

# WILSON'S CABLEGRAMS FROM PARIS

## How He Kept in Touch With the United States Through Frequent Messages—Prompt Action on Suggestions From Taft and Root—Treaty Fight Forecast

### WOODROW WILSON AS I KNOW HIM

By JOSEPH P. TUMULTY

[Twenty-Ninth Instalment]

**Y**ESTERDAY'S instalment of Mr. Tumulty's story of Woodrow Wilson contained the beginning of the series of cablegrams that passed between the White House and Paris while the President was at the Peace Conference. Below are further messages—most of them now made public for the first time.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, 25 March, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
St. Louis Republic of Saturday reporting speech of Senator Reed referring to provision naming members of League says: "He told of what he called a secret protocol and intimated that Germany is included in this secret protocol." Advise whether or not there is any secret protocol such as Senator claims or of any character, attached to League Covenant. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, March 25, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
Statement that there is any sort of secret protocol connected with or suggested in connection with the League of Nations is absolutely false. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, March 23, 1919.  
President Wilson, Paris:  
Stories here this morning that amendment for Monroe Doctrine and racial discrimination to be excluded from covenant causing a great deal of uneasiness. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, March 30, 1919.  
President Wilson, Paris:  
In an editorial entitled "Treat or Fight," Springfield Republican says: "It is plain that the Allies dare not commit themselves to an avowed war on the soviets and that it is not possible for the Allies with the world in its present temper to take the position that the existence of the soviet form of government in any country constitutes a casus belli; that the world would recoil from the proposal to begin a new series of wars with so dubious an object; that Russia should be left to manage her own affairs." Editorial disagrees with policy of French Government towards Russia and Soviets. Calls attention to disastrous results of foreign intervention during French revolution. Editorial further says: "Impossible to fight revolution in one place and be at peace elsewhere. If Allies mean to fight Hungary because it has set up a soviet form of government and allied itself to Russia, they will have to fight Russia. If they fight Russia they will have to fight the Ukraine. Such a war would mean the end of the League of Nations. It is plain that the Allies dare not commit themselves to an avowed war on the soviets." TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, March 30, 1919.  
President Wilson, Paris:  
Dispatches from Simonds and others prove stories of weeks ago were most optimistic now touched with deep pessimism. Simonds in article of Saturday says: "No common objective in council; no dominating influence; drifting." As I fear your real position in council not understood here and that lack of publicity strengthening many false impressions. The responsibility attaching to those associated with you, including France and England, when they accepted Fourteen Points evidently lost sight of by them. Do not know what your real situation is, but it appears to me that Germany is not prepared to accept the kind of peace which is about to be offered, or if she does accept, with its burdensome conditions, it means the spread of bolshevism throughout Germany and Central Europe. It seems to me that you ought in some way to reassert your leadership publicly. I know the danger, but you cannot escape responsibility unless you do so. Now is

the moment in my opinion to strike for a settlement permanent and lasting. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, April 2, 1919.  
President Wilson, Paris:  
The proposed recognition of Lenin has caused consternation here. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Tumulty, White House, Washington: Received at White House, Washington, April 4, 1919.  
Am still confident that President will win. Encountering difficulties; situation serious. President is the hope of the world, more than ever, and with his courage, wisdom and force he will lead the way. Have you any suggestion as to publicity or otherwise? GRAYSON.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, April 4, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
The President took very severe cold last night; confined to bed. Do not worry; will keep you advised. GRAYSON.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, April 5, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
We are naturally disappointed at progress being made, but not discouraged. Hopeful everything will turn out all right. Will advise you if anything definite develops. The President is better this morning but confined to bed. No cause for worry. GRAYSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, April 5, 1919.  
Grayson, care President Wilson, Paris:  
In my opinion the President must in some dramatic way clear the air of doubts and misunderstandings and dispair which now pervades the whole world situation. He must take hold of the situation with both hands and shake it out of its present indecision, or political sabotage and scheming will triumph. Only a bold stroke by the President will save Europe and perhaps the world. That stroke must be made regardless of the cries and admonitions of his friendly advisers. He has tried to settle the issue in secret; only publicity of a dramatic kind now can save the situation. This occasion calls for that audacity which has helped him win in every fight. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM. PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, April 6, 1919.  
Tumulty, Washington:  
The President says the situation here is extremely complex and intricate, but seems to be improving and he expects to have it in hand this week, but if necessary will act according to your suggestions. The President is confined to bed, but steadily improving. Thanks for your telegram. GRAYSON.

**CABLEGRAM. PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, April 8, 1919.  
Tumulty, Washington:  
President attended conference in his study this afternoon. Situation shows some improvement. President has ordered George Washington to proceed here immediately. GRAYSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, April 9, 1919.  
Grayson, care President Wilson, Paris:  
The ordering of the George Washington to return to France looks upon her as an act of impatience and petulance on the President's part and not accepted here in good grace by either friends or foes. It is considered as an evidence that the President intends to leave the conference if his views are not accepted. I think this method of withdrawal most unwise and fraught with the most dangerous possibilities here and abroad, because it puts upon the President the responsibility of withdrawing when the President should by his own act place the responsibility for a break of the conference where it properly belongs. The President should not put himself in the position of being the first to withdraw if his Fourteen Points are not accepted. Rather he should put himself in the position of being the one who remained at the conference until

the very last, demanding the acceptance of his fourteen principles. Nothing should be said about his leaving France, but he ought when the time and occasion arrive to re-state his views in terms of the deepest solemnity and without any ultimatum attached and then await a response from his associates. In other words, let him by his acts and words place his associates in the position of those who refuse to continue the conference because of their unwillingness to live up to the terms of the armistice. Then the President can return to this country and justify his withdrawal. He cannot justify his withdrawal any other way. Up to this time the world has been living on stories coming out of Paris that there was to be an agreement on the League of Nations. Suddenly out of a clear sky comes an order for the George Washington and unofficial statements of the President's withdrawal. A withdrawal at this time would be a desertion. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, May 8, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
In your cable you spoke of forwarding message to Congress. Have you made up your mind as to what you will discuss? Would like to suggest certain things I believe vital. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, May 9, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
Happily there is no mystery or privacy about what I have promised the Government here. I have promised to propose to the Senate a supplement in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the Covenant of the League of Nations. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, May 22, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
Great demonstration New York last night, addressed by Hughes, to protest killings in Poland, Galicia, Rumania and elsewhere. Feeling in this matter growing more intense throughout the country. Cannot something be done? It is evident that Germany is doing every thing to separate the Allies. A great many newspapers in this country are worried lest you be carried away by the pleadings of Germany for a "softer peace." I know you will not be led astray. There is an intense feeling in the Senate in favor of the publication of the terms of the treaty. Can anything be done to straighten this out? TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, May 23, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
Mr. Taft in signed article this morning says: "Find it hard to believe that President Wilson sent sympathetic note to women who plead for Huns." I think this matter of sufficient importance to be cleared up from this side. There is great deal of unrest here owing to talk in newspapers of return of German ships to Great Britain. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, May 24, 1919.  
Tumulty, Washington:  
I think our friends in the Senate ought to be furnished very frankly with the following reason, which seems to me quite convincing, for not at present publishing the complete treaty; namely, that if our discussion of the treaty with the Germans is to be more than a sham and a form it is necessary to consider at least some of the details of the treaty as subject to reconsideration and that, therefore, it would be a tactical blunder to publish the details as first drafted, notwithstanding the fact that there is no likelihood that they will be departed from in any substantial way. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, May 25, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
No one need have any concern about the return of the German ships in our possession. Full understanding has been reached about them. As for Mr. Taft's criticism, I am quite willing to be responsible for any sympathetic reply I make to appeals on behalf of starving women and children. Please give following message to Glass: You may take it for granted that I will sign the Urgent Deficiency bill and go forward with the plans you mention in your cable. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, May 25, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
Every Republican member of new Foreign Relations Committee openly opposed to treaty, a majority in favor of its amendment. Every Democratic member of committee, including Thomas, for treaty and against separation. There is a decided reaction evident against the League, caused, in my opinion, by dissatisfaction of Irish, Jews, Poles, Italians and Germans. Republicans taking full advantage and liable, in order to garner disaffected vote, to make absolute issue against League. Reaction intensified by your absence and lack of publicity from your end and confusion caused by contradictory statements and explanations of "so-called compromises." Simonds' article appearing in certain American newspapers Sunday, admirable, explaining reasons for Sax Valley and French pact and other controversial matters.

There is a tremendous drive against League, resembling German propaganda, backed by Irish and Jews. Irish openly opposing; Jews attacking along collateral lines. Could not Lansing or perhaps White, because he is a Republican, or yourself inspire publicity or give interview explaining—officially or unofficially—the following matters:  
First—America's attitude toward publication of terms of treaty, along lines of your last cable to me.  
Second—That the fourteen points have not been disregarded.  
Third—The underlying reason for French pact, emphasizing the point, as Simonds says, "That French pact is merely an underwriting of the League of Nations during the period necessary for that organization not merely to get to work, but to become established and recognized by all nations."

I am not at all disturbed by this reaction—it was inevitable. The consummation of your work in the signing of the treaty will clear the air of all these distempers. Your arrival in America, your address to the Congress and some speeches to the country will make those who oppose the League today feel ashamed of themselves. The New York

World had a very good editorial favoring the mandatory of Turkey. TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, June 10, 1919.  
Tumulty, Washington:  
If Germans sign the treaty we hope to get off the first of next week, about the 24th or 25th. It is my present judgment that it would be a mistake to take any notice of the Knox amendment. The whole matter will have to be argued from top to bottom when I get home and everything will depend upon the reaction of public opinion at that time. I think that our friends can take care of it in the meantime and believe that associates is to stir me up, which they have not yet done. I may nevertheless take the opportunity to speak of the League of Nations in Belgium. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, June 21, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
The fight against the League in Knox resolutions faces utter collapse. Root and Hayes here advising Republican leaders. I learned that Root is advising Republicans to vote for the League with reservations. He is advising Republicans to concentrate their forces upon a resolution of ratification, which would contain specific reservations on the Monroe Doctrine, immigration, tariff and other purely American questions. I believe that this is the course the League will finally adopt. A conflict of Mr. Taft's yesterday wanted to know from me what your attitude was in this matter, saying that Mr. Taft might favor this reservation plan. I told him I had no knowledge on the subject. It is a thing that you might consider. To me it looks like cowardice. The American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution favoring the League of Nations by a vote of 29,750 against 420. Andrew Furuseth led the fight against it. The resolution supporting the League contained a reservation in favor of home rule for Ireland. TUMULTY.

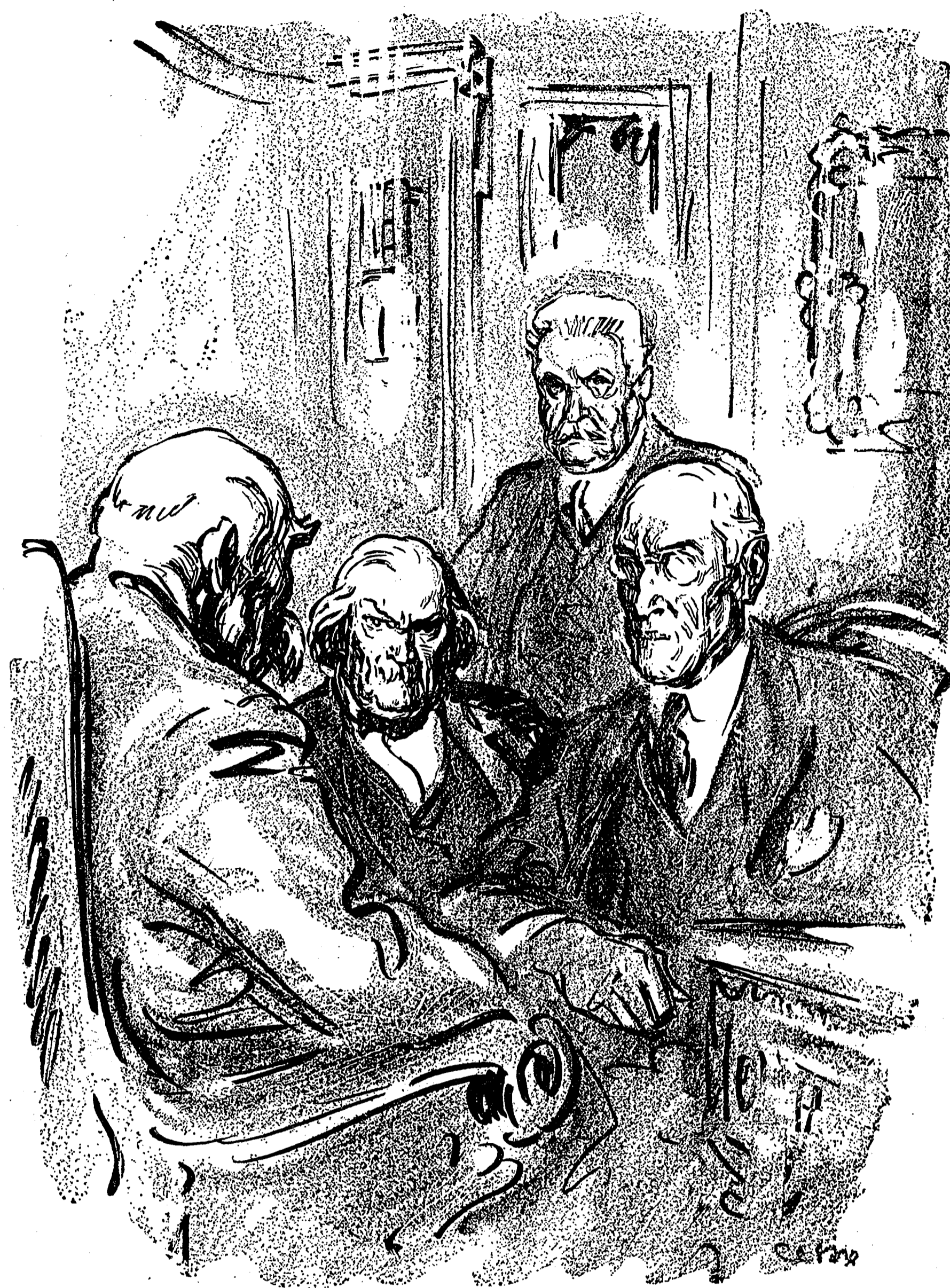
**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, June 23, 1919.  
Tumulty, Washington:  
My clear conviction is that the adoption of the treaty by the Senate with reservations would put the United States as clearly out of the concert of nations as a rejection. We ought either

to go in or stay out. To stay out would be fatal to the influence and even to the commercial prospects of the United States, and to go in would give her the leadership of the world. Reservations would either mean nothing or postpone the conclusion of peace, so far as America is concerned, until every other principal nation concerned in the treaty had found out by negotiation what the reservations practically meant and whether they could associate themselves with the conditions or not. Moreover, changes in the treaty seem to me to belong to the powers of negotiation which belong to the President and that I would be at liberty to withdraw the treaty if I did not approve of the ratifications. I do not think it would be wise for me to wait here for the appropriation bills. I hope to sail on the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth and suggest that you consider the plan of sending a vessel to meet me. WOODROW WILSON.

**CABLEGRAM.**  
The White House, Washington, June 23, 1919.  
The President of the United States, Paris:  
Your cable concerning reservations in ratification would make fine statement for the public. The country would stand back of you in this. Can I use it in this way or can I at least furnish copies to Senator Hitchcock and Mr. Taft? If you allow me to make public use of it may I change "leadership of the world" to "a notable place in the affairs of the world." This in order to avoid possibility of hurting feelings of other nations. Now I intend to issue statement of this kind, as Lodge has practically withdrawn Knox resolution and opponents seem to be contenting on "reservations." TUMULTY.

**CABLEGRAM—PARIS.**  
Received at White House, Washington, June 25, 1919.  
Tumulty, White House, Washington:  
I am quite willing that you should make public use of my cable to you about reservations by the Senate in regard to the treaty, with this change in the sentence to which you call my attention. WOODROW WILSON.

Secretary Tumulty today gave out a message which he had received from the President, as follows:  
"My clear conviction is that the adop-



Clemenceau, Lloya George, Orlando and Wilson as the Inner Circle of the Paris Peace Conference