

POLITICAL CONCEPTS

OF

WOODROW WILSON

By

Oscar V. Memigonian.

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Approved by:

*J. H. Guild*

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Instructor in Charge

*J. H. Guild*

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Head or Chairman of  
Department.

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It has been pointed out by foreign observers, De Toqueville and Bryce, that great men are scarce in American politics. The great men of America as a whole, are not in politics; because to them politics has no attraction. Great commercial enterprises draw many of the best and most talented men. Since Lincoln, few outstanding figures have occupied the office of president, who had the qualities of the scholar; and of those Woodrow Wilson was one. He was not a philosopher like Socrates or Plato, but he was a genuine scholar. His main studies have been in the science of government, and his teachings have been filled with the aspirations of a thorough believer in the great democratic movement of the age. He was a man who knew books, but also knew men and government.

After holding a professorship of jurisprudence and politics in Princeton University, Wilson was promoted in 1902 to the presidency of his institution; and in 1910 he was elected governor of his state. His vigorous conduct of that office attracted nation-wide attention. His first act was to break with and defy the machine of his own party; and he secured a public utilities law, a corrupt practice act, an employers' liability and workmen's compensation act, and much other progressive legislation. He had a vast fund of political information and exceptional

powers of speech, and he became one of the 2  
best campaigners in the history of American politics.  
He was an exponent of neither radical principles nor  
extreme measures.

Yet, with all these qualities, when we say Wilson was not a philosopher, we do not discredit him because no country has yet given any philosopher who can be compared with Socrates and Plato. We believe that the world has become a more comfortable place to live in and offers a far greater variety of pleasure; but the mental power of the individual man has remained stationary; no stronger, no wider in its range than it was thousands of years ago.

It seems that the word philosophy is constantly misused. We sometimes think that a man is a philosopher, because he is a successful writer; that is to say, he is able to sell his work. But nearly all these successful authors are regarded as great in their life time only.

Among the ancients, the philosophers were not accorded recognition as philosophers until after their death. For instance, Socrates, the father of philosophy, was regarded by some of his contemporaries as a beggar. Plato, the father of the art of expression, was sold as a slave. But the world later discovered their living thoughts, which come to us through dark ages without losing their freshness and charm. However, despite all of these illustrations, we praise men without analyzing

their work sufficiently. It seems that we have forgotten the famous words of King Agesilus: "If I have done any honorable exploit, that is my monument, but if I have done none, all your statues will signify nothing."

The political strength of Wilson did not result primarily from intellectual power. His serious writings are sound but not characterized by originality, nor in his politics is there anything to indicate creative genius. He thought straight and possessed the ability to concentrate on a single line of effort. He was skillful in catching an idea and adapting it to his purpose. Combined with his power of expression and his talent for making phrases, such qualities were of great assistance to him. But the real strength of the President lay rather in his gift of sensing what the common people wanted and his ability to put it into words for them. We might say he was the American Burke. His style is comparable to that of Burke, in simplicity, in artistic quality, in rhythm and fluency.

In this volume we shall discuss Wilson's social, economic and political concepts, for which he stood so firmly both as governor and president.

## CHAPTER I

## TARIFF AND MONOPOLY

Wilson believed that tariff and monopoly were for the interests of favored groups. His sincerest belief was that they were not good for the public as a whole. He fought against tariff and monopolies because they were not advantageous for the great mass of the working men.

He was against a high tariff because he believed that the protective tariff had been taken advantage of by some men to destroy domestic competition, to combine all existing rivals within our free trade area, and to make it impossible for new men to enter the business field. Under this high protective tariff there had been formed a network of factories which in their connection dominated the market of the United States and established their own prices. It was once arguable he declared, that the protective tariff did not create the high cost of living; it is now no longer arguable that these combinations do not, not by reason of tariff, but by reason of their combination under the tariff, - settle what prices shall be paid; settle how much the product shall be; and settle, moreover, what shall be the market for labor.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson was against the high tariff, because he

1. Senate Doc. 903, 62nd Cong. 2nd Sess.

believed that it did not help the people as a whole, but benefitted just certain groups of manufacturers. In his speech of acceptance in 1912 he said, "What I am trying to point out to you now is that this "protective" tariff, so-called, has become a means of fostering the growth of particular groups of industry at the expense of the economic vitality of the rest of the country. What the people now propose is a very practical thing indeed: They propose to unearth these special privileges and to cut them out of the tariff. They propose not to leave a single concealed private advantage in the statutes concerning the duties that can possibly be eradicated without affecting the part of the business that is sound and legitimate and which we all wish to see promoted."<sup>1</sup>

In answer to the argument that American manufacturers could not compete with the foreign nations in production, because in foreign countries the cost of labor is cheaper, he pointed out that our manufacturers could afford to and did sell some articles manufactured here, cheaper in foreign countries than in the United States. For instance they sell a sewing machine for eighteen dollars in Mexico, but they must have thirty dollars for the same machine in the United States. Because of this fact, Wilson wanted to regulate the provisions of our high protective tariff for the interests of the

1. Senate Doct. 903, 62 Cong., 2nd Session.

common people, and he was inclined to sympathise with Senator Gore's proposal, "that we should pass a law that every piece of goods sold in the United States should have on it a label bearing the price at which it would sell if there were no tariff." What the Senator suggested would be a very easy solution for the tariff question. The idea was that everybody who believed in the "protective" tariff should pay it and the rest of us should not; if they wanted to subscribe, it was open to them to subscribe.

Wilson opposed the high protective tariff, because he thought that high protection was not for the benefit of the working men. He pointed out the operation of "Schedule K" in Lawrence, Massachusetts, showing how the most "protective" schedule of all operated to keep men on wages on which they could not live. Also, the Steel Schedule, satisfactory to those who manufactured steel, was not satisfactory to those who made the steel with their own tired hands. It was the opinion of Wilson that the working men of this country who were in unprotected industries were better paid than those who were in protected industries.

The demand of American business men for protection seemed to Wilson timidity about competing with foreign

business men. The American business men, he said, knew that they could make better things than were made elsewhere in the world, and they knew also that they could sell them cheaper in foreign markets than they were sold in America, but still they were afraid to go out into the great world on their merits and their own skill.

It seemed amusing to Wilson that a nation full of genius should be apparently paralyzed by timidity. "They say, 'For pity's sake, don't expose us to the weather of the world; put some home-like cover over us. See to it that foreign men don't come in and match their brains with ours.'"<sup>1</sup>

One of the outstanding and chief purposes of Wilson's program was to emancipate the business in this land, so that the people as a whole should have their share in the great wealth of the country.

### Monopoly

A great many writers have pointed out that monopolies have helped greatly in making America the greatest industrial nation in the world; that monopoly creates efficiency in business. However, Wilson, as always interested primarily in the common people, said

1. Senate Doc. 903, 62nd Cong. 2nd Session, Aug. 11, 1912.

that the trusts do not belong to the period of infant industries. They were not the product of the time when the great continent we live in was undeveloped; the young nation was struggling to find itself and get upon its feet amidst older and more experienced competitors. They belonged to a very recent and very sophisticated age, when men knew what they wanted and knew how to get it by the favor of the government.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson then went on to explain how trusts were made. "It is very natural, in one sense, in the same sense in which human greed is natural. If I haven't been efficient enough to beat my rivals, then the thing I am inclined to do is to get together with my rivals and say: 'Let's not cut each other's throats; let's combine and determine the prices for ourselves; determine the output and thereby determine the prices; and dominate and control the market.'" He admitted that any large corporation built up by the legitimate processes of business, by economy, by efficiency was natural; and he was not afraid of it, no matter how big it grew. He said that it could stay big only by doing its work more thoroughly than anybody else. He pointed out the reason that the masters of combinations sought to shut out competition was that the basis of control under competition

1. New Freedom, pg. 165.

was brain and efficiency. His opinion was that the point of efficiency was overstepped in the natural process of development oftentimes, and it has been overstepped many times in the artificial and deliberate formation<sup>1</sup> of trusts.

Wilson said a trust was formed in this way: "a few gentlemen promote it. The argument of the promoters is, not that every one who comes into the combination can carry on his business more efficiently than he did before; but the argument is; we will assign to you as your share in the pool twice, three times, four times, or five times what you could have sold your business for to an individual competitor who would have to run it on an economic and competitive basis. We can afford to buy it at such a figure because we are shutting out competition. We can afford to make the stock of the combination half a dozen times what it naturally would be and pay dividends on it, because there will be nobody to dispute the price we shall fix."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson opposed the trusts because he thought that the trusts were not based upon efficiency. Referring to the statistics of the Steel Trust, or any trust, he declared that these trusts were simply nervous about

1. New Freedom, p. 166.

2. Ibid - 168

competition, and they were constantly buying up new competitors in order to narrow the field of competition. His opinion was that the United States Steel Corporation was gaining its supremacy in the American market only with regard to the cruder manufacturers of iron and steel, where it lacked competition. But wherever, as in the field of more advanced manufacturers of iron and steel, it has important competitors, its portion of the product was not increasing, but it was decreasing, and its competitors where they had a foothold, were often more efficient than it was.

Wilson was not against the trusts if they could come into the market upon the basis of mere efficiency, upon the mere basis of knowing how to manufacture goods better than anybody else. But he insisted there must be no squeezing out of the beginner; no crippling his credit; no discrimination against retailers who buy from a rival; no holding back of raw material from him; no secret arrangements against him. "All the fair competition you choose, but no unfair competition of any kind. And then, when unfair competition is eliminated, let us see these gentlemen carry their tanks of water on their backs." All that Wilson wanted and fought for was, that they should come into the field against merit and brains everywhere. Wilson said, "If they can't beat other American brains, then they have got the beat

Wilson believed that certain monopolies in this country had gained almost complete control of the raw material, chiefly in the mines, out of which the great body of manufactures are carried on, and they now discriminated as they pleased, in the sale of that raw material between those who are rivals of the monopoly and those who submit to the monopoly. So he said that we must soon come to the point where we should say to the men who own these essentials of industry that they had to part with these essentials by sale to all citizens of the United States with the same readiness and upon the same terms. Or else we shall tie up the resources of this country under private control in such fashion as will make our independent development absolutely impossible.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, under President Wilson's administration in 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Act, which placed the whole matter of trust regulation on a simpler and saner basis.<sup>3</sup>

What Wilson wanted was fairness in our business. The big combinations should be fair to the little fellows. Wilson's opinion was that if the big combinations checked

1. Senate Docm. 903, 62 Cong. 2nd Session
2. Ibid.
3. See Chapter II.

competition by unfair method, then these big trusts became the most wasteful, the most uneconomical, and after they passed a certain size, the most inefficient way of conducting the industries of this country.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson made this distinction between a big business and a trust. He said that a trust is an arrangement to get rid of competition, and a big business is a business that has survived competition by conquering in the field of intelligence and economy. He insisted that a trust does not bring efficiency to the aid of business; it buys efficiency out of business. He said, "I am for big business, and I am against the trusts. Any man who can survive his brains, any man who can put the others out of the business by making the thing cheaper to the consumer at the same time that he is increasing its intrinsic value and quality, I take off my hat to, and say: 'You are the man who can build up the United States, and I wish there were more of you.'<sup>2</sup>"

Wilson believed that the dominating danger in this country was not the existence of great individual combinations, -that was dangerous enough in all conscience, but the combination of the combinations, of the railways, the manufacturing enterprises, the great mining projects,

1. Senate Docm. 903, 62 Cong. 2d Session.

2. Speech delivered Aug. 7, 1912. Cong. Rec. 62 Cong. 2nd Session.

the great enterprises for the development of the natural waterpowers of the country, threaded together in the personnel of a series of boards of directors into a 'community of interest' more formidable than any conceivable single combination that dared appear in the open.<sup>1</sup>

His opinion was that by the combination of great industries, manufactured products were not only being standardized, but they were too often being kept at a single point of development and efficiency. He said that the increase of the power to produce in proportion to the cost of production is not studied in America as it used to be studied, because if you do not have to improve your processes in order to excel a competitor, if you are human, you are not going to improve your processes; and if you prevent the competitor from coming into the field, then you can sit at your leisure, and, behind this wall of protection which prevents the brains of any foreigner competing with you, you can rest at your ease for a whole generation.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson believed monopoly was against advancement, because he thought that there was no encouragement for any one to set his wits at work in order to improve some mechanical process. The individuals are not invited to find a shorter and cheaper way to make things or to

1. Speech delivered Aug. 7, 1912. Cong. Record, 62 Cong.

2. Ibid.

2nd Sess.

perfect them, or to invent better things to take their place, because there is too much money invested in old machinery; too much money has been spent in advertising the old machines, as they cost too much to permit their being superseded by something better.<sup>1</sup>

In his zeal to protect the weaker or less fortunate in the business and industrial field, Wilson persistently waged a violent or determined fight upon that form of big business which trampled out competition, the trust or monopoly, and upon its special privileges, particularly tariff protection.

1. Speech delivered Aug. 7, 1912. Cong. Record, 62nd Cong. 2nd Session.

## CHAPTER II

## SOCIAL JUSTICE

According to Wilson we need justice in our industrial field. He continually raised his voice and demanded justice for the poor. He believed that we had so little justice in our industrial world, because we had many established and formidable monopolies in the United States. The monopolistic control, he thought, was so strong that no independent man could enter the fields of industries.

"We have restricted credit, we have restricted opportunity, we have controlled development, and we have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated, governments in the civilized world - no longer a government of free opinion, no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority, but a government by the opinion and the duress of small groups of dominant men."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson wanted governmental regulations in our industries. Therefore, when he became president he used his influence upon congress in the passing of the Clayton Act in 1914. This act provided for the establishment of a board known as the Federal Trade Commission, with five members appointed by the president. Its functions are

1. New Freedom, pg. 201.

twofold. In the first place it is charged with the duty of enforcing the laws against any combination which, in its judgment, is unreasonably restraining interstate trade. In the second place it has the function of preventing unfair competition in foreign or interstate trade by manufacturers or manufacturing corporations or any other concerns except banks and common carriers.

Wilson said that the big business men had already captured the government, and the question was, were we going to own our own premises, or were we not? That was the choice. Were we going to say: "You didn't get into the house the right way, but you are in there. God bless you; we will stand out here in the cold and you can hand us out something once in a while?"<sup>1</sup>

According to Wilson everybody should have known that in this country the larger kinds of credit were more and more difficult to obtain, unless you obtained them upon the terms of uniting your efforts with those who already control the industries of the country. No one could fail to see that the business of this country belongs to the big fellows, and not to the little fellows. So he believed that we should have more laws, laws which would protect the men who are "on the make" rather than

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, pg. 376.

the men who are already made, - because men who are already made are not going to live indefinitely," and are not kind enough to leave sons as able and as honest as themselves.<sup>1</sup>"

Wilson said that it was not the business of the law in the time of Jefferson to interfere, but when a so-called private property became a great mine, and men went along dark corridors amidst every kind of danger in order to dig out of the bowels of the earth things necessary for the industries of a whole nation; and when it came about that no individual owned these mines, that they were owned by great stock companies, then all the old analogies, he said, absolutely collapsed, and it became the right of the government to go down into mines to see whether human beings were properly treated in them or not; to see whether accidents were properly safeguarded against; to see whether modern economical methods of using these inestimable riches of the earth were followed. "If somebody puts a derrick improperly secured upon a building or overtopping the street, then the government of the city has the right to see that the derrick is so secured that you and I can walk under it and not be afraid that the heavens are going to fall on us. Likewise in these great mines where in every corridor

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, pg. 376.

swarm men of flesh and blood, it is the privilege of the government, whether of the state or of the United States, as the case may be, to see that human life is protected, that human lungs have something to breathe."<sup>1</sup>

Roosevelt, for the interest of the working men, offered a plan that there should be an industrial commission charged with the supervision of the great monopolistic combinations which have been formed under the protection of the tariff, and the government of the United States should see to it that these gentlemen who have conquered labor should be kind to labor. But Wilson criticised the proposal of Roosevelt by saying that the proposition was this: "that there shall be two masters, the great corporation, and over it the government of the United States; and I ask who is going to be master of the government of the United States? It has a master now, - those who in combination control these monopolies. And if the government controlled by the monopolies in its turn controls the monopolies, the partnership is finally consummated."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson goes on to say, that he did not care how benevolent the master was going to be, he would not live

1. Cong. Record. Vol. XLVIII, Append. 392, 62nd Cong.
2. North American Review, Oct. 1909, pg. 4750.

under a master. That was not what America was created for." He emphasized that America was created in order that every man should have the same chance as every other man to exercise mastery over his fortunes. What he wanted to do, he said, was analogous to what the authorities of the city of Glasgow did with tenement houses, to light and patrol the corridors of these great organizations in order to see that nobody who tried to traverse them was waylaid and maltreated. "If you will but hold off the adversaries, if you will but see to it that the weak are protected, I will venture a wager with you that there are some men in the United States, now weak, economically weak, who have brains enough to compete with these gentlemen on their mettle." And he believed that when these intelligent persons came into market there would be a bigger market for labor and a different wage scale for labor.<sup>1</sup>

According to Wilson about ninety per cent of those employed in labor in this country were not employed in the 'protective' industries, and their wages were almost without exception higher than the wages of those who were employed in the 'protected' industries. He said, "there is no corner on carpenters;

1. Cong. Record, 62nd Cong. 2nd Sessinn, p. 4750.

there is no corner on bricklayers; there is no corner on scores of individual classes of skilled laborers; but there is a corner on the poolers in the furnaces, there is a corner on the men who dive down into the mines; they are in the grip of a controlling power which determines the market rates of wages in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson deplored the fact that men were cheap, and machinery was dear in the United States. He said that many a superintendent was dismissed for overdriving a delicate machine, who wouldn't be dismissed for overdriving an overtaxed man. You could discard your man and replace him; there were others ready to come into his place; but you could not without a great cost discard your machine and put a new one in its place. You were less apt, therefore, to look upon your man as the essential, vital foundation part of your whole business. "It is time that property, as compared with humanity, should take second place." Wilson believed that the government should see to it that there was no over-crowding, that there was no bad sanitation, and there was no unnecessary spread of avoidable diseases, that the purity of food was safeguarded, that there was every precaution against accident, that women were not

1. Cong. Record, 62nd Cong. 2nd Session, pg. 4750.

driven to impossible tasks, nor children permitted to spend their energy before it is fit to be spent. "The hope and elasticity of the race must be preserved; men must be preserved according to their individual needs, and not according to the programs of industries merely. What is the use of having industry, if we perish in producing it? If we die in trying to feed ourselves, why should we eat? If we die trying to get a foothold in the crowd, why not let the crowd trample us sooner and be done with it? I tell you that there is beginning to beat in this nation a great pulse of irresistible sympathy which is going to transform the processes of government amongst us. The strength of America is proportioned only to the health, the energy, the hope, the elasticity, the buoyancy of the American people."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson did not believe that the special interests of the United States should take care of the working men, women, and children. He wanted to see justice, righteousness, fairness and humanity displayed in all the laws of the United States, and he did not want any power to intervene between the people and their government. Justice was what he wanted.

So Wilson tried to carry out these ideals as

1. New Freedom, pg. 275.

practical programs when he became president.

In 1916 the four Brotherhoods threatened to strike. The mode of reckoning pay was the subject of contention. The Department of Labor tried in vain to bring the opponents together. But their efforts to bring about an agreement proved futile. The roads agreed to arbitrate all the points, allowing the president to name the arbitrators; but the Brotherhoods, probably realizing their temporary strategic advantage, refused point-blank to arbitrate. When the President tried to persuade the roads to yield the eight-hour day, they replied that it was a proper subject for arbitration.

Instead of standing firmly on the principle of arbitration, the President chose to go before Congress, on the afternoon of the 29th of August, and ask, first, for a reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission; second, for legal recognition of the eight-hour day for interstate carriers; third for power to appoint a commission to observe the operation of the eight-hour day for a stated time; fourth, for re-opening the question of an increase in freight rates to meet the enlarged cost of operation; fifth, for a law declaring railway strikes and lockouts unlawful until a public investigation could be made; sixth, for authorization to operate the roads in case of military necessity.

On the first of September the eight-hour bill, providing also for the appointment of a board of observation, was rushed through the House; on the following day it was hastened through the staid Senate; and on the third it received the President's signature. This was on Sunday. In order to obviate any objection as to the legality of the signature, the President signed the bill again on the following Tuesday, the intervening Monday being Labor Day.

On the 19th of March, the Supreme Court<sup>1</sup> upheld the validity of the Adamson Law.

#### Wilson vs. Hamilton

Wilson thought that Hamilton was not democratic in his beliefs. Alexander Hamilton believed that the only people who could understand government, and therefore the only people who were qualified to conduct it, were the men who had the biggest financial stake in the commercial and industrial enterprises of the country. Wilson opposed this view point and said without hesitation that while Hamilton was a great man, in his judgment he was not a great American, because he did not think in terms of American life.

It was the belief of Wilson that the government

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, pg. 637.

of the United States was controlled by the private interests. They did not allow it to have a will of its own. Wilson said, "It is told every move; 'Don't do that; you will interfere with our prosperity.'" Then Wilson said when we ask, "Where is our prosperity lodged?" a certain group of gentlemen say, "With us."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson pointed out that no hearing took place before any great committee of congress in which the people of the country as a whole were represented, except it might be by the Congressmen themselves. The men who appeared at those meetings in order to argue for or against that measure, were men who represented special interests. They were speaking from the point of view always of a small portion of the population.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson said, "I don't want a smug lot of experts to sit down behind closed doors in Washington and play Providence to me. I have never met a political savior in the flesh, and I never expect to meet one."<sup>3</sup>

Wilson insisted that the monopolists did not want the people to determine their own affairs, because they did not believe that the people's judgment was sound. They thought that they were better able than anybody else to understand the interests of the United States.

1. Cong. Record, Vol. XLVIII, pg. 4745.
2. Harper's Weekly, Apr. 9, 1910, pg. 9.
3. North American Review, Oct. 1909, pg. 535.

"They had so narrow, so prejudiced, so limited a point of view."<sup>1</sup>

He fought against great combinations and monopolies because he thought that their chief aim had been to control all the resources and the wealth of the country, which was against the spirit of democracy. Because no democracy in the world has ever placed its wealth in the hands of a few except America. For instance, the two best administered democracies in the modern world have been these two, the Orange Free State before 1899 and the Swiss confederation. And neither of these have placed the wealth in the hands of a few. In Ancient democracies, Athens did not let a few of its citizens control all the wealth. It was evenly divided among its citizens. When the wealth of the country is in the hands of a few, it causes corruption and injustice. As Dante said when, in his journey through Hell, he reached the dwelling of the God of Riches: "Here we found wealth, the great enemy." Democracy has no more persistent or insidious foe than the "money power."

### Ideals of America

Wilson insisted that the free people of this

1. Atlantic Month. 90:729, Dec. 1902.

nation did not need guardians. The free men wanted to belong to a nation that knew how to take care of itself. "The whole stability of a democratic policy rests upon the fact that every interest is every man's interest." Under the form of a democratic government the common interests should be considered first, and not the interests of the private groups.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson emphasized the ideals of America by saying: "This is the country which has lifted to the admiration of the world its ideals of absolutely free opportunity, where no man is supposed to be under any limitation except the limitation of his character and of his mind; where there is supposed to be no distinction of class, no distinction of blood, no distinction of social status, but where men win or lose on their merits."<sup>2</sup>

It was the opinion of Wilson that America stood for opportunity. America stood for a government responsive to the interests of all. As long as these ideals were not in practice, America could not hold her head high amidst the nations as she used to hold it. He wanted law to prevent private monopoly, to see to it that the methods by which monopolies had been built up

1. North American Review, Oct. 1909, p. 534.
2. Atlantic Month. 90:725, Dec. 1902.

are legally made impossible.<sup>1</sup>

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Wilson believed that the treasury of America lay in those ambitions of unknown men, those energies, that could not be restricted to a special class. It depended upon the inventions of unknown men, upon the originations of unknown men. He said that every country was renewed out of the ranks of the unknown, not out of the ranks of those already famous and powerful and in control.<sup>2</sup>

He insisted that the limitations on private enterprise should be removed, "so that the next generation of youngsters, as they come along, will not have to become proteges of benevolent trusts, but will be free to go about making their own lives what they will; so that we shall taste again the cup, not of charity, but of liberty,- the only wine that ever refreshed and renewed the spirit of a people."<sup>3</sup>

Regarding the attitude of Taft and Roosevelt concerning the regulations of the trusts and the monopolies, Wilson said that Taft and Roosevelt sympathized with the people, their hearts no doubt went to the great masses of unknown men in this country; but their thought was in close, habitual

1. New Freedom, p. 125

2. North Am. Rev., Oct. 1909, p. 539

3. Atlantic Month. 90:729, Dec. 1902.

association with those who had framed the policies of the country during all our life time. He declared that those men had framed the protective tariff, and had developed the trusts. "They were willing to act for the people, but they were not willing to act through the people."<sup>1</sup> Wilson believed that Roosevelt and Taft, whatever may have been their intention, linked the government up with the men who controlled the finances. They, like Hamilton, believed that the only people who could understand government, were the men who had the biggest financial stake in the commercial field of the country.

#### His Constructive Programs

Wilson in his speech of acceptance in 1912 criticized the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. He declared, "Our own clear conviction as democrats is, that in the last analysis the only safe and legitimate object of tariff duties, as of taxes of every other kind, is to raise revenue for the support of the Government; but that is not my present point. We denounce the Payne-Aldrich tariff act as the most conspicuous example ever afforded the country of the special favors and monopolistic advantages which the leaders

1. New Freedom, p. 125

of the Republican party have so often shown themselves willing to extend to those to whom they looked for campaign contributions."<sup>1</sup> He said that they "revised" the tariff indeed, but by a method which was a grand make-believe from beginning to end. "They may have convinced themselves of the intelligence and integrity of the process, but they have convinced nobody else." He pointed out that it was the general opinion throughout the country that this particular revision was chiefly pretense, and that it was the first time that we had tariff legislation of this kind. "The men who were behind the Payne-Aldrich legislation knew that they were not giving the country what it wanted, and the more thoughtful statesmen among them deeply regretted that they could not."<sup>2</sup>

Under Wilson's administration tariff commission was re-established. In 1909 Congress provided for the creation of a tariff board. The duties of this board were to investigate and to report upon the condition of various American industries, their relation to the tariff, their production-costs, the rate of wages paid in such industries, and the rates paid in corresponding manufactures in other countries. But before this

1. Senate Documents, 903; 62nd Cong., 2nd Session
2. Ibid

board could accomplish more than a small part of the work planned for it, Congress refused to continue the appropriations for its support and it went out of existence in 1912. But in 1916 President Wilson took up this matter and persuaded Congress to provide once more for a tariff commission. This board is still in existence. It consists of six members appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate, the appointees being drawn from both the leading political parties. Its duties are to study the tariff needs of the country from every point of view and to report annually with recommendations.

One of the most important measures of Wilson's first administration was the Underwood tariff bill passed by Congress in 1913. The basic principles of the bill were for the interest of public and not for the advantage of the private interests. The tariff of 1897 betrayed the fact that its chief author, Dingley, was a woolen manufacturer. The act of 1909 showed that Aldrich allowed his cotton and woolen manufacturing constituents to write the schedules in which they were interested. Underwood represented an iron and steel district; yet his bill courageously provided for heavy reductions in the metals schedule.

The goal aimed at was defined in the president's message of April 8. "We must abolish everything that

bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage and puts our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do and probably cannot, produce therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American arts by contest with the arts of the rest of the world." <sup>1</sup> The Underwood tariff continued some protective features, but the schedules were really revised downward.

Under President Wilson's administration the Keating Owen child labor law, passed by large majorities in both houses, was approved September 1, 1916 to take effect <sup>2</sup> one year later. Following the general lines of the Beveridge bill of 1906, it forbade shipment in interstate commerce of products of any factory employing children in violation of certain requirements.

1. Senate Journal, 63 Cong. 1 Sess. 15
2. Ibid.

Next after the Underwood tariff came banking and currency reform. The Taft administration failed to bring it about, and after the election of 1912 the Democrats advanced it to a prominent place in their plans. Early in the special session convening April 7, 1913, President Wilson urged Congress to give the business interests of the country a banking and currency system by means of which they could make use of the freedom of enterprise and of individual initiative about to be bestowed on them by the pending tariff measure.<sup>1</sup> Three days later the Owen-Glass federal reserve bill, drafted on lines approved by the president and Secretary McAdoo, was introduced. It received the President's signature December 23, and was hailed as the administration's second great legislative triumph.<sup>2</sup> The main objects of the new law were; (1) to reorganize banking power in such a way that funds would be available to meet extraordinary demands; (2) to provide a currency which would expand and contract automatically as needed. To meet the first of these and place them under such control that, as occasion required, they could be brought to bear in aid of local banks. The Aldrich Plan of a central reserve

1. Senate Jour. 63 Cong., 1 Sess. 100.

2. Acad. Polit. Sci., Proceedings, IV, no, 1-1913.

bank with branches was popularly regarded as an invention of the "money trust" and the act of 1913 provided rather for the centralization of reserves in regional banks, especially created for the purpose, and known as federal reserve banks.

The next task was trust regulation; and in a message of January 20, 1914, the President called on Congress to approach it with the feeling that the antagonism between the government and business was ended, and that each was ready to meet the other half-way "in a common effort to square business methods with both public opinion and the law." Five tentative bills, popularly known as the "Five Brothers" were put forward: 1. Creating an Interstate Trade Commission, with powers to investigate the organization and operation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, except carriers; 2. forbidding interlocking directorates in interstate corporations and railroads, and in banks and trust companies which were members of a reserve bank; 3. more accurately defining various terms used in Sherman Anti-Trust Act; 4. adding to the Sherman Anti-Trust sections against unfair competition by means of local price-cutting, discounts and exclusive agreements; 5. authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate issues of railway securities. <sup>1</sup>

1. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXXVIII, pt. i. pp 717-724.

Legislation on these lines proved less easy than had been expected and only by a fresh display of leadership did the president keep his measures steadily before Congress and the country. The only important feature of the Administration's program of corporation control which was not adopted was the regulation of issues of railroad securities.<sup>1</sup>

While the Federal Trade and Anti-Trust bills were pending, the outbreak of war in Europe brought upon the country unexpected problems. Extensive legislation became necessary on army reorganization, naval expansion, merchant marine, and revenue. None the less, under Wilson's insistence, Congress kept its earlier program steadily in hand. New acts were passed on child labor, seaman's protection, agricultural education, highway improvement and many other matters.

Wilson, the great champion of labor fought against monopolies, because he thought monopolies never had been benevolent to its employees. Wilson did not want a benevolent government, but a just government.

He opposed the ideas of Hamilton that the rich people were better fitted to conduct the government. He opposed Jefferson's "let alone policy" and he

1. U. S. Compiled Statutes 1918, p. 1429-1435

insisted that the government should regulate  
the great industrial enterprises for the interest  
of the common people.

## CHAPTER III

## RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Woodrow Wilson came into national politics with an endowment of reading, culture and philosophy, equaled by few men in American public life. He belonged, indeed, rather to the British type of public man, as represented by Lord Bryce, Lord Morley and Mr. Balfour, than to the American type. He had a thorough knowledge of the science of government, which is admitted even by his political enemies.

Certain large political principles stand out in Wilson's writings and career as Governor and President. Of these the most striking, perhaps, is his conviction that the President of the United States must be something more than a mere executive superintendent. He believed that the entire responsibility for the administration of government should rest upon the President, and in order to meet that responsibility, he must keep the reins of control in his own hands.<sup>1</sup> In his first essays and in his later writings Wilson expressed his disgust with the system of congressional committees which threw enormous power into the hands of irresponsible professional

1. International Review, Vol. VI, p. 95.

politicians, and called for a president who would break that system and exercise greater directive authority. For a time, under the influence of Bagehot, and other writers, he was strongly inclined toward the introduction of something like the parliamentary system into the government of the United States. To the last he regarded the president as a sort of prime minister, at the head of his party in the legislature and able to count absolutely upon its loyalty. More than this he believed that the president should take a large share of responsibility for the legislative programme and ought to push this programme through by all means at his disposal. Such a creed appeared in his early writings and was largely carried into operation during his administration.<sup>1</sup> We find him bringing all possible pressure upon the New Jersey Legislature in order to redeem his campaign pledges.

Wilson believed there should be closer relations between the President and Congress. Accordingly, when he was elected president, he broke with the precedent which called for the sending in of written messages, and revived the usage of Washington and the elder Adams by appearing before the legislative branch and

1. International Review, Vol. VI, p. 46-163 - 1879

addressing it orally. Under this practice, communications from the White House became brief, direct and fundamental, contrasting agreeably with the diffuse and sometimes wearisome, essays transmitted by Presidents Roosevelt and Taft. The first address after the new manner was delivered April 8, 1913, and was a short statement of the principles which ought to be observed in the forthcoming tariff legislation, together with a forceful appeal for vigorous and prompt fulfillment of the party's promises to the country.

President Wilson issued a statement May 26, 1913, denouncing the "extraordinary exertion" of an "insidious and numerous lobby" to procure changes of the Underwood bill in the interest of manufacturers and other producers.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson urged Congress to repeal the exemption of American coastwise shipping from Panama tolls, despite the fact that the Democratic platform of 1912 indorsed the exemption.<sup>2</sup> The President appeared before Congress, March 5, 1914 and urged the repeal of the controverted clause, as not only a violation of treaty obligation, but a product of mistaken economic policy.<sup>3</sup>

1. Review of Reviews, XLVIII - 7.
2. Democratic Campaign Text Book, 1912, p. 36.
3. Senate Jour., 63 Cong., 2nd Sess. 136.

After a contest which thoroughly tested the President's power over his party, the repealing bill became a law, June 15, 1914.<sup>1</sup>

Many times his intervention in the work of law-making was denounced as dictatorial by his political opponents, and it was disliked by some members of the Democratic party. We may say that his conception of presidential leadership in legislation became one of his chief contributions to American political methods.

Both in his writings and in his actions, Wilson always advocated government by party. Theoretically and in practice he was opposed to coalition government, for, in his belief, it divided responsibility. According to Wilson, powerful leadership, on national lines was indispensable. He believed that the President must be not only the head of the administrative system and the leader of his party, but the directing force in legislation as well. It seems that the people nowadays expect the president to manage Congress, and if he does not, they pronounce him a failure.]

[President Roosevelt recognized and acted upon these assumptions more fully than had any occupant of the White House since Lincoln; and largely on that

1. U. S. Statutes at Large XXXVIII, xi, p 385-386.

account his presidency became a notable epoch of constructive legislation and national revival. President Taft inclined to a legalistic view of the chief executive's functions, and hesitated to assert legislative leadership. He failed to accomplish the legislative program which the nation demanded; accordingly, the record of his administration was dimmed and his own political fortunes were blighted.

President Wilson promptly assumed a leadership such as not even Roosevelt had conceived. His reasons were two-fold; first, he believed that such leadership would yield unity, responsibility and dispatch, similar to that of the English cabinet system; and second, he thought leadership a special need when his party was new to power and bent on gaining the esteem of the country by a careful legislative policy.

He liked the English form of government because in England the responsible rulers are simply a committee of parliament, composed of the leaders of the political party which has won the people's confidence at the polls. These leaders control the government in both its executive and legislative branches. They propose and pass needed legislation, and they likewise enforce it. They are hampered by no "check and balance"; they

govern directly, with immediate personal responsibility for their success or failure. The one source of their authority is public opinion, and they hold office only so long as the people indorse their acts. Bills are not strangled in committees as with us. They are openly proposed and debated in full parliament, and the responsible ministers must be ready at any moment to defend and explain them.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson's strongest conviction was that the president should necessarily assume an active, energetic control. He should take his position as the responsible captain of the party, and become the chief instrument in directing its policies, in both the legislative and executive department.<sup>2</sup>

He declared, "The Federal government lacks strength because its powers are divided, lacks promptness because its authorities are multiplied, lacks wieldiness because its processes are roundabout, lacks efficiency because its responsibility is indistinct and its action without competent direction. It is a government in which every officer may talk about every other officer's duty without having to render strict account for not doing his own, and in which the masters are

1. Bryce, Modern Democracy, Vol. II, p. 325.
2. Congressional Government, p. 280.

held in check and offered contradiction  
by the servants."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson emphasized that in actual practice in the United States, so far as the president was an executive officer, he was the servant of congress owing to our system, and the members of the cabinet, being confined to executive functions, were altogether the servant of congress. Congress must act through the president and his cabinet; the president and his cabinet must wait upon the will of congress. There is no one supreme, ultimate head.<sup>2</sup>

It was the opinion of Wilson that the federal form of government is so complicated that the average citizen cannot understand it. His chief aim was to simplify the system of government by substituting some kind of responsible leadership in place of the irresponsibility of boss controlled parties.<sup>3</sup>

He emphasized that in the American government we have no centralized responsibility. Its branches are unconnected; their efforts are not directed to one aim. He said that a president can do little, for he may not be in position to lead either congress or the nation.]

1. Congressional Government, p. 290.

2. Ibid. - 283.

3. International Review, Vol. VI, p. 50.

## CHAPTER IV

## TASKS OF REFORMATION

According to Wilson, the nations are renewed from the bottom, not from the top. He believed that the genius which springs up from the ranks of unknown men is the genius which renews the youth and energy of the people.

Wilson emphasized that it was one of the glories of America that nobody was able to predict from what family, from what region, from what race even, the leaders of this country were going to come. The great leaders of this country had seldom come from the established "successful" families. He said, "I remember speaking at a school not long ago where I understood that almost all the young men were the sons of very rich people, and I told them I looked upon them with a great deal of pity, because, I said; 'Most of you fellows are doomed to obscurity. You will not do anything. You will never try to do anything, and with all the great tasks of the country waiting to be done, probably you are the very men who will decline to do them.'" He believed that some man who had the whip of necessity laid on his back, would emerge out of the crowd, understand the interests of the nation, united and not separated, and would stand up and

1  
lead us.

Wilson, like Socrates, believed that wealth is the parent of luxury and indolence. Socrates said, "When a potter becomes rich he no longer takes the same pains with his art. He grows more and more indolent and careless, and the result is that he becomes a worse potter."

Wilson went on further and said that he had found an audience made up of the "common people" quicker to take a point, quicker to understand an argument, than many a college class that he had lectured to, and he said that not because the college class lacked the intelligence, but because college boys were not in contact with the actual life day by day; "you do not have to explain to them what touches them to the quick."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson, who always stood for the common people and for their interests, liked the Roman Catholic Church, because it always has been a democratic institution. He said that there is no peasant so humble that he might not become a priest, and no priest so obscure that he might not become a Pope of Christendom. And he pointed out that every chancellor

1. New Freedom, p. 84

2. Ibid, 85

in Europe, every court in Europe, was ruled by these learned, trained and accomplished men, the priesthood of that great and dominant body. "What kept government alive in the Middle Ages was this constant rise of the sap from the bottom, from the rank and file of the great body of the people through the open channels of the priesthood."<sup>1</sup>

He pointed out that when our government had so far passed into the hands of special interests; when the doctrine was implicitly avowed that only select classes had the equipment necessary for carrying on government; when so many conscientious citizens, smitten with the scene of special wrong and suffering, had fallen victims to the fallacy that the benevolent government can be meted out to the people by kind-hearted trustees of prosperity and guardians of the welfare of the dutiful employees, "today, supremely, does it behoove this nation to remember that a people shall be saved by the power that sleeps in its own deep bosom, or by none; shall be renewed in hope in conscience, in strength, by waters welling up from its own sweet, perennial springs. Not from above; not by patronage of its aristocrats. The flower does not bear the root, but the root the flower. Everything that

1. Baker, "College and State" Vol. II, p. 72.

blooms in beauty in the air of heaven draws its fairness, its vigor, from its roots. Nothing living can blossom into fruitage except through nourishing stalks deep-planted in the common soil. The rose is merely the evidence of the vitality of the root, and real source of its beauty; the very blush that it wears upon its tender cheek, comes from those silent sources of life that lie hidden in the chemistry of the soil. Up from that soil, up from the silent bosom of the earth, rise the currents of life and energy. Up from the common soil, up from the quiet heart of the people, rise joyously today streams of hope and determination bound to renew the face of the earth in glory."<sup>1</sup>

Then he, like Plato, believed in common education. He believed that the public schools were the great melting-pot of America, "the place where we are all made Americans, is the public school, where men of every race and of every origin and of every station in life send their children, or ought to send their children, and where, being mixed together, the youngsters are all infused with the American spirit and develop into American men and women."<sup>2</sup>

1. New Freedom, p.88.
2. Ibid p. 90

Wilson emphasized that wherever we find school boards that object to opening the school-houses in the evening for public meetings of every proper sort, we had better look around for some politician who was objecting to it; because he believed that the thing that cured bad politics was to talk with the neighbors. He said that we should get the neighbors together and get them frankly to tell everything they know. Then our politics, ward, city and state politics too, would be turned inside out, in the way they ought to be. It was his belief that nothing cleared the air like frank discussion.<sup>1</sup>

He believed that the common education would lift high the standard of the common interest and the common justice that all men with vision, all men with hope, all men with convictions of America in their hearts, would crowd to that standard. Then we will have a new day of achievement and reformation.

#### Open Process of Politics

Wilson wanted open political discussions; he wanted the methods of leadership to be open and above board, not closed with "board of guardians" or anybody

1. Wilson's Great Speeches, p. 125.

else; he wanted to bring out all the political discussions under the sky, where honest eyes can look upon them and honest eyes can judge of them.

He said, "In the first place, it is necessary to open up all the processes of our politics. They had been too secret, too complicated, too round-about; they have consisted too much of private conferences and secret understandings, of the control of legislation by men who were not legislators, but who stood outside and dictated, controlling often times by very questionable means, which they would not have dreamed of allowing to become public." He insisted that the whole process should be altered. We should take the selection of candidates for office, for example, out of the hands of small groups of men, of little coteries, out of the hands of machines working behind closed doors, and put it into the hands of the people themselves again, he said, "by means of direct primaries and elections to which candidates of every sort and degree may have free access." He emphasized that we should substitute public for private machinery.<sup>1</sup>

In the second place he said that we should give society command of its own economic life again by denying to those who conduct the great modern operations

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, p. 182.

of business, the privacy that used to belong properly enough to men who used only their own capital and their individual energy in business. He declared that the process of capital should be open as the process of politics. "Those who make use of the great modern accumulation of wealth, gathered together by the dragnet process of the sale of stocks and bonds, and piling up of reserves, must be treated as under a public obligation; they must be made responsible for their business methods to the great communities which are in fact their working partners, so that the hand which makes correction shall easily reach them and a new principle of responsibility be felt throughout their structure and operation."<sup>1</sup>

So Wilson believed that one of the chief characteristics of democracy was that the light should be let in on all processes of law-making. He related a story of the Irishman, who, while digging a hole was asked, "Pat, what are you doing,-- digging a hole?" And he replied, "No, sir, I am digging the dirt and leaving the hole." Then Wilson said that it was probably the same Irishman who, seen digging around the wall of a house, was asked, "Pat, what are you doing?" And he answered, "Faith, I am letting the dark

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, p. 188.

out of the cellar." Wilson in this way emphasized that was exactly what we wanted to do, to let the dark out of the cellar.<sup>2</sup>

He declared that the business of a democratic government should be served by thoughtful progressive legislation, but it should be served openly, with a careful regard to letting everybody be heard and every interest be considered; the interest which was not backed by money as well as the interest which was, and he said that this could be accomplished only by means of simplification of our methods which would center the public trust in small groups of men who would lead, "not by reason of legal authority, but by reason of their contact with and amenability to public opinion."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson stressed the fact that our legislation was not conducted in the open. It was not worked out in the open on the floors of our assemblies, but was framed and digested in committee rooms. It was in committee rooms that legislation not desired by the interests died. It was in committee rooms that legislation desired by the interests was framed and brought forth. There was not enough debate on it in open house, in most cases, to disclose the real meaning of the

1. Atlantic Monthly, p. 289, March, 1901.

proposals made. He pointed out that the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act was the indication of the chief triumphs of committee work. He said that this act was designed in the secret room of the committee. The questions put upon the floor in the House and Senate were not frankly or truly answered.<sup>1</sup> He characterized the American government, as a government of the standing committees of congress.<sup>2</sup>

He put his emphasis on these points that whenever any public business is transacted, wherever plans affecting the public welfare, comfort, or convenience go forward, wherever political policies are formulated, or candidates agreed upon, "over that place a voice must speak with the divine prerogative of a people's will, the words: "Let there be light."<sup>3</sup>

Wilson, like Tennyson became the great champion of popular government, and he undoubtedly had read these lines of Tennyson, in which the poet had expounded the theory of popular government strikingly:

"A nation yet, the rulers and the ruled-  
 Some sense of duty, something of a faith,  
 Some reverence for the laws ourselves  
 have made,  
 Some patient force to change them when  
 we will,  
 Some civic manhood firm against the crowd."

1. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, p. 121.
2. Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 43
3. Baker, College and State, Vol. II, p. 191.

Wilson also had stated his mind remarkably in his criticism of so-called representative government. "In theory," he said, "we are living under a republic, and call ours a representative government of party bosses, who in secret conference and for their private ends determine what we shall and shall not have. We must rescue politics from the special interests and their tools, the professional bosses." He believed that we should keep party organization, but we should make all parties organizations of the people, no longer of the bosses. "The first, the immediate thing that we have got to do is to restore representative government. There has got to be a popular rebellion for the reconquest and reassumption by the people of the rights of the people, too long surrendered. We have got to revolutionize our political machinery, first of all. I am a radical, and the first element of my radicalism is, let's get at the root of the whole thing and rescue popular government. Let's make possible the access of the people to the execution of their purposes."<sup>1</sup>

He became so strongly an advocator of popular government that he wanted the direct election of judges; and also advocated presidential primaries.

1. Living Age, No. 16, 1918, p. 432.

Attitude Towards Judiciary

Concerning his attitude towards the judiciary, we find among the older nations that they had made all their magistrates appointive, with the conception that the people were not qualified in selecting their judges. The ancient prophets, Jeremiah<sup>1</sup> and Moses<sup>2</sup> stressed the facts that this office should be filled by men who had wisdom, courage and temperance.

Wilson, however, thought that the election of judges would purify the functions of the administration of justice, despite the fact that many wise men and prophets thought that even carefully selected, appointed judges might not administer their functions righteously. Nor did Wilson believe that the recall of judges or Roosevelt's proposal of a recall of judicial decisions would be any remedy. He declared that at one time under the appointive system the Southern Pacific Railroad owned the Supreme Court of the State of California. "Would you remedy that situation by recalling the judges of the court? What good would that do, so long as the Southern Pacific Railroad could substitute others for them? You would not be cutting deep enough. Where you want to go is

1. Jer., XXIII, 3.  
2. Deut. I, 16.

to the process by which those judges are selected. And when you get there, you will reach the moral of the whole discussion, because the moral of it all is that the people of the United States have suspected until their suspicions have been justified by all sorts of substantial and unanswerable evidence, that, in place after place, at turning-points in the history of this country we have been controlled by private understandings and not by the public interest; and that influences which were improper, if not corrupt, have determined everything from the making of laws to the administration of justice." He believed that the disease lay in the region where these men get their nominations; and if we could recover for the people the selecting of judges, we would not have to trouble about their recall. He said, "Selection is of more radical consequence than election."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson did not only ignore the advice of wise men, but he also ignored the facts that the constitutions of most of the other larger countries had all made their judges appointive.<sup>2</sup>

We believe that Wilson might have seen the weakness of his theory, because, when in 1912, Roosevelt inserted

1. North American Review, May, 1910, Vol. CXCI, p. 599.
2. McBay & Rogers, "The Constitutions of Europe."

in the Progressive party platform the plank of the recall, including the recall of judicial decisions, and while Taft in opposition to Roosevelt, inserted in the Republican party platform the plank pronouncing the judicial recall "unnecessary and unwise," we find that the Democratic platform was silent on this issue. Which was an indication that Wilson either had changed his views, or he was not able to convince the leaders of the Democratic party.

There is a close similarity between Plato and Wilson. Plato, we may say the wisest of all men, saw his shortcomings in dealing with social problems, as Wilson did. Plato, in his day saw the corruption of the Athenian family, and became so disgusted with its selfish motives that he began to advocate communism. In his Republic he went as far as to advocate that in the perfect state wives and children should be in common.<sup>1</sup> However, he saw the deficiency of his theory, because in his last work, "Law" he did not mention the abolishment of family.

Undoubtedly, Wilson, like Plato, saw the defect of his theory of direct election of judges, because the Democratic party platforms of 1912, and 1916 were silent on this issue. Besides this, his last writings show the tendency of Wilson to believe like Ibsen, that

1. Plato's Republic, Cp. VIII.

the masses are nothing but the raw material  
that must be fashioned into a people.<sup>1</sup>

### Presidential Primaries

As for the question of presidential primaries, we find that Wilson like Roosevelt advocated the direct primary. The Progressive party in 1912, under the leadership of Roosevelt inserted in its platform, the plank of the direct primary; a nation-wide presidential-primary. Wilson's ideas were that the national convention should be so reconstructed as to contain only persons already nominated for seats in the House of Representatives and for vacant seats in the Senate, senators with unexpired terms, the members of the national committees, and the Presidential candidate. Its function should be merely to ratify the verdict of the primaries and to formulate the party platform. In 1914 several bills based upon the president's suggestion were introduced. Brief discussion, however, brought out the fact that a system of presidential primaries under federal law would raise many constitutional difficulties and no action was taken. Wilson did not renew his proposals and the country readily fell back upon the plan of leaving it to the states.

1. See Defects of Democracy.

Progressivism in Practice

As President-elect, Wilson continued to show strong progressive inclinations. He took counsel with only fellow-partisans of a progressive turn of mind; and shortly before his inauguration he published a collection of revised campaign speeches, under the title of "The New Freedom", in which he sketched out a broad program of reform with a view of fitting a new social organization to the happiness and prosperity of the great body of citizens. He retained the governor's office in New Jersey until March 1, and made the closing weeks of his stay at Trenton notable by carrying through the legislature a group of bills, popularly termed, "the seven sisters" aimed at the better regulation of trusts and holding companies.<sup>1</sup>

In his first inaugural address, "Our Duty" he urged "to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it . . . . We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards ~~we~~<sup>we</sup> so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried in our hearts. Our

1. American Year Book, 1913, p. 344.

work is a work of restoration."

Protest was specially lodged against a tariff which "cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the first principles of taxation, and makes the government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which... holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; water-courses undeveloped; waste places unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine."<sup>1</sup>

Stress was laid, too, on the need of "conservation of human health and human rights" in the struggle for existence, as a matter, not of pity, but of simple

1. American Year Book, 1913, p. 14.

justice. The address was full of feeling, yet strong and sensible. It included most of the tenets of the progressive movement.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after his election Wilson began to carry on his administrative programme. He announced that he would convoke the Sixty-third Congress in special session to undertake a revision of the tariff on the lines laid down in the democratic platform. This special session began April 7, and lasted until the opening of the next regular session, December 1. For both length and achievement it became one of the most notable in the history of the country.

Among the important bills passed under his administration were: the Underwood tariff bill passed in 1913; the Owen-Glass federal reserve bill passed in 1913; the Clayton Act passed in 1914; the Keating-Owen child labor law passed in 1916 and the Adamson law passed in 1916.

Wilson came into American politics with the great spirit of reformation. His political opponents dubbed him a mere academician, a "pedagogue" and a theorizer. But he revealed himself to be no less a man of affairs than a scholar. He had a vast fund of

1. Nation, XCVI, 222.

political information and exceptional powers of speech; and he became one of the greatest leaders in the history of the American people. He did not let any one dictate to or control him in regard to his political progressive beliefs as a university president, a governor and a president of the United States. He stood firmly and fought for his convictions and ideals.

## CHAPTER V

## AMERICANIZATION

Wilson believed that this was the only country in the world which experienced constant and repeated rebirth. Other countries depended upon the multiplication of their own native people. "This country is constantly drinking strength out of new sources by the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward looking women of other lands. And so by the gift of the free will of independent people it is being constantly renewed from generation to generation by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that America is the most cosmopolitan land in the world. But still one can find that in this land of the "Melting Pot", racial differences and prejudices are very hostile and striking. For instance, a German calls an Italian "Dago", implying that an Italian has no business to be here, never thinking about his own origin or race, but he becomes

1. Talbot, Americanization, p. 78

angry when he hears himself called a "Hun" by the Italian. The name of Jew is so abused that one thinks of Jews, not as a race, but only as dollar lovers.

Beside these various races is the so-called native stock of America; that is, those who have forgotten their origin, consider themselves the only pure American stock in the land and are proud of it. But when a foreigner argues with one of this type, he can say, "You have no business to be proud of being an American, because the only real Americans are the native Indians." An Indian chief speaking once in a great auditorium said frankly, "I should like to know how many of you in this audience have Indian blood in your veins. Please hold up your hands." He counted about twenty or twenty-five, and said, "There are only twenty-five Americans in this auditorium, all the rest of you are foreigners. We welcome you to our land."

Great effort has been made by certain organizations to overcome racial prejudices and hostilities, but some of these efforts have been in vain. According to Wilson, in order to Americanize foreign elements, we must avoid deprecating their race or nationality. These things are very sacred and ought not to be deprecated, and he declared that the man who went among them to trade upon their nationality, "is not worthy to live

under the Stars and Stripes."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson did not look down on the foreigners but welcomed them, because he knew the foreigners of to-day were the Americans of tomorrow. He declared that the characteristic of America was that it was made of the best contributed out of all nations. He said, "Sometimes when I am in the presence of an American citizen who was an immigrant to America, I think that he has a certain advantage over me. I did not choose to be an American but he did. I was born to it. I hope if I had not been, I would have had sense enough to choose it. But the men who came to America are deliberately Americans ... They came out of other countries and say, 'we cast our lot with you, and we will live with you.'<sup>2</sup> And he insisted that the first business of the director of the work of Americanization, "is to see that his own heart is swept clean and kept clean of race prejudice."<sup>3</sup>

Wilson, however, did not ignore the fact that some of the foreign born citizens were not Americans at heart. He said, "I fear that a large number of our fellow-citizens born in other lands have not entertained with sufficient intensity and affection the American

1. The Triumph of Ideals. p. 144.
2. Ibid.
3. Talbot, Americanization, p. 78

Ideals." But he said that the number of such was not large surely. Those who would seek to represent them were very vocal, but they were not very influential. Wilson declared that some of the best men of America came out of foreign lands and some of the best "stuff" in America was in the men who were naturalized citizens of the United States. "I would not be afraid of the test of "America First" to take a census of all the foreign-born citizens of the United States, for I know that the vast majority of them came here because they believed in America; and their belief in America has made them better citizens than some people who were born in America. They can say that they have bought this privilege with a great price. They have left their homes, they have left their kindred, they have broken all the nearest and dearest ties of human life in order to come to a new land, take a new rootage, begin a new life, and so by self-sacrifice express their confidence in a new principle; whereas, it cost us none of these things. We were born into this privilege; we were rocked and cradled in it; we did nothing to create it; and it is, therefore, the greater duty on our part to do a great deal to enhance and preserve it."

He declared, "I would a great deal rather be obliged to draw pepper up my nose than to observe the hostile glances of my neighbors. I would a great deal rather endure any sort of physical hardship if I might have the affection of my fellow-men."<sup>1</sup>

It was his conviction that we constantly discipline our fellow-citizens by having an opinion about them. That was the sort of discipline we ought now to administer to everybody who was not to the very core of his heart an American. "Just have an opinion about him and let him experience the atmospheric effects of that opinion."<sup>2</sup>

Other writers have stressed similar ideas, saying that you may give the alien evening schools and continuation schools; you may teach his wife in the home and his daughter in the factory; you may flood him with reprints of the Declaration of Independence and speeches of Lincoln; and when you have finished, you will be no farther along the road of winning his heart and his co-operation than when you began.

"What we have to do is therefore, clear enough. It is not, as the now popular phrase has it, that we must Americanize the Americans. It is much more than

1. Wilson's Great Speeches. p. 75

2. Ibid, p. 77

that. Before the immigrant can be won over, we must Americanize America herself. We must lift American institutions and American practices to the high plane of America's own traditions. We must come to look upon the immigrant as he is, a boon to us and an equal, instead of a nuisance and an uninvited invader. And we must somehow meet his ideal of us and our country by fashioning them in the mould of the ideals and the aspirations of the twentieth century. When we have done this much, life itself will take care of the future. For America is still very much in the making, and it will require the energy and the goodwill and the traditions of all the peoples of the earth, working together, to make her what she started out to be, a greater and a freer and a nobler Europe.<sup>1</sup>"

### His Policy in Practice

In Wilson's administration the bill for the literacy test for immigrants again came before Congress and was vetoed twice by Wilson. The first appearance of this long-debated literacy test was in 1897, when both houses of Congress passed by heavy majorities, a bill excluding persons over sixteen years of age who were not able to read or write English or some other

1. "Americanization", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 125, p. 416.

language. Feeling that the proposal was "a radical departure from our national policy relating to immigrants," President Cleveland interposed his veto, and the measure failed, although for the lack of only a few votes in the senate.<sup>1</sup>

Agitation for increased restriction bore fruit in an important statute in the Roosevelt period, approved February 20, 1907.<sup>2</sup> It raised the head tax to four dollars; made fresh additions to the excluded classes, and so on. A literacy test, although adopted in the senate, was finally abandoned.

From 1907 discussion centered mainly about the literacy test. On the fundamental proposition that the volume of immigration was outrunning the country's capacity for assimilation there was general agreement. The obvious need, therefore, was legislation which would not only safeguard the quality and greatly reduce the quantity of the yearly influx. For such legislation organized labor was especially clamorous.<sup>3</sup> As a means to the desired end, the literacy test had much in its favor. It was simple, direct, and easily enforceable. Furthermore, the test had substantial backing: President McKinley and Roosevelt advocated it; the Immigration

1. Latane, *Ame. as a World Power* (Am. Nation, XXV., chap. XVII)
2. U. S. Statutes at Large, XXXIV pt. i, p. 898-911.
3. Samuel Gompers in the *Am. Federationist*, Jan. 1911.

Commission urged it; proposals for it passed both houses of Congress; the American Federation of Labor, the railroad brotherhoods, and practically all other labor organizations were on record for it.

These arguments were by no means conclusive. It was both charged and admitted that the proposed policy was one of restriction, not selection. But was any policy justifiable whose main purpose was not selection? Would this form of test accord with the American tradition of hospitality to honest men of every condition?

In April, 1912, the Senate passed an immigration bill, containing a literacy test, and in the following June the House passed a bill, applying the test in somewhat milder form. A compromise was reached; but after hearings in which the literacy clause was warmly supported by the labor interests, President Taft reluctantly vetoed the bill, February 14, 1913, on the ground that it violated a principle, "which ought to be upheld in dealing with our immigration."<sup>1</sup> The Senate re-passed the measure by a vote of 72 to 18, but by a margin of thirty-three votes the House failed to raise the necessary two-thirds majority.

At the first session of Congress in Wilson's administration fresh bills upon the subject made their

1. Cong. Record, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., pt. iv., p. 3156.

appearance, and on February 15, 1914, the House passed a measure substantially identical with that vetoed by President Taft. Action in the Senate was delayed until January 2, 1915, when by a vote of 50 to 7, a bill of similar purport was put through. Again the proposed legislation was blocked by a veto.<sup>1</sup> Hearings were held, but President Wilson could not be brought to accept a test based on any principle other than qualitative selection. Like Cleveland and Taft, he saw in a clause excluding "those to whom the opportunities of elementary education have been denied, without regard to their character, their purpose, or their natural capacity," a radical and unwarranted departure from "the traditional and long-established policy" of the country. The Senate re-passed the bill, but the House lacked four votes of a sufficient majority.

A new bill carried in both houses early in the session of 1916-1917, but was vetoed by the President, on grounds similar to those earlier advanced. The House, however, promptly overrode the veto by a vote of 287 to 106, and the Senate by a vote of 62 to 19. At the last it was apparent that the main object in the legislation was to limit the labor supply; and the

1. Cong. Record, 62 Cong., 3 Sess., pt. iii., p. 2481.

placing of the law upon the statute book was one of the multiplying evidences of the power of organized labor in the country. There was reason to believe that the views of unbiased people were represented rather by the President than by Congress.<sup>1</sup>

Wilson, like Cleveland and Taft opposed the literacy test because he, like them, thought that it was against the long-established tradition of America. He did not want to close the door of hope to the oppressed. And he emphasized that it was not fair to the great multitudes of hopeful men and women who came into this country from other countries that we should leave them without friendly and intimate instruction which would enable them very soon after they came to find out what America was like and what America was intended for among the nations of the world. And he declared that no nation could live without vision, and no vision would exalt a nation except the vision of "real liberty and real justice and purity of conduct."

1. Quart. Jour. Econ., XXXI., 447-460.

## CHAPTER VI

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The League of Nations

The central idea of the League of Nations, Wilson said, was that nations should cooperate for peace. The idea was not new. It has as its support the doctrine of Christianity, which has been preached nearly two thousand years. The most civilized nations of the world are upholding the teaching of the Great Master, who said, "And he who doth not take his cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me." We might say that the idea of the League of Nations is older than Christianity. The Age of Stoicism was the age of brotherhood and humanity. They believed in the world's citizenships. The ancient philosophers before Christ had already planted in the hearts of men the great humanitarian principles.

Wilson emphasized that statesmen ought to see to that politics were now run along the lines not of national pride, but of humanity, and of service, in accordance with these principles which we had been taught by the deep suffering of the war.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Triumph of Ideals. p. 125.

He declared that the characteristic of America was that it was made up of all foreign elements. He thought that a country made up like that had to understand other nations. It had to know how to fraternize with and assist them. It was already the friend of mankind, because it was made of all peoples. It had to show that it was trying to serve all the stocks of mankind from which it, itself, was bred. So he believed that it was a duty for America to help and assist the other nations. And he declared, "The first duty of a nation is to express its own individual principles in the action of the family of nations and not to seek to aid and abet any rival or contrary ideal."<sup>1</sup>

It was the opinion of Wilson that thinking men should be in common agreement for a common object, and at the center of that common object should lie the inviolable rights of people and of mankind. The nations of the world had become each other's neighbors. It was in the interest of nations that they should understand each other; it was imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause should be even-handed and impartial justice. "It is time that men should look at each other straight," said Wilson, "and

1. Wilson's Great Speeches, p. 73.

say, 'we are brothers and have a common purpose. We did not realize it before, but now we do realize it, and this league is to be our covenant of friendship.'<sup>1</sup>"

Wilson was a great friend of the little nations. Christ said, "Suffer little children to come unto me," and Wilson said, "Let the little nations get justice." In his message to Congress, he declared that the law of democracy was for the protection of the weak, and the influence of every democracy in the world should be for the protection of the weak nation, the nation which was struggling toward its rights and toward its proper recognition and privilege in the family of nations. "The United States cannot refuse this role of champion without putting the stigma of rejection upon the great and devoted men who brought its government into existence." At the end of his speech he quoted the words of Lincoln, "Let us have faith<sup>2</sup> that right makes might."

In his address before the League to Enforce Peace, in Washington at the close of May, 1916, Wilson said, "We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Like other nations, we

1. Wilson, The Triumph of Ideals, p. 45
2. Lit. Digest, Dec. 18, 1920.

have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit, but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

"Second, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

"And third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations."<sup>1</sup>

Hamilton Holt, editor of the Independent, more than any other man, responsible for the organization of the League to Enforce Peace, and for its program, described the President's address as a "declaration of interdependence," and said of it:

"Here for the first time in history the responsible head of a great world power publicly proposes to translate the highest ideal of the greatest minds of all ages into an act of statesmanship substituting among the nations of the earth the reign of law for the reign of war."<sup>2</sup>

1. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 116, p. 392-400.

2. Ibid.

By the side of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence we must now put Wilson's Declaration of Interdependence.

### Wilson and the World War

President Wilson had planned to provide a machinery of international police, to restrain a nation from war until causes and motives could be stated and examined. He sent an identical note in December, 1914 to all of the fourteen warring nations, saying that the United States was "as vitally and as directly interested" as the belligerents in the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world, and suggesting that the present confused situation would be much cleared and the possibility of peace increased if the parties to the conflict would forthwith publish" such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded..<sup>1</sup> as would make it impossible to compare them."

However, when the President saw that all his peacemaking efforts were in vain, then he realized that it was impossible for America to allow these unoffending peoples to be enslaved and dominated, against their passionate protest, by an ambitious and ruthless nation.

1. Am. Assoc. For International Conciliation, Ser.II,3-6.

Their youths were dying by the millions to preserve their liberties. America ought not to sit and see their sacrifice in vain. He declared, in an address to the Senate, on January 22, 1917, that "if the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure, by the organized major force of mankind.... It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise... It is clear to every man who can think, that there is in this no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment of all that we have professed or striven for."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson said on that memorable night of April 2, 1917, "Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles....The world must be safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."<sup>2</sup>

1. Wilson, *The Hope of the World*, p. 65
2. *Lit. Digest*, Dec. 18, 1920.

Later, in his reply to the Pope, August 29, 1917, President Wilson voiced the mind of the American people: "The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long established practices and long cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier, either of law or of mercy, swept a whole continent within the tide of blood - not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor - and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world."<sup>1</sup>

President Wilson delayed long our entrance into the war. "Never shall I forget," he wrote, "that the sword is not to be drawn until the last moment, to defend public liberties, and that it is to be returned to the scabbard at the first moment when those liberties are safe. The choice we make for ourselves

1. Wilson, Why We Are At War, p. 25.

must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge, or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right.... we have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind; we shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as faith and the freedom of nations can make them... The day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."<sup>1</sup>

The same spirit of generosity and moderation had been shown by him before. In 1914, when a clamor rose among the hot-tempered for intervention in Mexico, he declared, "Impatience on our part would be childish, and would be fraught with every risk of wrong and folly... We can afford to exercise the self-restraint of a really great nation which realizes its own strength and scorns

1. Lit. Digest, Dec. 18, 1920, p. 1.

to misuse it."<sup>1</sup>

This declaration of national policy should be put side by side with Washington's, "I have always thought that no nation should meddle with the international affairs of another nation." And with President Harrison's, "In no case do we desire territorial possessions which do not directly form one body with our national domain; and we nowhere desire a domain acquired by criminal aggression."<sup>2</sup>

### The Fourteen Points

On January 8, 1918, in an address to both houses of congress, he formulated his famous fourteen points, stating that he desired "open covenants of peace openly arrived at." In the second point he demanded "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war." Finally, he insisted 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." He said, as he had many times before, that the United States demanded no material reward for its participation. He emphasized that no one could discern

1. Senate Jour. 64 Cong. 1st Sess. 6-7.  
2. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. III, p. 721.

clearly what Europe was fighting for, but the force of America should always be held to fight, "not merely for the rights of property or of national ambition, but for the rights of mankind."

He declared, "Take an individual American and you may often find him himself and confined to his special interests; but take America in the mass and it is willing to die for an idea... God give us the strength and vision to do it wisely. God give us the privilege of knowing we did it without counting the cost, and because we were true Americans, lovers of liberty and of the right."<sup>1</sup>

#### American Opposition to Wilson

For more than a year, President Wilson had been the spokesman of the liberal groups of the world. Down to the time when the military victory of the Allies and the United States came to be assured it appeared that he was representing the sentiments of the people of his country, but, while the armistice negotiations were in progress, opposition to his leadership was developing. An indication of this came in the congressional elections of November. Shortly before this, the President issued an appeal to the electorate to return

1. The Triumph of Ideals, p. 278

a Democratic majority to congress. "This is no time for divided counsel or for divided leadership." No unusual or unprecedented thing was this appeal. President Lincoln in 1864 had asked for the return of a Republican congress. President McKinley and Colonel Roosevelt in 1898 had said that it would be a disaster to change the majority in congress before all the questions from the Spanish war were settled. Nevertheless, some people thought that President Wilson's appeal was a mistake, for immediately a cry arose that he was charging Republicans with being less patriotic than Democrats; that he was making the war and the peace, partisan measures. The effects of this criticism were seen when the elections returned a considerable majority of Republicans to the House and a small majority to the senate.

Wilson gave all his energy and ambition to establish the world's league, and to restrain war. Perhaps no president stood firmly for the ideals of humanity more bravely than Wilson. When he left America for Europe, he said, "I will not come back, 'Till its Over, Over There.' And yet I pray God, in the interest of peace and of the world, that that may be soon."

He declared that the nations that had long been under the heel of the Austrian, that had long cowered before the German, that had long suffered the in-

describable agonies of being governed by the Turks, had called out to the world, generation after generation, "for justice, for liberation, for succor, and no cabinet in the world has heard them."

He emphasized that private organizations, pitying hearts, philanthropic men and women had poured out their treasure in order to relieve these sufferings, but no nation had said to the nations responsible, "You must stop, this thing is intolerable, and we will not permit it."

Then he went on to say that the opponents of the League of Nations could not be Americans and set up a doctrine of careful selfishness thought out to the last detail. And he declared, "I have heard no counsel of generosity in their criticism. I have heard no constructive suggestion. I have heard nothing except, 'Will it not be dangerous to us to help the World?' It would be fatal to us not to help."

"What was in the writings of the men who founded America," asked Wilson, "to serve the selfish interest of America? Do you find that in their writings? No, to serve the cause of humanity, to bring liberty to mankind."<sup>1</sup>

1. The Triumph of Ideals. p. 30f.

### Wilson's Views on Monroe Doctrine

According to Wilson, the Monroe Doctrine was nothing but a special application of the principles of the self-determination of nations. Indeed, he had proposed "that the nations should with one accord adopt the Doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful"<sup>1</sup>

Wilson emphasized that we should put all our weight on the side of a generous friendliness and mutual helpfulness between the people of the earth. And he declared that as we were the strongest and securest among the nations, it was our plain duty to lead the way toward disarmament.

Before the President returned to the United States a draft of the covenant of the league of nations had been cabled to America and was in the hands of the Senate. It was at once attacked for the most part by Republican senators. It would, they charged, destroy

1. Am. Year Book, 1916, p. 89.

the Monroe Doctrine and make the United States subordinate to a "super state."

Senator Lodge presented five reservations to the senate. He denounced the covenant and the League. He did not want America entangled in the affairs of Europe and he wished Europeans to leave the American continents alone. In the senate the discussion of the peace treaty went on to reach a definite point on September 10 when a majority of the committee on relations brought in a report recommending thirty-eight amendments and four reservations.

Before these reports were brought in the president had determined to take his fight for the league to the voters themselves. On September he left Washington and started on a trip which eventually took him to the Pacific Coast. He made some thirty speeches, for the most part in the states of senators who had been most vigorously opposing the treaty. One of the points stressed most heavily was one which would answer the objection that under Article X the United States would be deprived of its sovereignty. "Every man," he said, "who makes a choice to respect the rights of his neighbors deprives himself of absolute sovereignty, but he does it by promising never to do wrong, and I cannot for one, see anything that robs me of my inherent right that I ought to retain when I promise that I will do right."

The league was, he believed, advancing toward disarmament and would, in his opinion, help to make the world of the future more free from wars. The world was no longer a place where the United States could go its own course irrespective of what other nations were doing.<sup>1</sup>

The tour came to an abrupt end. When the president left Washington, he was worn out with the strain under which he had been laboring for the past years and especially since the beginning of the peace conference. His path was not made easier by the news which reached him from Washington that Mr. William C. Bullitt, who had been somewhat associated with the delegation in Paris, stated in a hearing before the senate committee on foreign relations that Secretary Lansing had criticised the League of Nations severely. The President felt, as he had in Paris, that Mr. Lansing had not been backing him, and that his conduct in Washington, and especially his attitude before the committee, was not correct; that if the secretary felt himself so at odds with the policy followed he ought to have resigned.

On September 26, after speaking at Wichita, Kansas, the president collapsed. His personal physician,

1. Congressional Record, 66 Cong. 1 Sess.

announced that the remainder of the speaking trip would have to be cancelled and that the president must have absolute rest for at least six weeks.

In the middle of September the senate resumed its consideration of the treaty. On November 19 the way had been cleared for a vote upon the treaty with the reservations. At a conference of the Democratic senators held, Senator Hitchcock read a letter from President Wilson in which he said, as an answer to the senator's request for a word of advice on the matter, "...I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations of Senator Lodge. On that I cannot hesitate, for, in my opinion, the resolution in that form does not provide for ratification, but rather for nullification of the treaty. I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification." But with all his efforts the peace treaty was defeated and with it the League of Nations so far as the United States was concerned. Nevertheless, as European countries adhered to the treaty, the League, even without the United States, was organized and began to function.

Wilson, the great champion of the League, was

not discouraged when his policy was rejected by congress. He still hoped that the people of America in the future would realize that world peace would never come until the nations join in the League and enforce peace. Wilson spoke to Phillip Karr, the secretary of David Lloyd George thus, "Well, perhaps it was for the best after all that the American people rejected the league. If they had accepted it in 1920, they probably would have taken it as a part of the post-war settlement, without fully understanding what it meant and what it involved.

"Now they will have to think out international problems for themselves. They eventually will be driven to the same conclusion as all of us who have had actual responsibility the last few years, have been driven to. Then they will join in the League with their hearts really in it and they will make it a success. They will find that it is the only road to world peace."<sup>1</sup>

An Armenian proverb says, "Go on and die, but when you come back, then we shall love you." It seems to me this proverb speaks the heart of the American people as well, especially in the case of Wilson. Wilson fought for the great humanitarian principles

1. Kansas City Star, March 25, 1925.

fearlessly, without taking dictation from political bosses. However, some of the Americans did not like him, and called him a dreamer; without realizing that after all the ones who had brought progress to the world were the dreamers weaving their dreams in the spiritual exaltation of their own high ideals. The dreamers, the poets, the prophets, the statesmen of large imagination endowed with the power to see the future, are the ones who have led mankind to their own high place. It is the visionary who makes things real. It was Wilson who was the first spokesman of a great power to insist that this war end all war. We believe that the great mass of thinking men of the world felt the great loss of Wilson to mankind.

## CHAPTER VII

## WILSON'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

Few political leaders in this country are fitted to discuss its educational problems. No president of the United States was ever better able to do so than was President Woodrow Wilson, who had been also a president of the University of Princeton, one of the finest institutions of the land. He said, "The college is for the use of the nation, not for the satisfaction of those who administer it or for the carrying out of their private views."<sup>1</sup>

He believed that our colleges like our churches were serving the classes and not for the masses of the people. "The churches have more regard for the pews than for men's souls. They are depressing the level of Christian endeavor."

According to Wilson the same thing was true with the colleges and universities. That is to say we look for the support of the wealthy and neglect our opportunities to serve the people. He emphasized the fact that it was for this reason the State Universities were held in popular approval while the privately supported institution to which we belong was coming to

1. Pittsburgh Dispatch, April 17, 1910.

suffer a corresponding loss of esteem.

Wilson in his address to Pittsburgh alumni said; "While attending a recent Lincoln celebration I asked myself if Lincoln would have been as serviceable to the people of this country had he been a college man, and I was obliged to say to myself that he would not. The process to which the college man is subjected does not render him serviceable to the country as a whole. It is for this reason that I have dedicated every power in me to a democratic regeneration.

"The American college must become saturated in the same sympathies as the common people. The colleges of this country must be reconstructed from the top to the bottom. The American people will tolerate nothing that savors of exclusiveness. Their political parties are going to pieces. They are busy with their moral regeneration and they want leaders who can help them accomplish it. Only those leaders who seem able to promise something of a moral advance are able to secure a following. The people are tired of pretense, and I ask you, as Princeton men, to heed what is going on,"<sup>2</sup>

Wilson not only preached but he put in practice all his beliefs. When he became the president of

1. Pittsburgh Dispatch, April 17, 1910.  
2. Ibid.

Princeton, his first work was to reform that University. It had come to be known as "the most charming country club in America." Its retiring head had avowed it impossible that it would be other than a college for rich men's sons. Wilson caused to be adopted the strict rule that students who failed to pass their examinations should be dropped, rich or poor, with or without social 'pull'. That they should work was absolutely demanded.

Social "clubs" prevented the forming of natural friendships, begot snobbery, and set up an aristocracy, condemned half the student body to an inferior social position and made the chief prize of the student's career, not the attainment of an education, but membership in a favored group. In the words of President Wilson, "the side-show had swallowed up the circus. Nothing could be more un-American; nothing could be more opposed to the true principles of Education."

Wilson, like Bryce, did not believe in having athletic competitions in universities in an extreme degree. According to Wilson, a young man could learn to become the manager of a foot-ball team or of a residential club, the leader of an orchestra, or a glee club, the star of amateur theatricals, an oarsman or a chess player without putting himself to the trouble or his parents to the expense of four years at a college. He emphasized that all these things

should not assume the front of the stage where more serious and lasting interests are to be served. Men could not be prepared by them for modern life. He said that the object of college was intellectual discipline and moral enlightenment, and it was the immediate task of those who administered the colleges of this country to find the means and the organizations by which that object could be attained. "Education is a process and like all other processes, has its proper means and machinery. It does not consist in courses of study. It consists of the vital assimilation of knowledge, and the mode of life, for the college as for the individuals, is nine parts of digestion."<sup>1</sup>

Bryce's opinion was very similar to that of Wilson. Bryce said; "If we define a university as a place the teaching of which puts a man abreast of the fullest and most exact knowledge of the time in a range of subjects covering all the great departments of intellectual life, not more than fifteen and possibly only ten or twelve of the American institutions would fall within the definition." And he adds, "Athletic competitions and social pleasures claim the larger part of their thoughts, and the university does not seem to be giving them that taste for intellectual enjoyment

1. Scribner's Magazine, Nov., 1909, Vol. 46, p. 570-577.

which ought to be acquired early if it is to be  
acquired at all."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson criticised the American universities, because he thought that they were not democratic. They would make men forget their origin, forget their universal sympathies, and join a class, and he thought that no class could serve America.<sup>2</sup>

He said that the great voice of America did not come from seats of learning. It came in a murmur from the hills and woods and the farms and factories and the mills, rolling on and gaining volume until it came to us from the homes of common men. "Do these murmurs echo in the corridors of universities? I have not heard them."<sup>3</sup>

Wilson, disgusted with the system of Princeton, spoke these words to one of his friends: "There are many splendid fellows in the Princeton family; but they are allowed no freedom of thought." He remarked with a tone of bitter sadness in his voice; and he added, "Candidly, Kerney, if I had a son, I wouldn't know where to send him for a liberal education in America."<sup>4</sup>

He was convinced that the whole university idea

1. Bryce, American Commonwealth, Vol. II, p. 511
2. Scribner's Magazine, 46:570-1, Nov., 1909.
3. Ibid.
4. Saturday Eve. Post, p. 1, March 29, 1924.

was an organic idea, an idea of contact of mind with mind, "no chasms, no divisions in life and organization." It was a great brotherhood of intellectual endeavor, stimulating the younger, instructing and balancing the older man, giving one an aspiration and the other a comprehension of what the whole undertaking was - of lifting, lifting the mind of successive generations from age to age.<sup>1</sup>

He emphasized that was the enterprise of knowledge, an enterprise that was the common undertaking of all men who prayed for the greater enlightenment of the ages to come. So he thought if we marred this process, this organic integration of the university, we had destroyed its idea. "Is that good business? When we have leadership in our grasp, is it good business to retire from it? When the country is looking to us as men who prefer ideas even to money, are we going to withdraw and say, 'after all, we find we were mistaken; we prefer money to ideas?'"<sup>2</sup>

Wilson as a president, saw the defects of Princeton, and he tried to raise the standard of that university. He tried to liberate the college, but the Trustees were against him and caused his resignation.

1. Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 46, p. 575.  
2. Ibid, 570-577.

In offering it he said, "I cannot accede, to the acceptance of gifts upon terms which take the educational policy of a university out of the hands of the trustees and faculty and permit it to be determined by those who give money." The dignity and restraint of that utterance, no less than its independence and the vigor with which he had fought the battle for the democratization of the University gained him a reputation for "square dealing" throughout the United States.

Wilson had placed the emphasis whether as President of Princeton or of the United States, upon moral rather than material virtues. Certainly nothing could be more characteristic of the President than the text of a Baccalaureate sermon which he preached at Princeton in 1907: "And be ye not conformed to this world." Moral virtues had been the essence of his political idealism.

Wilson always stood firmly for his beliefs. As a President of Princeton he showed a ruthless resolution to eliminate what he looked upon as undemocratic social habits among the undergraduates, and did not hesitate to cut loose from tradition, regardless of the prejudice thereby aroused against him. As an executive he evoked intense admiration and virulent dislike; the Board of Trustees and the alumni body

were alike divided between enthusiastic support and bitter anathematization of the measures he proposed.

## CHAPTER VIII

## DEFECTS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a high sounding word. Ancient republics had their demagogues, their orators, who inflamed the evil qualities of the people by bestowing on them high sounding names and by flattery. The great democracy of modern times has its demagogues as well. They come of the people, are proud to belong to it, for which, of course, no one can blame them. They distrust everything that is not for the people. They are all the more of the people, because among the people they are intellectually in the first rank while elsewhere they are of secondary importance; and what men love is not the group of which they form a part, but the group of which they are the chief. They are therefore, profoundly democratic.

Wilson, like Israel Zangwell, became a great advocator of democracy in his earlier writings, but in his last writings we find that Wilson did not believe that people were qualified to conduct their own affairs efficiently. Instead, he demanded responsible leadership in our government, and did not hold up the dramatic expression of Zangwell that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." He went on further to point out the defects of democracy.

Wilson believed that under democratic government

we could not get wise and efficient legislators, and declared, "to-day we have unwise legislation because of ill-qualified, incompetent legislators. We have incompetent legislators because of corrupt and uneducated or uninformed constituents. No betterment is in prospect until the level of voters is raised."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson's opinion was very similar to the opinion of H. G. Wells, who said, "Until a man has education, a vote is a useless and dangerous thing for him to possess. The ideal community toward which we move is a community of knowledge and will, replacing a community of faith and obedience."

It was the opinion of Wilson that in democracy equality must become an equality of intelligence and character. With manhood suffrage goes manhood mentality, or it is a mockery. If we expect the ballot to be intelligently used, we have to make those who use it intelligent. Our compulsory education standards need to be raised, expanded and enforced. There should be equality of opportunity for all, to the end that the community may become uniform in quality. Unless there is a levelling up there will be a levelling down. As the nation could not endure half slave and half free,

1. Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 128

so can it not endure half qualified and half disqualified.

Wilson, like Usbek and Montesquieu, did not believe in frequent changes in laws, and he said, "Change is not interesting unless it is constructive, and it is an age of construction that must put fire into the blood of any man worthy of the name."<sup>1</sup>

"Most legislators," said Usbek to Rhedi, "have been men of limited abilities, owing their position to a stroke of fortune, and consulting nothing but their own whims and prejudices. They have often abolished established laws quite unnecessarily and plunged nations into the chaos that is inseparable from change. It is true that, owing to some odd chance arising out of nature rather than out of intelligence of mankind, it is sometimes necessary to alter laws, but the case is very rare and when it does arise it should be handled with a reverent touch. When it is a question of changing the law, much ceremony should be observed, and many precautions taken, in order that the people may be naturally persuaded that laws are sacred things and that many formalities must precede any attempt to alter them."<sup>2</sup>

Montesquieu advised people to be very chary and

1. Wilson, Congressional Government, p. 148
2. Faguet, Cult of Masses, p. 25

to think twice before they destroyed old laws or pulled down an old house to run up a tent, but his advice is completely ignored. New laws are made for every change in the weather, for every little daily incident in politics. We are getting used to this hand-to-mouth legislation.

Wilson said that the representatives of the people wanted to do everything themselves. And he believed that they did nearly everything badly and infected the government and the administration with their passion and incompetence, because he thought that it was very rare for any high office to be given to a man who was competent for the post. His opinion was similar to that of Beaumarchais, who wrote, "The post required a mathematician - it was given to a dancing master..."

Wilson declared that direct popular control of government gave us petty officials, petty men of no ambition, without hope or fitness for advancement. It gave us so many elective offices that even the most conscientious voters have neither the time nor the opportunity to inform themselves with regard to every candidate on their ballots and must vote for a great many men of whom they knew nothing. It gave us consequently, the local machine and the local boss; "and where population crowds, interest competes, life is many-sided without unity, and voters of every blood and environment

mix and mingle with one another at the same voting places, government miscarries, is confused, irresponsible, unintelligent, wasteful."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson stressed the fact that it was much better to have responsible leadership instead of government by mass meeting; a trained and thoroughly organized administrative service instead of administration by men privately nominated; and blindly elected. "Knowledge and experience as well as intelligence are needed to fit a people for free self-government."<sup>2</sup>

Wilson, like Edmund Burke, criticised the divergent characteristics of our legislators. He stated that in our legislature every degree of education was represented; with the farmer sat the artisan; with the banker sat the union labor agitator; with the manufacturer sat the small shop-keeper and so on. And he emphasized that a legislature was not only to represent the people, but to make laws, and unfortunately, the making of laws required knowledge, and great wisdom - just as Plato had pointed out a long time ago, "The kings should be philosophers, or the philosophers kings."

He pointed out that there is at least one fool in every legislature who imagines himself a reformer.

1. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LXXXVII, p. 295.

2. Ibid p. 289f.

And these reformers sometimes help each other to pass a good many foolish bills. Thus in Nebraska the reformer wanted to prohibit women from wearing corsets and bloomers and in Michigan he wished to forbid the wearing of tights in circuses and theaters.

Edmund Burke pointed out strikingly the main cause of inefficiency of our legislative body when he said, "When men are not acquainted with each other, nor experienced with each other's talents, nor at all practiced in their mutual habitudes and dispositions by joint efforts of business; no personal confidence, no friendship, no common interest subsisting among them; it is evidently impossible that they can act a public part with uniformity, perseverance, or efficiency."<sup>1</sup>

Wilson emphasized that we were content with average wisdom and average virtue; and we elected whom the machine nominated. And he declared that we should know that the real danger of democracy is the withdrawal of intelligent men from public duties.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson, like Ibsen, believed that the people are very far from being an ideal body of law-makers. He declared that a government could not act inorganically by masses; it should have a law-making body. It could

1. Century, Sept. 1901, p. 784.

2. Wilson, Congressional Government. p. 75f.

no more make laws through its voters than<sup>1</sup>  
it could make laws through its newspapers.

According to Ibsen, the tyranny of the majority is a characteristic sin of democracy. He believed like the Theban Pinder that the wise should lead and command, and the ignorant should follow and obey. Ibsen characterized the majority strikingly when he wrote; "Who makes up the majority in any given country? Is it the wise men or the fools? I think we must agree that the fools are in a terrible, overwhelming majority, all the wide world over. But how in the devil's name can it be right for the fools to rule over the wise men?"

"The most dangerous foe to truth and freedom in our midst is the compact majority. Yes, it's the confounded, compact, liberal majority - that and nothing else!"<sup>2</sup>

Socrates also points out, "The disciples in gymnastics are supposed to attend to the praise and blame and opinion of every man, or of one man only - his physician or trainer?"

The ancient philosophers pointed out the social defects of democracy. They had said that it

1. Atlantic Monthly, Vol. LXXXVII, p. 299

2. An Enemy of the People, p. 28

diminished the spirit of respect. The spirit of equality was alleged to have diminished the respect children owed to parents, and the young to the old. This was noted by Plato in Athens. Bryce also emphasized that the spirit of equality had made every poet his own Aristotle.

Socrates also pointed out the same tendency. "Democracy", said he, in one of his humorous dialogues, "is a mountebank, a kidnapper of children. It snatches the child from its family while he is playing, takes him far away, allows him no more to see his family, teaches him many strange languages, drills him till his joints are supple, paints his face and dresses him in ridiculous clothes, and imparts to him all the mysteries of the acrobat's trade until he is sufficiently dexterous to appear in public and amuse the company by his tricks."

Not only the ancient philosophers, but the great modern writers, like Bryce and Wilson had pointed out sharply such defects of democracy. Wilson once became a great expounder of democracy. But later on he expressed less confidence in the people, just as Socrates and Plato, both great expounders of democracy, did not fail to point out its defects as well as its merits.

## CHAPTER IX

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Socrates' great motto, "Know thyself" at Delphi, if I am not mistaken, is put there as a sort of salutation which the god addresses to those who enter the temple. And we believe that when Wilson criticised the American industries and American government, he upheld this great motto. That is to say, he knew his position and that his criticisms were sound and constructive.

In the first place he criticised the great industries and said that they are unfair; that the big monopolies control nearly all the raw materials of the country so there is no chance for an average man. Even an intelligent one can go in business and not make a success of it. However, the opponents of Wilson tell us that these great industrial organizations have made America the greatest nation in the world. The working men of America are paid well, and on the whole, the living conditions here in the United States are better than any other place in the world.

[In the second place, Wilson criticised the American form of government and preferred the English cabinet system. However, a good many writers are in favor of the American federal form. Undoubtedly they have in their minds that under the American form of

Government, the people as a whole are more prosperous, also this form is more democratic. But Wilson goes on to say that the American government is controlled by the bosses. The government protects the interests of the big fellows rather than the little fellows. He tells us that the big bosses tell us what we should or should not have. Moreover, he stressed the fact that we have no responsible leadership in the American government.

Wilson, like Bryce, believed that the prosperity of this nation is not due chiefly to the energy of its people, neither to the form of government, but it is due to the rich natural resources of the country.

Wilson, like Plato, did not think that wealth and prosperity should measure everything. Plato says that there are three classes of men; lovers of wisdom, lovers of ambition and lovers of gain. The most interesting part of this classification to me is that he put the "lovers of gain" at the bottom and the "lovers of wisdom" at the top. Now if we apply this classification to the people of this nation, we can say without hesitation that here we have "lovers of gain". Why should the people of this nation fall in the lowest rank of Plato's classification? Why should the people be thirsty for gain? Again, why should the people forget the advice of Plato that "mind and wisdom are the names to be honored most"?

Why should this people not understand the great meanings of that great man's philosophy: "The community which has neither poverty nor riches will always have the noblest principles; there is no insolence or injustice, nor again, are there any contentions or envy among them"?

The reasons for all these are obvious; in the first place, all those who took the leadership of the nation, have misled the people by putting emphasis on wealth rather than wisdom, knowledge and philosophy. For instance, it seems to me that to the average American school boy, money measures nearly everything, but this is not true of the average European school boy. A school boy in Europe hardly knows the names of any successful business men, but he knows the names of the great poets, artists and philosophers. For him, intellect is the measure of all things.

In the second place the speakers have praised America for what she has done, and for what she has not done - that is the beauty of them, self-praise in vain. The people are always looking after a fortune.

Wilson, like Socrates, wanted the people to see that prosperity and wealth are not the chief aims of life. Socrates said to Cratylus: "When he declares that your name is not really Hermogenes, I suspect that he is only making fun of you; he means to say, that you are no true son of Hermes, because you are always

looking after a fortune and never in luck."

Again, Socrates says, "Pleasure not first.

No, not even if all the oxen and horses and animals in the world in their pursuit of enjoyment, this assert; and the many trusting in them, as diviners trust in birds, determine that pleasures make up the good life and deem the lusts of animals to be better witnesses than the inspirations of divine philosophy.

"Philebus was saying that enjoyment and pleasure and delight, and all that class of feelings, are a good to every living being, where as I contend, that not these, but wisdom and knowledge and memory and their kindred, right opinion and true reasonings, are better and more desirable for all who are able to partake of them, and that to all such they are the most advantageous of all things, both now and ever."

The vain conceits of our American friends about their beauty, wisdom and wealth are ridiculous. An Armenian well-told story may illustrate these points clearly: A father was watching his son's manner and his interest very closely. Once he frankly told his son that he would never amount to anything in this world. The son became angry at these remarks of his father. He decided to leave home and to go out some place and try to be somebody, in order that he might be able to show his father that he was mistaken about him. He went

to Constantinople and attended school. After his graduation, he was appointed governor for the province where he was born. He thought that now he could show his father his greatness, because he was now the chief executive of the Province. When he went there, the people received him with great honor. His first executive work was to arrest his father. His order was that the "Jandarmas" (police) should tie his father's hands and bring him before him. They brought the father before him, and he commanded that they should untie his father's hands. Then he looked at his father and said, "Do you see, I am the chief executive of the Province, and you told me that I never would amount to anything in this world."

His father looked at him and said, "Now I am sure that you are fool."

His father was a philosopher, for him the office of his son was nothing. He was judging the intellect of his son, the wisdom of his son. So today in this land of great wealth, the people ridicule themselves by praising and considering themselves better than any other people in the world. A fool can accumulate wealth, he may be appointed for a high office, but a fool never becomes wise by appointment. It is again Plato who says, "I would rather be a serf on the land of a poor, portionless man who is not well to do, than rule over

all the dead who have come to naught."

Wilson, like Plato, believed that no man ought to have preeminent honor in a state because he surpasses others in wealth, any more than because he is swift or fair or strong, unless he has some virtue, unless he has this particular virtue of temperance. For Wilson, the care of riches had the last place in his thoughts. He did not praise the people of America, because they possess wealth instead of wisdom and philosophy.

The preceding pages have demonstrated that Wilson upheld the noblest ideals and principles of Socrates.<sup>1</sup> The great father of philosophy, Socrates, says; "Our citizens are brethren, the children all of one mother and we do not claim to be one another's masters or servants; but the natural equality of birth compels us to seek for legal equality and to recognize no superiority except in the reputation of virtue and wisdom." "They prayed, not that their children might live forever, but that they might be famous and brave."

Wilson, the man of great convictions, will be remembered with the names of the world's great leaders, statesmen and scholars. He was probably the greatest humanitarian leader of America.

1. See Americanization.

Charles Oster writes, "Wilson has the attractiveness and the magnetism of a leader. His oratory is marvelous and except the great French orator, Waldeck Rousseau, I never heard anybody who can as well make clear to an audience his ideas without arguing, simply by laying them out in the most admirable classical form."<sup>1</sup>

Lyman Abott writes, "Dr. Wilson is well known as a political philosopher, but, as the late William James was said to write philosophy like a novelist, so Dr. Wilson talks philosophy like a man of affairs."<sup>2</sup>

The editor of the New Republic writes, "Mr. Wilson is to-day the most liberal statesman in high office, and before long he is likely to be the most powerful. He represents the best hope in the whole world. He can go ahead exultingly with the blessings of men and women upon him."<sup>3</sup>

Henry Van Dyke writes, "Woodrow Wilson was a man whose central force in life was a conception of duty. He had a single star mind. That star is the hope of peace on earth."<sup>4</sup>

Wilson's popularity was not due to his

1. World's Work, "Wilson-Taft-Roosevelt", Vol. 24, p. 569, Sept. 1912.
2. Outlook, Vol. 96, p. 521, Nov. 5, 1910.
3. The New Republic, April 7, 1917.
4. Forum, "A Single Star Mind" Vol. 71, p. 388, Mar. 1924.

presidential chair, but to his wisdom and gigantic intellect. There have been many presidents that no one now remembers or cares to know about, ~~them~~. For instance, who cares to know anything about the personality of James K. Polk or Franklin Pierce? General Grant who knew nothing of politics, still became a president, just because he was a general. From Jackson till the outbreak of the Civil war in 1861, the presidents were either mere politicians, such as Van Buren, Polk or Buchanan, or else successful soldiers, such as Harrison or Taylor, whom their party found useful as figureheads. Wilson was a party man but he was not a figurehead. He was the leader of his party, playing an important part in shaping its policy.

This nation honored itself most signally when it elevated a college president, a real scholar, a great Christian gentleman such as Woodrow Wilson, to the office of president of the United States.

There have been few men holding high office in recent times so deeply and constantly affected by Christian faith as Woodrow Wilson. We can discover in his presidential speeches many indications of his belief that the duties he had undertaken were laid upon him by God and that he might not deviate from what seemed to him the straight and appointed path. He believed with intensity that each individual must set up for himself

a moral standard, which he must rigidly maintain regardless of the opinions of the community. The country owes to Wilson a debt which historians will doubtless acknowledge, for his insistence that morality must go hand in hand with public policy, that, as with individuals, so with governments, true greatness is won by service rather than by acquisition, by sacrifice rather than by aggression.

## APPENDIX

Striking Phrases and Speeches by Wilson

"There is a great tide running in the hearts of men. The hearts of men have never beaten so singularly in unison before. Men have never been so conscious of their brotherhood. Men have never before realized how little difference there was between right and justice in one latitude and in another, under one sovereignty and under another."

"After all, what the world now is seeking to do is to return to the paths of duty, to turn from the savagery of interests to the dignity of the performance of right."

"For my part, I am very much more afraid of the man who does a bad thing and does not know it is bad, than of the man who does a bad thing and knows it is bad."<sup>1</sup>

"We cannot intelligently talk politics unless we know to whom we are talking, and in what circumstances."<sup>2</sup>

"The trouble with the Republican party is that it has not had a new idea for thirty years. I am not speaking as a politician; I am speaking as a historian."<sup>3</sup>

"A friend of mine says that every man who takes

1. Independent, March 8, 1919, p. 321.
2. Address, Seagirt, N.J. Aug. 7, 1918, Great Speeches, p. 25
3. Indianapolis, Jan. '15. The Triumph of Ideals, p. 39.

office in Washington either grows or swells, and when I give a man an office, I watch him carefully to see whether he is swelling or growing. The mischief of it is that when they swell they do not swell enough to burst. If they would only swell to the point where you might insert a pin and let the gases out, it would be a great delight."<sup>1</sup>

"I advise you to stay around among the neighbors, and then you may keep out of jail. That is the only way some of us can keep out of jail."<sup>2</sup>

"I have met many men whose horns dropped away the moment I was permitted to examine their heads."

"The changing of law by statute seems to me like mending a garment with a patch, whereas, law should grow by the life that is in it, not by the life that is outside of it."<sup>3</sup>

"America cannot be an ostrich with its head in the sand."<sup>4</sup>

"It is probably a fortunate circumstance that America has been cried awake by these voices in the disturbed and reddened night, when the fire sweeps sullenly from continent to continent, and it may be

1. National Press Club, May 15, '16, Great Speeches, p.125
2. Independent, March 8, 1919, p. 321
3. Washington, Oct. 1914. Great Speeches, p. 75
4. Des Moines, Feb. 1, 1916 Ibid, p. 99.

that in this red flame of light there will rise again that ideal figure of America holding up her hand of hope and of guidance to the people of the world and saying, 'I stand ready to counsel and to help. I stand ready to assert, whenever the flame is quenched, those infinite principles of rectitude and peace which alone can bring happiness and liberty to mankind.'

"If I cannot retain my moral influence over a man except by occasionally knocking him down, if that is the only basis upon which he will respect me, then for the sake of his soul I have got occasionally to knock him down."

"We are not trying to keep out of trouble; we are trying to preserve the foundations upon which peace can be rebuilt. Peace can be rebuilt only upon the ancient and accepted principles of international law, only upon those things which remind nations of their duties to mankind and humanity."

Liberty, Freedom and Constitutional  
Government

"Liberty is the privilege of maturity, of self-control, of self mastery and a thoughtful care for

1. Chicago, Jan. 3, 1916. Tribune, Jan. 4, 1916.
2. New Freedom, p. 45
3. Great Speeches, p. 73.

righteous dealings, - that some peoples may have it, therefore, others may not."

"When I have thought of liberty, I have sometimes thought how we deceive ourselves in the way we talk about it. Some people talk as if liberty meant the right to do anything they please. Well, in a sense one has that right. One has the right to jump overboard, but if one does, this is what we will say; 'You fool, don't you know the consequences?' You can jump off the top of the mast, but when you strike the deck, your liberty will be lost, because it was not an accident you made a fool of yourself."<sup>1</sup>

"The sailor, when he is sailing a ship, talks about her running free in the wind. Does he mean that she is resisting the wind? Throw her into the wind and see the canvas shake, see her stand still, 'caught in iron,' as the sailor says. But let her fall off, she is free, free, why? Because she is obeying the laws of nature, and she is a slave until she does. And no man is free who does not obey the laws of freedom.

"The laws of freedom are these: Accomodate your interest; that you shall not insist in standing in the light of other people, but that you shall make a member of a team of yourself and nothing more or less,

1. The Triumph of Ideals, p. 145.

and that the interests of the team shall take precedence in everything that you do to your interest as an individual.

"That is freedom, and men who live under autocratic governments are not free, because the autocrat arranges the government to suit himself. The minute he arranges it to suit his subjects then his subjects are free.

"But if I disobey the laws of freedom, if I infringe on the rights of others, then I presently find myself deprived of my freedom. I am clapped in jail, it may be, and if the jailer is a philosopher he will say; 'You brought it upon yourself, my dear fellow. You were free to do right, but you were not free to do wrong. Now, what I blame you for is not so much for your malice as for your ignorance.'"<sup>1</sup>

"The kind of freedom that America has always represented, is freedom expressing itself in fact. It is not the profession of principles, merely, but the redemption of these principles, making good on these principles."<sup>2</sup>

"A constitutional government, being an instrumentality for the maintenance of liberty, is an

1. The Triumph of Ideals, p. 147

2. Ibid. p. 145.

instrumentality for the maintenance of a right adjustment, and must have a machinery of constant adaptation."

"A constitutional government is one whose powers have been adapted to the interests of the people and to the maintenance of individual liberty."<sup>1</sup>

"Absolute good faith in dealing with the people and unhesitating fidelity to every principle avowed is the highest law of political morality in a constitutional government."<sup>2</sup>

### Politics and Philanthropy

"In philanthropy we sometimes do things through pity merely, while in politics we act always, if we are righteous men, on grounds of justice and large expediency for men in the mass. Sometimes in our pitiful sympathy with our fellowmen we should do things that were more than just. We should forgive men. We should help men who had gone wrong. We should sometimes help men who had gone criminally wrong. But the law does not forgive. It is the duty to equalize conditions, to make the path of right the path of safety and advantage, to see that every man has a fair chance

1. Living Age, Vol. 295; 69.

2. Ibid.

to live and to serve himself, to see that  
 injustice and wrong are not wrought upon any."<sup>1</sup>

### Bosses

"Bosses are men who have worked their way by secret methods into the place of power they occupy; men who were never elected to anything; men who were not asked by the people to conduct their government, and who are very much more powerful than if you had asked them, so long as you leave them where they are, behind closed doors, in secret conference. They are not politicians; they have no policies; - except concealed policies of private aggrandizement. A boss isn't a leader of a party. Parties do not meet in back rooms; parties do not make arrangements which do not get into the newspapers. Parties, if you reckon them by voting strength, are great masses of men, who, because they can't vote any other ticket, vote the ticket that was prepared for them by the aforesaid arrangement in the aforesaid back room in accordance with the aforesaid understanding. A boss is the manipulator of a "machine". A "machine" is that part of a political organization which has been taken out of

1. Atlantic Monthly, Nov. 1907, p. 637.

the hands of the rank and file of the party and captured by half a dozen men. It is the part that has ceased to be political and has become an agency for the purposes of unscrupulous business. A boss is a much more formidable master than a king, because a king is an obvious master, whereas the hands of the boss are always where you least expect them to be."<sup>1</sup>

### An Election Speech

"You never can stand it (privation) unless you have some imperishable food within you upon which to sustain life and courage, the food of those visions of the spirit where a table is set before us laden with palatable fruits, the fruits of hope, the fruits of imagination, those invisible things of the spirit which are the only things upon which we can sustain ourselves through this weary world without fainting. We have carried in our minds, after you had thought you had obscured them, and buried the ideals those men saw who first set their foot upon America, those little bands who came to make a foothold in the wilderness, because the great teeming nations that they had left behind them had forgotten what human liberty was, liberty of thought, liberty of religion, liberty

1. Living Age, 277-116-9, Ap. 12, 1913,

of residence, liberty of action, since their day the meaning of liberty has deepened. But it has not ceased to be a fundamental demand of the human spirit, a fundamental necessity for the life of the soul. And the day is at hand when it shall be realized on this consecrated soil - a new freedom - a liberty widened and deepened to match the broadened life of man in modern America, restoring to him in very truth the control of his government, throwing wide all gates of lawful enterprise, unfettering his energies, and warming the generous impulses of his heart, a process of release, emancipation and inspiration, full of a breath of life as sweet and wholesome as the airs that filled the sails of the caravels of Columbus and gave the promise and boast of magnificent opportunity in which America dare not fail."

#### Disinterested Men.

"I tell you this, gentlemen, the only thing that saves the world is the little handful of disinterested men that are in it. Men who have no axes to grind; men who love America so that they would give their lives for it and never care whether anybody heard that they had given their lives for it; willing to die in obscurity if only they might serve. Those are the men, and nations like those men are the nations

that are going to serve the world and save it. There never was a time in the history of the world when character, just sheer character all by itself, told more than it does now.

"But the men who grow, the men who think better a year after they are put in office than they thought when they were put in office, are the balance wheel of the whole thing. They are the ballast that enables the craft to carry sail and to make port in the long run, no matter what the weather is.

"I love the fellows that come into my office sometimes and say, 'Mr. President, I am an American', their hearts are right, their instinct true, they are going in the right direction and will take the right leadership if they believe that the leader is also a man who thinks first of America.

"The men we remember are the disinterested men, who gave us the deeds that have covered the name of America all over with the luster of imperishable  
1  
glory.

### The Origin of War

The president went back to the origin of the war itself and beyond, exposing the whole history and

1. Address at the National Press Club, May 15, 1916, Great Speeches, p. 135.

nature of Prussian policy, its insolence and its contempt of human right. Listen to his words:

"The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who have proved themselves to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary.... Their purpose had been long avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention and regarded what the German professors expounded in their class rooms and the German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs and the preposterous private conception of Germany's destiny than the actual plans of responsible rulers. But the rulers of Germany knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues lay at the back of what professors and writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of the Balkan States with princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, and setting their fires in Persia."

"The dream," said the president, "had its heart in Berlin. It could have had its heart nowhere else."<sup>1</sup>

1. Living Age, 295:615, Dec. 8, 1917.

The Memorial Day Address

(Paris, May 30, 1919)

Following is part of the speech of President Wilson's Memorial Day address at Suresnes Cemetery, near Paris:

"These men did not come across the sea merely to defeat Germany and her associated powers in the war. They came to defeat forever the things for which the Central Powers stood, the sort of power they meant to assert in the world, the arrogant, selfish domination which they meant to establish; and they came, moreover, to see to it that there should never be a war like this again. It is for us, particularly for us who are civilized, to use our proper weapons of counsel and agreement, to see to it that there never is such a war again. The nation that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel would betray the human race.

"So it is our duty to take and maintain the safeguards which will see to it that the mothers of America, and the mothers of France and England and Italy and Belgium and all other suffering nations, should never be called upon for this sacrifice again. This can be done. It must be done. And it will be done.

"The things that these men left us, though they did not in their counsels perceive it, is the great instrument which we have just erected in the League

of Nations. The League of Nations is the covenant of government that these men shall not have died in vain.

"I like to think that the dust of those sons of America who were privileged to be buried in their mother-country will mingle with the dust of the men who fought for the preservation of the Union, and that as these men gave their lives in order that America might be united, these men have given their lives in order that the world might be united.

"Those men gave their lives in order to secure the freedom of a nation. These men have given theirs in order to secure the freedom of mankind; and I look forward to an age when it will be just as impossible to regret the result of the labor of those men who fought for the union of the states.

"I look for the time when every man who now puts his counsel against the united service of mankind under the League of Nations will be just as ashamed of it as if he now regretted the union of the states.

"You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckoning of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who

counsels these things advocates a renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made, for if this is not the final battle for right, there will be another that will be final.

"Let these gentlemen who suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed, and that we are ready to forget, realize they cannot accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know courage we cannot accomplish our purpose; and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standard of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations, and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which the only question will be; 'Is it right? Is it just?' 'Is it in the interest of mankind?'....

"And they would say, 'Forget all the little circumstances of the day. Be ashamed of the jealousies that divide you. We command you in the name of those, who, like ourselves, have died to bring the counsel of men together, and we remind you what America said she was born for. She was born to make this great gift a

common gift. She was born to show men the way of experience by which they might realize this gift and maintain it; and we adjure you, in the name of all the great traditions of America, to make yourselves soldiers now, once for all, in this common cause, where we need wear no uniform except the uniform of the heart, clothing ourselves with the principles of right and saying to men everywhere, 'you are our brothers and we invite you into the comradeship of liberty and of peace.'

"There is something better, if possible, that a man can give than his life, and that is his living spirit to a service that is not easy, to resist counsels that are hard to resist, to stand against purposes that are difficult to stand against, and to say, 'Here stand I, consecrated in the spirit of the men who were once my comrades, and who are now gone, and who left me under eternal bonds of fidelity.'<sup>1</sup>"

1. The Triumph of Ideals, p. 106.

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