

# The True Story Of Woodrow Wilson

By DAVID LAWRENCE

(Copyright 1924 by the George M. Doran Company in the United States, Canada, South America. World publication rights reserved by Current News Features, Inc.)

### As Party Leader

Nothing perhaps illustrates more forcibly the psychological effect of the parliamentary idea on the mind of Woodrow Wilson than his determination to attend the Paris peace conference as the head of the United States delegation. It was no sudden decision arrived at in the two weeks between the signing of the armistice and the day he set sail. Mr. Wilson had seriously considered going to Europe even in the months when the United States was neutral, if by personal and official mediation he could bring about world peace. When Mr. Wilson did go to Paris to represent the United States in a conference of belligerents, people on this side of the Atlantic failed to grasp the significance of his relationship to the other negotiators.

It was not a conference of sovereigns—no kings or emperors were present. It was a conference, however, of the heads of parliamentary governments—prime ministers and premiers. In point of rank all were on an equal footing except Mr. Wilson, who was not only prime minister but the head of the state he represented. By virtue of his dual role, he was entitled to the consideration due both offices.

To have stayed in America and sent a member of his Cabinet as head of the delegation would have permitted the prime minister of Great Britain and the premiers of the other countries to outrank the chairman of the American delegation. This did not comport with Mr. Wilson's idea of the dignity of the United States as an equal nor was it consistent with the influential part America had played in articulating the aims of the war. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the British Cabinet, Arthur Balfour, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the French Cabinet, Stephen Pichon, were members of their respective delegations but they did not preside. Prime Minister Lloyd George, the head of the British government, and Georges Clemenceau, the French premier, as well as Signor Orlando, the Italian premier, together with the President of the United States, made up the famous "big four" who conducted the Peace Conference.

It was the first time in the history of the American republic that the Executive of the Presidential system and the head of the parliamentary system came face to face. Mr. Wilson found himself constantly explaining the differences between the two. The British Prime Minister and the other premiers were able to commit their governments to a specific line of action. President Wilson told his colleagues he could not do so. He needed the concurrence of two thirds of the United States Senate to approve his negotiations. The other negotiators were sure of their parliaments— if they had not been they could not have remained at the peace conference. A crisis back home would overnight have forced a resignation or a general election. Mr. Wilson had lost a majority of both houses of Congress but hoped to win non-partisan support for the treaty because never in American history had a treaty of peace been rejected by the United States Senate.

In this same connection it is pertinent to disclose what were Woodrow Wilson's reasons for declining to appoint to the American peace delegation any members of the United States Senate. He was bitterly criticised for his failure to do so, the argument being made that since treaties can be made only with the advice and consent of the Senate, the latter body should have representation on the mission which negotiates in treaties. Mr. Wilson never made public his viewpoint on this. But he gave nevertheless careful consideration to it before he announced the personnel of the American peace delegation. He called for an opinion from the Department of State. The opinion rendered was in consonance with a belief always held by Mr. Wilson that President McKinley made a mistake when he appointed two members of the Senate, a Democrat and a Republican, to sit on the delegation which concluded a treaty of peace with Spain after the war of 1898. The action of Mr. McKinley was debated at length in the Senate at the time, some of the best constitutional lawyers of the day contending that it was improper to permit a member of the legislative branch of the government to hold any office with or without compensation in the executive branch of the government. On this point the Constitution says:

"No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either

House during his continuance in office."

Woodrow Wilson was a keen student of the Constitution. That memorable document placed the negotiation of treaties entirely in the domain of the Executive. Mr. Wilson felt that not his Secretary of State nor any special commissioner he might appoint but he himself, the Chief Executive, would be held responsible for the negotiation of a treaty, especially one of such vast importance as that ending the greatest war in history.

So he took no members of the Senate with him, believing that any one who took part in the negotiation of the treaty would be in a sense disqualified from voting in an unprecedented way on it as a member of the Senate and that the farmers of the Constitution were wise in insisting that members of Congress should not hold office under the authority of the executive branch of the government as would have been the case if Senators became a part of the peace delegation subject to the instructions of the President and Secretary of State.

When President Harding appointed Senators Lodge and Underwood special commissioners to act with the Secretary of State in negotiating the four power treaty with Great Britain, France, and Japan, Mr. Wilson felt that the Constitution had been disregarded again as in the McKinley case. The answer made by the other side was that since the Senators received no compensation they were eligible but Mr. Wilson's objection was that they could not remain Senators and act under the authority or orders of the executive branch of the government at the same time.

The ill-fated appeal of October 1918, when President Wilson asked the American people to elect a Democratic Congress, was really a natural development of his theory of party responsibility. He asked for a Democratic Congress because Republican leaders had expressed opposition to his declaration of peace aims. He feared embarrassment by his opponents in the making of peace. His fears were confirmed. Even before the Executive could complete his negotiations with other governments, the Senate by informal round-robin expressed dissent. In January 1920 after the weary deadlock in the United States Senate over the ratification of the Versailles treaty in which was incorporated the constitution of the League of Nations, President Wilson, again conscious of party responsibility, appealed for a national "referendum" to decide whether the United States should accept the Treaty and enter the League of Nations. He made the suggestion for a "referendum" in a letter to a national gathering of Democrats at a Jackson Day banquet—an occasion for party counsel. Six months later when the Democratic National Convention was in session in San Francisco, Woodrow Wilson felt that he should be nominated

again for the Presidency so that he might make the fight for the League. He held that his leadership was on trial and that since he had made the record he should enter the lists as its defender.

These were the days when Woodrow Wilson had suffered a physical breakdown. He had no serious thought, of course, of retaining the presidency for a third term if elected. But he hoped his health would return so that he might seek vindication by a personal appeal to the voters. His party associates at San Francisco, including Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, who was to have made the motion to suspend the rules and nominate Woodrow Wilson for the presidency, joined in a telegram to the White House advising their chieftain that circumstances would prevent the passage of such a motion and that the plan had better be abandoned. The telegram was never published and Mr. Wilson never replied.

Was the election of 1920 the referendum Mr. Wilson sought? He never thought so. Thirty-one Republicans including such eminent statesmen as Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes and Herbert Hoover signed a statement issued to the Republican voters of the country declaring that a vote for the Republican presidential candidate was a vote in favor of the League of Nations with suitable reservations. When the Republican nominee took office he announced in his inaugural address that he would not favor entering the League with or without reservations. The interpretation of Republican policy on which presumably millions of voters had cast their ballots was declared to have been erroneous. For that reason Woodrow Wilson hoped for a clear-cut issue in the platforms of the presidential contest but he died before the lines of battle for 1924 could be drawn.

So to the end Woodrow Wilson carried his theory of personal responsibility to the party that had honored him with its leadership for eight years.

(The next chapter will deal with the intimate side of Woodrow Wilson's life.)

### ALONG THE WATERFRONT

A four masted schooner, the Margaret Thomas, is stranded at Mosquito Lagoon, Florida, according to reports received at the office of the superintendent of the Coast Guard in Elizabeth City Friday afternoon. The reports stated that the crew were all saved.

The schooner Eugene H. Brown

### FRESH FRAGRANT LOWERS

RYAN FLORAL CO., Inc.  
DAY PHONE 842  
NIGHT PHONE 421

arrived in port on Friday morning with a cargo of peas and miscellaneous from Little Alligator. She loaded outward at the foot of Burgess street.

### Vessels in Port.

Tug Lamberts Point on ways. Schooner Eugene H. Brown, foot of Burgess street. Schooner Mark Stevens, foot of Main street. Steamer Texas, at Elizabeth City Iron Works, waiting for charter. Steam tug Viente y Tres, at Elizabeth City Iron Works, tied up. Steamer Hertford at Elizabeth City Iron Works, waiting. North River Line. Steamer Annie L. Vansclver sails Tuesdays, Thursday and Saturdays at 2:30 p. m. for Cowells wharf, Old Trap, Newberns Landing, Jarvisburg, Baretts Creek, Coinjock, Indian Island, Long Point and Norfolk. Gas boat Eva sails Tuesdays and Fridays at 11 a. m. for Point Harbor, Halls Harbor, Hog Quarter, and Kitty Hawk. Gas boat Jones sails Thursdays at 2 a. m. for East Lake, Gum Neck, Kilkenny and Fairfield. Elizabeth City Boat Line. Steamers Harby and Virginia Dare—daily at 3 p. m. for Jarvisburg, Indian Island, Coinjock, Long Point and Norfolk. Wanchese Line. Motor vessels Hattie Creef and Pompano sail Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays for Wanchese, Stumpy Point, and Mann's Harbor. Matthews Line. Gas boat Ray sails Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 2 p. m. for South Mills.

### WOOL PRICES GOOD

Portland, Oregon, March 1 (By The Consolidated Press)—Wool men in Idaho and Utah are beginning at last to contract for the 1924 clip of wool from their flocks. Prices are ranging from 33 to 40 cents a pound in grease, for average clips.



The Marco

## Stetsons

The above cut shows one of our early Spring Styles made on The Marco Last Heelarch. Brown Calf Oxford. Invisible Eyelets. Heavy Sole. Square Heel with Rubber Top Lift.

PAY US A CALL TODAY

Owens Shoe Co.

# A NEW STORE

Just Open, Opposite Quinn Furniture Co.

## BIG BARGAINS BOOTS, SHOES, CLOTHING

Everything To Wear For The Family

We have discontinued our store on Matthews St. and have opened a much larger store in the old stand of A. Ellis on Poindexter Street, opposite Quinn Furniture Company.

We want all our old customers to call at this store and look at the big, new stock we are showing. Everybody knows there are usually some very big bargains to be found when a store first opens, and we believe you will not find a better place to do your spring shopping.

We are offering some especially good values in piece goods, such as ginghams, cottons, and other goods. Before you get ready to do your spring sewing, come here and compare these prices.

Thanking you for your past patronage and hoping for a continuance of the same.

# T. W. WILLIAMS & SON

Two Store on Poindexter Street. One Near Burgess Street,  
The Other Opposite Quinn's

When Time Is Precious Give Us A Ring. The Apothecary Shop Phone 400

# SPRING and NEW Clothes

THEY'RE both here. Splendid are the new Suits, because the designers went the absolute limit in combining style, fabric and workmanship. Ready now—for a visit from you.



SCHLOSS CLOTHES  
\$30 to \$45

SKILCRAFT  
\$20 to \$35

McCABE & GRICE  
THE BUSY STORE

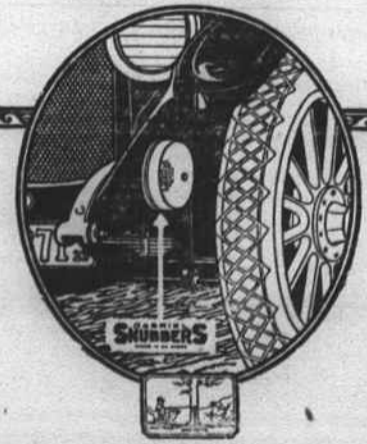
# Yes!

—Gabriel Snubbers should be on your car. Endorsed by 71 automobile manufacturers who either standard-equip or put holes in the car frames for them.

Auto & Gas Engine Works

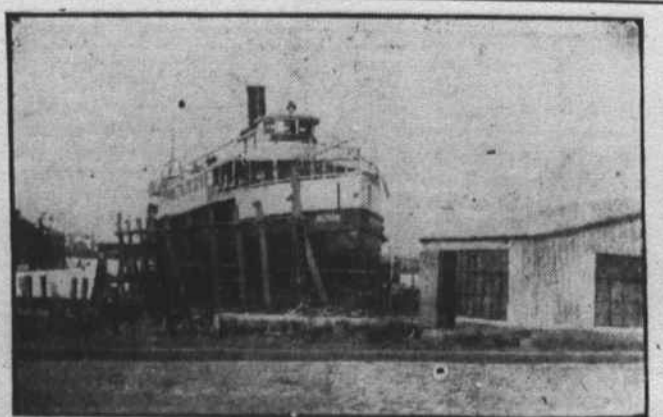
## GABRIEL SNUBBERS

THERE IS NO OTHER.



Keep You on the Seat Save Your Car

If It's a Snubber —it's a "GABRIEL"



MARINE RAILWAY DRY DOCK

## Elizabeth City Iron Works & Supply Company

MACHINISTS AND FOUNDEERS

Marine Railway Dry Docks—Builders and Repairers of Boats, MBI and Marine Supplies

Advance Want Ads Bring Results