunk, with loss of life, including Americans. There was another series of notes, in which Germany tried to throw the blame on her ally, Austria-Hungary. In March came an incident nearer home; the Sussex, a passenger ship plying across the English Channel, was sunk, and once more there was a series of notes, with the usual German evasion and denials. But on April 19 the President, whose patience was exhausted, informed Congress that unless the German Government immediately abandoned its methods, he would break off diplomatic relations. The threat had an immediate effect; the Germans yielded, and for several months thereafter the submarine issue ceased to exist. Still, nothing



President Wilson and M. Poincaré, then President of the French Republic, driving along the Champs-Élysées, Paris, in December, 1918



President Wilson and General Pershing reviewing American troops in France on Christmas Day, 1918

had been done about the *Lusitania*, though the Administration continued to try to get some satisfaction out of the Germans. Apart from this special case, many of the intelligent and influential elements in the American people had come to feel that German methods had raised an issue which had to be settled.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON FAVORS PREPAREDNESS

Other events of the year had brought an alteration in the President's position. The intense partisan bitterness shown by pro-German elements in 1915 had been a revelation of unsuspected national disunity. In the weeks when war seemed an overnight possibility, the President had had occasion to contemplate the condition of the national defenses, and had seen that they were not adequate. In his message to Congress in December, 1915, he denounced hyphenates and called for national preparedness. When it appeared that Congress had not yet come over to his view on these matters, he undertook a speaking tour through the East and Middle West in the Winter of 1915-16, to stir up public interest in an improvement of military and naval defenses. During the

Sussex negotiations Congress had been so moved by combined pacifist and pro-German propaganda that it had passed a resolution warning American citizens off armed merchantmen of the Allies. The President refused to receive the resolution, and declared that it resigned some of the rights of sovereignty. There was some discussion in Congress, and presently a sort of revocation of the declaration. In that dispute practically the entire public, except those who were on the side of Germany, stood behind the President, and it gave him strength in the subsequent negotiations which carried the Sussex issue to a satisfactory conclusion.

Anti-British and pacifist influence was still strong in Congress; the preparedness measures of 1916 included a huge naval program and an unsatisfactory army reorganization bill. Lindley M. Garrison, who had been Secretary of War since Mr. Wilson's inauguration, thought that the Congressional leaders were not prepared for any real improvement in the military establishment, and on the ground that the President was not supporting him resigned his post. Garrison's place was taken by Newton D. Baker, who was thought by many inclined toward the pacifist side of

the controversy. Suspicion of the President's enthusiasm for preparedness was created by the Garrison incident, and the bill which finally went through Congress made little if any improvement in the army. The great naval building program planned at the same time had to be deferred on account of subsequent events. But the President's tour undoubtedly roused an interest which later was to make itself felt. Outside of the development of munitions factories, created to meet allied demands, valuable work in the way of preparedness was largely accomplished by the Military Training Camps Association, a private organization whose moving force was General Leonard Wood. But Wood received no thanks from the Administration; he was even reprimanded by Secretary Garrison for allowing Colonel Roosevelt to make a speech at the first Plattsburg camp attacking the Administration for slackness.

At the end of a year of domestic strife, violence, plotting and diplomatic negotiation, America was not much more ready for war than on the day after the *Lusitania* affair, and the *Lusitania* question was not yet disposed of. On the other hand, Germany had promised that there would be no more *Lusitanias*; and, above all, the President had come to realize that America might have to fight; he had stood out against weaklings in Congress, and if he had not settled the great issue, he had held his own against Germany, had exacted promises from the German Government, and had appeared as the defender of national rights which Congress would have surrendered. To a fraction of the people he was a note writer who was "too proud to fight"; to a smaller fraction he was the enemy of Germany; to a much larger number he was the man who had kept America out of war.

#### A MEXICAN INCIDENT

Nevertheless he had not altogether kept the country out of war. Mexico was still an issue. Carranza's Government had been recognized by the United States and most of the Latin-American powers in the Fall of 1915, and controlled the greater part of the country; but partisan leaders were at large in many provinces, and Villa was especially powerful in the north. His progress was marked by the murder of American citizens, singly or in groups, and in March, 1916, his troops raided Columbus, N. M., caught the military garrison unawares, and killed a score of soldiers and civilians before they were driven off. The Administration acted promptly. It was evident that Carranza could do nothing with Villa, so an expedition of regulars under General Pershing was sent across the border to catch him. The expedition penetrated 200 miles into Mexico,



President Wilson and General Pershing at the review of American troops in France on Christmas Day, 1918. The late President is shown speaking to Major Gen. Alexander

and easily dispersed the bands of Villistas which it met. But Villa himself, though wounded and almost captured, escaped into the mountains; and twice Pershing's troops came into conflict with Carranza's soldiers, in small brushes, where the Mexicans had the advantage.

Carranza, who owed everything to Wilson that he did not owe to Villa and Obregon, was as bitter against Wilson as against Villa. It seemed likely that all Mexico would unite against Pershing if his troops went further. Some Americans thought that would be an excellent thing, as Mexico could be conquered and cleaned up. But the Administration, which still hoped that the Mexicans would recover by their own efforts, halted the expeditionary force where it was. There it remained for eight months, and finally returned with no visible result accomplished. At the beginning of Summer the National Guard was called out to protect the border, and revelations of unpreparedness such as the country had hardly suspected were made. As an object lesson the military demonstration was valuable, but it had no other effect. All through the Summer and Fall of 1916 the watch on the Rio Grande remained quiescent, while the Presidential election was being fought out.

There had been a declaration in the Democratic platform of 1912 in favor of a constitutional amendment limiting the President to a single term. But, though the Senate had passed a resolution for such an amendment in the month before President Wilson's inauguration, the House failed to concur, and nothing more was done about it. A year or so later there was published a letter written by Mr. Wilson to Representative A. Mitchell Palmer on Feb. 21, 1913, expressing his disapproval of the measure on the ground that a President ought to be kept to the mark during his term by the realization that he would have to come before the people for rebuke or expression of confidence.

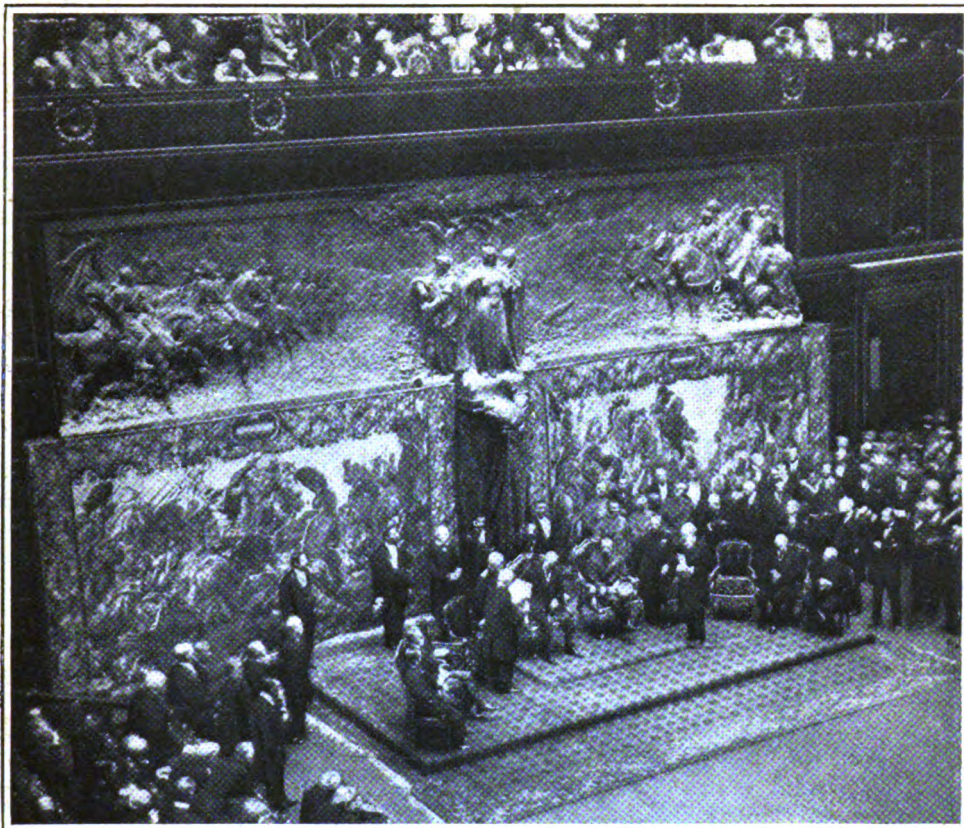
By 1916 there was not, and had not been for a long time, any possible Democratic candidate but Wilson. This would have been true even if custom and the power of the White House had not combined to compel his nomination. In 1916 his record was the party's record. The

President-Premier was seeking a vote of confidence from the people on the record of accomplishment, and this record included activities in the conduct of foreign relations and the measures passed by Congress, which were as much a part of the Wilson program as his Lusitania notes.

#### RENOMINATED AT ST. LOUIS

Wilson was renominated at St. Louis by acclamation, and the platform gave his record full endorsement. A significant episode in the convention was the keynote speech of Martin H. Glynn, a speech built upon the theme, "He kept us out of war." It was received with great enthusiasm. This convention demonstration was denounced, deplored or ignored, so far as it could be, by Democratic leaders in the East, for most of Wilson's supporters in the large cities were backing him as the defender of American rights, who had compelled the Germans to give up their submarine war against passenger vessels.

The issues of the election were even more curiously than usual entangled and confused. The Republicans had nominated Charles E. Hughes, who during the party's civil war of 1912 had been locked up in the Supreme Court and could take no sides. Colonel Roosevelt's Progressive Party had met, nominated the ex-President and then committed suicide when he refused the nomination, announcing that he had discovered that Hughes's convictions on foreign and domestic issues were such as he could endorse. Though most of the Progressives followed their leader back to the Republican Party, a number went over to Wilson. Justice Hughes had convictions about Democratic maladministration, partisanship and inefficiency, tariff and Mexico, but was much less outspoken about the war. Colonel Roosevelt went up and down the country, denouncing the Administration for pusillanimity, encouragement of hyphenation, hostility to preparedness, weakness before the Kaiser and similar shortcomings. In the Eastern States many men prepared to vote for Wilson because he had stood up against the German submarine policy, while in the West they were voting for him because he had resisted those who thought the submarine policy was a cause for war.



The scene in the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1919 when President Wilson received the freedom of the City of Rome. The King of Italy was seated at the President's left

#### TRouble WITH THE RAILWAY UNIONS

A domestic issue was thrust into the campaign in August with the threat of a general railroad strike, if the demands of the four great brotherhoods for a wage increase under the form of establishment of a basic eight-hour day were not granted. The President called leaders of unions and heads of roads together in Washington, and when they could not reach an agreement, proposed to Congress the enactment of a series of laws granting the immediate demand, but providing for careful study of the railroad question, increases in rates if necessary, and the establishment of a commission of inquiry and wage adjustment which should prevent the arising of any such threat in future. While this program was under discussion, it became known that the unions had secretly or-

dered a strike to begin on the morning of Labor Day, the discovery of the secret being, apparently, part of their plan. Despite appeals from Congress and the President, they refused to revoke the order; they also let it be known that the President's program was not to their satisfaction, and that they wanted a law giving them the basic eight-hour day at once.

The Wilsonian theory of executive participation in legislation triumphed in the last days of August. Both houses of Congress adopted by large majorities a bill which many legislators denounced and none publicly defended, a bill passed "in the dark," as some of them said, under pressure by a man of whose program it was an essential part. Congress and the President had submitted to coercion, and the Republicans made much of the affair. But Mr. Hughes, when challenged for a

statement as to what he would have done in the same case, did not make a very satisfactory answer, and the President's action won him much labor support.

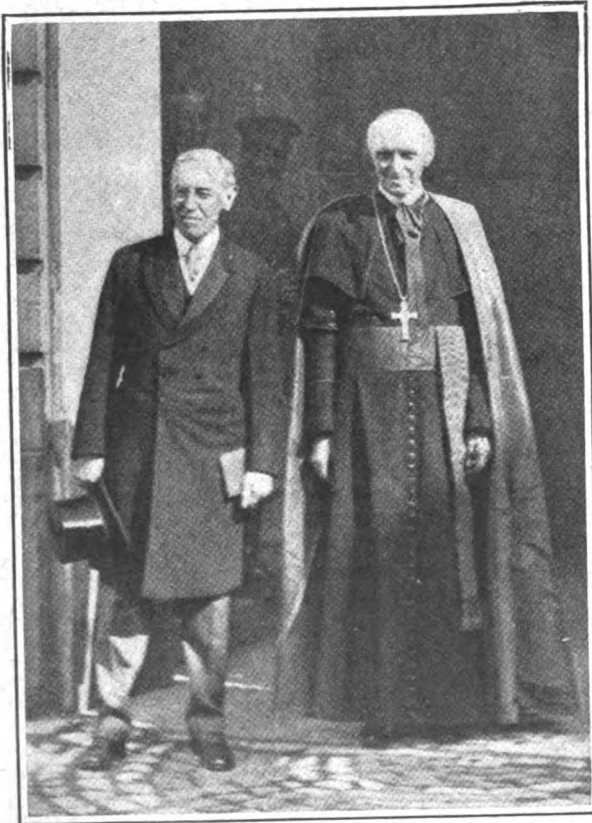
Early on election night everybody thought Hughes had been elected, but reports, then coming in from west of the Mississippi, indicated that for the first time the West and not the East might decide the election. For three days the issue was uncertain; Wilson had lost the East and most of the Middle West, but he had won Ohio and most of the trans-Mississippi States, largely on the issue of "he kept us out of war." California, which elected Hiram Johnson to the Senate by more than 300,000 plurality, gave Wilson its electoral vote by a margin of 3,773, and on the third morning after election it was clear that Wilson had been elected. He had 277 electoral votes to Hughes's 254, and a popular

plurality of nearly 600,000. The Democrats still held a majority of twelve in the Senate; in the lower house they had only 212 Representatives to 213 Republicans, with a corporal's guard of scattering members holding the possibly decisive votes. But the President-Premier, leader of the party, had received a vote of confidence.

#### WILSON'S PREDOMINANCE IN 1916

Four years had made a considerable change in Mr. Wilson's position, both private and public. The long series of notes to Germany had kept alive criticism of him as "schoolmaster," but the President's political capacity could not be denied. Some of the Jeffersonian innovations of his early days had passed away. The impression of spiritual aloofness, which at first had often been ascribed merely to the President's long life as a professor, had deepened. The

President's position was tending toward the superhuman. He was the President-Premier of the most powerful of neutral nations; a nation whose intervention, as was becoming clearer each day, could decide the war. And he was the leader of that nation; it would do what he told it to and refrain from doing what he forbade it to do. There was no political figure in his party capable of disputing his ascendancy or seriously affecting his policies. The Cabinet was regarded as weak, and some of its members as a serious handicap to the Administration. The President's influential friends were unofficial. Chief of these was Colonel House. He had twice been sent to Europe on long trips for conference with the heads of the warring powers, and it was on the information given by this unofficial private envoy that much of the President's foreign policy was based. This unusual intimacy was mysteriously and suddenly terminated during the Peace Con-



President Wilson photographed with Cardinal Mercier at the entrance to the Belgian prelate's residence at Malines, Belgium



A scene in the Rue Royale, Paris, when President Wilson drove through the streets with M. Poincaré

ference at Paris in 1919 and the real cause was never divulged by either; the popular rumor had it that the President resented the growing importance of Colonel House in the confidences of Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

In the White House were three persons who knew the President better than any one else—Joseph P. Tumulty, who had been his secretary since he took office as Governor of New Jersey; Dr. Cary T. Grayson, naval surgeon, who acted as White House physician, and over whose appointment as Rear Admiral there had been comment; and the new Mrs. Wilson. The President had been married on Dec. 18, 1915, to Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt of Washington. A sort of process of natural selection had taken away most of the eminent figures from the President's political environment, so far as it concerned his own party, and left him alone. No one but Colonel House and Mr. Tumulty seemed to have his ear, and with the vote of confidence behind him he was left free for such individual conduct of national affairs as few Presidents had been before him.

Diplomatic reports in the Fall of 1916 made it clear that the party in Germany which favored ruthless submarine war was gaining ground, and was likely to get the better of Bethmann-Hollweg and other

moderates who had yielded to Wilson in the Spring. This was well enough known to Count von Bernstorff, who had been laboring for months to keep the President reminded that America would have a great opportunity for mediation when the war had fought itself to a standstill. That the war might fight itself to a standstill seemed more and more likely at the end of 1916.

#### FIRST STATEMENT ON LEAGUE

The President had been thinking for a long time about the probable conditions at the end of the war, the proper terms for ending the war, and arrangements that might be made to remove the possibility of a similar catastrophe hereafter. The world was already talking of some league of nations. One plan for this was supported by a distinguished group of Americans in the League to Enforce Peace. In an address before that body on May 27, 1916, the President had given some idea of what he was thinking on these problems. He had declared that Americans were not "mere disconnected lookers-on" in the European conflict, and had admitted that such a war must affect the interests of every nation in the world. He added that if the warring powers had realized at the outset where it would lead it might never have been started. Then he went on:



President Wilson greeted at Boston in February, 1919, by President Coolidge (at that time Governor of Massachusetts) on his return to America after his first visit to Europe. Mrs. Wilson is standing between the two men

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

In the next world crisis, he added, it must be possible to do that. The war must be followed by the formation of an association of free, self-governing nations to preserve the freedom of the seas and compel intending belligerents to submit their case to the opinion of the world. This commitment of the United States to the support of a League of Nations was widely discussed, favorably and unfavorably, but many of those, already favoring the allied

cause, were more interested in another phrase in that speech.

"With the causes and the objects of the great war," the President had said, "we are not concerned. The obscure foundations from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore."

Some Americans felt that this statement indicated blindness to the issues or conviction that America, to be able to mediate with effect, must still be morally neutral. That the President felt that by-gones must be by-gones and that the peace concluding the great war must be one of equality, material and moral, became evident from the course which he pursued later.

Popular interest in the war diminished, however, in the early Winter of 1916-17. The partisans of both sides held to their views, but

the ferment of national feeling against Germany after the sinking of the *Lusitania* had long since subsided. The early expectation of a speedy victory in Europe, held by each side, had vanished in the grind of a long war. Battles and campaigns were won and lost, but the war was still undecided.

Mr. Wilson had his mind firmly set on the organization of a League of Nations. In the ordinary event the war would be ended by a peace conference of the belligerents, and after the treaty had been signed, according to Mr. Wilson's ideas, there should be a conference of all nations of the world to establish a League of Nations which should guarantee peace and "the freedom of the seas." During all 1916 the chief aim of the President's foreign policy seemed to be to keep America in the position to play the leading part in this conference after the peace, and, if need be, take the initiative in

bringing the belligerents to the peace table. This plan had to take into account the attitude of both sides in the war. The difficulty with the belligerents was that something was constantly happening to give one or the other side the hope of victory in a few months more. Moreover, the section of American opinion which favored the Allies was convinced that they must win in the end, and talk of mediation was suspected as being advantageous to Germany. In June the Germans did not want the President to make any suggestion about peace. Two months later they were willing to let him mediate, though solely to get the warring powers together around a green table; but by that time Rumania was about to come in, and her entry gave the Allies a new hope of early victory.

In October Ambassador Gerard came home from Berlin on leave, with reports of the increasing demand in Germany for unrestricted submarine war. By that time the President had concluded that he could do nothing on his own initiative before the election. A request for mediation by any of the belligerents would have given him an opportunity which he could accept without offense, but no belligerent dared to ask for it for fear the request would seem to be a confession of defeat.

The election removed this fear. On Nov. 9 Bethmann Hollweg made a speech to the Reichstag, expressing a general and vague approval of the President's ideas on the League of Nations. Bethmann Hollweg and the German Foreign Office wanted peace with victory, but they were wise enough to realize that the impossible demands of a section of the German public could not be realized without some great change in the military situation. They were still holding out, with increasing difficulty, against the party that wanted to turn loose the submarines and bring England to her knees in three months. Working with them in Washington was Bernstorff, who by this

time knew America pretty well, and saw that it was a race between the Wilson peace program and the rising agitation in Germany for a ruthless submarine war.

Any idea of peace proposals through American mediation was made impossible by the Belgian deportations, which in November, 1916, revived here much anti-German feeling that had slumbered for months. America was in no mood to force upon Belgium and her allies a peace which must be more or less favorable to the enslavers of Belgium. On Dec. 12, however, Bethmann Hollweg, in the name of the German Government, proposed a conference for the negotiation of peace. He mentioned no terms and he talked as a victor to the defeated. The intervention of Rumania had ended in the capture of Bucharest, and the Somme offensive had been stopped, though not without heavy losses. Germany needed peace, but on the surface she had the better of the war.

The allied Governments had not answered when on Dec. 18 President Wilson proposed to the belligerents that each side state in detail what they regarded as conditions of a just



After the signing of the Versailles Treaty: The "Big Three" (from left to right), David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau and President Wilson

peace in the hope that it might be found that they were nearer an agreement than they knew. He prefaced that suggestion with the remark that the objects which both sides had in mind, "as stated in general terms to their own people and the world," were "virtually the same." That was literally true, but it conveyed the impression to many Americans that the President himself regarded the aims of the two sides as virtually the same and aroused hot and continuous criticism by a large percentage of thinking Americans. Further excitement was aroused by an interview in which Mr. Lansing made the admission that unless the war ended soon, America might be drawn into it. The most natural interpretation of which this was susceptible was that it would have to fight Germany. Mr. Lansing immediately undertook to remove this impression. The President was willing to serve as a "clearing house" for the ideas of the belligerents, but the German Government would have none of this. The Foreign Secretary, in a confidential message to Bernstorff, stated the reason: the Germans were afraid it would be "detrimental to their interest," and did not propose to be "robbed of their gains by neutral pressure." So the German answer to the President's proposal, which came on Dec. 26, remarked that "a direct interchange of ideas would seem the most appropriate way of obtaining the desired result," and proposed an immediate peace conference.

Bernstorff continued to appeal for a statement of terms, but in vain. His Government did, however, express its agreement with the outline of the President's plan for the foundation of a League of Nations at a separate general conference after the peace treaty had been signed.

The President did everything possible to give the German moderates time to work. On Jan. 6, at a dinner given by the American Associa-



President Wilson on his return from Europe after the signing of the Versailles Treaty. He is here seen on the bridge of the George Washington, responding to the welcome of the crowd at Hoboken, N. J., on the other side of the Hudson from New York

tion for Commerce and Trade at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin, Ambassador Gerard declared that the relations between America and Germany had not been so good since the beginning of the war as they were at that moment. He said this on instructions from Washington; the additional remark that so long as those at present in charge of German-American relations (that is, Bethmann Hollweg and Zimmermann), remained in control, good relations would continue, it was indicated, was Mr. Gerard's own contribution.

On Jan. 11 the Allies made their reply to the President's suggestion. They stated their war aims in a way that heartened their friends in America. On Jan. 22 the President appeared before the Senate and made an address which marked the climax of his long effort to stop the war before America could be brought in. Read in the light of full knowledge of that campaign, it produces an effect very different from that which followed at the time. In that speech the President declared that it was not for America to say what the terms of peace should be; but that if America was to enter into a League of

Nations, which would guarantee and preserve that peace, our interest demanded that it must be "a peace worth guaranteeing and preserving." And that peace, he said, must be "a peace without victory." Once again one phrase made more impression than the rest of the speech.

There was much comment on the development of the President's idea of a League of Nations, and also on the demand for democratic principles and self-determination which he expressed strongly. But the line that people remembered was "peace without victory." In the minds of many sympathizers with the Allies the Administration's sympathy for Germany was proved.

### OUR ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

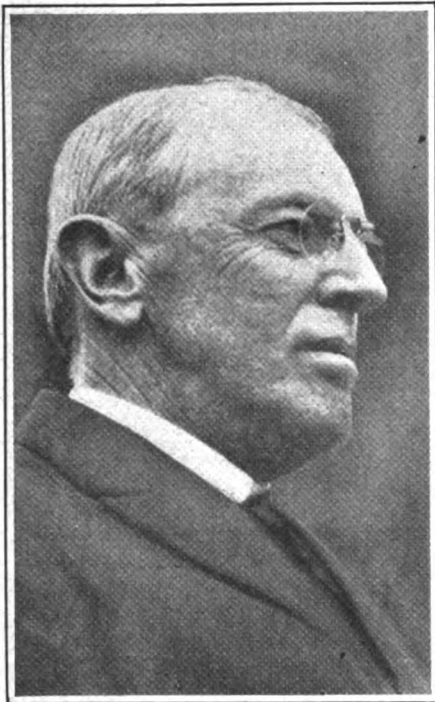
But the issue of peace or war had already been decided. On Jan. 9 the German Civil Government had been forced to yield to the military and naval leaders and agree to the resumption of unlimited submarine warfare. This decision, communicated to German diplomats a week or so later, was

not to be made known to the world till Jan. 31, and the submarines were to begin their work the next day.

On the 23d, according to Bernstorff, the President had formally offered to propose a peace conference if only the Germans would state their terms. In a note dispatched on the 29th, to be delivered at the same time as the announcement of the submarine campaign, they did state their terms for the President's information. They were impossible terms, and they were too late. What the Administration had feared had happened. The policy to which the President had stood fast for two and a half years had been balked just as it seemed on the point of success, and by the very Government which for months had assured him of its sympathy and approval and had seemed eager to cooperate with him. Seldom has a policy been more completely shattered; but this, like his previous defeats, Woodrow Wilson had the good fortune to turn into a stepping stone to higher achievements.

The first result of the revival of the German submarine war was the announcement to Congress on Feb. 3 that he had broken diplomatic relations with Germany. The Germans did not seize the opportunity which the President had held out to them in his address of Feb. 3 and revoke their order. The submarines were set to work. Nor did European neutrals follow the American lead and break with Germany, as the President may have expected, so as to surround the faithless Government with the moral pressure of a disapproving world. A note from Germany to Mexico, endeavoring to enlist Mexican and Japanese aid in the case of war with America, was intercepted by secret agents and published semi-officially. It convinced many who had hitherto been hard to persuade that war was near.

American merchantmen were attacked by submarines. The President asked Congress for authority to arm merchant ships. The pacifist element and those sympathetic with Germany declared that this meant war, but the bill passed the House. It was talked to death in the Senate, in the closing hours of the session, by a minority of twelve. The President spoke the indignation of the public against "the little group of willful



President Wilson as he appeared in September, 1919, at the beginning of his speechmaking tour to urge ratification of the Versailles Treaty and participation of the United States in the League of Nations

men" who had held up the measure, and armed the ships by Executive order.

The country was waking up, and the leaders of the Republican Party were at the front in the demand for recognition of the fact that war existed. Former pacifists and pro-Germans now stood firmly in support of the President's policy, which moved slowly but steadily. But he had said that America could fight only in a cause worth fighting for; and he had to prove, to those who had followed his previous declarations, that the cause of opposition to Germany was worth fighting for. That proof was furnished in perhaps the greatest of Woodrow Wilson's speeches—a speech which for months dominated the opinion of the world on the issues of the war.

#### WAR WITH GERMANY

On April 2 the President appeared before Congress and asked for a declaration that the acts of the German Government constituted war against the United States.

Neutrality was no longer possible, he declared, when the free peoples of the world were constantly menaced by autocratic powers. We had no quarrel with the German people; our only feeling for them was sympathy and friendship; they had not willed the war. But their Government, by its breaches of faith and its constant intrigues, had shown itself to be the kind of Government which could never be our friend; it was "the natural foe of liberty." So America would fight for the freedom of all peoples, the German people included; "the world must be made safe for democracy."

This was the most famous of all his famous phrases. The logical dilemma had been solved; the President, who according to the pro-Allies had been indifferent as to the issues of the war, had found a new and transcendent issue, and on that issue the people followed him.

The great mass of the people accepted the issue, though not all agreed



The late President Wilson's home in Washington from March 4, 1921, when his second term ended, until his death on Feb. 3, 1924. The house is No. 2340 S Street, N. W.



The late President and Mrs. Wilson in the procession at the funeral of the Unknown Soldier on Nov. 11, 1921

with the President's interpretation. This difference appeared in the debates in Congress over the declaration of war; among others, a Republican Senator, named Warren G. Harding, in announcing that he would vote for war, said that he was "not voting for a war in the name of democracy," but for "the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this Republic."

But whatever the motive, both houses passed the declaration of war by overwhelming majorities. In the following weeks the American people showed a rapidity of spiritual and practical preparation for war that could not have been expected in the preceding Winter. A war loan of unprecedented size was easily raised. More surprising than that, a conscription bill went through Congress by a considerable majority and was accepted by the people with little protest. Still more surprising, the American people entered into a systematic campaign of economy in food to save surpluses for the allied nations. The two years since the Lusitania

were as if they had never been; America went into the war without compunction.

Once more, and more than ever before, the President was the leader of the people. There was hostility to some of his measures; General Pershing was appointed to command the expeditionary forces to be sent to France, and this was not pleasing to friends of General Wood. (A letter published after the death of the President disclosed the fact that he did not send General Wood abroad because he felt that "he would not be amenable to any higher authority.") Criticism more bitter in character followed the refusal of the Adminis-

tration to let Colonel Roosevelt take a volunteer division to France. In that the Administration had the approval of most military men. But opposition to the President's policies was not strong in the early months of the war; everybody realized that winning the war was the important thing. The President was the leader, official and spiritual, of the nation. In the eyes of Europe, too, he had overnight assumed a new character. To transatlantic spectators there had been three Wilsons: the first, the scholar in politics, who was coming out of the cloister to purify the atmosphere of political life; the second, from 1915 to 1917, the note-writing pacifist whose policy could most charitably be explained on the ground of weakness; and the third, the Wilson of 1917 and later the prophet of a new age, the herald of the millennium, who had at last realized that this was a war for world freedom, and had a program that would bring this war to an end and prevent wars in future.

Delegations from the allied powers came to the United States to arrange for military and economic cooperation. The President

was now exploring the obscure foundations of the war. When the Pope in August suggested peace negotiations, based in general on the status quo ante bellum, the President's reply made it clear that he realized that the German Government could not be trusted with a "peace without victory." Meanwhile, however, American Liberals, British Laborites, German Socialists and Russian Bolsheviki were all proclaiming themselves the followers of Wilson's ideas. "Peace without annexations or indemnities" was a cry raised by Lenin in Russia and by Erzberger and others in Germany, and many of their followers ascribed the idea to Wilson, although, as his speeches of the previous Winter had shown, his opposition was only against forcible annexations and punitive indemnities.

The year ended with the allied cause in a rather bad way. The collapse of the Russian armies and the Bolshevik revolution had removed the eastern front. America was preparing, to be sure, on an enormous scale, but preparing slowly and with many blunders; and only a few American soldiers had reached the front. It was evident that the opening of 1918 would see bloodshed more copious than any previous year, and the futile "peace offensive" started in Germany in the Summer of 1917 was countered by the Allies in the Winter.

Colonel House was in Europe, talking to the allied Governments and receiving reports from unofficial persons in Switzerland. Austria-Hungary seemed the weak spot in the enemy ranks, and during the Winter the Allies made an effort to detach her. The result was a development of the new type of peace offensive conducted by long-range speeches, the most notable of which was Wilson's speech of Jan. 8, 1918, embodying his Fourteen Points. That speech was very similar to one made by Lloyd George three days earlier, and was not much unlike the allied terms laid down in the note of January, 1917, except for the shrinkage of some demands on account of subsequent military reverses. In form it was an address to the Senate; in substance it was a peace proposal to Austria, and through Austria to Germany.

#### THE FOURTEEN POINTS

In that famous utterance the President

declared that the essential bases of peace were as follows:

**I.** Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view;

**II.** Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants;

**III.** The removal so far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance;

**IV.** Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety;

**V.** A free, open minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined;

**VI.** The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing, and more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good-will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy;

**VII.** Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired;

**VIII.** All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all;

**IX.** A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality;

**X.** The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development;

**XI.** Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into;

**XII.** The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships

and commerce of all nations under international guarantees;

**XIII.** An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant;

**XIV.** A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

The Austrian Government made a conciliatory reply, and the German Chancellor, Count von Hertling, an entirely unsatisfactory reply, on Jan. 24. Austria would have been glad of an escape from the war, but German coercion prevented her. It was virtually, then, in reply to Hertling that the President addressed Congress on Feb. 11 in a speech which was a sort of commentary on the Fourteen Points. On Feb. 25 Hertling told the Reichstag that he could accept Wilson's general principles, and that the speech constituted "a small step toward rapprochement." But on March 3 the peace of Brest-Litovsk, between Germany and Russia, was signed, and that showed clearly the sort of terms Germany would impose, with Austria's assent, when she had the power. Barely a month later, at Baltimore, the President indicated that to the men then ruling Germany there was only one answer—"force to the utmost, force without stint or limit."

#### THE FINAL GERMAN OFFENSIVE

The application of force had already begun. On April 21 Ludendorff opened his attacks on the allied lines in France, and for a few months the chief position among the allied leaders passed from Wilson to Foch. America was not there in much force at the beginning, but American troops at once began to pour in. Many Americans were agreeably surprised, for the Winter had been a bad one. The railroads had been taken under Government control, but were not working with great success. The Fuel Administrator had had to close down the industries of the East for a week in January to find coal for the movement of food trains. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs had investigated the War Department and had found deficiencies in equipment of all sorts and shortcomings in hospital care of the sick. The Secretary of War on the stand before



In the Winter of 1921-22

the committee had contented himself with general denials. On Jan. 19 Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, Democratic Chairman of the committee, said in a speech at New York that "the military establishment of the United States has fallen down; it has almost stopped functioning," and that this was due to "inefficiency in every bureau and every department of the Government." The next day he introduced a bill to create the post of Director of Munitions, and another providing for the appointment of a

War Cabinet of "three distinguished citizens of demonstrated ability," to whom the President should turn over virtually the entire work of war preparation. President Wilson denounced Senator Chamberlain's statement as "an astonishing and absolutely unjustifiable distortion of the truth," and declared that it must have been "inspired by hostility to the Administration rather than by any real desire for reform." Chamberlain answered by a speech in the Senate in which he professed loyalty to the Commander-in-Chief, but cited facts in support of his statement, which, he admitted, might have been over-emphasized. But the President announced his firm opposition to the bills which would have turned over so much of the conduct of the war to others, and he won. At the President's request Congress passed a bill authorizing him, when necessary to meet the war emergency, to reorganize the executive departments by his own decree instead of by the authority of Congress. This was criticized at the time as giving too much power to the President, but general sentiment seemed to be that so long as the President was in command it was only reasonable to give him the machinery he regarded as essential to efficient administration.

#### AMERICAN TROOPS TURN THE TIDE

In the Spring American soldiers began to go to France by the tens and hundreds of thousands, and by July 4 a million were on their way. They had to depend for most of their artillery and practically all their aircraft on the French and British, but they were getting there, and by the end of Summer their intervention in the conflict had turned the tide. Germany was on the road to disaster, and her leaders now began to think of that mediation by President Wilson which they had rejected eighteen months before.

The disappointments of the past Winter were forgotten in pride over the performance of American troops at the front, and the fact that when the need arose they had been rushed to France in incredible number had dissipated most of the dissatisfaction with the Administration. But on the issue of peace negotiations the President had once more to face opposition.

The first move for peace was made by Austria-Hungary on Sept. 15, in a note suggesting a conference for "preliminary and non-binding" discussion of war aims. On the next day the President refused this, with the curt remark that America's war aims had been so often stated that there was no need of a conference to discuss them. The other allied powers did not even answer it.

The President spoke in New York on Sept. 27, declaring that the peace must be one of impartial justice, "involving no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just." The President said in that speech that the League of Nations must be a part of the peace settlement, "in a sense the most essential part." If formed at that time, he said, it would be merely the alliance of the nations united against Germany. "It is not likely," he added, "that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace, and peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought." The peace had to be guaranteed, he explained, because nobody would trust the Germans. In that speech the intertwining of treaty and League at Paris was clearly foretold.

A new German Chancellor, Max of Baden, on Oct. 4 appealed to the President to call a conference at once. The Germans realized that they would have to state their terms, and they went back to the conditions of Wilson's Fourteen Points "and his later pronouncements, specifically his address of Sept. 27," as a "basis for peace negotiations." In the subsequent exchange of messages the President acted as intermediary between the Germans and the Allies, although he kept constantly informed of the ideas of the allied leaders. Virtually he was the spokesman for the anti-German coalition. In England, France and Italy his successive notes were discussed with reserve; at home there were expostulations and demands for unconditional surrender of the Hohenzollerns.

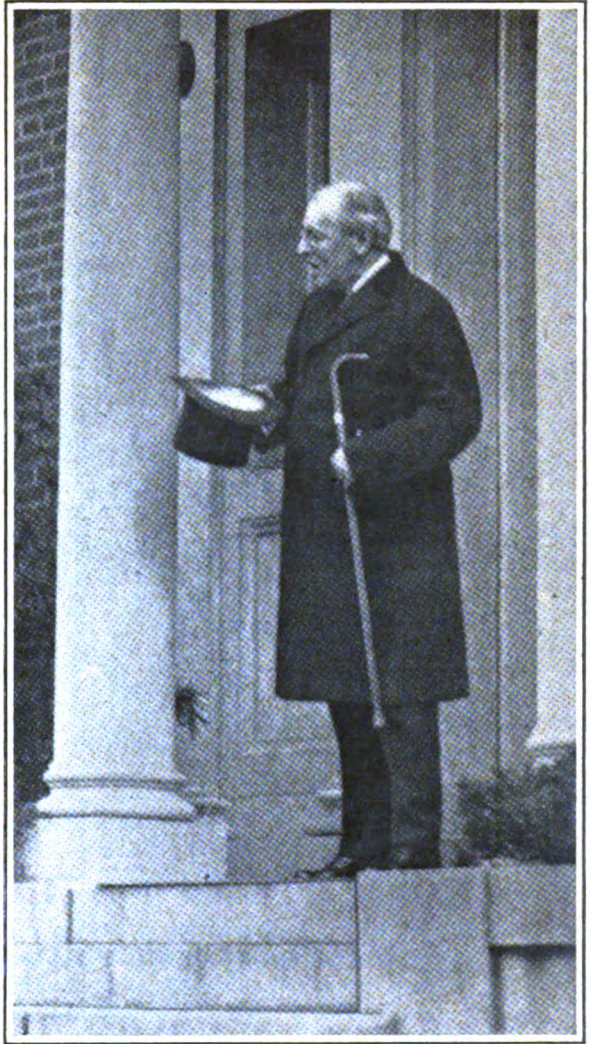
#### GERMANY FORCED TO YIELD

Step by step the Germans, their armies drawing nearer the old frontier every day, were driven to more concessions. On Oct. 12 they promised that the Fourteen Points

would be accepted flatly, and that discussion at the Peace Conference should be confined to "practical details of their application." Two days later the President informed them that there must be an armistice, the terms of which would "assure the present supremacy" of the allied armies in the field. He added a plain intimation that the reformed German Government was not yet democratic enough to suit his ideas, and warned the Austrians that American recognition of their subject nationalities had completely altered one of the Fourteen Points.

The German response to this was unsatisfactory, and the President's reply on Oct. 23 told the Germans that the armistice terms would have to be such as to make renewal of the war impossible. He added that if the "military masters and monarchical autocrats" continued to hold their place in the German Government unconditional surrender would be the only terms possible. The German leaders yielded to his stipulations on the matter of an armistice, and began to discuss its conditions with Marshal Foch. The German people began to take the other stipulation to heart. On Nov. 5 the Allies informed the President that they accepted the Fourteen Points, with reservations — the exception of the freedom of the seas, which they held in abeyance pending elucidation of its specific meaning, and the restitution of invaded territories, which they understood to mean (and with the President's approval) that Germany must pay for all "damage to the civilian population and their property by the aggression of Germany."

While the armistice was being discussed, revolution spread from Kiel to Berlin, the Kaiser hurried across the frontier into Holland, and on Nov. 11 hostilities ceased.



In the Spring of 1922: As he appeared at the door of his home when he spoke to the delegates attending the Pan-American Conference of Women in Washington

#### DEFEAT IN 1913 ELECTION

President Wilson thus had played the principal part in bringing the war to an end. It was ended on the basis of principles stated by him, and it left him exalted in the opinion of Europe to a position such as no American, and very few Europeans, had ever before enjoyed. But he was not so generally exalted at home. It had been apparent early in the Fall that the Democrats were likely to lose the Congressional election. Chief responsibility

for this seems to have rested on their leadership in the House, where Claude Kitchin had proclaimed that his taxation program was based on the principles that "those who wanted the war ought to pay for it," and where the President had put Republicans in charge of many war measures. There was plenty of dissatisfaction with the Post Office Department, and the effect of charges against the War Department in the previous Winter had not died out.

On Oct. 25 the President issued an appeal to the people to vote for Democratic Senators and Representatives "if you have approved of my leadership and wish me to continue to be your unembarrassed spokesman in affairs at home and abroad." He disclaimed any intention of drawing a distinction between the parties in patriotism, but said that although the Republican leaders had been pro-war they had been anti-Administration. There must be no divided leadership, he declared, at such a critical moment; and, he added, "I am your servant and will accept your judgment without cavil." In spite of this appeal—its effect, if any, being of help to the Republicans—the country went Republican. Opponents of the Administration won a majority of thirty-nine in the lower house, and a majority of two in the Senate, which would have to ratify the President's treaty of peace.

A few days later the armistice was signed. When talk of the peace conference had begun, it was intimated in Washington that Lloyd George and Clemenceau wanted the President to come to the meeting. The sentiment of the American public, so far as could be judged from newspaper expression, was strongly against this. Nevertheless, the President announced that he had decided to go. There was an unfavorable reaction to this, and still more criticism of his choice of colleagues on the peace delegation. There had been a loud demand for a bipartisan delegation which should include some leaders of the Republican Party. One Republican was indeed appointed—Henry White, a retired diplomat of no prominence in the party, whose selection was regarded by party leaders as perhaps even less satisfactory than the appointment of no Republican at all. To this delegation was added a formidable body

of a hundred or more military, technical, economic, historical and sociological experts, with an enormous quantity of previously compiled information. Some of the experts were sent ahead; most of them sailed with the peace delegates on Dec. 4 on the former German liner *George Washington*, which had been in use as an army transport. With the President went Mrs. Wilson.

The President was leaving home after an election in which he had issued an unprecedented challenge and had been defeated. With him and his delegates went the good wishes of the soberer element of the country, who realized the importance of the errand; but there was mingled with that ridicule, condemnation and extreme regret.

Despite the fact that his prestige at home had been seriously injured by the Congressional election of the preceding Fall, the President was received with more than royal honors by Europe. From the moment of his landing at Brest till the opening of the Peace Conference six weeks later the President enjoyed a triumphal progress through Western Europe such as no man before him had ever known. Wherever he stopped he was met by delegations of dignitaries conferring upon him all the honors in their power, and by throngs of the populace who welcomed him as the deliverer from all their troubles. He was received in Paris by the President of the French Republic, visited the King of England at Buckingham Palace and the King of Italy in the Quirinal, and called on the Pope for a long conference; he spent Christmas at the headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, and a few days later worshiped in the church in the North of England where his grandfather had formerly preached.

Ahead of him municipal councils hastened to decree the freedom of their cities and prepared gold medals for presentation. A delegation of Italian scholars presented him with a branch of laurel in the Roman Forum, and thousands of workmen at Turin stood in the rain for hours to greet his train with cries of "Viva Wilson, the god of peace!" Royalties, ministers and municipalities loaded him with presents, and cities all over Europe hastily renamed their principal streets, bridges or public

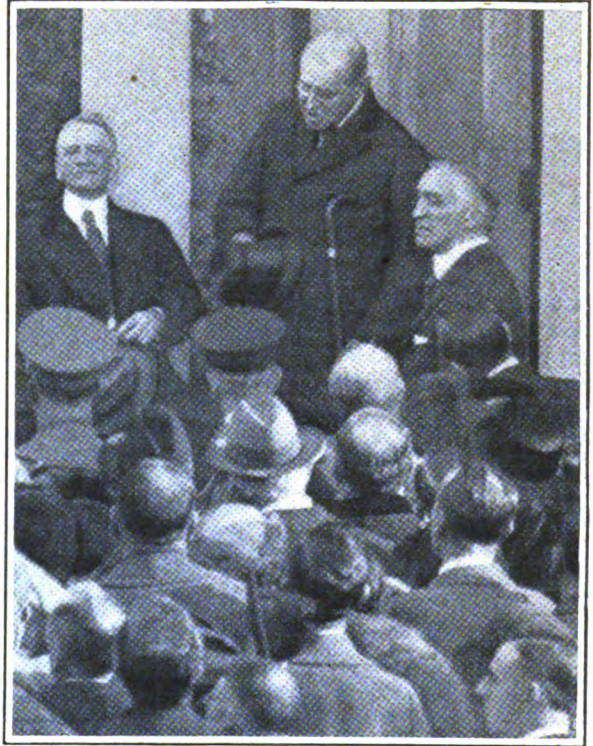
squares in his honor. He had no time, before the conference opened, to visit Belgium and the devastated regions of France; invitations for these excursions were paralleled by similar invitations from municipal councils in Ireland, the Queen of Holland, and many leaders of public opinion, even in Germany. At that moment Wilson was the popular hero in Germany, too. Everywhere the masses of the people received him as the man who had given voice to their aspirations and led them out of the wilderness of war into the promised land of peace.

There was reason in this. The Fourteen Points and the other Wilson principles which had been accepted as a basis of peace were not so precise as to be incapable of varying interpretations. Every nation in Europe believed that its program was founded on the principles of Wilson, and that Wilson had come to the peace conference to fight for precisely that.

#### THE PEACE CONFERENCE

The Peace Conference opened on Jan. 18, 1919. The European powers pressed their own ideas as to what the terms of surrender meant, and interpretation had to be agreed on by long arguments. Some American liberals, when the peace terms were eventually published, denounced the President for his "surrender to European imperialism."

As a result of a difference of opinion with the Italian delegates over Fiume the President issued in April a statement of the reasons which had actuated the American representatives in their position on this dispute. That statement was generally regarded as an appeal to the Italian people over the heads of their own Government. Signor Orlando, the Italian Premier, went home from the conference and obtained a vote of confidence from the Italian Chamber which was virtually unanimous.



The fifth anniversary of the armistice: The late President, with Senator Carter Glass and Mr. Bolling, brother of Mrs. Wilson, on the steps of the Wilson home in Washington on Nov. 11, 1923, when several thousand people gathered to hear the statesman speak

The idealistic thought of the world, which had placed such high hopes on the Fourteen Points, was rudely shocked when small nations, and aspiring racial minorities, lacking the benevolent support of a larger power, failed to attain even a measure of their desires. The Korean plea went unheard; Japan received Shantung; the Irish were ignored. The feeling was insistent in many circles that the President had yielded to the subtler diplomats of France and Italy in order to preserve his dominant ideal of a League of Nations.

The Wilson who had been the world's idol in December was now only the head of one of many States in conference—head of the largest and most powerful State, to be sure, but the representative of one nation and no longer of the world. It was manifest that the peoples of the world wanted many different things; and every decision of Mr. Wilson in favor of any

particular measure set a body of opinion against him. Republican leaders at home blamed the President for the collapse of allied unity which became evident soon after the sessions of the conference had begun. Their opposition to the League of Nations, as President Wilson presented it, also was growing. As early as Jan 4, two weeks before the Conference met, Senator Lodge had said that the peace treaty ought to be first and the League discussion taken up later. This was the President's own view in 1916, when America was a neutral with no seat in the prospective Peace Conference; but now that the war had included most of the neutrals the difference between a peace conference and a general conference was much less.

### THE FIGHT FOR THE LEAGUE

On Feb. 14 the President read the text of the League covenant to the conference, which adopted it. A few days later the President started for home, and as he reached the United States he invited the Senatorial leaders who had expressed opposition to meet him at a White House dinner to talk the matter over.

The President landed Feb. 24 at Boston, and in a speech there declared that America must not fail the world which was depending on her to help construct a League which would prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. Two days later came the White House dinner, at which the President received the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—a committee which, the President's friends were beginning to say, had been "packed" against the League—and discussed the question with them for several hours. He did not convert the doubters. On the night of March 3 Senator Lodge announced that thirty-seven Republican Senators were opposed to the acceptance of the League covenant in the form in which it stood, and that they regarded a demand for its revision as an exercise of the Senate's constitutional right of "advice" to the President on treaties. (Mention may here be made of the report that a "round robin" signed by thirty-seven Senators, enough to defeat ratification, had already been circulated among the peace delegates at Paris, point-

ing out objections to the covenant and indicating that it could not be ratified by the Senate.)

Twenty-four hours following the Lodge announcement, at a meeting in New York, which Mr. Taft also addressed, the President declared that the League was inextricably interwoven with the treaty; that those who opposed it must be blind to the demands and feelings of common people the world over, and that he did not intend to bring the corpse of a treaty back from Paris. On the next day he sailed back to the Peace Conference. The League covenant was somewhat modified to meet Republican suggestions, especially those of Elihu Root, and on June 28 the treaty was signed. That night the President started back home to take up the fight for ratification, which it was already evident would be long and bitter. There was a popular demonstration of respect at his departure from Brest, but the enthusiasm of the previous December was lacking. In the early months of 1919 the world had lost most of its enthusiasm for everything. Despite the opinion of some constitutional lawyers, Mr. Wilson had succeeded in proving that he could still be President while out of the country. It remained to be seen how far he could be President when he came back to the country.

On July 10 the President laid the treaty before the Senate. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations held long conferences, examining everybody who seemed or pretended to know anything about the treaty; the President himself appeared before that body for a long examination on Aug. 19. Something of a stir was caused by the testimony of William C. Bullitt that Secretary Lansing had said that the treaty was thoroughly bad and that the Senate would reject it if it understood it.

The President insisted, however, that the masses of the people the world over were with him, and on Sept. 3 he "went to the country" once more, though in a different form. He started a tour from coast to coast, making speeches for the League and declaring that if America rejected it she would "break the great heart of the world." The President's exertions on this trip were so great that he broke down on



The fifth anniversary of the armistice: The late President on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1923

Sept. 26 and was compelled to return at once to Washington.

Meanwhile, on Sept. 10, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had reported the treaty with a series of amendments, while others were offered from the floor. But every amendment was defeated. The discussion provoked by this led to some efforts at compromise, and on Nov. 6 Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, presented a list of fourteen reservations, all but one of which were adopted after a ten days' struggle.

#### TREATY FAILS IN THE SENATE

During this conflict the President had

been ill in the White House. How serious his illness was few knew; official reports deprecated its seriousness, while unofficial and more or less irresponsible rumor offered several versions of the nature of his collapse. Not till much later did it become known that for a time his condition had been very serious; but he was well enough to see Senator Hitchcock, Democratic Senatorial leader, on Nov. 18, and to tell him that he regarded the Lodge reservations as nothing less than nullification of the treaty. Most of the Democrats followed his leadership and voted against ratification with the Lodge reservations. The Republicans could not get the necessary two-thirds, and the revised version of the treaty was beaten.

The President had written to Senator Hitchcock, "I understand that the door will probably then be open for a genuine resolution of ratification." But this did not prove to be the case. The Republicans held together. Lodge would not yield to Wilson; and it presently appeared, Wilson would not yield to Lodge. The special session ended, and the regular session began. The discussion over reservations continued; the

President let it be known that he would accept "interpretative" reservations, but nothing like the list which Senator Lodge still supported. While the argument was going on a letter from the President was read at the Jackson Day dinner in Washington on Jan. 8, in which he said:

I do not accept the action of the Senate as the decision of the nation. \* \* \* If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think about the matter, the clear and single way out is \* \* \* to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum.

Senator Lodge promptly declared that this laid down an issue that would have to be fought out. Not many Democrats went so far as Bryan, who would have

surrendered to the Lodge reservations, but the opinion was expressed by many of them that a Presidential election could not be restricted to a referendum on a single issue, and that the question should be settled at that session. The President refused to go further than the interpretive reservations; the Republicans would not accept them, and the Democrats would not accept the Lodge reservations. On March 20 the rejected treaty was sent back to the President.

#### LANSING INVITED TO RESIGN

There was some speculation as to whether the President, in his call for a referendum, implied that he meant to be a candidate again. In the meantime one or two disturbing incidents had occurred. On Feb. 13 the resignation of Secretary Lansing was announced, and correspondence was published in which the President began a letter to the Secretary with the question:

"Is it true, as I have been told, that during my illness you have frequently called the heads of the executive departments of the Government into conference?"

Mr. Lansing admitted that he had done this. People felt that he had acted rightly, that the Government machinery had had to be carried on somehow at a time when the opposition was wondering if the President's condition did not constitute disability such as would call for the summoning of the Vice President.

A second letter from the President referred to differences of opinion in Paris, and criticized more recent acts of the Secretary (apparently the Mexican policy) which seemed to indicate that the State Department was carrying on a program on its own initiative. He consequently asked Mr. Lansing to give place to "some one whose mind would go willingly along with mine." The substitute was found in Bainbridge Colby, a recent convert from the Progressive Party.

The next act of the President was a sudden reappearance in the discussion of the Adriatic problem. England, France and Italy had again taken up this question during the President's illness and had proposed a solution unfavorable to the Yugoslavs. In February the President addressed some rather sharp notes to the powers which had the effect of checking their action. In a letter to Senator Hitchcock on March 8 the President had referred to a "militarist party in France" which had tried to dominate the Peace Conference. "They were defeated then," the President wrote, "but they are in control now." This unusual reference to the policy of a friendly power was criticized on both sides of the Atlantic.

#### THE DRIFT FROM WILSON

The treaty conflict waited on the nominating conventions of the two parties. Mr. McAdoo, the President's son-in-law, was a leading candidate on the Democratic side, and received the support of many Federal officeholders. Republicans called him the "Crown Prince," and Senator Lodge's keynote speech at the Republican convention sputtered with denunciation of the "dynasty," to which he ascribed the intention to continue the one-man Government of the United States. But the President gave no active encouragement to McAdoo, and some observers thought he had a hope that the convention would turn to him as its leader in the election. The Democratic convention at San Francisco was for the first two or three days a ratification meeting to endorse the President's record. Homer Cummings's keynote speech was a panegyric on Wilson, and the convention went wild over it. The platform endorsed the record of Wilson without reservation; it had to do so, for the party's only record was his record. But when it came to the balloting Woodrow Wilson's name appeared on only one ballot, and then he received but two votes from delegates who were tired of the long deadlock and hoped they could start a little excitement. Nobody knew whether Wilson wanted McAdoo, but suspicion that Wilson might want him hurt McAdoo's chances.

Governor James M. Cox was eventually nominated, in part by the efforts of a group of old-line bosses, who had hated Wilson ever since the Baltimore convention, in part by delegates who hoped he was "wet," partly by Middle Westerners, who liked his record, and partly by some of the original Wilson men who had fallen out of favor in the eight years and had turned against McAdoo, the only one of their early faction that had survived. But the final drift to Cox seems to have been based mostly on the conviction of delegates that to stand any chance of success they would have to get as far away from Wilson as they could. Cox was nominated on Wilson's record, and pushed forward to "the great and solemn referendum."

In the campaign the President took virtually no part. He conferred with Cox immediately after the nomination, and it was announced that they were agreed on the League issue. Cox fought valiantly for the League, but was plainly willing to compromise on reservations that did not destroy the principles. Woodrow Wilson did not shift his position, but remained in the background. It was thought for a time that he did not want to embarrass Cox, but when Hamilton Holt led a delegation of pro-League independents to the White House in October it was found that the President's health had suffered such a relapse that he could not have taken part if he had wanted to.

The old scenes had changed. The Democratic Party of 1920 was not the party of 1912. Bryan's heart was in the grave with his bone-dry plank; Colonel House, greatest of all the Wilson men of that year, had fallen into some disfavor and had relapsed into a deeper silence than ever; the others who had fought in the front ranks in 1912 were most of them out of sight, and the final appeal to the country of the President-Premier for the ratification of a policy to which he had given four years of constant struggle was in the hands of an outsider.

One original Wilson man, however, was prominent in the campaign, and that was the earliest of all, the rejected Colonel Harvey. For three years his new weekly had been a virulent critic of the Administration, and in his room at the Blackstone Hotel in Chicago, just before an early June dawn, half a dozen men had gathered to bring about the nomination of Warren G. Harding by the Republicans.

On the night before election day it was announced from the White House that the President felt confident of the success of his party on his League issue, and that he would remain up until 11 o'clock on election night, later than was his custom since the beginning of his illness, to receive reports. But election day brought the overwhelming landslide to Harding; the President read a few early bulletins and retired at 9 o'clock.

Two nights later a delegation of citizens of Washington friendly to the League, some hundreds in number, came to the White House to pay the President a tribute of respect for his long struggle for the covenant. For the first time since the war with Germany reached America, the gates of the White House grounds were opened to the public. The President was rolled out on the east portico of the White House in his wheel chair and sat there, his lips moving in silence as the visitors sang "America." Then they gave three cheers for "the first figure of the age," and the President lifted his hat in salute before he was wheeled back into the White House. The country was beginning to feel more kindly toward him. Now that he was about to go back into private life, even his enemies were beginning to give him credit for the courage and determination with which he had sacrificed his health and his political power in the service of his great ideal.

#### MR. WILSON IN RETIREMENT

Woodrow Wilson's exit from the Presidency was tragic. Shattered in health by an illness from which he never recovered, he accompanied the incoming President, Warren G. Harding, in the procession from the White House to the Capitol. Mr. Wilson was so fatigued that he was unable to

witness the inaugural ceremonies of his successor and left the Capitol just before them, limping on a cane but smiling as he walked to his automobile. Later in the day a crowd, composed mostly of those who had supported Mr. Wilson in his fight for the League of Nations, gathered in front of his home and cheered him.

After his retirement to private life Mr. Wilson avoided controversy, and practically every public utterance or letter of his showed him to be unchanged in his belief that the United States should, and must ultimately, enter the League. His scrupulous regard for the dignity of the high office he had held was shown by the way in which he refrained from criticizing his successors and he had no criticism, personally, for either President Harding or President Coolidge. Although his health at times showed apparent improvement, his illness practically barred him from any but mental activity, although he took frequent automobile rides and attended the theatre occasionally. His fondness for vaudeville continued marked, and the constant progression in the return of his popularity was shown by the plaudits of the crowds which gathered outside the theatre to await his departure. In the opinion of many observers, each month showed a turn in the tide of feeling toward Mr. Wilson which had been engendered by the partisan fight upon him during and preceding the Presidential campaign of 1920, and it was believed that this revulsion might indicate a more friendly sentiment, if not toward the League of Nations, at least toward some participation of the United States in world affairs.

Soon after his retirement as President Mr. Wilson formed a law partnership with Bainbridge Colby, his last Secretary of State, but the condition of his health never permitted active participation in the affairs of the firm.

Mr. Wilson's first reaffirmation after leaving office of his confidence in the vitality of the League of Nations and his belief that the United States would enter it ultimately came in January, 1922. "There can be no doubt of the vitality of the League of Nations," he told a delegation headed by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. "It will take care of itself. Those who don't regard it will have to look out for themselves. I have no anxiety for it. My only anxiety is to see our great people turn their faces in the right direction and move with all their force."

Such political activity as Mr. Wilson manifested during this period was generally by letter and was always for the League or aimed at an opponent of the League. He exerted his influence against Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, the principal "irreconcilable" Democratic Senator, but this was insufficient to defeat Mr. Reed either in the primary or general election. He also con-

demned the candidacy of Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, and referred to Senator John K. Shields of Tennessee as one of the "least trustworthy" of his supporters.

An interesting incident was Mr. Wilson's repudiation of the "message" purporting to come from him which was read by Joseph P. Tumulty, formerly his secretary, at a dinner of the National Democratic Club in New York in January, 1922. The circumstances at the dinner were such that the message was construed as an attempt to start a "boom" for James M. Cox of Ohio, who had been the Democratic nominee for President in 1920. Mr. Wilson said he sent no such message.

Mr. Wilson's last and perhaps most important statement of his position on the League was made in a speech broadcast by radio on the eve of Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1923. He then said:

The anniversary of Armistice Day should stir us to great exaltation of spirit because of the proud recollection that it was our day, a day above those early days of that never-to-be-forgotten November which lifted the world to the high levels of vision and achievement upon which the great war for democracy and right was fought and won, although the stimulating memories of that happy triumph are forever marred and embittered for us by the shameful fact that when the victory was won—won, be it remembered, chiefly by the indomitable spirit and ungrudging sacrifices of our own incomparable soldiers—we turned our backs upon our associates and refused to bear any responsible part in the administration of peace, or the firm and permanent establishment of the results of the war—won at so terrible a cost of life and treasure—and withdrew into a sullen and selfish isolation, which is deeply ignominious because manifestly cowardly and dishonorable.

This must always be a source of deep mortification to us, and we shall inevitably be forced by the moral obligations of freedom and honor to retrieve that fatal error and assume once more the rôle of courage, self-respect and helpfulness which every true American must wish to regard as our natural part in the affairs of the world.

That we should have thus done a great wrong to civilization at one of the most critical turning points in the history of the world is the more to be deplored because every anxious year that has followed has made the exceeding need for such service as we might have rendered more and more pressing as demoralizing circumstances which we might have controlled have gone from bad to worse. And now, as if to furnish a sort of sinister climax, France and Italy between them have made waste paper of the Treaty of Versailles, and the whole field of international relationship is in perilous confusion.

The affairs of the world can be set straight only by the firmest and most determined exhibition of the will to lead and make right prevail. Happily, the present situation in the world of affairs affords us the opportunity to retrieve the past and to render to mankind the inestimable service of proving that there is at least one great and powerful nation which can turn away from programs of self-interest and devote itself to practicing and establishing the highest ideals of disinterested service and the consistent standards of conscience and of right.

The only way in which we can worthily give proof of our appreciation of the high significance of Armistice Day is by resolving to put self-interest away and once more formulate and act upon the highest ideals and purposes of international policy. Thus, and only thus, can we return to the true traditions of America.

#### HIS LAST PUBLIC UTTERANCE

The last political declaration by Mr. Wilson was contained in a message sent Jan. 7, 1924, to the State Democratic leaders assembled at Pittsburgh in celebration of Jackson Day. The text was as follows:

Please give my warmest salutations and greetings to those who will assemble for the Jackson Day dinner. They are to be congratulated on representing the party to which must be entrusted the redemption of the nation from the degradation of purpose into which it has in recent days been drawn.

An aggressive fight for the establishment of high principles and just action will restore the prestige of our nation as nothing else could, and I shall be glad to take part in so distinguished a service.

A few days before his fatal illness he wrote a message commending the movement to aid the poverty-stricken authors, professors and intellectuals of Germany.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY

A month after the outbreak of the war in 1914 the first great sorrow came into the President's life. On Aug. 6 Mrs. Wilson died after a lingering illness.

Three daughters survive this first marriage. The first is Miss Margaret Wilson. The second was Miss Jessie Woodrow Wilson, who as the "thirteenth White House bride" became the wife of Francis Bowes Sayre, at one time on the staff of the District Attorney of New York, later assistant to President Garfield of Williams College and afterward a lecturer in the Harvard Law School. The third daughter was Miss Eleanor Randolph Wilson, who was married to William Gibbs McAdoo, at that time Secretary of the Treasury and one of the President's closest political advisers. The President left five grandchildren, three of them having been born to the Sayres and two to the McAdoos.

On Oct. 7, 1915, a little more than a year after the death of the first Mrs. Wilson, his engagement was announced to Mrs. Edith Bolling Galt, the widow of Norman Galt, who had been a prominent Washington jewelry merchant. Mr. Wilson had become acquainted with her through Miss Margaret Wilson, who, with Mrs. Galt, had been interested in social work. The wedding took place on the 18th of the following December, and was marked by extreme simplicity.

When the Wilsons first came to the White House they set many precedents, and the first of them was that they asked that the Inaugural Ball be discontinued. The public business was conducted in the Executive offices, apart from the White House proper, and only at the rare official functions, the receptions to the foreign Ambassadors and to the Supreme Court and the Cabinet dinners, did the State intrude.

The family preserved its domestic simplicity upon coming to Washington. The household fur-

niture, including a sewing machine, which had been brought from Princeton, was installed on the second floor of the mansion, away from the formal settings of State parlors on the floor below. There the President and his wife and children lived among their own personal belongings, and it was in this seclusion that Mr. Wilson found comfort and rest.

The universal demonstration of profound emotion throughout the world when the news of Mr. Wilson's death was pro-

claimed and the solemn manifestations of grief among all nations on the day of the funeral bear convincing testimony to the universal esteem in which he was held and was an expression of homage to America's illustrious dead. It was a world-wide demonstration of sorrowful respect to the memory of a man who was venerated throughout the civilized world for his lofty idealism and disinterested service for humanity.

## PHRASES THAT WOODROW WILSON MADE FAMOUS

**P**RESIDENT WILSON had the ability to an unusual degree of crystallizing in a phrase, sometimes of not more than a couple of words, an idea or even a complete policy. A number of these phrases have already passed into the language of the English-speaking world, so that it is of interest to bring the most striking together and show the context in which they were originally used. The following are the most memorable:

"PITILESS PUBLICITY."—"I have made it my business for years to observe and understand that system [system of party bosses] and I hate it as thoroughly as I understand it. I would propose to abolish it \* \* \* by the election to office of men who refuse to submit to it and bend all their energies to break it up, and by pitiless publicity."—*October, 1910, while Democratic candidate for Governor of New Jersey.*

"WATCHFUL WAITING."—"There can be no certain prospect of peace in America until General Huerta has surrendered his usurped authority in Mexico \* \* \* We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting. And then when the time 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."—*Message to Congress, Dec. 3, 1913.*

"TOO PROUD TO FIGHT."—"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."—*Address at Philadelphia, May 10, 1915.*

"LITTLE GROUP OF WILLFUL MEN."—"A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible. The remedy? There is but one remedy. The only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act."—*Statement when*

*the Armed Ship bill was talked to death in the closing hours of the Senate session, March 4, 1917.*

"STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY."—"If such a deplorable situation should arise [German U-boats sinking American ships], the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."—*Message to German Government, protesting unrestricted submarine warfare, Feb. 10, 1915.*

"PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY."—"The statesmen of both 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. 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 the terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon a quicksand. Only peace between equals can last."—*Message to the Senate, Jan. 23, 1917.*

"ARMED NEUTRALITY."—"We stand firm in armed neutrality, since in no other way can we demonstrate what it is we insist upon and cannot forego. We may even be drawn on by circumstances, not by our own purpose and desire, to a more active assertion of our rights as we see them and a more immediate association with the

great struggle itself."—*Second Inaugural, March 5, 1917.*

"NO QUARREL WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE."—"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war."—*War message to Congress, April 2, 1917.*

"MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY."—"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."—*War message to Congress April 2, 1917.*

"OPEN COVENANTS OPENLY ARRIVED AT."—"Open covenants openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."—*Point I. of the Fourteen Points for a basis for peace, contained in a message to Congress, Jan. 8, 1918.*

"SELF-DETERMINATION."—"National aspirations must be respected; people may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their own peril."—*Message to Congress, Feb. 11, 1918.*

"CONTEMPTIBLE QUITTERS."—"I hear some gentlemen who are themselves incapable of altruistic purposes say, 'Oh, but that is altruistic. It is not our business to take care of the weak nations of the world.' No, but it is our business to prevent wars, and if we don't take care of the weak nations of the world there will be war. Let them show me how they will keep out of war by not protecting them. Let them show me how they will prove that having gone into an enterprise they are not absolutely contemptible quitters if they don't see the game through."—*Address at luncheon of the Chamber of Commerce, St. Louis, Sept. 6, 1919.*

"GREAT AND SOLEMN REFERENDUM."—"Personally, I do not accept the action of the Senate [in refusing to ratify the Treaty of Versailles] as the decision of the nation. If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum, a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate."—*Letter sent to Jackson Day Dinner, Washington, Jan. 8, 1920.*



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