



Guy Despard Loff's
letters during the
separation from his wife
& until she joined
him in Paris—
July 1919—

Letters written from
France Jan - 1919
until July 1919 to
his wife A B Loff

with - all personal
items carefully
eliminated -

Mr. Coler went up to Coblenz
with the Army of occupation
remaining here until May 1920

Then demobilization
& home -

ABL

Jan. 28, 1919.

We are now out adrift in the fog, and making such slow time. And yet the whole thing is indifferently attractive. Nothing seems to matter, or appeal to any of us. There is immensity all about us. There is mystern and danger, and the ocean in its moods. There is no romance in this trip, - nothing that draws you, there is simply the reality, and the hope you may achieve. The men about you are as a rule, strong characters, rugged, honest courageous, real men whose sterling qualities stand out in strong contrast against the unreality of many of the shrinking, timid and non-effective lives at home. In our corps now are men who would volunteer for any duty and shut their eyes to any danger. We have eliminated the "timid seven", and I am glad of it. In all there there are 38 passengers on the ship, and everything is quiet and still. Our quarters are so funereal - and so dirty, - and yet the grave is never clean. I can stand it and it is all right. G-- is greatly put out. He complains all the time, and not without cause. They will not give us any bath towels. They do not issue them to troops. I said, "It does not matter. I shall dry on one of these many extra blankets in the room", and so I am bathing and rubbing with my blanket. G-- won't do it now, but he will come to it and be glad of the chance. We should never have come on this boat. The entire first cabin is reserved for the Wilson party of several hundred. They will not let any of us in. The story is, these quarters were done over for the Wilson trip at a cost of \$250,000 and that the War Department issued orders no one could occupy them. We have no smoking room, and spend our time in our rooms, the dining room and walking. I have never seen so much dirt and the second cabin where we are smells to high heaven.

Well, we pulled out at 3 p.m. and dropped the pilot at the Hook about six o'clock. We were called on deck and put through the abandon the ship drill. Each of us were required at the sound of the bell to rush to his room, don his life preserver and take his place opposite the boat to which he is assigned. Mine is No. 10 and Col. White's is No. 9 on the opposite side of the deck. Then the sailors lower the boats half way down the ships side, the ladders are dropped and everything is ready. These drills take place once each day, and always when you are not expecting it. The ocean is full of mines, and I watched them put out the sweepers to protect the ship. These sweepers are shaped like a torpedo and are about 30 feet long. They are reeled out a great distance - perhaps 50 feet - and of course they tug and pull at the lines so constantly that the steel ropes to which they are tied are tight and taut. Then there are steel chains (almost netlike in appearance) attached to the bow and fastened to these sweepers to strike and ward off any mines that may be in our path. We have passed no ships, and the ocean feels deserted, and it is. Last night at 7:30 we had music and movies in the mess hall. It was difficult to sleep. The smells, and the general noise in the second cabin made it an undesirable location. But we will grow used to it and in time feel it is all we need.

January 29, 1919.

It is raining hard and is damp, and cold, and chilly. Was it not George Eliot who said - "On such a morning spiritual people take refuge in their hope." There is not much of that on this ship. There has been no sunshine in or out to bring it out. Really this is the dirtiest boat I was ever on. I can not understand it. I do not mind the dirt but the smells are most irritating. You would hardly know my suit, and truly I do not know where the spots came from, how they got on, or what they are. Yesterday I read Sunday papers, magazines and looked at a few of the books lying about. Then we walk at the slightest excuse. It is eight times around to the mile. The boat being 726 feet long. We go very slowly and again they say save coal. Late yesterday an officer said, "We are making about 8 or 9 miles an hour." I also hear it will take 12 days to Brest. It would not be so bad if our quarters were more comfortable. But you have made me the most graceful as well as the most magnificent of presents. The men are all so grateful. Truly I have never feasted so bountifully before on my favorite fruits, candies and cakes. They are not only too plenteous, but really without precedent, just superb. The best meal is breakfast, and it is not bad, but I do not care for the others. Major Morgan and Lt. Col. Smith have been fighting sea-sickness and with the exception of a long far away look in the eyes of Major Strode, (he says it is purely mental) the corps are all well. The ship rolls and rocks, and I believe it is the smells as much as anything. G-- is improving on acquaintance, he has a wireless from Mrs. G. and she is well and happy. He is now less moody - more subjunctive than formerly, and that is always to be desired. Col. White has inaugurated a course of lectures in the lady lounge every morning at 9 A.M. and they continue until 10, when the fire and ship drill takes place, when we all scatter like alley cats to reach our rooms, don our life preservers and rush to our ship. I must quote you a passage. I read it in the Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy Nevill. She refers to a conversation with Mr. Disraeli in which she asked him what were the best lines he had ever written. He said a portion of a speech delivered at the Manchester Athenaeum in 1844, and wrote them not signing his name.

"Knowledge is like the mystic ladder in the patriarch's dream. Its base rests on the primeval earth, its crest is lost in the shadowy splendor of the empyrean, while the great authors who for traditional ages have held the chain of science and philosophy, of posey and erudition, are the angels ascending and descending the sacred scale, maintaining as it were, the communication between man and heaven."

Do you not think this fine, so true in simile and metaphor? She also speaks of a conversation with Mrs. D. whom she describes as very vivacious and quick to resent slights directed, as she might think, against her husband, she mentions a photographer having requested that Mr. D. pose whereupon Mrs. D. objected, and she thus relates it "The man said he actually wanted him to be taken leaning on a chair, but I soon settled that for him. 'Dizzy', I said, has always stood alone and he shall continue to do so."

The weather is growing worse and more of it. I do not know where we are. No one will say. The ship's course seems to be a secret. And why I don't know. The sun has never shown since we left New York and that seems ages ago. The rain is falling hard, a compensation as it were, for the dry weather on land. It brings to mind that odd doggerel, I have read somewhere:

"No man more surely pays a debt,
Than rain pays fair and fair pays wet."

The fog is thick, and the siren blows her metallic scream. There is much music on the boat, the bands play constantly and they are good. There is a Y. M. C. man and a K.C. on the boat, they are obliging and offer you books and papers. They are going over to come back with the sick. It is said at least 1000 will return in steerage and second cabin with Mr. Wilson.

We spent two hours in our lecture and discussion this morning, from 9 - 11, and then I walked an hour. It is very cold, and when we run out of the fog it is only to go into a heavy snow storm. The ship is following a peculiar schedule. It is aiming to save coal, and it is running very slow, but we have taken the northern route, which means fog, snow and, - oh, so cold. You may be interested to know, our rooms are changed. We kept at the captain until he moved us up. I have a room alone very near the President's - 68. Mine is 77. I have a large double brass bed, writing desk, mirrors and a private bathroom. The room steward says Mr. Schwab always has my room. It is most comfortable, and in fact as large as our sleeping room at the Portland. Colonel White is on the other side of the boat in 62 and Colonel G is in 68A with Lt. Col. Brindly. I am the only one to have a brass bed. I nearly froze last night, as they have a way of turning off the steam each night, and the ship is like an ice box toward morning, and especially when you open your window. I sent you a wireless, the last one before we pass out into eternal space. It was to go via Cape Race, and you must have it by this time. I suppose you will phone Mrs. White. Col. G. and E--exchange daily wireesses that pass in the sending. She is in New York. It is growing very monotonous and we are all growing restive and anxious to land. It seems months since we left New York and yet it was only Monday last. It is strange how time drags, how you feel you are doing nothing. I suppose none of us are normal. It is so cold and so cramped, and you do not feel yourself. The wind is biting and more so now than ever before.

We have as I have said so much music, pianolas, music boxes, the ship's band, and the orchestra on the dining saloon picked especially to play for the Wilson's. These different bands play all the time. There is no dancing. There are no women on the ship except the regular Red Cross Nurses belonging to the Army and Navy Transport Service. We never see them except at meals. We have movies every night and such crazy ones at that. There are two so-called theaters. The Martha Washington, the name of the dining room where we have our meals, and the Old Salt, where the second class passengers have theirs. So at 6 they (alternating) have a movie in the Old Salt at 6 for the crew (there are no meals served there now) and at 7:45 we have ours in the Martha Washington. The movie lasts until 9:30 and there are three intermissions during which the orchestra plays the Presidents favorites. Last night we had "Quo Vadis" - the first time I have ever seen it, and tonight we have (so the bulletin announces) Elsie Ferguson in "The Rise of Jeanne Cushing". I generally go to bed to keep warm and so do most of the men. I have a lamp by the side of my bed and in that way read most of the time. The ocean is rough and Major Stroke is under the weather.

January 31, 1919. 11 A.M.

We have just finished our general discussion of matters military, and I have walked a mile and a half. Never let anyone tell you the North Atlantic is not rough and cold in February. It was difficult to stay in bed last night, that is, in a brass bed, and twice I had to get up to keep from rolling out. They say the boat has no cargo, and I wonder why. They are going to bring back 5000 soldiers - 1000 wounded. The steerage is all town out and the beds are arranged in tiers five high. There is also a room where the wounded will go, and the bed confined. Your fruit is holding out fine. The men come in at 10 o'clock each night and they are most grateful and thankful for your thoughtfulness. It is said we shall reach Brest February 5th, at 8 A.M. We anchor in the roads and go in on the tender. The train for Paris leaves at 10 A.M. and takes 15 hours to make the run. Chaumont is 6 hrs. N. E. of Paris. We aim now to stay Wednesday in Brest and sleep on the ship. Then take the Thursday train for Paris, reaching there late that night or rather very early Friday morning. We shall go on to Chaumont that afternoon reporting Saturday and arranging quarters and resting up before Monday. I only wish we could see the sun. It is overcast all the time, and most dismal. The men try to be cheerful, but seem to get on each others nerves, and every fellow shifts for himself. We all sit together and according to rank.

5 P.M.

We have been running into a large and angry sea. It is very rough tonight. It will be worse they say, - a regular winter blast. I have walked all afternoon and talked with different officers. There is a K. C. man and I find him refreshing. The Y. M. C. is also kindly disposed. They expect to return with the troops and they have every conceivable thing to make the troops happy. There are also two parsons on the ship, - one a priest, and the other a Protestant. They will also return. The ship looks very clean now. There are over 1000 men in the crew and they have been busily engaged ever since we left New York washing, sand-papering and painting. Everything is paint, black paint, white paint, grey paint and lavender paint for Mrs. Wilson's suite. It has made the ship cold because of the necessity to have everything open to dry and let out the smell. We have a daily grist of uninteresting wireless reports, and nothing seems to happen. I wonder what the Peace Conference is doing. Delay seems dangerous. People forget and the point of view changes. To us the whole thing looks vacillating and all because our Peace statesmen refuse to face facts and take refuge in expediency. There is an article in February's North American Review by Dr. Hill on "Germany's Pose for Peace". You should read it as well as the editorial on Pres. Lowell's League of Nations. They are each good and I know you will enjoy them. In fact there are other articles of interest, judging from their titles, in that number.

February 1, 1919.

I lectured today, and as usual bored my audience. I wonder why we have these talks. Perhaps it is the discipline of the army, fearful lest time may be wasted. I told you of the movies for the crew. They are much aroused and you can hear them applaud all over the ship. It is great for them, and educates them, develops their imagination. I fully believe a crisis is upon us. If we do not make radical changes in our social and economic life, social decadence or a bloody revolution will result. Here in America lies the hope of mankind. Other nations have grown to greatness and passed away. Will this country do likewise? To us are being brought all the vices and virtues of the world. We have here a civilization more complex than any the world has ever seen, - and so unconsciously, - there are struggling here, the wreckers and the builders of society. The hour of the world's supreme need has come. The nation calls for its men and women who will take risks and make sacrifices. It is action not words that are needed. Words are discounted. They are losing their force, largely because they have been used so glibly. We must do less talking and more acting. What if we do make mistakes, what if we are defeated, what if we do die? Is it not better than to live a useless life of critical negative enjoyment? Really, and I know you agree, the most difficult service today, is to live for humanity, being misunderstood, enduring criticisms and ridicule, and fighting on day by day without much vision, SANS hope, - SANS stimulus, SANS energy. A year ago many of us had visions of better days, and we could have pledged our lives gladly to make these visions come true. But now - well you know what I mean - at least some of us feel the purpose was wrong, that nothing lasting was accomplished, because there was no intent at any time to do the thing to an eternal finish.

When it does snow, it rains, and it is not snowing today. It was much warmer this morning and some of us hoped the sun would come out, but no sun. Then it has grown rougher with the rain. We are about half way over, and tomorrow is Sunday. Think of it! Does it not seem slow? This saving coal, and spending 30 for liquors. The rain has beat down all day, and the wind has rhythmically and measuredly souged drearily through the ship. There is no ink, - that is why I use pencil. No one has ink and all the fountain pens are empty. How everything changes with the years, and the world with the days, but the boundless deep never changes. Everywhere, and all about is the same white foam, the same deep blue, the same merciless, yet impersonal icy blast of the primeval deep. Everyone is irritable today. Man, at last, has assimilated with his surroundings, and has become part of his conditions. Any why not? If for days you see no sun, no stars, no moon. If all you see are low black clouds, and all you hear and feel is in keeping, is it any wonder that you fail to radiate the spirit of the poet who has somewhere said comfortably, "Behind the cloud the sun still shines." It no doubt does, but you don't believe it, when there is not even a rip or rend, - a rift within the lute. There are several cases of "flu" on board, and among the crew. I hear that many of the boys returning from France have jumped overboard, and that on the last trip, one soldier in anger pushed another off the ship. Strange is it not? We do not hear these things or see them in the local papers. And yet among so many, one is never missed.

February 2, 1919. 5 P.M.

This has been the busiest of days, and now is the first time to write. It is strange how something different from the ordinary will upset you. Breakfast was as usual and then at nine we commenced our lecture talk, which lasted until 11:15. We walked a short time, and at 12 all hands went to lunch. At 1 o'clock Lt. Col. McChesney of Chicago had a prayer meeting in the lounge, that lasted nearly an hour. Then Col. White and I returned Capt. McCalley's call, and at 3 o'clock there were services for the ship in the mess hall. At four we were out again and what I have done since I don't know. I tried to read in the book, "The Flame that was France", and while it may have taken the Goncourt Prize of 1917, it does not appeal to me. In spots it is good. The bulletin for the day says Wilson is opposed to the plan of the Allies about the German Colonies. What does he want to do, - reconstruct and recreate Germany? The next move no doubt will be to release her from paying the indemnity. This ship is about made over. It has been completely repainted since we left New York, both inside and out. It is marvelous what a crew of 1000 men can do in a week, when turned loose under a well directed plan. It is yet raining, in fact, just pouring. The sea is becoming rougher, and by Monday night we will be in the Bay of Biscay, where we are told to expect regular English Channel weather. The Captain says it is seldom you do not see the sun, and someone thinks he saw a lone star last night. I doubt it, because the nights are so cold and dark, just like an Egyptian abyss. Our corps is developing a sort of heroic indifference, and those who do not wear a mask and talk up to it, are more or less uninteresting and emphatically dry. Col. White and I were invited to dine with Captain McCalley in his room on the bridge. We had a most delicious dinner, - Lobster and duck, salad, and a deep apple pie. Altogether it was fine. We went out on the bridge, but the fog and rain prevented our seeing anything. The Captain was in Constantinople a year and a half, - was there while the English were forcing the Dardenelles. He says yesterday an oil tanker sent out an S.O.S. to Cape Race, and it was relayed to us, that he picked the boat up and said he would come to save life, but not property, and that they replied they could make Port Halifax. The law of the sea seems cruel. This boat passed the Covington when she was torpedoed, but was not allowed to stop for fear she might be given the same treatment. The Captain will not leave the bridge. He feels the responsibility too much. He says the French coast in and about Brest is very dangerous and treacherous. It is strange how these commanders fear a fog. He says it always makes him shaky. He graduated at the Naval Academy about 20 years ago. He is one of the finest men I have met. He has been everywhere, and lived everywhere he has been. He hopes to take the President back after his return to the States, - that is, if he goes, - the rumors here are that they are fighting in Paris.

February 3, 1919.

We have just finished lunch and they do say the Biltmore cook is aboard. I asked the dining room steward if it were true, and he said yes, but he will not begin to cook until we get the President. I wonder if he cooked the Captain's dinner, which was so delicious? Again, another day and no sun, just dark and dismal, damp and rainy, and everything so sticky. We breathe in the mist and the chill, and on the land the mud must be consistently deep and sticky. The Captain says the troops mar the boat so, especially those returning, that the mud and dirt is appalling, and I can well believe it. It is bad enough with us, who merely expect fleas and the like. I read of a beautiful illusion to the mud, that it is the dough from which a new world will arise and that the soldiers are the kneaders, rather unique is it not? The marines are drilling on the lower deck and the ascending sounds are most martial. They disturb Col. G-- and when they awake him from his siestas he is cross and they say he swears. I have read some of the stories in a "Gentleman in Arms". It is a fine collection, and I advise your reading it. The first six chapters and the epilogue are the best. The chaplains on the boat are very earnest. They have much to tell. They look at life sordidly and without intending it somewhat materially. They think everywhere is the crossroads of the world, and that we shall find it difficult to locate ourselves after the cataclysm, if equilibrium is ever restored. At least, that is their vision, and evidently they have not solved their problem. What they see, I assume, is the naked truth, and no doubt it is discouraging. I have read "The Flame that is France" by Malherbe. It took the Goncourt Prize in 1917. I shall quote the best thing in the entire book. It is the best part of the entire story. In fact, I fail to see why the story created such a furor:

"The world ascribes to the people of France an agitation in life and in language that is no longer borne out by the observation of today. Our men love silence. They have been used to living together so long, and the events they witness are so overwhelming that perhaps they consider words useless and ideas vain.

"They speak little, they think little, they try even not to think of anything. I have often seen proof of this stagnation of the spirit and the imagination in the brightest and most intelligent souls. It undoubtedly results from sheer weariness of the understanding, the sadness of feeling oneself a stranger to the joys of the old. But there is perhaps another explanation of it, a man only knows his place in the world through the contrasts and relations that he marks and measures about him. A life is rich and significant in proportion to the diverse and extended affinities and reactions which it discerns.

"How can a soldier establish these correspondences and these dispositions that would augment and determine his own thought? How far his eye wanders over these restricted places. He can see only nothing but war, nothing but soldiers, who act and think just as he does. And at the extremity of this stifling horizon, - death. Consciousness withers and forsakes him. What remains is nothing but a prescribed personality, reduced to a tame and strict regimen. His dull memory becomes torpid. There is nothing he can do. Everything in his soul is transparent and without depth, scentless, docile-like water diffused over an immense space. The soldier has slipped into his mental uniform."

February 3, 1919. Con.

The whole spirit of this is self effacement, - sacrifice, and do for and save others. Men today must go, face danger with a conviction that their cause is just, and that they are nothing. It is inspiring to reflect on the spirit of the present day soldier. It is abnegation, the surrender of liberty, the acceptance of implicit obedience, the uncertainty of reward in case of success, the repression of emotion, the elimination of ambition. The men in the service today are members of a great fraternity, the brotherhood of sacrifice, and they have consecrated everything they have undertaken, simply because their voluntary acceptance of every obligation has exacted them. After all, we are our brothers keepers, since everything we do involves others as much, if not more than ourselves. Every nation, no doubt, got the army it deserved, and the good and the bad men make good and bad soldiers. And yet, after all, our problem is to become acquainted with the joys of the old unless they are gone never to return. I hope not, as there is too much that is good in the old ever to be forgotten or avoided.

February 4, 1919. A.M.

Again it rains and bucketsful, just like it did the season we were in France. They say we are in the Bay of Biscay. It is rough and the fog is thicker, you can taste it, and it is so wet. Major Strode is a good sailor now, and Major Morgan and Lt. Col. Smith have their sea legs. Our conferences have ended, the last one today. They have lasted always from 9 to about 11:15 to 30, and the morning was always gone. It was well. They became in a sense a debating society rather than an instructive society dealing with informing discourse. They did good, they presented each man's problem as he viewed it, and they kept our minds on what we are going to do. We go with Commander Perkins, the Executive Officer, (the one who allowed you to see the Wilson quarters) at 4:30 to go over the ship. I suppose it will prove most instructive. They say we shall arrive at 8 A.M. Wednesday morning, February 5, 1919, unless the fog is too thick. And this is France, - cold, stormy, and uninviting. The trip has not been without its compensations. It has seemed like a private boat, except the table and other accommodations were not what you expect at such a time. And yet, that matters little, because at last it is nothing but the incidental. We reach Brest tomorrow, and do not know when we leave for Paris. It is 15 hours from B. to P. Some of the men want to make the trip by day, but I don't care, one is the same as the other. Then Chaumont is 6 hrs from P. Again the men are clamoring to stay over a day or so in Paris. I would prefer to go on, and know my fate, what I am to do, where I am to stay. Col. White will phone General Kreger from Paris and decide then what to do. I shall write a line from Paris. There is not much to see there, and yet if you have never visited the city, I can see that you might be anxious to linger. From what I hear Brest is a good place to flee from as soon as possible. It is over crowded and a mud hole of infinite variety and depth.

We have passed several icebergs. The Captain says that will account for much of our cold weather. He had warnings they were loose in the North Atlantic, and he adds it is unusual. I fancy the winter has been mild here, the same as in the States. It is so cold today and they explain that, by saying it is due to our approaching the land, that France is always cold, and that this winter is no exception to the rule. It is a penetrating cold.

February 4, 1919. P.M.

Well here we are 150 miles off the French Coast anchored. We can't see. We have not been able to get any bearings all day, and we know where we are only by wireless. Captain McCauley says the responsibility is too great to chance it, we we anchor and blow and ring our bell, and send out wireless messages that we are in the way. We can perhaps get in now by noon, and so it goes. Since writing at noon we made the rounds of the ship. It took an hour and one half. It was worth it. This is certainly a great vessel. Commander Perkins says it has the largest engines of any ship in the world. There are 1100 men in the crew, and when they start back there will be nearly 8000 on board. Our plans are upset by the delay. I am packed up, so are the rest. I shall be glad to land.

The officers are most grateful, they know they are indebted to you. The Italian officers had some of the cake and ginger. They were most grateful and so appreciative. The Belgians are very nice. The man in 81 is the big Belgian we say on the streets so much in Washington. He and No. 83, one from Brussels, have invited me to visit them if ever there. No. 79 is going, as I said, to join Hoover. So you can see we have a small crowd for the size of the ship.

I shall write you often and tell you all I can see and hear. You should hear from me averagely once in 3 or 4 days, so Lt. Deane (No. 131) the courier, tells me. It is now 12 o'clock, midnight Tuesday. Men are running about, swearing at each other and cursing their and our luck. The horns are screaming, no reply, and the bells are tolling with no echo. After all, how helpless we are, how empty and shallow the great parade of life is, and how little the individual counts, and it should be that way, and it is well it is.

February 5, 1919.

We were anchored until about 5 A.M. Then we crawled up the coast line and passed the lightship at six thirty. We anchored again, and now at 9 o'clock we are moving in slowly. The baggage has just gone and the steward says we should reach our place in the "roads" by 11 o'clock. It is pouring rain and blowing a gale. I fancy the coast would be very fine to see in clear weather.

Everything is confusion, noise running, and orders in black, white and yellow.

Paris, February 6, 1919.

We left Brest at 5 P.M. and sat up all night. We reached here at 8 A.M. and several of the members are sick. It is cold and raw and the mud is deep and sticky. The train was very cold and Major Albert has caught cold. This hotel, the Louvre, is full of American officers. It has snowed much and the streets are packed high in places. Have just met Charles Palmer. He goes home tomorrow, and I am sending this by him. He will mail this in Baltimore.

Colonel White wants you to telephone Mrs. White we are well and here in good shape. He is too busy to write now. We are arranging about registering the men. We shall stay here tonight and go to Chaumont Saturday or late Friday night. We had a good breakfast, the first meal since lunch Wednesday.

February 6, 1919. 4 P.M.

Since writing you this morning I failed to meet Major Palmer, and mailed the letter. I just met him, and he has promised to come here at 5 P.M. and take this note and a package to you.

The Louvre is now an officers club. No one but commissioned officers can stop here. Jamor Palmer will tell you all about it and about Paris and France in general. The streets and all public places are packed with canons and other trophies taken from the Germans. Now and then you see a much abused and badly battered German tank.

We leave in the morning at 8 o'clock and reach Chaumont at 2 P.M. The orders are most strict, that no officers can remain in Paris over the next train departing after his arrival. We are compelled to call on Major General Harts, commanding the Paris district and get a permit allowing us to stay over night. He and his chief Col. Whitneys are each warm friends of Col. White. We got exception to the rule. We did not sleep last night and we need a bath, and a night in bed. Lt. Col. McChesney and Major Call have been taken ill since morning, and I hear Major Wells is complaining. So you can see, it would have been stupid to have left here at 8 P.M. tonight and arrived there at 2 A.M. It might have resulted in serious sickness. It is said our officers have been acting so badly since the signing of the armistice, that no one not assigned here is allowed to remain in the city. While this order has been in effect since Jan. 8, 1919, no one told us at Brest, and we saw Col. White's best friend in charge there, Col. Singleton. Then at the Provost Marshall's office here we were issued permits to remain here until tomorrow. It was not until we had phoned Chaumont that we heard otherwise, and we were compelled to get the special dispensation from Gen. Harts. It is characteristic of the confusion generally noticeable. We reach Chaumont at 2 P.M. Friday. Gen. Kreger phones he just heard this morning we were coming and that it may be several days before we are billeted, that in the meantime we must stay at Y.M.C. and hotel. We hear Spiller has substituted for Major Weed and that he is on some ship due in a few days.

February 7, 1919. 6:30 A.M.

We leave in a few moments for Chaumont. We must reach the station soon to get a seat, sign up releases and get through, - you know nothing is reserved.

Major Palmer has your letter and package. I hope you receive them in good condition. It is getting cold. I slept better last night, took a bath and was in bed by 9:30/

Col. White went to the theater with Albert. There is nothing new.

Chaumont, February 8, 1919.

Reached here yesterday at 3 P.M. General Kreger, Col. Rand and Col. Boughton met us at the station. Wallace is in Italy on leave. He was overworked, and has gone there to recuperate. He will return about the 15th. We went to the Hotel de France where rooms were engaged for some and the others were put up at the Y. M. C. Then we came to G.H.Q. It is the old French barracks built in the form of a triangle, about 300 ft. long, and 150 ft. wide. The houses are very substantial old brick and stone buildings, built around this space. Of course everything is very cold, the halls are like ice, and the rooms are warmer. They are heated by stoves in which wood is burned. The thermometer was 10 below zero, and it seemed very cold to us. I do not see how the people accomplish much in a literal sense, with the houses so cold. The stores are cold, and the clerks look blue and red, shrivelled and drawn. Col. Mayes is in the other end of this building with Gen. Bethal. They came to call, and we returned it this morning. The two offices are distinct and exercise a different jurisdiction. Gen. Bethal is the Judge Advocate to Gen. Pershing, while Gen. Kreger is the representative of the Judge Advocate General of the army in France. Therefore, Bethal is subject to Kreger. That is the theory of the two offices. Col. Mayes is assistant to Bethal, and White will be the same to Kreger. We have divided the forces as follows:

Board of Review: GOFF, RAND, HUIDEKOPER.

This body passes finally on all questions before they reach Kreger. Col. White is in reality the executive officer.

Col. Boughton is assistant to Gen. Bethal, and has charge of all international law questions. Col. Powers is also in that office. Col. M. is so fat you would not know him. I have never seen anyone get as large as he. Boughton looks very well and seems most happy. I wish you would look her up and tell her how well he is, and how very much they think of him here. He speaks French like a native, and is doing special work on that account.

Col. G. and I are rooming together at the hotel. He complains so about the cold. This morning we had to break the ice in the pitchers to wash, and it was difficult to shave with the icy lather. All you can do is go to bed. The office is a mere drive way open at both ends, and to the cold is added the icy draft. There is no parlor or lounging room of any kind; so you see, it is bed. We were shown several rooms, but I declined. There was no bath and the surroundings were filthy. You are expected to go to the public bath, just across from the city hall and purchase tickets, and await your turn. It is said the inhabitants are nationally dirty. The soldiers here have never seen such dirty people taking them as a whole. I fancy it is true, judging from the interior of the houses we visited with the billeting officer this morning. The outsides look like palaces, but the interiors, well I can't describe "him". As the officer says, "you must see for yourself". We are trying to get a house large enough for at least six, and then we can get up our own mess. There are no eating houses like at home, but the meals are so elaborate, and there is more than we need or wish. Rand and Huidekoper are anxious to reach home but I don't know.

They say this is a cold winter. I don't mind it and everything is fine. I hope Col. G. will become more reconciled in the near future. He is not a bad fellow, but has the complaining habit. I am sure he will get better in time. I shall stay at the hotel until I am permanently fixed. White is with Kreger.

Saw Lt. Col. Nelson Black last night. He had come down to see Col. Watrous (a doctor) and returns to Germany today. He looked very well. He says Col. Gilbert Seaman has had pneumonia, and that he will return to the U. S. very soon. He is now at Bordeaux convalescing.

February 9, 1919.

This is another cold day. I have been here since early morning and expect to stay until I dine at Col. Huidekoper's mess at 7 o'clock. The office (not the halls) is the only warm place in the town. The rooms in the Dept. are kept most comfortable. At least once an hour, the old charwoman comes in to replenish the wood. She is bent and old and haggard, but seemingly happy, and undoubtedly because she is methodical. The band is now playing outside in the quadrangle, where Gen. Pershing is conferring the Medal of Honor upon a number of privates, corporals, sergeant-majors and some officers for gallant conduct in the face of the enemy. There were in all twenty medals conferred. It was a very inspiring sight. Three men carried the flag, preceeding the column of soldiers which was followed by the band. The entire body then marched to a position directly opposite Gen. Pershing, who stepped forward, and with a few appropriate words, pinned the medal upon the blouse of each recipient. This medal differs from the D.S.M. in this:- that no one can get it who has not rendered his service in the face of the enemy and under fire. In a word a man must not only do his duty in battle but he must go further and display greater courage than he is expected to show under such circumstances. There is nothing new since my note of yesterday. We have not succeeded in getting a billet. Some of the men have been out looking today. The system under an agreement with the French Government permits the billeting officer to commandeer any unoccupied room. This is done by first finding the vacant rooms and then notifying the people they must hold the rooms subject to the use of the officers. The officers are then given the lists, the most desirable rooms being assigned according to rank. I have arranged to join the Wallace mess which is not far from the hotel. I was there at lunch, and it is very satisfactory. The French eat too much, and there is no scarcity of food, that I can see, except that butter and sugar are at a premium. Break is very plentiful, tho you are compelled to present tickets. I am very sorry not to be settled, and hope to soon find a place. It is most distracting not to be fixed, and unpacked. I wish you would look up Mrs. Huidekoper and see something of her, since her husband and I are thrown in such close contact. You might do the same with Mrs. Rand, when you go to New York. You can get her address by telephoning the Jerrome law firm. These little things count and may help in unexpecyed places. You might also write Mrs. Wallace that I say her husband has done so well over here and how highly he is considered. It seems years since I was in the U. S. and it is only two weeks tomorrow since we sailed. But so much has happened, and there have been so many changes, that measured by events it seems ages. I do not know what we are to do, except for the present. We are to work here, and clean up the accumulation. We can do this quite soon, and then what, - no one knows. The whole thing is most indefinite, no one knows how long we shall be here. Some say six months, while others say at least a year. I do not attempt to guess at the time. Later I can form a better opinion. Both Rand and Huidekoper are most anxious to go home. In fact they are obsessed, H. because of his wife, - she is not happy, I infer, and Rand because of his business. I do not know about Wallace but will learn his attitude on his return from Italy on the 15th.

February 10, 1919.

I hear this morning that it is not the custom to send many letters (unofficial) by courier. I shall enclose this in one to Gen. Ansell, and next week I shall do the same in a letter to Gen. Crowder. I hope you will in this way receive the letters sooner. It still remains cold, but the office is most comfortable. Col. G has a cold and worries too much. I talked Christian Science to him today and he says I am right. I think his wife has babied him too much, and he depended on it more than he knew. I hear some of the others are complaining of colds. I am looking after them, and seeing they go to the dispensary, which is just across the yard.

We dined at the Chateau where Col. Huidekoper billets. I wrote you **their** chef was the ex-chef of the Hotel de Crillon. He goes back during the coming week. Well the dinner was one of the best I ever ate. Two of the aides of Gen. Pershing were there, also the Count de Chambrun, liason officer between Foch and Pershing. He was military attachet in Washington during the Roosevelt administration. He is a direct descendant of La Fayette, - speaks English perfectly and was born in Washington where he went to school until he was ten years old. He and Huidekoper went to the same school in Washington. He married Nic Longworth's sister. She is in Paris. He has invited White (who knows him very well) and myself to visit him in Paris. He is safe in that as we can not go to Paris until we have served here four months. White and I are to move and live with them if they can extend the lease which expires Feb. 24, 1919.

February 11, 1919.

Merely a line. Little has happened since yesterday. The work and hours here are much the same as in Washington. In many ways, it does not seem that the office is in any respects different. We have not yet obtained a billet. It is discouraging, if you look at things through blue glasses. I do not and Col. G. is complaining all the time. I have preached to him quite vigorously, and I think he has made an effort to change. I could not room with him long. He is so slow, and always wants me to wait for him. It takes him five minutes (he admits) to clean his teeth and about twenty minutes to shave. We are at Wallace's mess, a mile from the hotel for meals, and he wants me always to wait for him in the morning. This morning my shaving brush was frozen; also my tooth brush, and there is no water hot enough in the hotel to thaw either out. The reason being there are so many demanding hot water. G. has a bad cold and tooth ache. Col. White has a tooth ache, and did not sleep last night. THIS IS CONFIDENTIAL. Many things happen and there is much talk. I hope to soon get my bearings. I dined last night with Col. Lea (Luke Lea, former Senator from Tenn.). He had much to say. I like him. Dinner here is quite an event. It is the only place where you can get warm, and there are many messes. They are composed of about 6 or 8 officers who rent a room in a private house, and arrange with the woman to cook and serve. They, of course, have a mess sergeant, and furnish everything, including coal and wood. It costs about \$60.00 a month, \$2.00 a day for meals. I find a room will cost about \$50.00 and then laundry and wood and coal and light are extra. So it will cost about \$175.00 a month for actual necessities. If any one tells you it is expensive here you can believe it. The reason being that the people are certainly on the make. This I can say: It is producing much feeling, and especially with the enlisted man. In a word, it is Washington all over again. There is nothing new at Paris. It is said you know more than we. In a great measure that is true. Marshall Bullit is in Paris and Wickersham is also there. I suppose they are greatly interested in all that is going on. Huidekoper knows Marshall very intimately. He says it is intimated he neglects and has neglected Mrs. B. at least to such an extent as to cause much talk. He is not well thought of over here. He is a voice and nothing more, so they say, whether rightously or otherwise, that is the estimate in which he is held. He was in Chaumont two weeks ago. His headquarters are in Paris at 2 Rue de Rivoli. I shall write him soon, and ask him to look me up here. I shall write Percy soon, but you know my time is limited for such pleasures.

February 13, 1919.

All is about the same. The weather is not good. And the climate is severe upon some of our corps. I met a doctor in the Surgeon's office. he lives in Kenosha and practices in Chicago. He says this is the dampest climate in the world. All agree it is the most penetrating. He says it is much worse than the lake regions in Illinois and Wisconsin. Everybody coughs and all the time. Several of our men are in the hospital, but nothing serious. The word "Chaumont" means bald mountain, and it is the water shed from the Marne and the Rhone. In fact, we are on the Marne. It is a quaint old place. The streets are so narrow and very long. Really, it is a city of distance, and very long ones. We walk nearly a mile to breakfast and then another mile to the office. There are no street cars, and only the Generals have motors. We are not settled yet, and the complications increases with the days. I am satisfied, and it is a satisfaction to feel I am averagely comfortable as compared with others similarly situated. There is nothing new in the daily papers, although we have the Daily Mail, Chicago Tribune (Paris edition), and the New York Herald. I see suffrage was defeated, and the I.W.W. are to be deported.

February 14, 1919.

The mail today brings the enclosed letters from W. I am sending them back. This is the first mail from the states. I wonder if you have my letter written on the steamer and yet it is doubtful.

We expect Spiller tomorrow. He landed at Bordeaux several days ago. The work here continues to be most absorbing and is very intensive. The office was 700 cases behind, literally swamped. We do not make the headway I should wish, but perhaps changes will come. I hope to write soon a longer letter, and one of more interest, one that at least has a local or overseas coloring. I have not succeeded in getting a room, though I am trying daily and Boughton is helping me. It will be a great satisfaction when I am ultimately settled. Col. G. and I are yet together in the Hotel de France, which without its name would not be very attractive.

February 15, 1919.

Here is another day, just another period of rain and mud and slush. As the old lady at the mess puts it: "Bon jour, Monsieur. Comment vous portez-vous ce matin? Nous avons beaucoup dy boue sur la rue." It looks to me more like black bean soup than pea but it is mud alright.

The Peace Conference does not make headway. It temporizes seemingly, and as a result Germany grows bolder and preposes to renew her insolence. I cannot understand why the war against Poland is permitted. We should speak to Germany, the only language she understands, the language of action. There is talk that unless the Huns withdraw their armies the armistice will not be renewed. This will mean a resumption of fighting, and it is difficult to believe the Bosches are anxious to renew hostilities. I believe if the Allied War Council should fight, the Germans will cry Kamerad and shout: "Don't shoot, I am coming down." So Hindenburg should be ordered to evacuate Posen and at once. The Germans have no right in Poland except the rights of brute force, and they may just as well be ordered out now as later. Nothing is to be gained by making two bites at a cheese. The New German Republic threatens. (I believe it is Scheidemann) that Bolshevism will get us unless Germany is left in the undisturbed possession of her plunder. This bugaboo is being overworked, and I am glad to see they are deporting some of the motley crew from America where they have stirred up trouble right along.

General Kreger has his son-in-law here. He is in the Ordnance, 1st Lieutenant, and a very nice fellow. He has been in Germany. The Gen. says his daughter had double pneumonia, and nearly died. She was with her mother at West Point. It took 21 days to get a cable through, and the army refused to send it. Confidentially, that seems most strange. However, the Gen. says he was nearly crazy during this time. Mrs. K. and the daughter are now in Florida. As to Marshall B. - you recall that Mrs. B. was visiting in Washington at a Du Pont family on Mass. Ave. I hear Col. Huidekoper married a Du Pont, and I suppose his information from that quarter, that B. is neglecting his wife. This is a mere inference on my part.

Col. R. is busy reading his mail from the States. He has about 12 letters, all large and absorbing. He goes next week for a two weeks leave in Italy, just as soon as Wallace returns, who is expected Sunday sometime. I hear Spiller is expected "any time now", but for some reason he misconnected and was put in a Casual Camp at Bordeaux. Gen. Kreger has had some trouble in getting him released. I do not see why he was sent and the same is true of others of this party. As you know Ansell did not consult me in making up the list. But why worry or care? "Sufficient unto this day is its evil."

February 16, 1919.

I have just reached the office. Col. Huidekoper is reading his mail and seems greatly absorbed. Spiller came in last night and occupied G's bed, who stayed with Major Runyon. (He has an extra room) We are trying daily to get rooms. They offer all kinds of places, and as yet we can find nothing to suit us. I am advised to wait, until I get what seems to be the best. I, of course, only want an approach to comfort, and perhaps I am not sufficiently particular? The rooms are not in the best families, but in a class like the working people in the States. The women seem like many of your serving girls, not as clean, but of course they can't help it, as this is not a country where people bathe. I should not say it, but really the people smell like the negroes at home, and the smell is very similar. I can readily understand that in these cold, crude countries, where everything is an open fireplace there is little incentive to have hot water, or a place to collect it. Although this is a city of 40,000 people, there are no bathrooms. The people have shower baths, public and private and the (W.C.) are out doors and with no sewage whatever. I do not know, but the officers say this town is characteristic of other French places of similar size and location. As Col. Boughton puts it, he has never progressed. They also say these people have no ambition except to eat, drink red wine, and sleep. Remind me to tell you what Pat Hurley says.

The bank is playing outside to welcome the Prince of Wales, who comes to visit Gen. Pershing. He is to review the troops. The occasion is one of many, - the Belgian King was here the other day. - - -

4:30 P.M.

I have just come from Gen. P's chateau, where with Gen. Kreger and Col. White I attended a reception to the Prince. He is a good looking chap, 5 ft. 8 in. and looks like Paul Carpenter. He is very unaffected, quite democratic, and self conscious to a degree. He told me he spoke French, German and Italian equally well as English. I enjoyed him very much. He is a clean, honest appearing chap, and has a real wholesome face. I had a pleasant talk with Pershing. The conversation was most agreeable and he invited me to come to see him. The papers here are full of Gen. Ansell's testimony before the Senate and his action was the subject of MUCH CRITICISM. (This, of course, is most confidential).

Wallace returned yesterday. He looks well, and says his trip to Rome was the most interesting of his life. He speaks in glowing terms of Italy, except the immorality of the people. He says it is unspeakable it is so hideous. He looks well and sends his best regards to you. From what I can see and hear he has done well, and has nothing to regret or be ashamed of, a fact not to be recorded of some of our friends, I am sorry to say.

Two more of our corps are in the hospital, and a Capt. King in Gen. B's Dept. is very ill with pneumonia. I can see now why these people all wear wooden shoes, - they keep their feet dry. They wear thick black woolen socks and what we would call bed-room slippers, then the wooden shoes are put on and strapped tight to the feet. So you see they are at least prepared to be dry. Everyone wears such shoes except the better class. Some of the better class women wear gum boots and short dresses. It seems a most sensible custom. No one stops for the mud. The streets and roads are small rivers of water and muddy pools. I hear it is part of their frugality to have no sidewalks or macadamized roads, and to go without fire in their

houses. Today I visited a house on the Rue de la Republique to see a billet. It was the home of a prominent doctor. There was no fire. The family were all sitting about in heavy wraps and rugs around their feet. I am told this has been the custom for centuries, - to use heat only for cooking and hot water, and to keep warm by having feather beds and going to bed to read and sew. The billet was too small, and I did not take it. It seems hopeless, and yet, I shall continue to try until something turns up.

Enclosed is a copy of the Paris Edition of the Chicago Tribune. This is the way it comes to us daily, only two sheets. You can see how it is an improvement over the N. Y. Herald.

The Count de Chambrun tells me Wickersham goes home in a few days, and has advised him to read his N. Y. Tribune articles. No one here sees the paper. Do you suppose you could in any way collect them together and send them to me?

I thank you for the socks. They are just what I needed here. I have purchased shoes at the Quartermasters, - 2 sizes too large in order that I might wear the socks. So you can see that while quite foot heavy I am most comfortable and very foot dry. There are many things I wish I might write, but the regulations forbid it.

February 17, 1919.

The President has started for home and Mr. W. is also going. I do not see the aim or purpose of the conference. Things are static, when they should be dynamic. Hoover's recent statement depicts the situation as it really is. He says the Germans must be made pay in kind, that money will not feed a people or raise and nurse babies. He is referring to the Huns having robbed Northern France of its dairy stock. He mentions that 200 million Germans, or the people subject to the control of Germany are in need of food. He criticizes Germany for showing no regret, and even then he indulges the hope that the German race is not beyond redemption. He says it is our duty to help upbuild the German people to a point of decency. I do not agree in the least, and yet, this is undoubtedly an offshoot of the feeling that advocates prison reform, even though the facts show that the criminal is presumably beyond redemption. However, I heartily agree with his view: "That if the 70 million Germans were to shed the tears of Niobe for the next 1000 years, they could not wash away the human misery for which they have been responsible in Belgium and Northern France alone." This is splendid. There are many such prisoners here. Our boys took them. They are made work, and it is a common sight to see a squad of them being marched down the road in front of sentrys armed with bayonets on their rifles. Often you see them going to and from work in an ordnance wagon. They are a sullen lot, but fat and giving the appearance of being well fed. They look just as they do in the pictures of them. Very little happens in our lives here. It is humdrum, and restricted. The papers do not mention much of interest, although I believe the "London Mail" is after all the best of them. I sent you a copy of the Chicago Tribune and you can see that little of interest is set out there. I see Mr. Sharpe, the American Ambassador to France has resigned. No one here ever heard of "Wallace". It is wonderful how Wilson finds these conspicuously unknown people. I notice the Ansell-Crowder differences are up for discussion in the Senate. You will no doubt send me clippings from papers including the editorials. It is most unfortunate, and at this time. I wonder what inspired it. It passes my comprehension, and especially in view of Sec. Baker's announcement that all military offences, except of the most serious nature are to be treated as purely politican and pardoned as soon as peace is signed. This of course has a very bad effect and is calculated to encourage men to violate the law, and do as they please. Please let me hear what you pick up if anything about the Ansell-Crowder controversy. I can not write anyone and there is no one in the Department whom I trust. So your field will be most limited.

February 18, 1919.

The League of Nations will be an old story when you receive this, and I wonder what America thinks of it. Perpetual peace like brotherly love is a dream that has haunted mankind from the earliest antiquity. History recounts countless efforts to realize it and the constant recurrence of such efforts is at once a tribute to the belief in the nobility of human nature and a pathetic confession of failure. I feel that war would have long since disappeared if it had been possible to guarantee peace by decree. The program is of a three fold nature. Peace is to be guarded by (1) an influential group of nations, acting (2) through a body of delegates and an Executive Council, and (3) empowered to prevent and punish international breaches of the peace. In theory like all Murder Statutes, the scheme is admissable, but in practice the difficulties are enormous. Peace in a word is to be accepted by a promise between the nations not to go to war. It all depends on the acceptors. Germany accepted the obligation to respect Belgium and today, the world knows how it was observed. It may be retorted that no machinery existed to compel Germany to observe her obligation. The XVI Art. of the League provides that if one of the contracting parties goes to war, that then it will incur the displeasure of the other nations who will at once cease all trade and social relations. This is a melancholy confession of helplessness, is it not? Today we have Germany guilty of the most hellish crimes ever recorded in history, and the Allies striving to obtain redress for rape, murder, and the wanton destruction of civilization, and without preventing intercourse with Germany. We are arranging to feed her, and supply her with the means of resistance. Again what interest have we in Europe? Why should we meddle with a civilization as different from ours. We have nothing to do here, no concern unless it involves our security. And Europe has no concern in North or South America, except to let them alone. If we are to concern ourselves by virtue of this League with European politics, do we not increase our confusion? And then again do we not add to the complexities of our international life, when we surrender the Monroe Doctrine, and invite Europe to settle our disputes. I argue we can safely submit our disputes to arbitration, and yet there are questions which if decided against us might involve our very existence and might destroy us as a people. If we now agree to submit all questions to the decision of an international body such as the League contemplates, then we put our posterity, if not ourselves to the shame of repudiation, when the necessities of National existence require another course. Laws and customs change. They but reflect the needs and the aspirations of the times, and the fallacy must be apparent, of binding upon the hopes of one generation, and denying the needs of another. If observed it means decay, stagnation and retrogression. We should be careful. We have little to gain and very much to lose.

I am sending you a copy of the insignia which all officers assigned to General Headquarters are required to wear. It was just adopted. It is worn on the left arm, just where the sleeve joins the shoulder. It is on blouse, overcoat, and raincoat. It means "service with and membership of Gen'l Staff at G.H.Q."

February 19, 1919.

This is the rainy, soupy season in France and at Chaumont. I wish you were here to see this mud and hear the howling wind. The soil is clayey and turns easily into mud, and the entire landscape looks like the fields at home shortly after the flood, (say the Ohio River) has receded. At any rate, it is a land of contrasted seasons, as I am told the spring starts about April 1st and that it is most beautiful shortly thereafter. Col. Boughton is complaining about the weather and his quarters. He says some interesting things; that he can not decide how a people can build such great houses, such fine chateaux on the outside, and so crude and uncomfortable inside. I think I wrote you there is no provision for heat in the dining rooms, and that everyone eats with his or her cover coat on, and they chatter and smoke and seem most happy. To me, (Rand says he agrees) it is passing strange why the people and therefore the nation has not changed, as the world has pushed on to more refined things.

Today the armistice was renewed, and Germany swearing she never would consent, has consented. Her right-about-face shows that the only language the Boche understands, is that of deeds. Only forty-eight hours ago the Weimer assembly claimed the right to debate the new conditions. That was simply bluff. Marshall Foch's statement that unless the conditions were accepted, he would leave Treves, and the truce automatically come to an end brought the Huns to terms. Relatively, the Germans are helpless and they know it. But it has taken the Allies four years and three months of truce to learn, that force is the only argument the Huns understand. It is surprising that during the truce, the Germans have retained armed submarines. They will now, of course, be surrendered, since the English warships have been instructed to sink them without further parley, if they are not disarmed without delay and within forty-eight hours. The lesson is worth bearing in mind in connection with the Bolsheviks who are mainly Bosches with Russianized names. If the Allies at the beginning had dealt with the Bolsheviks as energetically as they are now dealing with the Bosche, they would have been spared a great deal of trouble.

The urgent question now is to bring home before the world, and to the Germans a complete knowledge of their guilt. The question of reparation which Germany must pay for the fifty months of horror and misery brought upon mankind by her unpardonable aggressions is of immediate importance. All the Allies have suffered. The toll of the dead, incapable of compensation, the wrecked communities, and destroyed cities, must be considered. Reparation must be upon what the Germans should and can pay. The Germans will protest, but their clamors should not affect the determination to exact actual justice, the justice that will satisfy a dictated Peace. There is, of course, a fundamental difficulty confronting the Peace Conference and that is the difficulty of framing a peace with Germany and securing adequate reparation. This is apparently being lost sight of at this time, in the efforts to frame a peace that will prevent all future wars, when the immediate lessons of this war shall be forgotten, or have become merely historical memories.

February 21, 1919.

This is just another day, in every respect like its predecessors. Does it not seem strange, that now 12M. here, it is about six A.M. with you. I often think at six P.M. each day, when we are quitting work, it is just noon with you.

Were you startled at the attempted assassination of Clemenceau? It was quite a sensation here. The reports are that he will recover. I do hope so. Clemenceau, George, and Wilson have been the three great men at the Peace table. They were the real architects of the world settlement, for one to drop out now would mean a slowing up, and certainly much foundation work would have to be done over. The three men are of an absolutely different type, and a change now would no doubt produce a mental reaction that likely would affect the peace terms. Clemenceau is regarded as the antithesis of Wilson. He is a fiery, aggressive fighter, anchored to realities, while Wilson is an idealist, a truly spiritual force. They say here that no one possesses the volcanic force of Clemenceau. He is in truth the French delegation. Of course, he is most valuable. He is the spirit incarnate of the opposition to Wilson and George. People say of him that he revels in fighting, with France for his creed and humanity as his religion. He has and does now rule France with his hand on the bit. So he has been a wonderful foil on Wilson, and his idealism. In the other aspect, Clemenceau is the victim of Bolshevism in action, the most hideous crime conceivable. If there is in France one figure who should be regarded with reverence, it is he; because every lover of freedom throughout the world realizes that the effort might have been fruitless without his virile confidence and stimulating example. He never dispaired, and in the most sombre moments of the conflict, buoyed up the fainting, spurred the faltering, and renewed the strength of the weary. Clearly, it is only the Hun and the Bolshevik that can profit by such an attack. Most assuredly no democracy could be served in any way, and it will not do to say that politicians were back of it, but such an explanation will fail, as fail it should, for the truth is, that Bolshevism, in all its satanic insanity now stands revealed in its horrid nakedness. But does not this act shake the Peace Conference to its very depths? Does it not show that force and correction are necessary to rule the world? And it is now vital that the half-baked people of the entire world be protected from the insidious and poisonous doctrines of Social Democracy, Anarchy, and Bolshevism, no matter under what names they may be camouflaged.

February 23, 1919.

We work here on Sunday the same as other days. There is nothing else to do. There is no place (literally) to go, but come to the office. So the entire force report as on week days. Two of the stenographers are enlisted men from the Washington office. All of them sleep in quarters here. In every room there are cots where the men sleep. In the clerk's department, there are many beds. The room looks like a hospital now at night.

Gilbert and I are still together, not having succeeded in getting billets. We have the promise of one the coming week, but most likely it will not materialize. I shall read your clippings tonight. Mrs. G. sent a number of the Crowder-Ansell-March Controversy (rec'd Friday) which we have all read. At this distance, though, we see without feeling. I wonder what impression it actually made, and have you had any opportunity to hear?

Since coming here, and seeing how little the individual counts, I find myself growing ashamed of criticism, feeling it almost a sin to say or entertain hasty or unjust views about anyone. In effect, this is saying we have opinions because we think them important and no doubt this is true in the final analysis. I am reminded of Kipling:

"It aint the individuals,
Nor the army as a whole,
But the everlasting team work
Of every blooming soul."

Most of our men are out of the hospital now, except four, one of whom has been very sick. I am trying to get you some postals of the place and never seem to have the chance. I go to breakfast at 7:30 (a mile from the hotel) before the stores are open, and then I never go to the town again until 10 o'clock at night. The mess is about half way from the center of the town and these barracks.

February 24, 1919.

I have heard this country compared to the tropics as far as the rains are concerned. It pours all the time, and do you wonder it is muddy? "C'est la boue!" It is delightful to see the natives (foreign too) indifferently wade through it. The shoes of the men are a sight. It cakes on and you can not get it off. It is yellow and sticky, the kind mortar is made of. Again I come back to my original observation, that wooden shoes are a luxury and not a necessity or forced choice. The only objection is the noise they make. I heard and saw some children going to school. The only difference between pounding and their walking was a certain harmony in the contact of their feet on the muddy cobble stones, this being especially noticeable when they drew their feet out of the pea soup. It is amusing to us all. As you can imagine, the American soldier does not mind it.

I am sorry to say Col. G. has gone to the hospital. It is a bad cold and the doctors are so afraid of pneumonia that they seem obsessed on the matter of precautions. Col. White and I saw the doctor, Capt. Eastman of Kenosha, Wis. He thinks it is all right but says the comforts in the billets are none, and the toilet facilities being in the yard make it most inconvenient for a person to be sick other than in the hospital.

I see Berger received 20 years in prison. He certainly deserved it. Clemenceau is better and the noon papers say Borah made a very good speech. What ails Mr. Taft? I can not understand his attitude. He seems to play into the hands of his adversaries. What do you read or hear is his purpose?

February 25, 1919.

There is no change in the weather, except that it is raining lower than usual. Do you remember when we were in Tours how low the clouds were that it seemed you could reach up, touch them, and get all the rain you wished. So today the clouds almost touch the buildings and they move so rapidly. But we are so busy, there is not time to think of rain, or enjoy sunshine. There is so much to do, and the time passes quickly. In fact, the days and nights are all too short. Col. Gilbert is in the hospital yet. He will no doubt remain there some time, as he never quickly recovers and he thinks more of himself than he does of anyone else. I think he is very homesick, - that he misses his comforts, and for that and other reasons, he refuses to easily assimilate. Too bad, and yet what can you do? Ansell and his family love him, Kreger admires him, and White thinks he is the brightest man in the army. I can't under the postal laws write what Rand and Wallace say. And so you have it. I see there is no mail in today. We all tell by watching Gilbert's desk. He is a most uniformly regular recipient. If there is nothing there, the mail did not come.

The papers speak of Wilson's return and Borah's speech, and by the time you hear from me, each will be ancient history. The main thing of immediate concern in my mind is how will the soldier feel and act when he returns? The men are marked men, they feel it, they lose sight of the fact whether a soldier should remain at home or sail for France was not for him to decide. They seem to feel that their experience is a more valuable asset. This is true. But they do not need chevrons, they do not see that. Then again, - (but the confusion is terrible) they ought to see things as they are, but they won't. It is not easy to think about things not within your objective of duty. I see that and understand it better. It will be hard for the soldier to re-adjust himself, when he returns to his desk or his job. It is a long way from the trenches to a desk, and quite as long from a zero hour to a time clock. So to expect anyone to make this transition without disturbance is to expect a great deal more than human nature is capable of doing. The men in the army have been living a pioneer life. They left the most civilized country in the world. They came clean, calm and ready, and plunged into all the dangers of the wildest and most exposed of pioneer existence. They made this transition marvellously well, and only a few failed, only a few came with the idea that they could do away from home what they could not safely do at home. No one but Mr. Bryan thought that men could put down the pen and become warriors in the twinkling of an eye. Weeks and months were needed for the shift. And the return will be only a smaller shift, and it is in the transition from the new back to the old that will call for the patience of the employer and former partner, as the case may be. The men, of course, are cleaner, stronger, wiser and better men, and all because of their new baptism. And when they do find themselves in their old environments, they will be of more value and better worthy of their pay. It is not their fault that readjustment is necessary. That fact is necessarily inherent in what they have done for their country. In fact, it will be the fault of those who stayed behind, if they are not patient, tactful and helpful. It is the patriotic duty of the men and women who stayed at home to recognize this fact and show they accept it in their attitude, not the attitude of envy or condescension, but of actual fact. Don't you agree with me? Yet the other side is true. While our soldiers here represent a great force, the result of the greatest organized effort of the age, they the force at home represents every form of sacrifice, every form of service, and the supremest of achievements. The soldiers are naturally not thinking of these things now. Memories of hardships are in the foreground, and they hide these larger facts. Nevertheless this fact remains,

and it will outlast the other fact. Time only will show it in its larger outline. This is not to say that things have not gone wrong in the army here and at home. The responsible men admit them, and regret them in bitterness of heart. They know that things have been done here under heart-breaking conditions, but these conditions must also yield to the facts. Our boys are going home and they will be listened to with decisive effects, but they will not be true to their experiences if they are going home pre-occupied by the thoughts of self and their personal achievements. At times, I think the war has not, and did not last long enough, - for the army itself to get a proper sense of proportion, and for the American people to understand the real problem.

February 26, 1919.

Nothing to relate, no mail today, except second and third class. Col. W. has his home papers, and that has suggested to me that since the Clarksburg paper is coming to me, why not have it sent here. In that way I could see in connected form, some of the domestic happenings. There is no news about the Peace Conference. The Wickersham clippings were just two articles of two weeks ago. I miss not seeing him. It was just my luck, that he should come here just the week before my arrival. The situation is not satisfactory, no one understands, the diplomacy is not open. The Allies have put the cart before the horse. That is, instead of formulating the peace conditions on which the status of Germany depends and enforcing their acceptance, which is essential for the settlement of every other international question, the past three months have been spent in discussing a crowd of secondary questions, and not a solution has yet been found for one of these. The Germans have not been idle. They have recovered from the demoralization and are straining every effort to escape paying the penalty of their crimes. It is really regrettable that our hesitation and vacillation have made this recrudescence of arrogance possible. Scarcely was the ink dry on the armistice agreement, when he began demobilizing on a scale too large for our own safety. While the Germans may not be mad enough to dream of renewing the hostilities, they at least consider themselves strong enough to bargain about peace. One thing only is true, peace is possible only if Germany is rendered powerless for harm. Why just think of the Peace Bureau in Paris grappling with Albania's problem and her differences with Italy! Is it that peace with Germany depends on our first settling our own differences, and especially these of the Balkans, - - - I sincerely hope not.

Col. Spiller is now in the hospital, The message has just come. G. is yet there, and I hear they are arranging to take Coles. He was one of the majors.

February 28, 1919.

I see by the papers that the U. S. is strong for Wilson, and his League. It is all wrong, if that is the feeling. And while the world is going on slowly and spinning the gossomers of its idealism, the Beast of Berlin is growing fatter and more insolent all the time. Germany is a living arsenal of death, a beat unleashed, rushing madly and trampling under foot humanity, and all the fruits of civilization. The latest events in Munich confirm this: Eisner was assassinated, the assassin was assassinated, and the announcer of the assassination was assassinated with another deputy in the Bavarian Parliament. So this is the new German spirit, and is it any more reassuring than the old one, and what did Eisner do? He merely hated the Kaiser and held him responsible for the war. He also urged the German people to make amends. This marked him for execution. He realized it, because after his speech at Berne lately, he is reputed to have said: "I have, by confessing Germany's crimes, signed my own death warrant." He realized too truly that Brute force is yet the German ideal. Far from repudiating imperialism, the people openly regret the Kaiser. It all shows the imperative duty of the Allies to deprive Germany at once of all power. It is not important (as Wilson wishes) whether she be admitted to the League of Nations, but it is vitally necessary that she be disarmed. This is required because the only real safeguard for civilization is the permanent reduction of Germany to a fourth rate power. She should be allowed only sufficient armed force to police the country, but never enough to threaten her neighbors. After the ghastly experiences of the past four years, it would seem to be courting disaster to allow her to build aircraft or submarines, make munitions, or transform herself into a great war machine. In a word, if the Allies do not effectively disarm Germany and exact just indemnity from her, they will most certainly have lost the war.

Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and Wilson and his professional advisers idealize while Germany dehumanizes civilization and perpetuates her real.

Col. G. is out again looking as pink and rosy as a ribboned baby. He says Mrs. G. is near Baltimore. Col. Spiller is still confined. He is getting better.

March 9, 1919.

Col. G. is yet in the hospital, feeling some better, but not well enough to come out. He lacks the power of resistance, and does not seem to have any resilience, - I believe that is the word.

I see that Chamberlin and Crowder are having it back and forth, - this in today's N. Y. Herald. It also seems, but we know nothing, that Ansell has been threatened with demotion.

Since I last wrote the Germans have been gathering their second wind. It is just as you would expect. While we have been absorbed in making war impossible in the future, the war in which we are involved has received little or no attention. The German delegates at Spa, have just reminded us of it by an arrogant demand that we supply them 2,500,000 tons of food stuff. They are dictating to us, trading with the Allies while Nero Wilson fiddles. It is most aggravating. It shows that Germany is still maneuvering to escape the consequences of her military defeat. This has only been possible because of the lamentable folly of the Peace Conference. Instead of dealing with essentials first, it has frittered away its time in nonessentials. Although the conclusion of Peace is the most pressing task before the conference, the bases of it have yet to be laid, the conditions which are to govern have yet to be formulated and to be laid and accepted by the enemy. The spirit of Germany is revealed in this latest episode. If immediately after the signing of the armistice, the Allies had laid their military terms before Germany, the conditions would have been accepted, under military protest perhaps, but that would have been of no consequence, and the work of reconstructing the world would now have been in progress. As it is, Germany has recovered from her demoralization, in at least has regained sufficient arrogance to only treat with the Allies on terms of equality, but even to attempt to make her own conditions. The Peace Conference has been in session a long time, but we are still at war with Germany, and the treaty of peace is in an embryonic condition. It is true, too true, that the Peace Conference has aroused the opposition of all the smaller nations, incurred the displeasure of Congress, stirred up all the South American countries, and it is all due to the fact that the leading spirits decided to deal with the least pressing matters first, and to make the conference a sort of world parliament convened to discuss everything except the conclusion of Peace. If they had adhered to their original plan to admit only the belligerent nations to their conference, we should not now be waiting anxiously for the conclusion of the war with Germany nor be compelled to pass judgment on the differences of the Jugo-Slavs, Czacho-Slavs, Poles, and Syrians, all of them, no doubt, entitled to sympathy, and yet none of them justified in having their ethical questions decided before Peace was settled with Germany.

I see by the noon papers that Ansell has been demoted. He has no friends among the regular army men here in France.

March 10, 1919.

According to all accounts, or is it purposely emphasized in the papers here, Gen. or rather Lt. Col. Ansell's friends feel he has been humiliated. I am very sorry this has happened and no doubt he and his family suffer much ignominy as the result of his demotion. I knew it was coming, so I am not in the least surprised, yet I am most sorry. It would never have happened if he had taken the advice of his friends or at least those qualified to aid him. Is he looking for not as a step into civil life? You will have no way to hear, unless you should see Gen. Crowder.

Col. G. is yet sick, and acts whipped on the slightest excuse. He stays in the hospital all the time. I made fun of him this morning and he replied his wife was very sick with the "flu". Of course, I did not know that. Do you hear or see anything of her. Col. White sent me out in the car to see him and two other men in the officers Pavillon of the hospital. I took Lt. Col. Brindley with me as G. scolds all the time when I am alone with him. Col. Spiller refused to go, saying his whining all the time he can not stand. Col. White told me in confidence he thought he would send him home, saying for two reasons, - that he was not competent to do the work, and that he had a bad effect on everyone, because of the way he goes on. I hope he goes because I have to rewrite his opinions and he is always admittedly wrong. I asked the head nurse this morning in the office how he was, and she said he made himself sick by fretting over trivials.

It is still raining, and the Peace Conference is still delaying. Nothing seems to speed them up, and it is too bad all around. As I told you Rand has gone, and Wallace is trying to get his release. So is Huidekoper. The last named goes around almost beside himself at the delay. As Rand said of him, why does he expect different treatment? He has not been here six months yet.

March 12, 1919.

Another days comes and goes and we work and watch the mails, hoping all the time for news from home. I can not understand why it takes so long, twenty days for mail to come and go. No one can explain it. It is said that some of the mail from home lies on the N. Y. dock waiting for a steamer, when a boat is going out on the Jersey side, and vice versa. I try to be just about it, and imagine how much worse it might be. Something at least has idealized (spoiled) the world. I see by today's paper that Raymond Robbins has turned against the Bolsheviks. We are in a bad mess. The whole world seems to be marking time. I cannot understand the Peace Conference. Think of the delay all the time, and the gain to Germany. She is still bluffing about her ships. Think of her nerve. She will not surrender her merchant fleet. It is of course largely for home consumption. And yet it is characteristically German. The Boche refuse their ships unless the Allies promise to send them millions of tons of food. Have they forgotten their U boats sent millions of tons to the bottom of the ocean with the result that when the war stopped there were millions of people in France, Belgium and Serbia, who were starving, and that because of the deviltry of the Germans thousands were deprived of the means of earning a livelihood. Are all these people now to be made to suffer, in order that the responsible barbarians may be served? This is what the Boche demand. It is so cynical, so heartless and so stupid, that only a people lost to all shame and decency could have the hardihood to make it. The German ships must be given up or they must be taken. And they should be taken at once.

There is too much delay. Even here there is a growing distrust of the dilettantisms of the Peace Conference. The impatience is not unwarranted. While the demands of the Canibals, the Fiji Islanders and the other exotic people have been considered with a solitude that testifies to the altruistic spirit of those who sit at the Peace table, the ruined people of the devastated countries are still waiting for the Boche to be made to repair integrally and quickly the havoc they have wrought. As one of the French delegates said, "The inhabitants of our invaded districts wonder if the rest of the world knows what really happened to them." And is it any wonder? Here is the conference wondering how it can revitalize the Boche and prevent economic disorders within their borders. And what can be the distress of the Boche as compared with that of France and Belgium. Never was a war conducted with such savagery as characterized the German hordes. Never was devastation more complete than that wrought deliberately by the devilish Hun. Nothing escaped them. Agriculture was sterilized, forests were cut down, mines flooded, workshops razed, and machinery of every kind carried away or wrecked. The entire region which was overrun by the Huns is now desolate as the Desert of the Sahara and as ruined as Pompeii. I hear the Germans made it a practice, when they evacuated a French place to make a bonfire of mattresses and all the bed linen, so the inhabitants would be forced to sleep on the bare ground. Yes, we all agree that Germany can not be destroyed as a racial unit, and her people can not be allowed to starve, but she must not have any food until all her victims have been relieved. In time, the Boche must have "raw material", but not until they have returned all the machinery they have stolen, and repaired all the damage they have done.

I sometimes wonder what will happen in the event the people individually think. It is their trusting faith, their indifference, and their smug complacency, that makes such conditions possible at the present time.

March 13, 1919.

I send a clipping of more or less note, who do we cease pitying the victims, the whole attitude illustrates the vice of forgiveness. I wonder if it is the Divine in human affairs? I don't like it. Many of the pacifists are greatly concerned about the poor Germans. It is curious that a shortage of food in Hunland should so concern them, while they apparently have no feeling for emaciated France, Belgium and others lands similarly devastated. If what might happen to Germany, if food is not forthcoming appeals to the humanitarian heart of the Wilson-Lansing crowd, the same thing now happening to the innocent victims of Germanys barbarity must strike these people as simply appalling. The Germans have it coming and they must receive it. The remarks of Dr. Zetelman of Born University in today's "Mail" do clearly blame the entire nation. He says in his defense of the Kaiser, "The whole nation was behind him when we entered the war. The national conscience was united. If anyone is to be sent to trial it is Germany as a whole, one cannot separate William from his people." These are my sentiments, always have been and always will be. Criminals usually pay the penalty of their crimes, when justice overtakes them, and if, as admitted, the people are the Kaiser's accomplices, what is there revolting in the contention that they shall suffer the consequences? I do not advocate that they be starved. I simply call attention to the fact that their victims are more deserving of sympathy than they are. Look at the picture enclosed. Who needs pity the more, the chubby youngsters, "as fat as butter balls", or the French children, emaciated images of death? Then consider the conditions since the Allies took possession of Germany. Have we done anything like the conditions created in France and Belgium by the German beast? No, German has been mistreated by the Allies, not even a German house has been destroyed, not even a German shop has been looted. Our invasion has brought no apprehension or exactions. Now how does the balance stand in France? Millions of acres of land rendered sterile, the livestock confiscated, sugar mills destroyed, and the output of the mines reduced 50%. Villages and cities have been blotted out of existence and monuments of historical and artistic value have been wilfully demolished. And yet we are asked to feed Germany. I hear that about one half hour before the signing of the armistice, the Germans poured shells and gas into Charleville in an attempt to complete its destruction. And yet we are asked to see that Germany does not lack the food lest she turn Bolshevik. We hear too much about conciliation and not enough about punishment. The Germans have been nothing if not Bolsheviks since August 1914. They should be punished, not because they are beaten, but because they are criminals. It is unpleasant to think the Germans lack food, but it is heartrending to know that many of our Allies are living beasts of the field, because of the Hunish brutality. Those who will, may and should be allowed to slop over about the poor Germans, but in my opinion, the world owes a greater duty to save the health and the lives of the victims than to prevent Germany from becoming the instrument of her own destruction.

March 14, 1919.

Col. G. has been ordered to South France for three weeks. He came in a short time ago, and seemed disturbed. His orders are preemptory. He says the doctor merely said, "This is a most severe climate, and we take no chances." I told him to forget himself and go on smiling. He leaves for Nice tonight. Col. S. is complaining today. He complains of being cold all the time. He was wearing his overcoat, overshoes and cap in the house. His brother has been to see him, - the one we saw in the station the night the Spillers left.

Pershing has cabled Washington to reestablish the office vacated by K's. promotion. He thinks it should be done at once; that maintenance of proper discipline demands prompt action on all court martial records. And that sending these records to W. in the face of the delays will inevitably cause harmful delays. We feel (Ansell et al to the contrary) that promptness is especially necessary at this time for the purpose of obtaining corrective action by reconvening the courts in organizations whose personnel is undergoing changes due to the movements of troops and the preparation for demobilization.

As I wrote yesterday, the world needs peace, not only with Germany, but among the Allies themselves. All the differences and disputes must be settled. There must be a restoring of the concordance of view and harmony of aim between them, that marked the actual waging of the war and made victory possible. I hope there is daylight ahead, and that matters will run with the minimum of friction and without any further skidding. Lansing says, "We should make peace without delay." That is what the world needs, that is what most of us are saying with "damnable iteration." If Germany is in a state of anarchy is it not the result of a condition that is no longer war, and not yet peace? By the way, what has become of Wickersham? He seemed "to peter" out over here. I wonder if with all his great opportunities, he actually caught the spirit of it all? But who is responsible for this delay? Mr. Lansing is in a position to know. A prompt transformation of the armistice into peace would have been priceless in value to Germany and the world. Therefore, it must be plain that to prolong the terms of peace was to favor the forces of unrest. And the Peace Conference has done that very thing, prolonged the suspense, made it impossible for Germany to know what she must prepare to do, what was expected of her in the way of indemnities and reparation. Instead of laying the foundations, they have been preparing the ginger bread trimmings of the roof. The result is as you would expect, the roof is not complete, and the foundation is not ready. The Peace Conference feast while it has lasted now over two months, has so far been all "hors d'oeuvres". Mr. Lansing says, two words sum up the situation, - Food and Peace. Of the two peace is the more important. Food will not end the suspense, it will only strengthen the Bolsheviks. Peace will restore the equilibrium which has been disturbed since Nov. 11, 1918. Peace will do more, it will do what food can not do, - it will bring stability and food too. With food or without food, Bolshevism will remain a danger until Peace is established. If ever the cart was before the horse, it has been in this instance. Think of it! An elaborate system to preserve peace, a league of nations, has occupied the attention of this conference all this time. Would it not have been better to begin at the beginning, - first make Peace, and then devise elaborate machinery to safeguard it? Build the church first, before you attempt to erect a steeple on nothing but air.

This is not a satisfactory letter. I never think, so stupid is my wit, of the things I should say until the letter is gone, and I invariably forget them before the next day noon.

March 15, 1919.

Jno. Davis came through here yesterday on his way from Paris. He is with English and Colonial officers visiting the battle fields. I was invited to join the party for a ride about here. It was most enjoyable. We went out to several of the camps, English and American. We had tea at the English mess, and dinner at the American. I enjoyed seeing the different encampments. I enclose the clipping of certain members of the party, who were in Coblenz. They left from here to go to the Argonne and Verdun. Jno. asked me to join them, but I could not get permission. Would it not have been a great chance to see the battlefields of France? Nell was in Paris with the Lansings. As Jno. put it, "I parked Nell in Paris, while the parking was good." He looked very well and seems to enjoy his work. He expects to meet Mr. Wilson the last of the week or Sunday. I can not tell you "which is which", but with the exception of Gen. Wagstaff, whom I know, he is stationed here as the English Representative in France, the others are from Australia and New Zealand. Lord Peel is Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, He is a large raw boned man, very plain, and most friendly, Jno. says he is directly under Winston Churchill.

I enclose you a letter from a Mr. Harrington. He was my stenographer for a long time. His letter is highly interesting as reflecting Public sentiment in Spain. He is at least in a position to know, being one of the stenographers in the Embassy.

March 1, 1919.

About two weeks ago, I stopped lunch entirely. The French eat too much and they have too many pastrys for me. Everything is saved and made over into some highly seasoned dish, then again lunch is really nothing but a course dinner. Gilbert is about again, and Spiller is reported better. He never was as sick as he thought, or at least as he made out. The hospital is by all odds the most comfortable place here, and they have had warm rooms and much attention.

If you can send me a copy of Borah's speech, please do so, as I am anxious to see his argument. How do the people like the maneuvers of the Peace table, and Wilson's assertion that he will soon return? The Peace table is surrounded by non-soldiers, they are the men who conducted the several nations into the war and then stood safely by the side-lines, while the soldiers fought and died, and their families suffered and agonized. Nearly two years have gone since the pacifists ruled America. Those were the days of "peace without victory", and "too proud to fight", - the days of tea, cake and college professors, and "caffine and hot water", - - The Bryans and the Wilsons and the old ladies were satisfied and inspired by the fact that they were not nervous, while the world was afire, and the wind blowing in their direction. When the war came, the people who did fight were different from those who led us into it. The farmer boy left his plow, the teamster left his wagon, the banker, the broker, the mechanic each left his position and his little heaven to enter the hell of Wilson and Bryan. Our men came here, empty handed, but ready to fight. They came ready to do their bit, and willing to live or die as seemed best. They did not care. They could not have done their best with their thoughts on self. They froze and shivered in France; their equipment was poor, and they had not been taught. They belonged to a system that made its armies overnight. But in spite of it all they fought to victory. They spilled cups of blood to match the cups of pacifist tea, and now with victory in a sense won, the pacifist returns again and takes his old seat at the peace table. The professor also comes and talks of leagues of Peace and brotherhoods of man, -German man at that. The soldiers and their families are tired and discouraged. They want to go home. Their families want them home, and yet they must wait until peace is signed, and peace can't be signed until the idealists with their well gownned women cross and recross the ocean in specially provided ships and occupy the most luxurious quarters in an overcrowded floating palace, and they come like returning Ceasars to feast and live in a country of devastation and ruin. And then a complacent smiling gentleman who fought neither in this or any war, assures our soldiers they fought for humanity. The pacirists are again on top, forgetting all but self, and gambling the lives and the comforts of the soldiers against pleasant thrills and the obsesiance of the applauding and stupid mobs.

I am enclosing copy of the local map. You will see where G.H.Q. are located; also "mess" and a billet, I have just taken. It is far out, but the best, in fact the only thing I could do. Col. G. will take a room in the same house and on the same floor. I shall move out today, and will be glad to leave the hotel. It will mean a long walk, but I like that, and especially as the weather is scheduled to grow better. I shall write more of it tomorrow, the billeting officer has just phoned and advises that we take it as the only solution of the difficulty. I have driven him I fear nearly crazy.

March 2, 1919.

This is just another overcast day, but none of us would know it was Sunday. We came here today as usual and have been busily engaged. I notice, though, that some of the men, especially the southern members, show signs of letting up on Sunday. I suppose it is all right. The time was changed yesterday, one hour earlier, they say, but the clocks were put ahead one hour. It is just as well. There is nothing to do here but work, and there is certainly plenty of it. The hours are long, but they seem short. I wrote you I had ceased to lunch, and I never go down into the city after passing through it in the morning. All have gone now, but they will return soon.

Rand goes home soon, and says he will call and see you about April 1st. He has whined a good deal and he is not as important as he thinks. He is to be let out and sails from Liverpool March 20th for New York on the Mauretania.

There is a gnawing lack of interest, and it is quite general. It is having a bad effect on things in Germany. The Communist Movement, as they term it, is spreading in Germany. The outlook is not good, and yet it is what you would expect by this dilly dally. It is said the Spartacists have already begun to issue paper money, to distribute and divide the food, the lions share to the proletariat, and to muzzle the press. It is said that hunger is at the bottom of it. I don't believe it, as food conditions are not as bad as depicted. I think the trouble is the work of a band of daring adventurers of the Lenine-Trotsky type, and the people as a whole are the victims, not the allies of these movements. Then again, these movements are favored by the inertia of the Allies. That is, Civil War in Germany today is the price the world is paying for having listened to the council of pacifists. It is highly probable that if the Allies had occupied all of Germany last November instead of listening to honied phrases, and human rights and the "vox populi", Bolshevism would not have shown its hideous face, and the German people would have been the gainers. That however concerns the past. The pressing question now is how to deal with the disease. Food will not disarm the Bolsheviks. The other great error of the Allies was to pretend that the internal affairs of Germany concerned only Germany. The world can not have peace until order is restored.

We have had no mail for several days, and it seems ages. I asked Major Albert to get me these "photos". He refuses to let me pay for them, a franc, - but says they are to go to you with his compliments. Did I leave a part of my pistol at home? If not, it is lost. I can't find it.

March 3, 1919.

We are in the midst of losing Gen. Kreger. The orders have just come appointing him Acting Judge Advocate, assigning Crowder to Cuba, and saying nothing about Ansell. That is all we know. White will be in charge here for the moment. You will know all this long before this note reaches you. Kreger left at 10 A.M. today for Paris by motor. He leaves for Brest tonight, and sails Tuesday, tomorrow morning, for the U. S. He sails on the Mount Vernon, the old Crown Princess Cecelie. He will go direct to Washington, and you will no doubt see him and his family. His wife has her cottage in Florida until May. You can invite him to dinner, if you wish, at the Lafayette. I don't wish it, but he can give you a picture of things here. I know he will talk freely to you. You can be circumspect in what you say. You can add that I like his son-in-law, Major Hills. I do. He is a nice clean boy. None of us know what Pershing will do with us, and why should we? It is our place to do, and say nothing. Wallace is worried too, as Kreger had promised to let him go by April 1, 1919. As I have often said with your approval: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof", and I say it again. This no doubt is the culmination of the A-- Propaganda. A - - is the Sampson of history. He has destroyed the temple, and himself along with it. I shall await your letters with interest. At any rate it looks like the men in the Mills Bldg. have been as happy as a basket of monkeys.

The papers say Wilson will soon return and live in a palace. I suppose Mrs. Wilson will come also. How fine. There is nothing being done in the Peace settlement as far as we know or can hear. It is simply dragging. In the delay is danger that the ultimate object to be achieved may be forgotten. The tendency to make hasty compromises will no doubt be accentuated and injustice will not be avoided. And yet, it is more important today to hold fast to the principles of the armistice. It will not do to have a patch work composed of ill considered conditions. Broad justice must control if this war was not in vain. Is there a note of supreme optimism in the U. S.? The papers say so. The New York Herald is for Wilson strong, and the Paris edition is as strong for him, as anything could be or any warm supporters desire.

March 4, 1919.

This is certainly a mercurial climate, as to temperature and weather. Last night it snowed and all morning it has sleeted, hailed and rained. So. Gen. K. has gone. We don't know what it means. The order came to report as Acting successor to Crowder. This leaves White in charge, (and all of us with distinctions between jurisdictional aspects of the two offices wiped out.) and this corps subject to Pershing and Bethel and no longer under the Washington office as formerly. Gen. K. was sad, and reluctant to go, as he certainly has a big contract, and a difficult problem. He realizes all it entails to take up the burdens at this time, with what is assumed to be a schism in the department. But you know more about it than I, and of course you or Mrs. White will write the facts. She can obtain them from Col. Davis, who succeeded Col. White in the War College. But so we go, the same as though nothing had happened. Gen. K. promised to phone you as soon as he reaches W. I think you will enjoy an evening with him, and if you want him to talk you will have to invite him alone. Col. Spiller and Major Coles come back today, and I have a letter from Francis Bloodgood, Jr. wishing to come here for advice. I shall tell him to come, and yet I am helpless to get him out of the army, as I am concededly incompetent to get him into Heaven. He and others write how much their fathers think of me. Truly I am sick of that line of talk. I don't care who likes me, whether anyone does or not, because as far as I can see, those who claim to like you expect to have you run for them all the time. But Francis says his father wants him to seek a personal interview. I have just sent some wood to my billet, but the stove will not burn easily, and when it does, it does not throw off or out much heat. It is one that has the china facings all about it and around it.

The Peace Conference is doing nothing, until Wilson returns. I see Wilson and Sen. Williams are calling each other a liar on the Irish question. It is very disgusting that we should undertake to discuss the domestic questions of any nation, and least of all England. The Jugo-Slav Question is growing menacingly at present. It must be faced no matter how acute. It can not be removed by running away from it. Two wrongs do not make a right. They make at best an equilibrium of error. But judging from his Boston speech the President is committed to their course, and is attempting to so commit the American people. But will he succeed? Frankly, I do not know. I can not, at this distance, sense the situation as it really is. What do you think?

Rand is preparing to leave. He fears with K. gone his orders may be changed, and there is always that chance. He is wot well. He is factious, gouty, and fat. He and Boughton (especially B) have drunk too much during the past year. They both show it, but B. looks like a "wine bibber". Spiller says he did it constantly and to excess in Denver. Wallace does not like him because he is so opinionated. The truth is, it is not wise to try to bring many men together in social and intimate converse, and expect harmony. You may do it with women, but with men, no, - never.

March 5, 1919.

Rand goes today. He said good-bye a short time ago, and leaves at 2:15 for Paris, going from there to London, and then to N. Y. via Liverpool about the 20th. He is supposed to study English Military Law, at least that is his excuse in England. Spiller is back in the hospital, because he has a fever. He is a great deal of a baby, and does not show up well. It is a shame and an outrage that Ansell should have selected "such men" as he did, and sent them here. It makes it harder on those who can do the work. I am glad to say that at last White has got Gilbert's measure, and sees him as a slow, plodding fault-finding old lady. And Kreger admitted as much before he left. The entire southern bunch are a liability. As Rand said to me this morning, excepting Ansell, none of these Judge Advocates from the south are to be trusted in their judgments or legal opinions, and as he put it, - "Are there any really great lawyers from the south?" The ones here and in Washington are a hit or a miss bunch, and their English is wonderful to behold and harder yet to read.

I am just in receipt from Louis Allis of the enclosed letter, another instance where Major Freeman gracefully and with credit to himself, passes the buck to me. He could have seen Baker and settled the matter, if it admitted of an exception being made. Of course, I shall be blamed when the Allis kid is not promptly discharged. And so it goes. The race is to the important stockers and the battle to the shrewd suggester.

I am sending last night's paper. The editorial on Ansell strikes a popular cord in the army mind. None of us can understand his attack. It seems like turning states evidence. If it was all wrong, why did he not insist on Wilson pardoning the men who received harsh sentences? Can you not see that his argument is weak in failing to show that he advised such action. I wish I knew what prompted him to do as he has done.

It is still raining, and I heard today about the mud. Major Albert's brother is a Lt. Col. and one of the engineers at Brest. He was here, and says the soil of England and France is impervious to rain, or rather water, that it soaks in about one inch and then collects beneath the top soil, and of course you have mud and slush. The conditions at Brest are not as bad as painted. They are bad, so are many other places, so is all Europe, but no one person or nation is blamable. It is just conditions.

March 6, 1919.

The papers say Wilson is steaming this way on the Presidential Yacht. The trouble with Congress is, it does nothing. It is all splutter and nothing more. In my judgment the democratic party is a stigma, a lasting disgrace, an indelible mark of reproach on the life of America. I can not understand old man Taft. I hear that Wickersham backs him. If this is true, I am done with both of them. I simply can not endorse this League of Nations. It is in essence, - International Socialism, and I am now no more ready to divide with Europe than I am with my neighbors and polish friends at home. In my best view, we need peace or war. The country cannot stand this uncertainty. It looks now as if Wilson brought about the Armistice to justify and afford a discussion of his idealistic principles. There is no forecast of the terms to be dictated to Germany. There is no suggestion that Germany will be made demilitarize and stop manufacturing arms. There may be many gifted men at the Peace Conference, but most of them lack imagination, and their contact with the outside world does not seem to quicken it. Lloyd George was, and no doubt now is a pacifist. But something has gone wrong, as Kipling says, "gone small with the lot." Practically, if peace is not made, there will be no government in Germany, and no basis for the League. I truly think Europe is sitting on a volcano and doing nothing, absolutely nothing. People without imagination are the curse of mankind and everybody should be made know it. France and Belgium have suffered cruelly at the hands of the Hun. They always have been and now are in positions of danger. Against the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and Prussian Poland, Germany expects to gain the German provinces of Austria, with ten million inhabitants, so that she will enter Mr. Wilson's league more populous than before. She will then be a compact nation of 80 millions of people. France will have only 40 million and her richest districts have been turned into a desert. The U. S. is 3000 miles away, England 300 miles, and Germany "just over there." The recent past has shown, in 1914 the Allies could not reach her in time to prevent devastation. So league or no league, France must be considered. The military terms should protect her, and give her security of life and industry. The terrible losses in men and money must never be forgotten. They were the greatest of any of the Allies. It will protect France in a measure if the Germans are forbidden to have forces west of the Rhine. The restrictions of the German factories must be thought out most carefully, as recent events demonstrated that almost any factory in the country could be used for munition making. The immense German chemical works were able with little or no change to turn out poison gas and explosives in stupendous quantities. Then all their aircraft factories will need watching, because there is not a city in France beyond the reach of a giant airplane. Of course, an attack through the air might come without a moments notice.

March 7, 1919.

By this time you must begin to have my many rambling letters, written on the spur of the moment, a sort of skip and stop variety. So little happens, and there is not much of interest. We read the cheap editions of the Paris papers. I can not understand the attitude of the N. Y. Herald and I am surprised at the Chicago Tribune. These papers, at least the European editions, back Wilson to the limit. The French believe in the League. They argue that they want England and America to police Germany. Then England wants us to help keep order as long as she is left Mistress of the Sea. Her laboring people are strong for international Socialism and that is all the League really is. The European countries are taxed together and they all fear Germany. They figure this way, what do we care as long as America helps us keep Germany and Austria in bounds? They know that with us in an agreement Germany will be limited economically, because we will not trade with her as freely if we are controlling her. Wilson does not see these things, - that we may be taxed to keep order in the Balkans. He is satisfied if it makes for the brotherhood of man.

I see by the clippings you sent that Baker let 113 men go. They were conscientious objectors, mental, moral, and physical cowards, who had been mustered into the army and were afraid to fight. Think of it! The American people have just fought through the greatest war. Millions of men have put on the uniform and risked their lives, or at least stood ready to do so. Thousands have come home maimed and blind, and tens of thousands have made the supreme sacrifice. They will never return. These men have been sacrificing for all they hold dear. They have been fighting for their homes, their women and their children. In contrast, protected by Wilson and Baker is a little group of slackers, men who would not fight. If the nations had been made up of them, Germany would have been supreme in the world. A nation composed of these men would never have sent out the men who died on the Tuscania; who stopped the German rush at Chateau Thierry; or who fell in the Argonne. Think of it, Baker orders these men, - the ignoble 113, returned to a citizenship they despised and Wilson sails away in stately pleasure to pander to the Bolsheviks. Yes, Baker has ordered these men discharged, honorably discharged, the same kind of discharge that is given the men who have bared their breasts to German bullets. And under the beneficent grace of Wilson these limping moral hypocrits will come back to vote and enjoy the blessings that others laid down their lives to save. This edict has put a premium on cowardice, rewarded an evasion of duty, and restored to their homes in advance of the fighting men these religious lepers. And yet the people approve, the Politicians acquiesce, and the Pacifists say "Amen." Great is Democracy, and Woodrow Wilson is its prophet. With his eyes on Utopia he allows his idealistic dynamo to drive him and his followers over the Abyss.

Gilbert has again gone to the hospital. Col. White wants me to take the car and go out and see him. I shall, and add a line on my return. I feel sorry for him, but he is such a baby. The men say, (he does not let me hear it) that he goes on all the time about his wife, how he misses her and she him. He is making himself a laughing joke. All of us want our wives, but we don't whine about it. I am just back from Gilbert. He is all run down, his bad cold and sore throat. He is no doubt homesick, - says he wishes he were back in Washington where he can have his comforts. He complains before he is hurt. He simply caves in. I told him my water was frozen this morning, and that I shaved in ice water while they were bringing "de l'eau chaud". He says he simply will not put up with it, and that if he does not get better, he is going to ask to be sent home on account of ill

health. I wish they had never sent him. He is so much trouble to me. White sent in three of his opinions this morning and asked me to write them over, saying, "I cannot dare sign them." Of course, they are all wrong. I don't see why they save him. White says, don't hurt Gilbert's feelings by telling him I have criticised him. Few of us have such consideration. Ansell is to blame. Why did he send him? I had two of Spillers opinions to rewrite yesterday. Such men get all the glory, but they do add to the responsibility of their friends.

March 8, 1919.

There is little to relate. Gen. K. missed the Mount Vernon, but made the Americus leaving the same day from Brest. These ships go according to "fog time" and not convenience for the army. At any rate he is off. We are marking time not knowing definitely what will happen.

Col. G. is yet in the hospital, and very down in spirit. I am sorry for him. He seems whipped, but I am in no position to give him the attention he craves. He never should have come and he is bending every energy to get home. One thing in his favor is his demonstrated inefficiency and truly he has proved it. Confidentially, Col. White and I have rewritten all his work. The world and all of life is about 80% bluff. I am disappointed in his lack of self-reliance and courage. I don't know what will happen to him, and I don't care, if he will just let me alone. He acts as if I am bounden to help him, advise him, and do things for him. He sent for me to come out to the hospital this morning. I went, and it was to send a cable to "Ella". It read, "Do not rent apartment. Hope to come back. Love. Will." It cost him \$6.00 or 30 francs. I sent it of course. But enough of this.

Have the papers at home spoken of reparation on Germany's part? It is a serious question. I wish I might write informingly on these questions, but I have no ideas much, only what I hear disjointly, and my ideas do not flow readily here. The distinction is drawn between reparation and indemnity. Indemnity savours of tribute they say, and they point to what Germany took from France in 1871, and prove it was tribute, because France had done Germany no harm. To assess damages, the basis of reparation, is a matter of great difficulty. A single illustration will suffice. Germany destroyed thousands of Belgian and French homes. These houses before the war had a certain "value", but today they would be worth at least four times as much, at least to replace, and this does not include the personal suffering of the owners. So the questions presented are: Is the value of reparation to be prewar, or is it to be the cost of replacing what has been destroyed. Equity clearly requires the latter, and yet the basis may be so high that Germany cannot pay. Germany is, of course, legally and morally liable. That is admitted, but the actual payment is another matter. I hear that it is feared, if Germany is bankrupted, it will bankrupt France and England. If this happens, what will be the effect on the working classes, if they have no employment? It will no doubt be widespread Bolshevism all over Europe, that is a revolution, nothing more. Perhaps it has to come, if so, the sooner the better. I merely suggest these thoughts. They will seem old, when you read this belated letter. Col. White has had only two letters from his family. Of course, we had the advantage, because you could write during the ten days we were on the ocean.

April 1, 1919.

Rumors are thick and fast - one hears all sorts of things. Now it is said we shall have peace May 1, 1919. This means, you can hear, that by that time the Americans will have their part of the treaty ready. It will propose peace with all four of the central powers, and the plan contemplates the inclusion of the League of Nations. The plan will of course, reflect Mr. Wilson's view on all points. In other words Wilson wants a League of Nations, and the Germans admitted to membership immediately. This does not meet with the wishes of France and England. These countries feel, that Germany must first earn this right after suffering punishment for her unspeakable sins, and for what others would term unpardonable crimes. Wilson's entire attitude suggests this view. It is in keeping with his extending clemency to the Seditious in America shortly before his departure for the Peace Conference.

No doubt Bolshevism is growing. The Germans advance this idea. They say the opponents of the League of Nations are fanning the flame. Their idea is: admit Germany: forgive her: and let her restore order. The threat implied is - keep her out and she will turn Bolshevik.

The Russians argue that Bolshevism is a social disease, not a political movement. They say, the world is like a man with a fever, and that you must first reduce the temperature, before you can treat the ailment. They say this can be done by supplying food, clothing, and other necessities always required by normal life. If these opinions be true - the world is threatened with a lapse into barbarism comparable to the civilization that submerged Greece and Rome. Of course, hunger, sorrow, and suffering can make people forgetful of their old standards and indifferent to their fate. If this be the exact description of affairs that hardship has unbalanced the world - then the exercise of sound judgment is impossible. But is not the argument inherently confined to the countries that have suffered the havoc of war - and does it not contain the admission that Bolshevism can not exist in countries where this condition does not exist? This is palpably correct - and therefore I say that if England, France and the U. S. yield to this threat or contract the disease - it is due solely to the fact that the peoples of these countries are rotten, and Civilization is a failure. In other words - if the world today is susceptible to Bolshevism, then why a League of Nations, or a Treaty of Peace? If this be true there is only one antidote, force - now and to the uttermost.

There is a rumor that persists in circulating that a member of the Peace Conference said that if he were the German Govt, he would not accept the Peace Treaty. I do not know who it is, but the rumor has had the effect of bringing the entire conference under suspicion, and rightly so. If any member said it, he deserves to be shot, and should be fired out and exposed to the world.

I heard today, a good illustration in reference to the Villian case. He was acquitted of the wilful murder of Jean Jaures, you recall he killed him - the famous Socialist in 1914. The application is does any other nation understand France, and if not, how is a League of Nations possible among people of temperamentally divergent views. To the American or Englishman no case could be clearer. The deceased was shot down in cold blood. The accused admitted it, and justified it solely on political grounds. The few eye witnesses corroborated the confession of the accused. The average foreigner would say - clear case - no difficulty. But in so concluding the foreigner displays his ignorance of the French mentality. The killing was lost sight of at the trial. The center of the stage was occupied by witnesses who knew nothing of the crime. Their testimony, bless you, had nothing to do with the crime. They told of the dead man, his infancy, his youth, his college life, they analyzed him as a politician. In fact they tried the victim as a member of society and seemingly thanked the murder. You might say, the dead man was tried for having murdered the mental peace of the living one. And the accused was acquitted - the jury only being out 20 minutes. The acquitted man cried

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thanked the jury, and told how he had suffered indescribable remorse in reflecting how he had been the innocent cause of making the wife and daughter of the deceased mourn and wear black. We Americans can't understand this Latin mind, can we? So how can we understand them in a League of Nations, and be sure that our elixirs of health and happiness will suit them? We can't and there is the fallacy of it all.

I am returning Ansell's note. Will be curious to hear about the dinner. Huidikoper goes home in 2 weeks. He has ached to get back, ever since his arrival. You must ask Wallace about these little things, he will tell you. Some of the Americans uphold George - while others oppose. Of course, the Poles are greatly agitated. They insist that the armistice pledged Danzig to them. They further see in the attitude of the conference a disposition to favor Germany - a fear they will be unable to frame a treaty Germany will accept, and a willingness to sacrifice Polish as well as other Allied interests. There is a compromise suggested, to make Danzig a free port. This scheme is obviously distasteful to the Poles, and yet the Allies say, we must not isolate Prussia and shut her off from the sea. And so it goes, these being some of the problems that perplex and threaten to divide the Conference. It is largely due to the delay in reaching terms. Naturally the Germans say, they will not agree to harsh conditions - and their latest slogan is: "Whatever is German must remain German". The French and Germans are having trouble in Lorraine - the French having refused to let former German inhabitants remove their personal property. The Huns claim this is contrary to the armistice Art. 31, which assured the protection of private property. The French retort that all German property must remain as a surety for the claims of the Alsatians and the Lorrainers.

The Socialists of Europe are delighted over the decision of Wilson and the French Deputies not to send our troops into Russia. Wilson said to the Congressional deputation that in now circumstances will troops be used in Eastern or S. Eastern Europe. Lenin and Trotsky should now feel relieved. There is nothing to prevent their carrying out their program of assassination. The theory is: "Am I my brothers keeper?" The policy is to withdraw as soon as the weather permits. In homely language, the idea seems to be, to let the Russians "fry in their own fat." This is hardly fair in view of all Russia did and especially if we reflect what might have happened, if Russia had not engaged Germany at the beginning of the war.

I am sending some clippings from yesterday's papers. This will indicate the view we get of things American. It may be the N. Y. Herald is pro-Wilson. I don't know. I am for France in this matter. I am against George and Wilson and I shall write you soon why I am. It is the difference between the man who stands at the gate, who holds it, and the man inside. They were both animated by the same purpose, but there is just that difference. France held the gate, she stood there (to follow the simile) when some inside were shivering, and some were indifferent, and some were ready to flee. She held the gate. Therefore, I would give her not what she demands, but what belongs to the man at the gate.

April 2, 1919.

I heard last night that the English are complacent and feel that the objective is in sight - while the Americans are greatly dissatisfied. The French yet have an entirely different view. Strange but the French are the most calm on the surface of any of the nations sitting about the board. Yet beneath this exterior there is much cause for worry and there is very great, if not very grave concern. Many observers feel that a crisis has been reached - that this week will see vital steps toward peace, or all the evidence of continued world disorder. So much seems to turn on what shall be done with Dantzig. Lloyd George is opposed to giving it to Poland, fearing the creation of a German Irredenta. This it is said, would not only be a dangerous precedent, but it would likely breed immediate trouble. Some of the Americans uphold George - while others oppose. Of course, the Poles are greatly agitated. They insist that the armistice pledged Dantzig to them. They further see in the attitude of the conference a disposition to favor Germany - a fear they will be unable to frame a treaty Germany will except, and a willingness to sacrifice Polish as well as other Allied interests. There is a compromise suggested, to make Dantzig a free port. This scheme is obviously distasteful to the Poles, and yet the Allies say, we must not isolate Prussia and shut her off from the sea. And so it goes, these being some of the problems that perplex and threaten to divide the Conference. It is largely due to the delay in reaching terms. Naturally the Germans say, they will not agree to harsh conditions - and their latest slogan is: "Whatever is German must remain German". The French and Germans are having trouble in Lorraine - the French having refused to let former German inhabitants remove their personal property. The Huns claim this is contrary to the armistice Art. 21, which assured the protection of private property. The French retort that all German property must remain as a surety for the claims of the Alsatians and the Lorrainers.

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April 3, 1919.

I lost a day someway, how I don't know. I dated my letter yesterday, Tuesday instead of Wednesday. I am looking for mail soon. It is said a boat came to Brest Tuesday, and that it carried 26,000 sacks of mail for the army in Europe. I am informed this is no exaggeration. Nothing has come yet, but we should have something this week. Yesterday I wrote you of the demands of France, and said I should write you further on the subject. Before reaching that subject, mention should be made of the universal fear that Bolshevism will sweep Europe. The situation in some quarters is looked upon as desperate. It is said the movement should be drowned in blood, if there is yet time. This is justified because the peril is extreme. The slowness of the U. S. in entering the war against Germany is compared now to the slowness of the Allies in recognizing the Bolshevik peril. So the pointed question is asked - will the Peace Conference take as long to judge Bolshevism as it took America to recognize the true character of the Germanic war aims? Of course, if their hesitation is relatively as prolonged, the disaster will be as great. If a mistake is now made by the Conference, the responsibility will fall upon it, both before their people and before history.

Now as to France, she needs a safeguard, security for the future, and it does seem that the Conference is against her. If she fails to obtain them, she will be deprived of her efforts during four years of war. In the first place, the Conference, we do not know what it is doing, is with Wilson's consent violating the first of the 14 points "Open covenants of Peace, openly arrived at". It is needless to claim America is responsible - we owe too much to France. She has always been our friend. We entered this war to protect ourselves, and save France as the bulwark of civilization. We can't desert her now, and of course we won't. The question is, why are the demands of France meeting such opposition. Most assuredly the demands are reasonable. How are they illegitimate? She lies next to the Hun, and she merely asks for protection against the monstrous attack Germany made on her in 1914 and 1870. We all know Bismark forced the war of 1870, just as the Kaiser did this one. Who doubts it? No one but a Hun. No one but a member of a state of savages who are responsible for our present troubles. So what could be more reasonable than to want to be spared a repetition of such attacks? Is there therefore any security other than to place the Rhine cities under French control? That is, on the right bank of the river there should be created a zone in which Germany is to have no forts, and is not to be allowed to have any munitions. But Lloyd George says France is demanding annexation of the Sarre Valley. The objection is not well taken. If the objection is valid Alsace and Lorraine are in point. That is in fifty years, they were not weaned away from France and so remained.

It is also said - the transfer would cause future wars. That argument lacks historical proof. Germany had nothing to avenge in 1914, and yet she planned the most abominable war in all history. Whether France obtains the Sarre Valley, the German spirit will be the same, one of envy, lust and hatred. They are talking now of the next war, and in Germany. The danger of war in the future will be greater with Germany controlling the Sarre Valley, left in possession of the left bank of the Rhine, than with Germany pushed back and made to pay for her crimes. Germany wants to escape punishment, and she argues she should be paid as it were, for surrendering, when we all know she did it because she was defeated and knew it. Because she was yellow, she wants to keep what she knows we would have taken, merely because she whined and ran before we took it. The trouble is, too much attention and consideration is being extended to the family of the murderer, and entirely too little to that of the victim. They say, don't hurt Germany, don't oppress her. Why, France was plundered of her coal fields and her industrial life destroyed by Germany. Since when and in what school of morals is it regarded as wrong to exact reparation for crime, rapine and murder? France is entitled to a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye. Germany devastated and she can pay al-

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together in money. It all comes down to this - is it or is it not better that the criminal should suffer than that the victim be made to sacrifice farther, lest the robber baron be too severely punished. It looks to me that some interest is betraying France, to protect itself, and that justice defeated will complete the work Germany began.

I am sending some clippings, as I am sure they will interest you. The editorial in the Mail shows you the tendency of George. He no doubt is pleading the cause of the Bolshevist element of the English Labor party. He is surrendering conceding, and yielding - in fact dividing up, until he will in the end confiscate every principle and standard by which civilization is now sustained.

April 4, 1919.

No mail today, but without doubt tomorrow. It seems strange that it should take so much time, even after a boat lands, does it not? I have been sending you clippings that indicate a disposition on the part of the Conference to deal with the Bolsheviks. The big four are listening to Bullitt & Steppens. There is under consideration an offer from Lenine. The English and Americans like it. It presents an opportunity to settle, if the Russian Anarchists are recognized. It contains a promise to abstain from propaganda, Lenine submitting that the best propaganda is the success of his system. He does not of course, promise that the Russian zealots will abstain from attempting proselyting. It is also said the typhus fever is spreading westward from Russia, and that it is due to the lack of fuel, soap, and hot baths. Again - the argument is advanced, that Russia eliminated the keystone of the structure will be gone.

The blame is placed in current gossip on Lloyd George. He is charged with delay and with obstructing the plans. He is opposed to giving France the Sarre Valley, and is in favor of appointing a Commission to settle all damages and pass upon reparation, subsequent to signing the treaty of peace. This would mean the practical surrender of all claims. There would be no way of making Germany pay, as it is conceded none of the Allies would embark on another war to collect debt.

The Latin countries are seeking a union. The population of France is decreasing, while that of Italy is growing. In economics both countries are complementary rather than rival. The main reason is, France is convinced that this is her only way to meet the next war with Germany.

I can not understand the motive prompting the people at the Conference. Some one is representing the poor German. Some one is anxious to keep him from hurt and want. And in this connection, the Conference knows how the Germans treated France. There is today and some of it most recent, the most compelling evidence that the German beastiality was a practised carnival of crime, murder rape, arson, and pillage, executed under the orders of the German Command - (the High Command) with the object of terrorizing the French and impelling them to sue for peace. Does any one suppose these barbarians had a spark of sympathy for their victims? Even today they have not shown the slightest signs of repentance. And it is this race of descendants from Attila that is the object of such tender solicitude. And so this Peace Conference - this congeries of short horned cattle and long haired pacifists that hesitates to accord to France the reparation she deserves in return for the wrong she has suffered, because the damages demanded might weigh somewhat heavily on the wheedling, "Kamerad yelling Hun". "It is a mad world my masters."

In other words, the front line trenches are now held by the politicians. They are in immediate danger. It is they who can seek the roar in the face of the enemy - it is they who, if they sleep at their post, misbehave, or show the white feather, will turn triumph into defeat, and ruin all the men in the trenches actually achieved. Oh, if the people at home would only sit in judgment on them, and tell them to cease expostulating and whining; that if they do not do right, that then they will be branded, that the irons are hot and ready, and the mark clearly discernable to stamp indelibly the arch traitors of a fair civilization. Do you think the people of America know, and if so, do they care? Do they know because if they think, they must know, when they read and see their fate in the ability or lack of ability of those who speak for them. If they trust - and if trusting, they are satisfied - then God have pity on the Great American Commonwealth. I say it, and I feel it, the weak minded, the white livered, and the yellow vanitous bird of peace have no place in Paris. They belong in ^{the} domestic barnyard, where the rain crows and the cooing doves splutter and preen their craven wings.

Wallace and Rand and Mayes have left for Washington, Huidekoper goes very

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soon. He is a funny little thing, just as I told you about him in Washington. They call him Reggie, and do you know he is an expert on fine laces. He buys them and sends them to "Honey Bun" to keep for exhibition purposes. He was called up yesterday to see a piece of lace a foot square and costing 6000 francs. He refused to buy it, saying while it had all the ear-marks of the real stuff it was too expensive. What kind of women do such men marry? I know the kind they deserve - not what they get. G. will come back in a day or so. He has been out of the office exactly six weeks. I dread his return. He will be out of gear, and so far behind in perspective that he will be carried as a liability on the office books, but as a distinct "charge off" to profit and loss on my private list.

April 5, 1919.

Field Marshall Haig was here this morning conferring decorations. It is a habit the Allies have. Col. W. and I were invited to meet him in Gen. P.'s office. He was most affable, and quite a talker. He is just my height. Col W. and I were surprised, as we fancied from his pictures, he was a taller man. He conferred medals on at least twenty of our men, from privates up to Maj. Gen. The J. A.'s never get these things, and yet they do as much as the men of some branches who get them. It is yet raw and cold, Oh so penetrating and so damp. I greatly fear for Col. G. He has just phoned from the hospital. He must report there, on his return, and if recovered receive his discharge, before he is at liberty to return to work. Of course, his discharge is merely a matter of form, and he will no doubt be back sometime late this afternoon.

I am sending you "copy" (each) of two letters, I have been urged to write, and hope the men receive their promotions. If you receive them in time, you can show them to Rand and Wallace in confidence - but no one else, and never a word to Mayes. You must, as I wrote you, be alert as to him.

Things are bad today in Paris. I write it knowing that all I say will be old and forgotten, when you receive the views. Wilson still wants to make peace with Lenin, all of which is evidenced by sending Gen. Smuts to Hungary. That raises the vital question - whom will Smuts see - and whom will he deal with? The only semblance of a Gov't there is the Bolshevik Soviet of Budapest. Some say he is sent to negotiate peace with Lenin and Trotsky through the Hungarian Anarchists. Is not such an offer a sign of weakness, and what will not the Russians and German Bolsheviks take it as a sign of weakness, and justly so. If they are thus granted an inch - will they not take an eel, and then another eel, until they have extracted all the virtue out of the Allied virtue? Meantime, the mountains labor without giving birth to even the smallest mouth. The High Olympus has neither solved the Dantzig, nor the Sarre Basin, nor provided adequate security and reparation for France. The London Times for Friday says, so I am told, that the time has come for Pres. Wilson "to explain exactly what his ideas and principles mean." It says the world has lost contact with him, and it charges him with not practising open diplomacy. Painful as it is, the impression is abroad that the Conference is drifting - drifting on the rocks. Don't you think the people whose fortunes are at stake should know why, and that now at all times, is the time to practise open covenants, and take the public into their confidences. The charge is hinted that Clemenceau is aligned with Wilson's political enemies, but that is the merest bosh. At any rate something like dynamite underlies the situation. Hot argument is the rule. The principle thing discussed is, who precipitated the Hungarian Revolution. Lloyd George says the Budapest workmen never threatened war on the Allies, and that the whole thing was started by the wicked French who still cling to the idea of a military movement against the Bolsheviks. I also hear that Lenin does not ask for recognition, but peace and recognition later, if the Allies think his theories make good. I wonder how the suffragists in England and America view the recognition of Bolshevism - whose principle tenet rests upon the abolition of marriage, and the pure chattel status of women. Have they sense to see the drift - or do they object? It is even said now, and at last Wilson has given up his League of Nations - he sees the illusions - but denies it has any snares. The President is considered as having shed his idealism, and having at the same time convinced the world, if not himself, that world peace founded on brotherly love is a spring poet's dream. It is said the Italians, French, Japanese, and Belgians now insist, that the League must be regarded as a debating society for Hague Meetings, and nothing more. These countries assert that the questions involved in the Peace Treaty must be settled without regard to the League.

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is not what Germany can pay, but what does she owe. Can you tell what you can pay until you know what you owe? The Court in a bankruptcy case does not ask, what are the assets - it finds out what the liabilities are. Germany may be as hard up as her loving friends at the Peace table assert. Why should the Conference work so strenuously to save her? It is said, until I am sick of hearing it, (I am reminded of the plea of counsel, if you send this poor man to the penitentiary he will die before his term is up) that it will take Germany 100 years to requite what she owes in her attack on civilization - suppose it does, what then - suppose it takes her 200 years to repay what bestiality cost - what has that got to do with France and Belgium? The longer Germany is crippled - the better the world will be. Did Germany ask in 1870 how long it would take France to pay the indemnity demanded - and if Bismark had guessed it would be paid in three years, he would have tripled or quintupled it, as his evil genius hoped to cripple France, and reduce her to a third rate power. Did he not say, he intended to bleed her white? It is said the conference will let the Huns maintain an army, when that expense should go to pay their debts. Can you imagine a receiver in bankruptcy allowing the bankrupt to maintain a racing stable, instead of paying his creditors? Germany has no need of an army. She can not be trusted with it. The Peace Conference goes apparently on the theory that the magnitude of Germany's crime should save her from paying the full penalty of what she owes. It has been said that the law has two measures - one for the big and one for the little criminal - that for the big, it is tender - but for the little it is inexorable. Is the Conference about to adopt this monstrous doctrine? It will if it lets her wriggle out. It should make her pay in full - the longer it takes - the greater the security and peace of the world.

We think the mail will come Sunday.

April 6, 1919.

Here is another Sunday, and another day. How time flies, and how again it drags. Spiller is in the hospital again, and G. has gone there for a few days to rest up on his return from Nice. He says the Dr. is unwilling to let him out in this cold damp air suddenly, after his three weeks in a warm climate. Perhaps this is true.

Congressman Smith of Idaho called yesterday afternoon late. He is with the body of Congressmen now touring Europe. He says he will see you upon his return. He did not know much, he had not taken it in as you can imagine. He saw Wilson but did not receive any impression of how things are going in Paris. The latest rumor is, that they are sending Smuts to Hungary as a conciliatory measure, in lieu of Gen. Mangin, who was to go to Roumania to organize the army. Some say this may clothe a brilliant diplomatic move, while others say, it may cloak a policy of indecision and compromise.

The English are impatient and so are the Belgians at the great delay. The English Magazines (I have not seen them) attack the American policy of favoring Germany and advocating the League of Nations. There is an attack on George in the House of Commons. This, I hear, may be anti-George and it may also be an attack by his friends to feel the temper of the people on the question of indemnities. Of course, there is the usual talk about Germany going Bolshevik. That nothing is done and soon there will be no gov't left. What do you think of that view? It does not appeal to me. It is a Hun argument pure and simple. If the world has the Bolshevik disease - then it should be eradicated surgically and not be treated. A week ago Wilson said to Congressman Smith and his crowd, that the American troops would be withdrawn from Russia as soon as possible. And now today, it is said the troops are being rushed to the north of Russia where the Allied troops are close beset. The British War Office is pleading for the withdrawal of all opposition to the immediate dispatch of such troops as may be necessary - Oh - the vacillation of our wobbling statesmen at the Conference, is it not sickening? Their deficiencies have brought this about - not the people of the Allied Countries who for four years unflinchingly upheld and suffered for the men in the field. Do you recall the President's words - "Woe unto him, who does not see eye for eye with me!" But what will happen to him, if his Will o' the Wisp should bring our victory to naught? I don't know. I don't know whether the American people will hold him to bitter account - or as usual say Amen. The people became soldiers, and those who could not, trusted those who could. Then some died, but all labored to save civilization. Then the politicians (they call themselves diplomats) stepped in, and today, 5 months after the signing of the armistice, what have we? Just Germany coming back in the masquerade of Bolshevism and 50% of the Allied armies demobilized and sent home. The Anarchists of Europe are doing their best under the guidance of their German masters, while the Poles and Jugo-Slavs are pleading for help. Truly I can't see how they did it. Their task was simple - make peace and preserve the victory of splendid men. Any yet nothing has been done, and likely, nothing can be. The confidence of the people has been shaken - and all because Prussianism was not completely destroyed. That is what the Conference has done - NOTHING. When a Gen. in the army does nothing, when he proves his incapacity, he is removed; but when the politicians err, they are embalmed in the mist of idealism, and excused because of the selfishness of the other man. Such is life, when the squaw-man thunders from Olympus.

Everything is as usual, rain and cold raw weather. They say Spring (Le Printemps) comes in a night - some of us hope for that night!

There is nothing new to say, Spiller is yet sick and Lt. Col. Smith, Charleston, S. C., "went Sick" yesterday. I don't know what is the matter, but suppose I shall hear soon. G. should be discharged today, but I have not seen him.

There is much talk that the expedition to Russia may be wiped out. The Finnish troops have mutinied, thus threatening to cut off all supplies, the only open avenue, as well as retreat to the interior. It is admitted that this unit can not possibly be reenforced. The responsibility of all this is with the Allies. They sent the army there and they refused to take it away. Not only this, but they forgot it, and entirely neglected its safety, and this despite warnings from soldiers and sailors. The Eyes of the World are upon these men, just as they were upon Gordon at Khartoum. And yet nothing is done - nothing, except to save Germany. It is said the plan changes from day to day, and the latest is the design to make peace with Germany first. This is very absurd - why make her the favored criminal? The King of Belgium has been to Paris. He says if his country is to be reconstructed, steps must be taken at once. Belgium feels the time of promises has passed, that action only will answer the purpose. But why does the Conference do nothing, and not do something for the troops in Russia? Every human effort should be made to relieve these men. The World will not consent to their sacrifice, without the most determined effort to save them. I fail to see why the Peace Conference should be so tame, and do nothing. The Conference has simply dallied. It has professed the highest kind of love of mankind, while its members have been blinded by love of self. The net result is a loss of faith in the Conference as a body. Will the world approve, if it hears the members have fallen from high estate? If the Conference fails, Chaos will reign supreme. No doubt about that. The world will sink back into some new form of tyranny against which the same old fight for freedom will have to be waged over again.

Plain simple honesty requires that Germany be made to pay for her crimes. To excuse her or seek to palliate is dishonest. To encourage them to think they are yet respected is to put a premium on future Hun dishonesty. The liability of Germany is a matter of principle as all know. The cause of Belgium is of higher moral claim than that of France, and great as is the need of France, and incontestable as her rights really are - Belgium stands first. She was attacked that France might be destroyed and held to ransom. So of course France must have security against any future attack. We owe Russia a great duty, and it is our trust to help the best people of that benighted land back to light and civilization. Instead of action - it is let us sing before Brother Lloyd George leads us in Bolshevism at the dictation of British Labor and at the request of English Pacifism.

The Dantzig matter is a complete surrender. The troops are not to be sent that way, except as a last resort. The Germans defeated by our armies have secured a diplomatic success. We maintain our rights in words and yield them in deeds. What does the Conference care, if Germany is not displeased. If it gives away in appearance, we will give away in reality. And so this is the victory the world won over barbarism, Nov. 11, 1918. The Conference may yell about making the Hun pay "to the uttermost farthing", but daily it becomes more apparent that Germany is not to be hurt. Instead of exacting the uttermost farthing, Germany is being asked how much she can pay. Peace is a bargain counter bargain. I do feel Germany is carrying her point at the Conference. The Allies have obtained the German ships, made necessary by German submarines, on condition high freight rates be paid for them. The Conference has also obtained the consent of Germany to land troops at Dantzig, on condition however, that they will be sent by rail not to Dantzig, but to Kalish, Sletter or Konigsburg. The plans are agreeable all around. We are yet at war, and thus we treat. Please send any clippings relating to the matter, that you think will be of interest.

April 6, 1919.

The world seems to wait for peace, and the Paris papers are blue. The rumors of social war and revolution grow apace. Worlds have lost currency and there are no deeds, no facts. None of us know what is passing at the great Peace Conference, and still less of the deliberations of the big 4. We are all hoping for the weal, but we fear the woe. The responsibility now on the great 4 is very heavy. They no doubt realize it. But will they prove themselves fit to bear it, what is the question. Their records will be subjected to great scrutiny, and if they are to withstand the pitiless examination, it behooves them to show that they have lacked neither courage nor foresight, and that they have neglected no opportunity. The big men at the Conference are now on trial, and the people whose interests they serve are now waiting to pronounce an irrevocable verdict. The Conference must hear the strange rumors now abroad. No one can shut his ears. The rumor that Wilson wants to recognize the Bolsheviks will not down. It is incredible that anyone would betray civilization to the shameless Trotsky. This entire Bolshevik movement is Prussianism, and that is all there is to it. It does not represent the best people in Russia. The people now urging it were pro-Boche during the war, and since the signing of the armistice, they have done all in their power to rescue Germany from retribution. They say, don't punish the Kaiser, it will make a martyr of him; don't deprive Germany of land, because it will leave a festering sore, that will poison the body politic, and lead to a future struggle. The Germans are not beaten, and everybody knows it; They will re-attack France, unless the left bank of the Rhine is permanently controlled by her. Some nation must suffer financial servitude, and why not Germany, rather than France. If the Huns are spared then France suffers. If the Boche do not pay, then inevitably France settles. Justice demands that the penalty be paid by the criminals and not by the victims. So this propaganda to establish relations between the Allies and Bolshevism is simply pure Bochesim. The movement is a German invention, and the Bolshevik leaders are Prussian tools. If we treat with Trotsky, we legitimize rape, murder, and treachery; we desert the Russians who trusted us and ally ourselves with those who betrayed us in our hour of trial. There is only one thing to do - refuse to treat with the German Bolsheviks, and protect France and our Allies. I do not suppose we should wonder that the Peace Conference is frightened at this Prussian bogey.

The Germans do not like the Americans, reports to the contrary. There are fights now between the civilian and the military in occupied territory. The Germans are growing restless and they are disappointed. Soon after the army went in, the Germans with their usual Uriah Heep attitude made themselves subservient, and as pleasant as possible, and for two reasons: to insure themselves against American demands, and to spread their propaganda to win the Americans away from the French and English. There is no doubt of this, and what happened? When the Americans first went in they were impressed by the cleanliness and modernity of the country, affording as it did such a contrast to the shell holes they had slept in and fought in throughout France. The large steam heated houses with all their modern conveniences had an attraction for the soldier who had marched direct from the war zone of war stricken France. Then as the Germans bestowed all this on our soldiers (purely a bribe) at least insidious propaganda, our boys were impressed, and they showed their appreciation. It only lasted a few weeks. These qualities of deceit, servility, and bluster that won Germans the contempt of Europe before the war, soon earned them the detestation of all the Americans, and as the Germans realized they were being taken at their real value - they soon did what you expect when the fraud is discovered - they became injured, alien and disagreeable. The Americans now maintain a studied and independent aloofness. The weakness of the Conference is in debating and investigating how much Germany can pay. The thing to do is to present the bill, and see that it is paid. Why should any delegate illuded by the Bolshevik bogey advocate the cause of

Germany? If Germany refuses to pay, then the Allies should march on th Berlin. The endless delays of course encourage the Germans, and permit them to work up a sentiment against the treaty of Peace, no matter what its terms. Germany's special attack now is to divide the Peace Conference. The threat of Spartacism is being overworked, and the Conference is told that if the terms are harsh - the Gov't will be overthrown. My answer would be short, and my action would be long.

No one has heard from Kreger since he landed. The mail has all been delayed for some reason. The thing the men do not understand is this, why when the boats come in - (and they do) - do they not bring mail? There have been three boats in during the past week and no mail.

April 9, 1919.

Reports from Paris are that the world is tired of war and does not want to make war on Bolshevism, unless it forces war. The menace is growing daily. It is said, if the American troops who saw only a few months fighting want to go home, how much more do the others who have endured greater hardships for four years? The French do not feel this way. They are willing to fight, and are opposed to treating with the anarchy with a Russian name, invented in Germany. But the Conference wants to treat with the Bolsheviks. The delegates feel the time has come to do something like this. Even Lloyd George is reported as saying that the Russian Bolsheviks are political now, not social. Our State Dep't recently sent a William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens to Moscow to make an investigation and report. They have just returned to Paris and report in favor of Bolshevism, saying it is the only conservative gov't in Moscow and Petrograd. Of course this may happen with the Conference reduced to 4, and Wilson representing America. Hindenburg is threatening again. He says in one of the German papers, that he knows the Peace Conference can not survive Germany's refusal to sign the treaty; that he knows the Allies, because of Labor troubles are really desperate for peace, and that they will not demand a peace that burdens Germany's labor because of the effect it would have on the labor interests in France, England, and America. This is, of course, the fruit of delay, and they say now that W. W. is to blame. Some profess to see comfort, however, in reducing the Conference to 4 men, saying something will and must happen - that it is like locking up the Cardinals until a Pope is elected. One of the latest things, I hear, is that the Conference has decided that reparation means damages and nothing else. And that the amount inflicted by Germany is about 45 billions. The economic experts say this is beyond Germany's capacity to pay, that she can in fact only pay, not to exceed 25 or 30 billion, and it is thought that this is what she will be asked to pay. France claims 15 billion, Belgium 7, England 5, Russia and Poland 7, Italy 1,500 million, Serbia 1, Roumania 1, U. S. 750 million, Greece 500, Czecho-Slovaks 500, Japan 250 Portugal 100, and China, Siam, Armenia, and other countries 250 million. There is rumor of a difference between Wilson and Clemenceau, and that the latter may resign. I don't know the details. It may be as to the best method of presenting the terms, whether to Germany first, or to all the Central Powers. It is felt the questions affect all the enemy gov'ts, they are so interlocked, it is impossible to separate them, and that such a treaty will make Germany a partner to the peace obligations of the others. At any rate great secrecy is now observed. Some think a quick peace with the Huns is unnecessary. The excuse for having the Conference reduced to 4 is that the meeting of the "Big ten" grew to gatherings of 30 experts who debated interminably and whenever a decision was reached - it always met with opposition. Of course, the abandonment of the Council of Ten is a confession of the complete failure of the machinery built up to make peace. The talk now is, that Peace will not come before May 1 or later, and very likely later, as you know. The British and French have contended that reparation means war cost, and not damages actually suffered. The Wilson crowd and the Germans have argued for damages because it would be less. In any case, the Germans can not pay - so it is asserted, no matter which view is taken. The Berlin crowd continues to demonstrate against the Allies, and especially the Americans. There are just three essentials to peace - Reparation, Indemnity, and Protection for France. All other matters are subsidiary, including the League of Nations, as I think you will agree Mr. Wilson springs a surprise, and calls to George Washington, not ideally or spiritually, but materially. He calls for the ship. What it means is all conjecture. Some say the treaty is ready, that the terms are settled - while others deny it. I do not believe he is quitting, or that he is bluffing. He can't do that, and I feel he won't. Even if he should desire to quit as an individual, he can't do it representatively, how can he? He won't, and he could not, if he would. I fear terms have been reached that will disappoint the world - distress those who

have suffered, and discourage those who ideally constructed for the future, as they stabilized the present. It is said-damages and reparation are to be left to a commission, to a referee in bankruptcy, as it were. The analogy will hold to this extent only, you may file your claim, make up your own bill, but where are the assets, with a treaty signed- the court gone home, adjourned Sine Die, and the power to enforce obedience Functus Officio. Is this peace, or is it Chaos? If so, how miserably impotent is the greatest gathering of successful victors the world has ever seen. Certainly, this is an Augean victory, the larger it in fact becomes - the greater in fact and reality defeat is. The whole thing is as mysterious as a silent sewing-circle. The illustration is incongruous in the suggestion made, so much so as to be a mystery- and in that respect, it resembles the Peace Conference in this latest freakish move. I often wonder what is happening in the U.S. The papers say nothing. Gen. Nuttmann came today, he knows nothing. No one hears truly, all is dark. I pick up gossip - snatches of talk - it is all far from satisfying. The air is full of sultriness - thick and thundering. The world is fogged - tired out - just ready to topple down and rest, just rest, even if the morrow brings great tribulation. Sorrow is so much the expected thing - that the individual is palpably indifferent and visibly unconcerned. Resignation is the rule, not the exception, and so runs the stream up hill.

We jog along, push and plod, saying and feeling, because we think out loud that all life- any life- admits of happiness, if you accept the conditions constructively and do the best you can. Of course proper care of one's conscience in discharge of routine work such as we all do, calls for the highest degree of selfishness.

April 11, 1919.

The news from Paris is most discouraging. I hear Wilson wanted Germany let off with less even than France demands. It is not understandable in the least. The Wilson experts will not stand for any more than they think Germany can pay and go on. Last night it was said that Wilson was angry and others denied it. The opinions differed and ranged from the blackest pessimism to the most joyous confidence. I do not believe that he is angry, and he may be dissatisfied but he will not run away, he can ^{not} afford to. But I make this prediction, the treaty will surprise and in its disappointment stagger the world, even Mr. Wickersham and Fatty Arbuckle Taft will not like it.

Since he came, we have done as much work as Kreger did in the 11 months he was here. He had Runyon, Taylor, Wallace, Rand, ^{Howell} Zimmermann, Freeman, Huidekoper, Hardin, Whipple, Adams, Herbert, and Graham. In 11 months they decided 1600 cases. We brought 15 men (some no good) and Runyon, Howell, Zimmermann, Whipple, Adams, Wallace, and Rand have been released - and today this office has from inception disposed of 3250 cases. It is method, knowledge, absence of fear, experience, ability to decide, that is responsible - and not mere numbers. We found cases 3 and 4 months old, that they could not decide, and had been laid aside. Experience and self-reliance are just as important here as anywhere, and that was lacking. This is all confidential, I wonder how long K. will last in Washington that is the question uppermost in our minds here. The demands there for speedy action, are multiple compared with what they are here, as you know. The President is still ill, and his absence has retarded progress in the Conference. Every possible interest is clamoring for recognition. Ireland, the Irish Republic is the latest to gently tap upon the door. It claims that Art. 16, League of Nations makes an invidious distinction against it and smaller nations, by practically guaranteeing title in England. That is of course, not surprising, that Ireland is not in the class of the smaller nations - it has never existed as a separate entity at any time.

It is also said that the Russian Bolsheviks deny the Nationalizing of women. At least that is the message Lenin and Trotsky send to the Conference by Steffins. Lenin claims, it is one of his tenets to get rid of the immoral upper class. Conditions in Germany are not bad - they are of course unsettled - you would expect that - and for two reasons: the return of a large number of unemployed soldiers, and the admitted fact, that there is a shortage of food. There is no doubt that Bolshevism is outrunning, for obvious reasons, the work of the Peace Conference. That very fact should convince our people to let this League business alone tho' I see by Press references that all opposition is slowly being beaten down - that the Senators who vowed to oppose it are gradually losing their sureness. Here the League is looked upon as a sop to Germany, and as an inducement to make her sign the treaty. That should bother no one. If she does not sign, she should be occupied and run, until she does sign - she will sign - she will do whatever she is told. Of course, she will splutter, and rave and go on at a great rate, but she will sign - defeated nations have always done what they were told to do - simply because there was nothing else left for them to do. The outlook is nevertheless grave and disquieting, and our supreme confidence in the Peace Conference at Paris has and is giving way to doubt and disappointment. I wish it were not so. I would I could feel that they would not only carry the message to Garcia, but come back with an answer. It is said the reparation has been agreed upon, at least tentatively, and that due to the relentless pressure of public opinion, the Big 4 are speeding up. It is genuinely agreed that George has delayed matters. He has been as instable as he has been undecided. The Conference assumes an Olympian attitude toward all questions of moment. The Italians are now claiming they will oppose a peace with Germany, that does not include Austria, and this because of the Adriatic question. Mr. George advances some peculiar theories. He believes that vindictive measures against Germany will sow the seeds of undying enmity, and prepare the way for a future war. Who believes that the root is not already

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deeply embedded - and that Germany will always feel that way? That the only way to treat, is to lock her up territorially and economically, that she can't do anything at any time to carry out her wishes or put her feelings into action. The Allies have surrendered on the Dantzic matter. I hear that one Carl Roseman, a German banished to Switzerland has written the Allies, that the Junkers now in command in Germany, have won half the world by murder, and that they have solemnly determined to win the other half with tears in their eyes, crying for mercy. The Junkers won at Spa, because Foch was not authorized to tell them that Polish troops would be sent through Dantzic, and that Dantzic will belong to Poland. The weakness of the Conference has encouraged the Germans to arrange to reject the Peace terms. The Huns feel that by mobilizing the international financiers, and playing upon the fears of the Conference by the bogey of Bolshevism, they can so weaken the resolution of Lloyd George and Wilson, that they can safely reject the terms of the treaty, and evade ultimately the payment of any reparation. This is in the air and really this is the actual condition. The entire situation is due solely to the difference of opinion on the question of reparation - that is - who shall settle this bill of damage for world devastation, the criminal aggressor or the defensive victims? Wilson's position is this, George in half accord: the President wants a permanent peace, and is willing to make certain concessions to obtain it - but he is unwilling to agree to any concessions that materially alter his 14 points. The position of Clemenceau is this, that France's debt is about 200 billion francs. This burdens every man, woman, and child with a debt of 5000 francs. Every baby is born owing about \$1000. upon which he must pay an annual interest charge of \$55. It is also said that according to the last census there are less than 13 million money earning Frenchmen in all of France. That means that every worker in any kind of pursuit owes 15000 francs, and is required to pay (5 1-2% over 835 francs yearly interest charges. It is further said, that France is called on to spend 18 billion francs yearly - and that the total annual income of all Frenchmen is about 33 billions. This means that 50% of everyone's income is necessary to meet the expenditures of the gov't. Then it is argued that it will take more than 100 years to pay off the national debt.

Certain members of the Peace Conference have adopted the position - that it will not be fair to saddle too large a debt upon Germany: that it is against the spirit of the time to put a heavy burden upon future generations of Germans, who should not be made to suffer for the mistakes of their forefathers. The French reply thus - that it is not fair to force future generations of Frenchmen to pay the debts of war begun by Germany, and which the French were compelled to defend. This is not a very hopeful outlook.

I wonder if CHARLES PALMER has yet returned, I fancy he has, because Col. W. had a letter today, saying his letter dated Feb. 6, Paris, and mailed N. Y., Mar. 23 has just been received. WE figured this was the Palmer letter.

April 13, 1919.

There are all kinds of rumors about peace, I wonder if they are true. It is persistently stated that the Germans are to inspect the treaty before the world sees it, even the Allied peoples. Of course this is not secret diplomacy, this is wide open diplomacy of the frankest and most avowed character. Lloyd George has become the determining factor, and it is said the Wilson plans are upset. The question of moment is - with what side has George alleigned himself, and the hint is, the British have sided with the French, and are supporting their reparation and territorial claims. Some go so far as to say this fact prompted the President to order the George Washington sooner than scheduled. I do hope this is not true, and that the scheme to leave damages to a board of Arbitration is not the decision of the Conference. This will mean that Germany is to pay nothing definite and perhaps nothing ultimately. A moments reflection will show that this opens, not closes the door, to much bitterness. The uncertainty will settle nothing, it will unsettle the economic conditions of the entire world. Prices will be the first to be affected, and taxes, with all the other items, generally included in a budget will vary like a weather-cock. Another point of disagreement is the Wilson wish to treat with Russian Bolshevists. He wants to buy them off with food and assure them America has no thought of making war on them. The French oppose, They will have nothing to do with any scheme that looks to treating with them, I feel we will not get the peace we want. We want a strong, courageous peace, not a peace of compromise. We want the peace we won, not the peace we might have lost by losing on the field. So, for that reason, there should be no peace by stealth and there should be no branding as unpatriotic those who may disagree. NO one has a monopoly on all the brains or graces of life. As you will agree an excess of virtue may be indistinguishable from vice, if not worse than vice, and so why all the brains and virtue in one man, or one set of men, as the Conference must assume by treating its deliberations as so privately secret. The English and French Parliaments are vigorously protesting, and voicing the popular impatience if not distrust over the way the Conference is acting. In each case there is a directness and frankness that is refreshing. These two nations are seemingly united, and they have decided to make Germany pay. This is true of Clemenceau, but I do not know about Lloyd George. It is a sad commentary, that the court should be compelled to warn the jury, during their deliberations, that it is their duty to be honest and not forget their oaths. Germany it is said, must not be punished. A premium must be placed on wrong doing. If Germany can not pay why did she start this war? Who will pay, if she does not? Why should she not? Is her criminality denied? Not by anyone, but a German or a Germanophile. Have the victims not suffered enough? If anyone doubts - let them see devastated Belgium and France. The cost of the war must be paid by some nation, if not by Germany, then by the Allies. The sole question then is, who is obligated to pay, who ought to pay, those who planned the war, and waged it by methods that would have disgraced the cave man, or by those who were attacked and who by superhuman effort defended themselves and beat back the aggressor. France and Belgium did more than defend themselves, they defended and protected us. Imagine the attitude of Germany if her bestial attack had succeeded. "I shall stand no nonsense from America." said the cowardly Mephistophelian mountebank "Kaiser, - the Bill" - to Mr. Gerard. There is no doubt, if Germany had won, that Berlin would have been a slave market within 5 years. The plan was to re-establish the Roman Empire. It is our duty to protect France, and to stand by her and Belgium, until the last ditch. We should help her obtain the fullest reparation, the fullest conceivable damage for all she has suffered, for all she has lost, - not only for herself, but for us. The French are already heavily taxed, more so than the Germans, can it be, that by our opposition, we are asking that her burdens be increased, that the Germans may not have to bear the cost of the war which they welcomed with unholy joy, even to a man? As the criminal or the victim, for a century at least, must bear the yoke

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and go through great suffering, why should not the criminal be the one to carry the load? As I see it - that is the view of the French and British people (not Lloyd George) and I believe it is the view of the great body of red-blooded unanaemic Americans back in the States. The war has been fought and won by the free people of the world, and all except America, have just given their representatives a sharp and penetrating reminder, that they mean to reap the fruits of their effort and their sacrifice. The plan to submit the draft of the treaty to the Germans is in my judgment a mistake. The men on the conference are not infallible, this is shown in the amendments to the League. The Treaty should be discussed calmly, generously and without heat or passion. All admit the supreme importance of the fateful hour. Everyone knows we are facing a serious change in the drift of civilization. The question whether we shall accept it is vital, and when this point is raised, it is not fair to cry partisan-wolf, if you please. May there not be as much partisanship in defending a measure, right or wrong as there is in attacking an opponent's position right or wrong? We are all Americans. The League should not be made a party question. The Constitution has laid on the Senate the right to advise, and clothed it with the right to ratify or reject. It does seem the President should have taken counsel with the Senate, because no one knows better than Mr Wilson, that the theory, "the King can do no wrong" is an exploded theory, destroyed after centuries of struggle and suffering, even unto death. The treaty of peace and the League should be for a searchlight on the greatest question of the age. It is a small matter relatively, trivially small, how the settlement of the Peace treaty bears on the future of any member of the Conference, or how it affects his place in History. But it is a great matter how it affects the weal of the world. We went into this war for large motives, and we must see it through - put it through so far and straight, that nothing can ever affect the light by which our posterity will view it, in their effort to determine how we discharged our duty to humanity.

April 14, 1919.

It seems settled that the Germans are to sit in judgment on the Peace treaty about April 25th, or May 1st. If satisfactory to them, it will be submitted to the world. This means I fear a pro and con discussion. How can it be otherwise? The meeting will be secret, and the big four will argue and explain the treaty, section by section. It is said the French press is discussing the Monroe Doctrine. These papers indorse it, if it is to be taken to cover France as well as the Americas. This, in fact, is the interpretation placed on the Doctrine by the French. Unless this is the view, the French insist that there be an open alliance between France, England and America to make Germany live up to the treaty. Everybody believes that as an insurance against war, the League of Nations is a dead letter. It is reported that interest in the League has vanished almost entirely.

And people seem to lose interest in poor little Belgium. Her King came down out of the clouds to beg for mercy, but pampered with all the Divinity that doth hedge a King, he obtained nothing. There is no necessity to recount the services Belgium has rendered civilization. It may, however, be said that for her immortal stand at Liege, which checked the onrush of the enemy, and gave France time to concentrate, the British to arrive, the Conference now sitting in Paris might never have been held. If Belgium had flung honor to the breeze and yielded to the Tempter, her territory would very probably not have been overrun and her people would have profited as much as Holland. And "think of it" the Conference would not select Brussels as the home of the League. This no one can understand. Mr. Wilson selected Geneva, he being reported to have said that Germany might quest on the neutrality of the League, if its sessions should be held on enemy soil. The Belgians, whom Caesar said were the bravest people of antiquity are denied even the cross of honor. They sacrificed without profit, and without asking for compensation merely pointed to their ruins.

The war ceased five months ago, in the defeat of Germany, and in many respects we are further from Peace than we were then. So many interests are at loggerheads. It is said that the call for George W. is in keeping with Disraeli methods at the Berlin Congress, in ordering his special train, whenever he was crossed. But I do not believe Wilson had any intention of ordering the G. W. for any such purpose, or to let "Europe stew in its own juice", as the French say. There is a feeling in France that she is not getting her deserts. France is crushed and not militant, she is drained of resources and crippled in her man-power. And Germany, I am told, is unchanged. They are relatively prosperous, and many of them wish the Kaiser might return. Sympathy for them is wasted. It is said they were under the heel of the Kaiser, and that they had been oppressed for centuries. True, but they accepted their lot gladly. They were proud to see Huns and even those in America boasted of the Kaiser and his form of gov't. They even said it was the most enlightened society in the world. Of course we all know that the nation prayed and toasted "the day" when England and France would be defeated, and the Commercial Supremacy of the Huns established. We all know there was no protest when the war was started. Germany's assumption of the role of political ruler of the world was hailed with delight and approval. Even her acts of rape and murder raised no protest. These atrocities were directed by officers domestically trained and experienced in such practices. There was no criticism over the sinking of the Lusitania, at least none that civilization ever heard. As long as all went well, there was nothing but joy over the might of her God-blessed hosts, the brutality of her soldiers, and the cunning of the assassinating treachery of her submarines.

April 16, 1919.

It is snowing today, and correspondingly cold. Can you imagine such weather in France, the middle of April? They say, however, that summer comes over night. Of course, none of us believe it, and practically, it does not matter. Most of us have learned to live content with small comforts, and to seek work rather than pleasure, and discharge always the duty of the moment. Thus results in hard study, quiet thinking, and frank action, and I can testify it requires open, not closed hearts, if we are to qualify by bearing cheerfully our present lot. And yet, it is not difficult to be brave, and wait, and take what comes, because you realize it is life passing through you, and touching you.

It is decided now to call the Germans in on the 25th, and can you not imagine their pomposity? I hope France and Belgium will be satisfied. I also hope there will be a buffer state between France and Germany. It is indispensable to the security of European Peace. The Valley of the Saar belonged to France in 1815 when Germany stole it. If you will look it up, you will find that the Saar Valley belonged to France from time immemorial. It was an integral part of Lorraine. It had been linguistically French, and came by treaty to France in 1761. In 1815 the Germans took it from France, because (1) it contained the fortress of Saarlouis, and (2) for commercial purposes. The Germans say, the French must not have it, because of its coal mines, but have not the Germans wilfully destroyed the French coal fields? Therefore a return of this valley would not affect solely a reparation, but it would be a return of stolen goods. If this valley had never belonged to France, then her claim would be unjust. In my feeling this Peace should recognize and drive home this truth, that without restitution and reparation, there can be no peace. The world needs peace and wants it, but we must have a care, lest in our anxiety to spare the feelings of the Germans, we hurt the feelings of our friends.

The blame of all delay is placed on us. It would be more pleasant, if we could conscientiously exonerate ourselves. I only wish we could. When the Conference first met, so it is said, the European powers were disinclined to discuss the League of Nations in advance of Peace. Then the Americans insisted, there could be no peace until it was known whether there would be a League, and if so, what kind? France and Italy, because of their exposed frontiers desired certain guarantees. The Americans replied the League is sufficient guarantee. Upon the strength of this, the European Powers reached an agreement. This satisfied, I hear, Britain, but not France and Italy. These countries demanded material protection. Then such opposition to the League sprung up in the U.S. that the amendments proposed did away with any adequate protection as far as the U.S. was concerned. The demands for recognition of the Monroe Doctrine were charged to sheer selfishness on a par with the charges made by America against Europe. The Americans have not satisfied France and Italy, that they will underwrite the Peace treaty and intervene when necessary. Then when France demands the neutralization of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Saar Valley; when Italy demands Fiume and the Dalmatian Islands, the American delegates being unable to say, you do not need this solid material guarantee because

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of the Peace treaty and the League of Nations, are compelled to say, what you ask is contrary to the 14 points. So really, you see some of the difficulties encountered. It is most discouraging to say the least, and I can only see one way out and that, the compromise route. No one knows, but it is rumored, that the Saar Valley mines are to be given to France in perpetuity, and that she will have the administration control of the entire region for a period of years. As to reparations, the Germans are to be made pay for all damage caused by them, through their land, naval and air forces. I have not heard the manner of the payment, altho' large sums are to be paid in 1919 and 1920. Of course they can pay, and they should be made pay and suffer and feel that should be the condition. The German delegates will come minutely informed upon every difference of opinion, past and prospective, between the Allied and Associated Gov'ts. They can't be trusted. They will seek to insert wedges into every fissure of the Allied front. They may cause much trouble. But they can be baffled by presenting a stern front. We must present completeness of demeanor and view always fierce, OR WE LOSE. The Peace terms will cause great disappointment throughout the Allied world. Great will be the disillusionment, controversy will rage, and many bitter things will be thought and said. Each of the Big 4 will have to assume responsibility. They will have to direct the minds of their respective people, and shoulder the blame, and share, not divide the praise. It will not be enough to explain error in retrospect or to excuse it in weakness. Neither will it suffice to cast blame on others. The People must be held together. It will be needful to lay down in Russia a firm policy, and maintain it with vigor. Temporizing will not do, and there must be no recognition of Bolshevism or any dealing with any Soviet Gov't. In Austria-Hungary there is only one thing to do, and that is to refuse to recognize or reestablish the old monarchy. There must be a strong policy in the east, and Turkey made to realize the penalty of transgression. And lest we forget, we must all avoid the error, that the signing of peace means peace. Treaties do not make the conditions they embody. It may take years. Think of our Civil War, it was years afterwards, before we had peace except in name. No great war comes to a close without being followed by disorders. The dissensions in all countries are not exceptional, they are rather the inevitable consequences. The conditions following our Revolution were demoralizing. The demobilized soldiers were lawfully guilty of mutiny, and even threatened Congress. There was a recurrence of much of this disorder, the currency was unstable, prices were inflated, and the revenues insufficient to meet current expenses. So we yet have a long way to go, and over very rough roads, I fear, before peace settles down to stay.

April 17, 1919. A.M.

I have been here since 7 A.M. preparing to go to Coblenz at 8:30, by motor car. It is about 300 miles, and I plan to arrive Friday noon. I shall write you a line tonight from Triebs, and also from Coblenz. I expect to go via Toul, Luxemburg, Metz, Triebs and then on. The route passes through the Toul sector. I shall remain until Sunday and be in the Office Monday morning. The trip is in connection with the Army of Occupation and the work Col. Gilbert is to do in Germany. He goes with me, and is happier than a bird that sings. I have never seen anyone quite so joyful as he over the prospects. He is in a way lucky. But as Gen. Bethel says, "he is of no possible use in either office, and it is either thereunder Hart or home." I expect to see Col. Hunt and explain matters to him. Col. Rucker, a regular army man, from Ark. originally, is in charge. Matters have not been going well up there, and this trip has been in view for sometime. As I say, I shall send you a line from different points, and write you fully upon my return.

I shall inquire for Mrs. Stephens, the sister of Lt. Ream, and see her, if she is yet in Coblenz.

The treaty of Peace is about ready, and there is nothing especially new. I hear that England & the U.S. have promised France aid in the event of a German attack. It is difficult to understand how anyone could bind the U.S., in the absence of Congressional action.

This much can be said, there is great dissatisfaction, and on all sides. The solution of the Saar problem has dissatisfied the French. The treatment of reparation has had the same effect on England, France and Belgium, and Italy is plain angry and suspicious over the agreement of the Fiume matter. Poland's hopes have been shattered and Belgium's claim for the world capitol has been contemptuously overridden in favor of a neutral state. Russia has been delivered into the hands of Lenin, who is trading and parleying with the Conference on condition that they withdraw the Allied troops, and feed the Bolshevich wolves. The Bolshevists corrupted our soldiers in Archangel. This is sad news, and shameful, if true. And now that these anarchists have ruined Russia and covered the Allies with shame, we are to withdraw our troops, and feed them, in return for payment in gold. Let us hope for the best. I shall write you a great length, and immediately upon my return.

It is snowing today, and this morning my tooth paste was frozen, a new experience, but it thaws out beautifully.

Trieb, Trier, or Treves. April 17, 1919. P.M.

We reached here at 8 o'clock, reported, registered, and were billeted. We went to dinner at 8:30 and have just returned from a long walk. We are billeted at the Ponta Nigra, the largest hotel here, and turned over to the exclusive use of American officers. I have a good room but no bath, altho' there are several in the hotel, but not one on each floor.

I am going to take a peep in the morning at the Ponta Nigra, the Dome, the Basilica, the ruins of the Roman bath, the Imperial Palace, the old Roman Amphitheater, and the old Bridge over the Moselle, and then on the Coblenz by 10 o'clock. Historically, this is one of the most interesting places in Germany. It has a population of 50,000, beautiful buildings, fine residences, and well paved streets. It is the capital of the S. Dist. of Rhenish Prussia. There is a legend that it was founded 1300 B.C. by Trebeta, the son of the Assyrian King Nimus. It is said he ran away to escape the love assaults of his young step-mother just left a widow. The lady had an eye to the present, and he the germ of early, not late Christianity. At any rate there is evidence that it was occupied by Caesar, and founded several centuries before his birth. It was called a second Rome, so the driver of my car told me. He is from Providence, R.I., a high school boy of just 23, and has been through it all. He came over in 1917.

Directly opposite the hotel is a very remarkable old Roman gate of which I am sending you a card. The church is old, but just like them all, I fancy. We left Chaumont at 8:30 and went directly to Neufchateau, and then to Domerny. Then to the east of Gondrecourt and almost directly to Commercy. From there to St. Mihiel and on to Verdun. We reached there at 1:15 and had a cup of chocolate in the "Y". It was cold having snowed most of the way. We never stopped, except at La Croix, where we blew a rear tire. We made good time, and from Verdun went on the Briey via Conflans. Then on to Luxemburg, a very modern city. My traveling companion was angry at things in general, and at nothing in particular except me. As I looked back I did say some mean things. He would not however get out of the car. I did, and was walking down the principle street, when a large car passed, and someone yelled at the top of his voice "Goff-Guy". I turned and out of the car jumped Pat Hurley, Lt. Col. now. He fairly hugged me. I took him back to see G. who had forgotten him, but soon recalled him. The Col. afterwards said, "Hurley looks 10 years older, that is why I did not know him".

From there we came on here in 50 minutes, about 27 miles. In places, it was rougher than any road we had passed over. When I registered at the Provost-Marshall, I was greeted by a man from Milwaukee, who seemed glad to see me. He wants to go home and by the first boat. He does not like the country, tho' his father and mother were born near here. He says he can't stand the people, that they are stupid as compared with ours, and that they are underhanded. That they act glad to have us, but would blackjack us all, "if they could get away with it".

I shall write you from Coblenz, where I expect to be until Saturday evening until about 6. I shall come here for the night, and go on back to France Sunday morning. It is four hours by train from here to Coblenz, but my driver says he can make it in three. We should reach there by 10 o'clock. I have had so many interruptions and this room is clatter worse than yelling.

This is merely a rambling note to keep you in touch. I hope by aid of the map you will be able to see the route and know something of the way we came. In distance it was 245 miles. We made the detour via Verdun, that G. might see the battlefield. I shall return via Metz and Toul.

April 18, 1919. Coblenz.

We left Trier at 10 o'clock and reached here at 4 P.M. The trip was most delightful, and involved many things of interest, as unusual as they were educative. The entire country, as well as the cities through which we passed were reeking with lusty health and the joy of living. There was no mourning, and the cities are reeking with material wealth. I shall send to you a collection of postals and ask you to inspect them with that thought in mind. While they are colored pictures, they do not in the least exaggerate. We came up the Moselle from Trier to Coblenz. It is a beautiful mysterious river with weird mountains on each side. The grass is green as green can be, and as you whirl along, it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. Since the banks look in their sloping down just like the water. I believe the water is a darker green. The road is like 16th Street in Washington, except as you go over the mountain. The mountains slope down to the roads, and are covered with vineyards from which the famous Rhine wines are made. The vines are trained on poles in rows like the lima bean poles at home. The vines are trained close, so the grapes can be the easier picked, as well as the vines better cultivated. The hills and mountains are covered with castles, most of them being in ruins now.

I expect to see some of this town tomorrow, and shall write you fully upon my return to Chaumont. Saturday will be a busy day. If possible I shall write you from Trier where I expect to spend the night. I shall tell you something of Coblenz.

I have located Mrs. Stephens by phone. She is about 20 miles out. I talked to her by phone a short time ago. If she comes in today, she is to call at Headquarters, otherwise I shall not see her.

Trier, April 19, 1919.

Here I am having arrived from Coblenz at 7 o'clock, 100 miles in 2 hrs. 55 min. which considering the roads and the mountains was very good time. I came alone, having of course left Col. G. behind. He was very happy, and so comfortable. The U.S. has taken over the Coblenzer Hof, the largest hotel and the best in the Rhenish dist. and no one below the rank of a Major is admitted. The rooms are free and the meals 3 marks each. Of course you know Germany is paying for the expenses of the army. A mark is now 8 cents, and for every franc, you get about 2 marks and 75 pfennings. You see how a soldier paid in francs grows rich over night by merely coming up to Germany. The hotel is directly by the statue of William I and looks out on the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine. It is very much like the Waldorf at least as elegant. Col. G. because of his rank, there are no generals in the house, has a large room on the 2nd floor, 2 beds, a sitting room, a balcony overlooking the two rivers, and a bath room with one of the large disappearing sunken tile pools in the floor. He has this for nothing and his meals cost him less than \$1 a day. The breakfast was oatmeal, jam, ham and eggs or bacon, toast, coffee, tea, or chocolate and all for 3 M. or 24 cents in American money. So you can see why he is happy. Then the hotel being reserved for Officers from Majors up is very much like a club, and no women are admitted. The Col said as I was leaving, it pays to be sick, and I owe this all to my poor health. This may be in a measure more than true.

I lunched with Mrs. Stephens at the Red Cross Hotel. I recognized her as a member of the Ream family. She is fat, 40 and very deaf. One ear is about gone and she has difficulty in hearing with the remaining one. She phoned and asked me to come to the hotel, saying she was commissioned to buy for Easter at the "Y" she has in charge. She is very business-like, and asked me to take her out (including a dozen pots of flowers, and several boxes of candy) to Mohr, where the 69th Field Artillery has its headquarters. It was 15 miles out, there was nothing to do but comply. I made the trip in 45 min. out and back. I did not get out of the car, but of course missed the time in a conference, which I was most anxious to attend. She says her brother had never written her. She is not bright, though she claims to speak German, French and Italian. So enough of her, one dose cures.

I told you of the Moselle, and the trip to Coblenz, of the prosperous German villages, under the shadow of the towering hills and the outstanding castles. It is a truly beautiful valley, and I only wish I might add something that would tell you of its majestic grandeur. Its quaintness tonight impressed me, and its historical significance aroused recollections of Caesar and the Franks. It will always be an unforgettable day. We passed the town of Cochems, a particularly attractive place. There was an old castle there and a beautiful view along the river. The entire valley with its highly cultivated vineyards was a great example of meticulous care. But nowhere is there any evidence of war. Everywhere the people are well dressed, well shod, well fed, happy and smiling. Such a contrast to France. The children are clean, well fed, saucy, so different from the pinched little faces, you see among the French, where the children have lived in cellars, stables, and holes, and always with insufficient nourishment. And all this that Germany might try her fling at world power. I could not keep down a great resentment. It welled up in my soul against the Germans that they should be so happy, after they had caused so much misery and suffering in the world. But you know too well my views of this people called German, but more yellow than the Chinese.

Trier, April 19, 1919. Con.

The Americans are too easy. We are not fitted for colonization of peoples. The British are doing well in their sector, because they understand it. The French are hard on the Germans in the sector they occupy. They shove them off the sidewalks, slap their faces, and return the compliment of Alsace, Lorraine. The French have the Cologne Sector, and in governing it, they have taken the German proclamations which were posted in Belgium, had them retranslated into German, and posted in all the cities and villages, with directions not to disobey them. While the German might squirm, he could not seriously object, without giving the lie to his assertions that he ruled Belgium with great leniency. To sum up, the Germans show no contrition. They assert they were not to blame and they say we shall come back and retake Alsace and Lorraine within 10 years. They boast how they bluffed the Allies over the Dantzig Question, and they laugh about refusing to transport the Polish troops any faster than they wish.

I do hope that the Germans will be made pay, pay to the last shilling, pay to the uttermost. I don't like the Peace Conference, I don't like it now. The Germans are too happy. They would care, if they were to be hurt. They will accept anything. What else could they do? Justice is seldom attained. It has to yield to the conditions of an imperfect world. But why a scaling down in Paris of the account? Why not seize Germany and tell her people they can buy the country back, not have it back. I shall write you more when I reach Chaumont. I shall leave in the morning at 8 o'clock and hope to arrive at 6 P.M. I will also add a line in the morning to say I am starting.

Trier, April 20, 1919.

I forgot to say, there is much talk as to how much it is wise to take from Germany. This takes account of the factor of Bolshevism. I do not believe this country is Bolshevistic, the people are not of that class. It may mean armies here, force, and great power for many years. But what of it, Germany should be made pay the cost of any receivership of her affairs. It may take long years. What if it takes a century? It would be the best thing that ever happened to the world. I am not impressed with the argument that Germany will join Russia. She will not and suppose she does, her transition through chaos to self control will do her good. The world needs peace. It needs it sorely. I know, we see it on all sides. Half of Europe is now aflame with war. In all countries revolution is smoldering beneath the surface, but we shall fail, if we now sow the whirlwind, and do not see to it that our own resources are conserved and our power of self defense organized. We must have universal military training. We must train our citizens to prevent war, by fitting them to make war. We must see to it now, that our feet are planted, and firmly on the rock of immediate and constant preparedness.

I shall leave now and by way of Metz, Pont-a-Mousson, Toul, Colomby, Neuf-Chateau, and then home. It is raining today, but the weather is much warmer than in France. No one wore a coat yesterday, and I only when I started my trip in an open car.

As I sit there in my room I see a stream of people going to church. This is Easter Sunday. I suppose the same with you. But think of a German going to church and what kind of a religion is in that with the approval of the Pope lives and does as Germany.

April 24, 1919.

The New York paper has not come. I wonder if it would not be better if you could take it and send me merely the clippings of interest. The fact is, second class mail does not come safely at all. Col. Morrow reported this morning, the Second Army to which he was assigned, having been dissolved on Sunday last, some of it joins the Third in Germany, and the balance goes home. Captain Haymond also came in, and he will be assigned here for the present. He comes from Fairmont, West Virginia. I like him very much. His father is on the Supreme Court of West Virginia. The story is, depending on the outcome of peace, that the army will be out of France by August 1st, and that those headquarters will disappear, the Ordnance & Quartermasters consolidating with the S.O.S. and our office going to Paris or Germany. This is all conjecture, as you can see, but the French want us out. I see no reason to go to Paris. If the army is to leave France, why not the officers. None of us want to go to Paris. It is most expensive, and very uncomfortable. We all prefer Germany or Belgium. It is said the S.O.S. will go to Antwerp and supply the army of occupation in Germany from that point, and that the troops in Germany will be sent home hereafter, from that port. These plans may all change tomorrow, you hear so many rumors that truly you believe nothing. As I say no one knows anything definitely, and I feel, the greater part of the army will remain, until Peace is signed. At least, this is true of the army in Germany.

I shall send you Wallace's letter and copy as soon as my answer is transcribed. I dictate these letters at night, and it may be days before the stenographer has time to write it out. I wrote Father trying to put in one letter, the substance of what I sent you daily along the road. I hope it will satisfy him and please you. I think I sent you McGovern's letter and my answer yesterday. I answered Stalling's letter, but it has not come in, and the copy of it will also go forward in due course to you. I have tried to give the best of my impressions that you may have some idea of the local situation. I am so rushed, generally, that truly I do not write, as I should like. I neither think consecutively nor write as fully as I could. I often wish the time of the special correspondent was mine, that I was situated as Mr. Wickersham was, and that his opportunities were mine. One could then really do something worth while, something that would really and actually count. I wonder why he went home, left the gate before the guard was withdrawn.

April 25, 1919.

The Wilson bombshell has perhaps fatally wounded the Peace Conference. It is futile to analyze. I don't follow and I don't understand. Good faith is being impugned. Fiume is denied to Italy on the ground that it forms an integral part of Croatia, while Dantzig was denied Poland, because it formed an integral part of it. If the Croats are entitled to Fiume then Poland is entitled to Dantzig, unless the famous principles are very elastic. But why should the letter have been written? We were not parties to the pact of London. The whole World knew there was great excitement in Italy, and that discontent was widespread, and not confined to the Peace Conference. If Italy withdraws, can there be Peace? France and England cannot sign without Italy. The agreement of London prevents. The whole situation is loaded, dynamic, and all in the face of our duty to prevent a German victory. I yet hope for the best, that the Italians will not leave, and that the differences can be compromised by giving Italy the city and internationalizing the port, but this is only hope, and the wish of father, mother, brother, and twin sister to the thought.

It was rumored two days ago, that the Americans were ordered to leave Italy. The orders are said to come from General Treat, Commander of the Americans in Italy. The country is reported aflame on the Fiume Question, and food conditions are far from good. This all helps Germany. She will delay and discuss. She is entitled to discuss, to the extent of knowing what she signs. Public opinion would concede that much, because, if the majority of the peoples in the Allied countries are convinced the terms are not just, they will not support them or measures necessary to enforce them, in that sense, the war is not over, because if Germany refuses to sign, the Allies must be prepared to occupy Germany.

April 26, 1919

Yesterday afternoon I went down to Is-sur-Tille, and from there to Dijon. The first army is breaking up, and it was necessary to go. I returned at 8 o'clock, just as it was becoming dark. I suppose you know about Dijon. It has about 100,000 people and is a very modern city. I was only there a few minutes, just drove through to see the place. I also stopped at Domeneu once again, I am sending some postals under separate cover. The town of Dijon was the Ancient Capital of Burgundy and today enjoys a wide reputation for its wine and gingerbread. I believe the city is very old in origin, it having been a fortified town under the Romans. I was much impressed with the place, and Major Chamberlin, an English officer whom I know and whom I met there, says Dijon is the best part of France, that the people are more refined and learned, than anywhere in the entire country. I shall hope to go there again, and take Col. White, and remain for dinner. It looks as much like Paris, as any place could, and not be Paris. The stores are large and beautiful, the streets wide and clean, and the parks open and attractive. Did you not visit there once, or am I mistaken, and do I confuse it with some other locality of similar sound.

Col. Hurley passed through yesterday on his way to the U.S.A. He stopped to say "au revoir", but I did not see him. I hear he is not well, and must have another operation. I trust this is not the case.

This I hear in confidence; that Wilson is rushing the army home to help the League of Nations, by saying, the League will not require an army in Europe or even Germany, and here is your army home again, but as I have told you, you hear so much that you try to close your ears to these current rumors.

Col. Morrow is here, and sick. He went to the hospital at noon. I sent him out on our car. He has a heavy cold. The weather is yet winter. The water freezes every night, "del 'eau gele" as they say. He is not seriously ill, but the surgeon thought it wiser for him to lay off and be careful. He looks well, but thin and tired. He asked to be remembered to you, and inquired most particularly about you. Boughton came in this morning. He has been a week in Paris. He had nothing to report, and generally, he knows nothing. It is strange, but he seems to have no interest in present day occurrences. I have not heard from Gilbert since leaving him a week ago today, although I have been sending his mail. It comes quite regularly from Washington and Omaha. I think Ansell writes him, this from little knowing things G. says, nothing direct. The enclosed clippings from the N. Y. (Paris) Herald shows how "A" is going on. It hurts the army, and destroys the discipline among the men. What would be the effect on criminals in Chicago, if Judge Landis should say, "The courts are rotten, and they universally favor the rich." As much as I regard General "A" I must confess to a feeling of mental nausea. What is his game, has he gone crazy? This much is true, his friends in the army in Europe are bitterly, but sadly turning against him. It would seem that he should leave the Service, since his usefulness is destroyed, and his prestige gone.

I think I wrote you I now have hot water in the morning, and shaving has become a comfort. I am so grateful too, and my billet is most comfortable, though I am never there, except to sleep. I am trying to get a card of the

church and see if I can mark the spot where I reside. I never mind the chimes, but "G" complained so much about them. They would remind you of the chimes in Bruges. Did I tell you Major Albert was sent to Winship, S.O.S. at Tours. We found he did not fit in here. Winship has him in Railway work. The enclosed postal says they are moving to Antwerp. That is according to my last letter to you. The Quartermaster and all other offices will supply the army of occupation from that port. The venue is changed, as they say in the police court, Rome, not Paris, is the center of interest now. The news of estrangement will be read with a pang of regret everywhere except in Germany. But after the President's appeal directly to the Italian people over the head of the King, as well as the delegates accredited to that country, at the Conference, there was nothing for them to do but go home. The Conference might as well adjourn for a few days and straighten this matter out.

April 27, 1919.

Last night, I read all your clippings. After all, there is nothing like the kick and the enterprise of the American Press. I do quite envy you the opportunity to read these papers, if you have the time. When you compare them with the European papers, you must conclude the people here do not demand the enterprise of the American papers, and you wonder where they obtain their information. Perhaps, they have not any to spare.

I hear the treaty will consist of at least 100,000 words, and that it will take at least a week to translate it into German, so at best, it can not be signed before the middle of May. I would say not before June 1st, if that, in view of the recent perplexities. News is very difficult to obtain, yet you do hear that nothing is to be done to interfere with Turkey. She will be allowed to retain Constantinople and remain in Europe. Of course, she must stop killing Armenians. Again, you hear on all sides, that the Bolsheviks are breaking, that they are ready for Peace. Lenin and Trotsky want the same terms as the Germans, an armistice under the fourteen points. It is said they made such a proposition in a letter, carried by Steffens and Mr. Bullitt, to Mr. Wilson. Of course, this means food. Then Germany is crying that delay will certainly produce Bolshevism. I don't believe it. The people of that country are too prosperous and too docile to overturn their government and destroy their property. A nation that squeals at the approach of defeat, is not the nation to commit economic suicide.

I believe the German delegates will come prepared to debate every possible point, using as a club, that the government can't last, and that Bolshevism will step in. I think I wrote you, feeling is running high in Italy over Fiume, and that Gen. Treat had ordered all American soldiers and war workers out of the country. That is the American, reports to the contrary, is not very popular in Italy. I feel sorry for Poland and especially Paderewski. He has failed and lost Dantzig. It means his government will fall. Naturally, in the face of failure, he can not maintain his prestige. It is also said that Poland will ally herself with Germany, thinking "Misery loves company", and that she will obtain more sympathy there, than with the Allies. After all, we are nothing but children of a larger growth. France wants an alliance with England and America, upon the face of things, this is indispensable to French security against Germany. The President is opposed because it is against the spirit of the League.

It is reported the Kaiser will be tried for violating the treaty with Belgium, rather than attempt to extradite him from Holland. This is Wilson's view. He also thinks that exile, similar to Napoleon's is the proper punishment, if he is convicted. Mr. Lansing sharply opposed any effort to try him, holding there is no law whereby it is possible. The whole world seems unbalanced and clearly disturbed.

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It is a free for all. If there is no law, why not make one? International law is based exclusively on the agreement of nations, and if the nations that won this war should decide to try the Kaiser who would deny it, and who in view of the charges that could be filed against him could say it was unjust? The matter does come down to this: no one knows what he wants, in view of all he sees. This much is sure, try to minimize it all you will, Italy is out of the Conference, the council of four has become a council of three. Can it be that the destroying force of elimination has at last set in? The Italians also claim that when the fourteen points were accepted as a basis, they expressly reserved certain rights, based on the pact of London. The French Press and the French citizens on the street are making common cause with Italy against Wilson. It looks like the Conference is on the verge of disruption, at least the feeling is gaining ground that the perspective has never been as gloomy as at present. The claim also is advanced that the Italians stipulated they waived no rights under the Pact of London when they accepted the fourteen points. The Italians say this was officially communicated to Wilson by House. This gentleman admits they did so notify Mr. George and Clemenceau, but he disclaims any recollection that this fact was communicated to the American Government. Wilson contends that the London treaty and the fourteen points conflict and that in accepting the fourteen points, Italy of necessity waived her treaty rights. The whole thing is the worst possible blunder, and reveals the lack of wisdom of leaving the difficult problem until the last minute, and so in all such matters, the mistake was assuming that Italy could be placated in some other way. The Italians are very bitter. They blame George and Clemenceau and refer to Mr. Wilson pityingly, saying he is the victim of his own ideals, while the sordid interests they charge of France and England are being furthered under the coloring of ethical principles. Of course, the Germans are having their fling. They are greatly encouraged. They want separate peace treaties, if possible. In a word, the Germans are advancing their interpretation of the fourteen points, of January 8, 1918, and as later amended before the signing of the armistice. Wilson's stand on the Italian matter meets with great approval in Germany. The Berlin diplomats say it defends against special interests, and individual claims, but they say, this latest word of Wilson's is a contradiction of his attitude in favor of France and against Germany generally. They cite the giving of German territory in the Tyrol to Italy in exchange of Fiume, the delivery of three million Germans to the Czechs, and the ceding of German lands in Dantzic to Poland. They also say, that Wilson has consented to France doing in the Rhine district what he is now denying to Italy along the Adriatic. The position of Germany is very logical, it is, that if justice and not selfish interests are to be the decisive factors in the world peace, then Germany should have her boundaries settled nationally and not geographically, and strategically. And yet, it is said, that the policy of the fourteen points is to have the vital demands of each nation fulfilled.

It is snowing hard, the wind is blowing, and altogether the outside is most unpleasant. Colonel White has returned, and is resting up.

April 28, 1919.

We are yet in the midst of winter, not casually, but constantly. It is the raw weather, the man of average constitution can not stand. Col. S. has been sent away for two weeks and Majors Parkhill and Cocron are now in the hospital. The colds are more like grippe. The men ache all over, and especially in the chest. Col. Morrow is better, and will be out soon.

I hope you will receive the relics sent you. They have stopped sending the postals in the soldiers mail, and we are required to send them as first class, so it may take them some time to reach you. If you do not care for the postals you can send them to the different children, as you see fit.

There are rumors that the families may be allowed to come later but it is all rumor. As soon as I can hear anything, I shall let you know. Col. White is back, and says he had a fine trip, he returned via Nancy. He says it is the best city he has seen in France. I have never been there, but hope soon to make a run there for dinner. The French will not permit the Americans to come there and to stay. Have you ever visited the place?

I suppose the American papers are full of Italy's withdrawal, the London & Paris papers say the U.S. strongly condemns Italy, and her withdrawal. That is unfortunate.

Orlando is angry and accuses Wilson of appealing to the Italian people over his head. He claims it is a deliberate insult, coming as it did, while the Conference was considering a compromise. The Italian delegates say they are willing to accept the issue as joined by Wilson. Orlando has given orders to protect the American Legation and Consulates in Italy. Of course, Italy now says, she is forced to make a separate peace.

Roumania is also threatening to stand with Italy and Japan is pursuing an immediate settlement of her claims, strange but much sympathy is felt for Italy. It is expressed openly. The Americans do not believe Japan will pull out, but the solution of their claims presents a similar problem, and much concern is expressed. The Japs are remaining significantly silent, and it is also said that the Presidents statement was intended as a warning to Japan. I hear there was a statement in one of the French papers that the Presidents letter means the breaking up of the most important as well as the greatest conference in the history of the world. That he is straining at the Fiume gnat and swallowing the freedom of the seas and the Saar Camel.

However no effort is made to disguise the fear that Italy will carry out her threat, and pull up stakes. She has everything to lose, but nothing to gain. Neither Orlando nor Wilson can retreat, one side or the other must back out. The French are said to agree with Wilson politically, the Italians say Wilson has played into Orlando hands. That the Italian public thought he was not putting up a strong enough fight for Fiume and Dalmatia; so that now Orlando can save his gov't which has been threatened during the past week.

The News of Italy's withdrawal is hailed with delight in Berlin and is interpreted as a sign that in treating with the Allies so manifestly out of tune with each other. The chances of the Germans to escape the material consequences of their defeat are greatly increased. The Germans also say, one of the reasons they lost the war was their utter incapacity to understand the psychology of other nations, but that incapacity exists everywhere and now the Allies are having their turn. But if the Peace Conditions carry out the letter of the 14 points, a great disillusionment awaits the Boche. The 8th provision declares-" all French territory shall be freed and the invaded portions restored!"

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The territory has been freed by the immortal heroism of the Allied armies. But what about the restoration? If the "words" mean anything, they mean that the devastation caused by the Boche in their bestial contempt for right and in their lust for possessions of others, must be replaced integrally. The ruined towns and villages must be rebuilt, the stolen property restituted, the destroyed machinery replaced, and the victims of human rapacity, and Hun ferocity fully indemnified to the last centime.

A few days spent in the war region with the homeless and the destitute victims of these spuer-human Germans will probably put the conference to help Wilson enforce his 8th. point, and exact complete reparation for the ruin wrought and the wrong done by Germany, while she sought her Gott given place in the Sun.

It is said the English now feel that a mistake was made in publishing Mr. Wilson's letter, while negotiating schemes were being carried forward with Italy. The English papers are against Wilson, which may account for the failure of George to openly support the Wilson letter. The reports from Italy are, that popular agitation in Rome and throughtout Italy may result in an outburst of popular feeling that may sweep away any conciliatory influence Orlando might otherwise have. So Italy now holds the key to the situation. What will she do? That is really the question, because with Italy out, why a League of Nations? "Cui bono" as Cicero used to say?

Lt. Col. Brown of this dep't took the enclosed picture of Quentin Roosevelt's grave. He gave me the copy today.

April 29, 1919.

I heard someone phrase it, that the world is suffering from "idealists". Does it describe the malady? It affects different people differently, does it not? And will the disease ever run a practical course, so many of them fail to fructify. We are all seeking for intellectual satisfaction, and we never obtain it. That is, of course, well. There is a danger in ideals, especially when they teach people to want what they cannot have. The Italians are the victims of an ideal, and it is easy to see their point of view. The Germans have a bad attack of this sickness at present. Their arrogance is noticeable and is increasing. The Press of Germany is growing most insolent. The delegates propose to discuss the terms of the peace, and they now assert they will reject any clause that does not meet with their approval. They also claim a peace based entirely on the 14 points, and they have put on those famous articles their own construction. The Germans have also drawn up their own League of Nations. They insert in their League, that all nations shall be admitted, and equally, and at once. They insist on the prohibition of all secret treaties, and the annulment of all existing arrangements. And that the world has "Idealists" is shown in the Egyptians, Greeks, Koreans and Haitians joining the Universal chorus in an appeal for justice based on the 14 points. The withdrawal of Italy has had its disquieting effect on the Peace Conference. There is no doubt about this. Some say the storm has broken and the air has cleared, while in other quarters a less optimistic view prevails. The French and Italian papers regard the situation a most serious one. It is easy to believe this, in view of the inflammable temper of these Latin races. It is said, that the meeting between Orlando and Wilson was of a highly dramatic character, but this is only rumor, and I have seen no account of it. As nearly as I can get at the bottom of the Italian matter, it is this, the Jugo-Slavs were called Austrians during the war, in fact were Austrians and fought against Italy. So the Italians say, since the Austrian Empire has disappeared, these people now call themselves Jugo-Slavs, that is Southern Slavs. But a change of name does not make them any less enemies of Italy. I had not thought of it, but the Italians say the Slavs have been their enemies for centuries. The Italians also claim, that before the war the Austrians were not called Jugo-Slavs, but Croats, and the Croats have been their fiercest taskmasters and most cruel executioners. Of course the ineradicable characteristics and tendencies of a people can not be modified by a change of name and a new flag. Of course, in that aspect, it is like putting a people on edge, under a foreign yoke to ask Fiume, the majority of the people, being Italian, to become Croatian. To ask Italy to give up Fiume, would be like asking France to surrender Alsace, Lorraine, you just could not do it. Naturally, the Italians distrust the Austro-Croats, feeling that they are more subject to the old Austro-Hungarian influence than to any other control. Certainly a hereditary enemy can not change merely because his status may have been attired.

The Italians say the U.S. has recognized the British Protectorate in Egypt, and that this is against the spirit of the 14 points. Wilson is understood to have great sympathy for some form of autonomous gov't there, but does not feel that these people have reached political maturity. The Kiao-Chau matter has been disposed of temporarily by requiring Germany to renounce all her rights in and interests in the port and surrounding country. As to Poland and Dantzig, I hear the alleged riots are of German manufacture, and that they are inspired for the purpose of showing that Dantzig is strongly German. You would naturally expect the Germans to make such a move. They are striving to prevent the forma-

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tion of buffer states, as well as the loss of seaport towns. That is of course the expected thing and the construction the Germans wished placed on the 14 points, not to place a predominating population under a foreign rule. The Germans know the Poles predominate in Dantzic, but they use the argument to gain the port. It is said feeling in Poland is very strong and that the City of Dantzic and the surrounding country is overwhelmingly (middle class) Polish. The people have been Germanized and for some years the German language was the only one permitted to be spoken. This extended even to the signs on the stores. These rights of nations are very complicated, and especially when the riots are made to order. It is stated that the recent anti-Polish riot in Dantzic was organized, and carefully directed by the German official class. An organized riot therefore, differs from a demonstration in this, that in origin one is voluntary, while the other is involuntary. I do wish Italy were back in the Conference, and that we shall not lose the affectionate respect of the European countries which we rightfully earned during the war. It will not do to make wounds that time cannot heal. The Italians think the 14 points are elastic in the case of England and France, and inelastic in their case. Italian opinion is very sensitive, and the people do resent outside interference. At bottom, the matter is largely sentiment, that the nation cannot desert the Italians of Fiume, that they must not be left unredeemed. We may argue about it, as we will, but the reality remains. We might ask, how ~~should~~ we feel, if it were proposed that some ancient American Community which had pleaded to be united with the U.S. should by a treaty concurred in by us, be left under the rule of those who had proved themselves enemies and oppressors. The question of Fiume concerns Italy. We insist on the Monroe Doctrine, and that is our business. The wish of Great Britain has been followed in the disposal of the German colonies. France was given her former territory, and now Italy says the Adriatic is my Monroe Doctrine and Fiume is part of it. The larger ends and purposes of the war must not be forgotten, and we must remember this, even though it involves an unreasonable request by one of our Allies. It is very discouraging to have this break come and at this time.

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The question now uppermost is will the Germans sign? They say yes, if the treaty conforms to Mr. Wilson's 14 points otherwise not. But this the Germans do make clear, that they reserve the right to place their own construction on the points. The Germans are very considerate toward America, but very cautious about England and France. Many of the Junker class hope Germany will not sign. These men argue thus, the Allies cannot start another war against us in our present helpless condition, and we cannot be starved into signing, unless the entire world is ready to plunge into anarchy.

After all the delegates and the Berlin crowd are uncertain what effect a rejection would have on the indifferent masses. If the people will support them, then they will start something and refuse to sign you do hear it said that Germany will not admit her guilt in writing of having started the war. This might be a nice point of ethics if Germany had not herself already started to investigate the conduct of Ludendorff and Bethmann-Hollweg Germany said today she would not surrender the Saar Valley and that she will not admit her liability for having destroyed Northern France.

I hear the French papers quote Harden and Bersteen as urging Berlin to approach the matter in a conciliatory manner, and crucify Germany if necessary, rather than by refusing to admit compensation to France absolutely ruin and destroy the country. This advice will be discounted and not followed. In the mean time, the Germans are ingratiating themselves into the favor of America wherever possible.

It is interesting to know that Berlin is in constant touch by wireless with the Moscow Gov't of Lenin and Trotzky. It is in this assurance and with this knowledge that the Peace Conference must approach the Russian Question. The Allies should so view the Russian situation, and they no doubt realize, that to destroy Prussianism is to destroy Bolshevism root and branch. The Berlin delegates deny vociferously any such alliance. But from their tone and the iteration of their protests, it is easy to infer that Brockdorff-Rantzau has a power of attorney to act for the Russian Soviet. So it will be necessary to have a good strong policy against Germany and drive her to Peace. No matter what she threatens or ever does. If she refuses or her delegates resign, then there should be no coaxing, but just plain mailed fist action, and the sooner the better.

The moment she refuses or backs and fills, the terms should be withdrawn, the delegates "boxed-cared" home, and Foch and the English fleet made to each respectively move. But this I do believe Prussianism must be destroyed, or else there will be a dictatorship. There is only one way to destroy, and that is to enter into possession with an army of occupation, and hold the country a hundred years, until by the slow breeding process of example, and elimination of militarism, the people are changed in body and reformed in mind, heart and soul, that is until they acquire a soul. The League of Nations has now reached the stage of open debate, and under most discouraging circumstances.

Italy's demands are utterly inconsistent with the demands of the League, and Japan will most certainly follow, unless she is given a free hand in China, and is conceded racial equity. It is reported that the Covenant of the League is without power to compel adherence to its mandates. America is left free to maintain her old policies, and Japan, Italy, and even France show how far the nations are from accepting the League even in spirit. Mr. Wilson is reported to have very truthfully and properly said "if the nations of the future are as selfish, grasping and bellecoise, no instrument or machinery will restrain them, "This seems all too true, I believe that war always will be the destiny of man, such is the fist of the great architect as shown in all his works. To ignore war is foolish, and to be unprepared for it, is

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criminal. The Holy Alliance in 1815 did not stop war, and I much fear the League of Nations will have no better success. It is certainly said, we must not press Germany too far and cause her to seek a war of revenge. Now personally I have a very low opinion of the Germans, but it is not so low as to cause me to believe that she will not desire a war for revenge.

No matter how we treat her. From the remotest period, she has been a bandit nation, and she has only been held in bounds by reducing her to impotence. Most wars have their origin in racial differences, and the ceaseless progress of mankind, accentuated by the infinite diversity of national aims. I always shall believe that ignorance, tyranny, and brute selfishness spell trouble in the end, and that war is the panacea for the necessary mental re-action or change in attitude.

War is the outlet of national ideas, and they are merely the external expressions of nervous energy. Nervousness and aggression are largely a matter of climate, or as it is termed, the influence of geography on human character. Germany has it, and having it, just must expand, unless she uses her energy in other ways. It was climatic energy that caused Rome to wield such wide and powerful influence, and in all history every nation so stimulated has spread its power over neighboring regions, either by land or sea. Germany is no exception, and unless she is controlled, she will act in response to the impulse that has guided the action of every race on the face of the earth.

It is proposed to defeat her and to shame her, until she directs her biological propensities in the proper way. That is the task of the Peace Conference. I hope it succeeds, but personally I have no faith, because in the matter of aggression and plunder Germany is by inheritance, racially and geographically a robber bandit an incurable social disease, which can be controlled by co-ercion, but never cured, unless her racial instincts are destroyed by enforced amalgamation with other stocks possessing opposite tendencies. This cannot be done so restraint and police co-ercion is the sole and only remedy.

The snow is 2in. deep, and correspondingly cold. This seems to be unusual weather for May 1st. I hope it is more pleasant in America. Your letters must make the wrong boat, there is nothing yet and nothing about the Clarksburg trip.

Chaumont, April 21, 1919.

I am back again in the routine of harness work, rested and almost oblivious of my recent journey. There is nothing out of the ordinary, and the Peace Conference rolls along. Only a few days exist before the treaty will be irremediably fixed for better or for worse. The treaty will be scrutinized from the point of view of the future, how does it guarantee the future? will be the question asked.

It should be a Peace of Peoples of the world, not the Peace of Parties, or men. I wish there was no doubt that I felt satisfied, but I don't. The attitude of George did not help any. As I heard it put, a popular politician is like a spoiled child I added, yes, and criticism is as intolerable to the one as chastisement is to the other. It was the violence of his personal attack on Lord Northcliffe that was disconcerting, and because he was a public servant. The thing I fear, is the vacillating policy of the Conference, nothing seems stable. The row is now with Italy, and all the time, the Germans are laughing. They had in fact decided to send some messengers to Paris to get the treaty, and take it back. It was a trio of obscure men they proposed sending. It is a studied diplomatic insult. Can you equal it in all the history? These delegates are enemies pure and simple, and so they should be received and so treated. They are not to be trusted. No one can put faith in them, not for a moment. The Belgium Gov't has just protested a violation of the armistice committee by the Germans appointed to superintend the restitution to the Allies of all stolen machinery. It seems the Boche had organized a secret postal service to Berlin in order to beat the censor. This same body of Delegates have been smuggling cocaine into Belgium, thus profiting in a purely Boche way. I hear the Germans are conducting in the U.S. a propaganda among the returning troops for the purpose of regaining their friendship, and creating hostility to the Allies. They are saying, "You alone won the war, without your help France would have been crushed as Serbia and Roumania were." That is the raw material of the propaganda, pure and simple. And how in view of all this, anyone can sympathize with them and vote not to quarantine them, I can not say. The entire policy goes on the theory of what the Germans should be and not what they are. And the Conference must know them. As I say, it is an affront to send men to Versailles who have not power equal to the Allied representatives. And why does Germany do this, if not because of the irresolution of the Allied cause. This Sabre will not rattle this time, but he will be humble and gentle, but as wise as a serpent, and all the time pondering his revenge. That is the German is the enemy of Civilization for all time, and he will so remain. And merely as an Easter reflection what would a German Peace have been, if the Allies had been summoned to Versailles?

No, I have never received the Clarksburg paper. I certainly did not stop it. There is nothing either from the New York Tribune. I wonder why. There is little excuse.

I have a letter from Wallace. He sailed the 18th on the Mauretania, and you will soon see him. I hear Rand is on duty in Washington. Huidekoper leaves April 30th for Breast. I have had my things moved today to 28 rue St Jean. I slept there last night, and had del'eau chaud this morning, my first in Chaumont.

April 22, 1919.

Col. White started for Germany last night, I urged him to with Gen. Bethel, as he has been so closely confined since Gen. K. went to Washington. He feels responsibility too much, and the work is most responsible, applying the laws of America to England, France, Belgium, and Germany, and enforcing our laws in these countries as they are, and must be modified by existing conditions. He will be gone a week and I am consequently the Acting J.A.G. for the Army in Europe. This is a long tedious occupation, and it is not without its perplexities. You must think like a flash and act accordingly, that is, you must use your intuitive mind. I was called today for immediate advice from Germany, Brussels, and Luxemburg, and generally I handle all such cases, because of my knowledge of International law. It is of course novel, but not unusual, and I always do my best. There are no feathers here, no fuss, no bluff, just plain real work that keeps things going smoothly as it is possible to run the machine.

April 23, 1919.

It is now said there will be a summary of the Peace terms by Monday, and I also hear, the Germans are growing more insolent every day. But everyone wonders whether the Allies are to come out victorious, and especially France. It is said the cost of living here has increased 235%, and that the country is threatened with financial ruin. The labor unrest, and the delay in reconstructing the devastated districts is adding to the uncertainty. In spite of all that is said People believe the victorious sword is thrown into the scale in favor of defeated Germany. France has lost two million men in winning this war, and it will be sad compensation to their relatives and friends, if Germany is now given the advantage. Then just think of the damage done to the soil, and the absolute destruction of the cities and villages. Everyone feels that this should be the last war and all hope it will be, but will it? I fear not, unless the world is rid of the warrior criminal, or the criminal warrior. The world is yet confronted by an enemy who has not lost his will. The insolence of the Germans is reflected in their proposal to send a messenger to receive the Peace terms. Can you imagine it, unless it be the present German Gov't. has nothing but contempt for the Allies. To add injury to insult, the delegates now say, they will not come unless given the freedom of the world. That is the criminal will not come to court, if he is released from custody and accompanied by the sheriff. Think of having such people a party to the League of Nations. The Hague Convention was such a League in 1914, but it did not prevent Germany invading Belgium in order to more quickly rape France. Is it any surprise that France and Belgium should insist upon being protected by something more powerful than a declaration on parchment. The Huns are abundantly capable of repeating this aggression, but most assuredly like the professional crook, they will aim to cover their tracks, and alude the appearance of being responsible for the attack. The responsibility of the Conference is great, and the man on the street is clamoring for the verdict. The Allies won this war, such as it was, and the people of these nations will be the critical judges of the Peace. The Conference should bear this in mind. These people for 50 months went through a Gethsemane of hell, endured death and want and grief, unflinchingly, their eyes ever fixed on the distant goal of victory. They gave their lives, the lives of their loved ones, and they poured forth their wealth and health that the simple right might prevail. And I do wonder whether, as the poet so spritually says, the dead of this war scattered as they are throughout the world are also waiting. If so, then do we not owe it to the millions who sleep beneath the devastated fields of France and Belgium, on the slopes of Gallipoli, below the Alpine snows and under the Italian plains, and in the cold green ocean depths, that their eternal slumbers shall not be broken by an unjust peace. The Ultimate test is this, will the living and the dead, the living who mourned, and who shoulder to shoulder played the man; and the dead, who did not die because they live in the hearts of those they left behind, approve the decision, and vote it just? The Peace Makers at Paris are discharging a grave trust. They are the fiduciaries of those who died that the world might be reconstructed, remade, realized, and secured. To disappoint the living is to cheat the dead, and to cheat the dead, is to break the most sacred trust ever confided to man. But Why speculate, we shall know, long ere this reaches you. I wonder how the heart of America really does beat in this matter, is it, or is it not true?

May 1, 1919

We are yet in the grip of a raging blizzard. It is much like those we had in Wisconsin, only this one lasts for days.

You know, I wonder how the American papers are controlled, and if they are influenced by the interests of those who do not do the best for the U.S. I cannot understand them, and I wish I might. Of course all I know is what the London and Paris papers say, and no doubt these papers reflect a measure of the opinion prevailing there. But "Cui bono", the Germans are now in Paris, face to face with the Allies, who should now close up and show a united front.

The Germans will sign or refuse to sign as they feel the Allies are or are not to be trifled with at this time, so the Allies should be prepared for emergencies, as they will be at grips with the enemy. If the treaty is speedily concluded, then all will be well, but if the Germans tergiversate then all will be wrong. Half of Europe is now at war, and in the full of revolution, Italy is sulking, and in the open, Japan is adroitly advancing her single minded program of national expansion. In England matters are far from certain (the kings are so inbred that the stock has run). The world must have Peace if it is to survive and in obtaining Peace we must see to it that our resources are conserved, and that in moments of idealistic generosity we do not give away all we have. You have seen the draft of the League of Nations. There are changes in many respects from the draft of February 14, 1919, but these changes do not remove the defects that lay at the root of the original draft. That defect is this: The League takes the conduct and control of peoples foreign affairs and policy out of the hands of their respective representatives, and turns them over to the tender mercies of the judgment and control of an international body composed of men who may or may not, understand the questions at issue, as instance Fiume and Italy.

Let us suppose a difference arises between the U.S. and Mexico, and it is submitted to the League under Art. 15, the League of course accepting the Monroe Doctrine under Art. 21, then after proper hearing, let us suppose that the League reaches a conclusion based on the best interests of Russia, Germany and the Balkans, that is the interests of the U. S. are considered in the light of what these other countries need, want or wish. What will happen when this council hands down its decision? If I know the American People, they will tell the Supreme Council to go to a place hotter than Texas in Mid-Summer.

Again the British self-governing countries are each to have a vote in the body of the delegates. Then why, if England is to have five votes, should not each of the American States, they are self governing, have a vote. This suggestion is justified in view of the question of population, because, if the League is fairly to represent the self governing peoples of the world, if the League is fairly to represent the self-governing peoples of the world, the question of numbers can not be ignored. Why should Canada have a vote in the League, and New York only 1/48 of a vote? Canada has a population of 8 and New York 10 million. The problem of the basis of representation has evidently

been shirked and this will not do to allow Great Britain to out-vote us 5 to one in matters of supreme national importance as colored, if not controlled by domestic interests.

Take the race equality theory of Japan. It is all wrong or all right, according to how you view the brotherhood of man. If I am my brother's keeper, then either Japan or I must change our method of living and shut our eyes to the difference in color. If an American and a Japanese each get \$5.00 per day, and the American spends \$4.00 and the Jap 50¢, what happens to the American? He most certainly will reflect and protest. The Jap may be worth just as much and be just as worthy, but the American wants better things in his home, better food, and better clothes. To abolish race prejudice would be like a law abolishing human envy, just as effective. The best answer to Japan is her own law that that bars Chinese from Japan because they under sell the labor of the Japanese. Race equality should begin at home, and not in a world congress of nations. No doubt the student of history reads reoccurrences in these days that remind him of the repeating past. And so it goes. There is and can be no doubt that history repeats itself. How fortunate they must be who can read it and study it systematically.

The League of Nations has worked in theory throughout all time. It has its basis in every treaty that has ever been signed. It differs merely in what is expressed and what is implied. In this war the Allies have been a League of Nations for a certain purpose. It is interesting, that Wilson alone believed in the League, Clemenceau thought it a pious thing that could do no harm, George held it of like account, and Orlando was indifferent, Venizelos, House & Lord Robert Cecil believed in it and did their best to have it adopted. Let us hope it has easy sailing ahead of it.

Col. Huidekeper leaves today for the States. I wanted to send a small package, but he protested entirely too much, when Major Whipple asked him, that I immediately forgot it. I did not ask him to call you up, as he considers everything of that nature a "bore don't you know". I am not interested in the Mills Bldg. crowd and I am through with the entire bunch. Gen Crowder is the one who has any decency or who has written, or exhibited the slightest concern or interest. It all shows that it does not pay to be agreeable or try to help others. Your very best efforts are never appreciated, and you are used as long as you are usable, and then turned over if not out. But enough of this.

I am wondering if you saw Dr. Keppel, and what impression you gathered.

May 2, 1919.

There is little to say, no mail and no news. Yesterday was "May Day", and things were all holiday. The snow was three inches thick, and as Col. White put it, "This is the deepest snow since we have been in France."

I heard that Frank Simonds is in Paris, and that he has been writing some good articles. He is highly spoken of by the officers here. Do you see his articles?

What ever became of Mr. Wickersham, did he run out, play out or shut up? I wonder, but this I know, if he had shut up, he certainly never would have done either of the other two.

The Germans are taunting Italy with having backed the wrong house. They even go so far as to offer her the support of Germany, if she will break with the Allies.

Belgium is also discouraged. She says the Peace Conference has done more for the neutrals, and sometimes for Germany than for the Belgians. They also object to the choice of Geneva as the world capitol, and say the selection is a cut in the face to their national pride. They even go so far as to blame Mr. Wilson, and to doubt his sincerity. I am very sorry they should be so unjust, but of course every one cannot be satisfied.

The Germans are very amusing. When they arrived, they expected the keys to Versailles. One wanted to go out and buy a paper, and Herr Warburg, when taking his morning walk and finding the gate locked ordered a policeman peremptorily to open it. Upon being told that their movements were limited, they indignantly protested that Allied officers in Germany were permitted to go and come as they please. They were suavely informed that the conditions were scarcely parallel.

As to Italy, there is no sign of her weakening. Catholic and Socialist are one. They all thank Wilson for having united them, for having, as it were, accomplished a miracle.

The Americans have opposed trying the Kaiser. The Japs join with us, and the sum of the report is, that the criminal charges cannot be laid against the responsible authorities or individuals. The Commission concludes that Germany started the war, and that the Central Powers are responsible in the order named; Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Of course, there are no direct precedents to justify the Kaiser's punishment. Lansing took the position that an act could not be a crime, unless it was made so by law, and that an act could not be made a punishable offense, unless made so by a statute creating the offense. Lansing refers to an old case decided in 1813 by the U. S. Supreme Court. This case decided, that unless the Legislature had first made the act a crime, the Court could not try it. He therefore argues, that what is true of the U.S. must be true of the Society of Nations. In short the American

position is this: It is one thing to punish a person who commits, or who possessing authority directs others to commit an act constituting crime, but it is quite another thing to punish a person who fails to prevent, supports, or prevent the violations of the laws of war. In the first case, the individual acts, and is guilty of a positive offense while in the latter, he is to be punished for the acts of others, without proof that he knew of them, or that knowing them, he could have prevented them. Lansing does not deny the responsibility of the heads of the states, but disputes the jurisdiction of any international court to try them. He admits that morally the head of any state is liable but he is unable legally to see how the sovereign head of any state is responsible to anyone, except to those who have given him his rights. In its final analysis, the technical points of international law were balanced against common sense. The Americans said: the heads of the states should enjoy immunity by reason of their position, a strange anomaly that a democracy should argue the King can do no wrong. The British replied that rank, no matter how exalted, cannot protect a person from responsibility, when guilt is established before a properly constituted tribunal. The English and French say: "We deny that the privilege of rank is one of political expedience and that it is not fundamental." Those who oppose America and Japan argue: That even if a sovereign is exempt from persecution in his own country, that the position of an international point of view is quite different. The difference is obvious, and if the rule were followed, then the grossest outrages against international law could be committed with immunity. Such a conclusion would shock the conscience of mankind. And in this instance if the Kaiser is brought to trial, the gravest principles, will be vindicated, and the laws of humanity will be completed.

No one can doubt that Bloody Bill knew of and could have mitigated the barbarities committed during the war. No doubt the and those high in authority would have done so if they had ever seen defeat. It is said the position of American delegates made little impression on their colleagues. They however declined to be a party to the creation of any tribunal to try the Kaiser. The Americans very graciously said that it was only through the administration of law, enacted and known before it was violated that justice may ultimately prevail internationally, as it does actually between individuals in all civilized nations. In fact, believing, as he did in the Kaiser's moral guilt, Lansing said, it was an ungracious act to be compelled to oppose the conference, but as he said, we were dealing with the acts of those who were responsible under the laws of war, and not law in a strictly legal sense. I shall write you further on this subject because I want you to fully understand it. You will be interested in it I know, because all the world expects him to be tried, and he no doubt will be.

May 3, 1919.

As I wrote you yesterday the Conference report divided on the right to punish war criminals, and this of course involves international law, so what is it, certainly it is not statute law, but clearly, it consists of those rules of conduct which reason draws from the customs and usages of society. It is part of the law of every nation, and of the U.S. as our Supreme Court has frequently said, (159 U.S. 113). As far back as 1815 Judge Marshall said (9 Crouch 191) "The law is part written and part unwritten, and to ascertain what is unwritten, we always resort to the great principles of reason and Justice." It can be said that international law has its source among the customs of nations, and that these rules agreed to be observed, constitute as modified from time to time, the basis of international relations. If reason and morality are at the basis of the agreement which the civilized nations regard as binding on their relations with one another with a force binding the citizens to obey the laws of his country, then the germ of justice, reasonable and rational justice is the real foundation of the system. This is illustrated in the law of piracy. Why not murder, or act contrary to the established rules of war. Since 1914 Germany has violated every rule of international law, conventional and otherwise, which she believed militarily of advantage to her. She had disregarded likewise every principle of humanity. In a word Germany has done more than any nation in history to cause the world to revert to barbarism. Again the Governments have each shown themselves to be absolutely unfair in this: That while violating every rule themselves, they have been most insistent that their opponents observe the most rigid rules of human warfare. Germany's savagery has been progressive in that she never indicated, she had played the last card.

But the report of Lansing's committee records the Americans as opposing the Kaiser's punishment. The analogy of an indictment is followed, and Lansing says in effect, infractions of the moral law are not penal, and the statute laws of different states have no international force. The English and French dissent, holding that any offense against the Hague Conventions and treaties is indictable and punishable as a crime. The Americans deny the legal responsibility of heads of states, on the theory that offenses against international law are not crimes in particular, and that criminal responsibility can not be made to attach to others than those who actually committed the offence. The English and French reply, "The Kaiser or the heads of states are liable for constructive murder or arson on the ground that they failed to do their duty in not stopping or preventing such crimes, and so became accessories before or after the fact." The Americans repudiate what they call "The doctrine of negative criminality." The difference cuts deep. Upon the American view, if a man committed a crime not covered by the common law or statute, no court should take cognizance of his offense though it might involve the most monstrous depravity. As an instance, a hypnotist prompting the commission of a crime, unless it were covered by the statute might entirely escape punishment. This view does not consider crime as being immoral or a danger to the state, but merely as being an infraction of some formal rule. The other view maintains that crime is independent of the sanction existing at the time of its com-

mission, and that the sanction may be created later. The American view is in keeping with the technical provisions of the common law, but the other gives to international a broad and rational jurisdiction a power capable of responding to reason and reacting to the requirements of exact Justice. In other words, it is this: There is a common law consisting of common and equitable principles underlying all international law, that empowers it to punish offenses against liberty and law and vindicate the conceptions of order universally conceded to be sound. Any other system condones a crime committed with impunity, and to the gross scandal of conscience, because it is a crime not against one, but against all. The principle, the greater the crime, the less the offense, staggers the imagination, and dethrones the power of reason and logic. Do you notice the yielding to Japan? Inconsistency has certain become a virtue.

May 4, 1919

Is it not discouraging to think that after all the goodness and consideration shown the I.W.W. by the Department of Justice and Mr. Wilson, that they should return it in the infernal way they did, May Day? I have always felt that you can not extend clemency to the criminal classes, and either improve them or obtain any appreciation in return. Such people will bite you, and sting you every time. Unquestionably, it was the result of a conspiracy and the sending the infernal machines through the mail, nothing but an overt act done in pursuance thereof, and to effect the end of this hellish covenant.

I am sending under separate cover maps that go with General Pershing's report, also a book, with bill enclosed from Britnell. You might write him to send the future volumes as I shall be curious to see how the later volumes treat America's entry into the war and what credit, if any, is given our troops.

I have a shell I picked up in the Argonne. I am having it polished and the words "Argonne 1918" engraved on it. My orderly, Jous Boudelier, of French descent, hailing from Connecticut, thinks it is too heavy for parcel post. You are limited to 7 pounds and Jous thinks this weighs 12.

May 5, 1919.

I tried while in Germany to get you some more curios, as the enclosed note of introduction to the salvage officer shows. I went and found that everything had been taken and that over 500,000 packages had been sent to the U. S. So what I do send, I picked up myself on the battlefields. I am sorry not to have more, but you and Kate were each sent helmets, and I am sending you some hand picked shells.

I heard today that Col. Mayes writes Mrs. Boughton is critically ill and that Lt. Col. B. should come at once. Do you suppose this can be the case and if it is so, think of the woman overtaxing herself and overworking, as she did. It is tragic, is it not?

It is again rumored that the office will go to Paris or Coblenz by June 1. I do not know, and Col. White has nothing definite. I urged Gilbert to have me called to Germany for the remainder of the time the army of occupation is there. The enclosed letter shows he has met with no success. Col. W. said to me "Hunt wants you in Germany, but I cannot let you go, because you know without looking it up, what you realize the others do not know when they do look it up." Simply because they have no background of experience, so be it, and yet at times, one is and does become selfish. I can see it, White's point of view, my main reason for desiring to go to Germany is to have the chance to study the people, and to hear and learn more about what they did, and how they felt, during the war. In a way we do not feel so foreign to France and England.

The first copy of the N. Y. Tribune came today, dated April 11th. It took 25 days to come. Do you know it does not seem reasonable for mail to take that long to come from New York to the port of embarkation here.

Were the May Day disturbances as bad as reported? They were not as bad in Paris as New York, but everywhere, they were the result of the delaying the treaty of Peace, putting it off until the celestial city had been, on and off paper. The spirit of unrest which is indisputably prevalent in Europe is the direct outcome of unrest and uncertainty due to past war conditions. Last November the people expected a speedy victory. There can be no doubt about this, can there? They expected an immediate conclusion of peace, on the basis of full reparation, and security for the future. Today six months have gone by, and no peace. Business is paralyzed and labor has not been compensated for its sufferings and sacrifice.

The Conference has been more concerned about whether Germany can pay, than about what she owes. It is certain that if Germany had been victorious her conditions would have been immediately imposed. There would have been no conference. She would have acted swiftly, in order to profit by the demoralized conditions of defeat. It is said that Germany had her conditions of Peace all drawn up and that one of them was demands

for the payments, must not be based on the momentary capacity to pay, but stipulated dates must be fixed covering a long period of years, when France and others must make their stated payments, but of course, after each country had made a large initial payment. The only consideration Germany deserved was what she simply expected, to be told what she owed. That was what she expected until she realized the Peace Conference was devising ways and means to make it easy for her, and then of course, she sought to take advantage of generosity, as any yellow cur would likely do and that is what she is doing right now.

May 6, 1919.

The Germans, it is now said, will be given the treaty of peace not later than tomorrow, and that they will be made sign it not later than May 30, if not sooner. I do not see much of a dictated peace, but the best obtainable evidence is that it will be a victorious peace, even tho' time is allowed, and even tho' time is expected to have a soothing effect. Let us hope so. Personally, I trust it will soon be signed, Japan has had her own way, and she gets what Italy lost. Italy's withdrawal helped Japan, and Japan's position may now force Italy to return. Japan will dominate China, and have supreme economic control in the far east, but Germany keeps Dantzic, and Italy loses Fiume. How can these rulings be explained? I wish I knew. It is good that Japan was given control in the east, if her claims were just, but on the same reasoning, Italy should have had her claims honored. As I see it, whatever argument may be advanced to justify the claim of Japan, militates with great force in favor of Italy's claim to Fiume. Kiao-Chow was not Japanese and comes to Japan purely by right of conquest. Fiume petitioned to be incorporated in the Italian state, and certainly its incorporation is not inconsistent with the pact of London. If covenants entered into by Japan are treated as valid, it is impossible to throw out of count, covenants entered into by Italy. The population, the art, the aspirations of Fiume are Italian, and the people want to come to Italy in accordance with the principle of "self determination." So how can the Conference, that has agreed to leave Chinese subjects under Japanese rule, either reasonably or logically object to placing Italians under the rule of Italy? It is said Kiao-Chow is not essential to the material well being of China, granted, but it is proved that Fiume is essential to the well being of Italy, and is it shown that Fiume is essential to the material well being of Jugo-Slavia? Switzerland is a good illustration of a state that has no seaport, and it is prosperous. It is said that to give Fiume to Italy, is to plant the seed of future wars. But does the giving of it to Jugo-Slavia save the world from the same danger? If Jugo-Slavia will not acquiesce in giving Fiume to Italy, why can it be reasoned that Italy will surrender and acquiesce? It does seem that the Conference should find a precedent in the Kiao-Chow indecision for a settlement of the Fiume crisis. And the precedent so found should be followed without further delay. In fact, the time has come to go back to first principles in this case, the underlying principles of the war. We should stand by Belgium for, but for her decision to defend her rights, the first battle of the Marne would not have been won, and the Germans would have reached Paris in Sept., 1914. But for Belgium, Great Britain would not have entered the war. But for Belgium the moral verdict of the world might not have been spiritually registered in the hearts of men against Hun depravity. This is what I mean, without Belgium, the war could not have been won. Belgium is more than an Ally, she is a symbol of outraged right, and the justification of imposing on the Hun tribes such a peace, that they will never again attempt to impose their will on humanity. We should never forget Serbia, and the Serbian people, more cruelly martyred even than the Belgians. And hard as it may be to forgive, we should not forget Russia, for without her power so bravely offered at the beginning of the war, we could not have stopped the onrush of the barbarian savage Hun. It is incumbent upon us to get peace for those weaker and less able than ourselves, for in their weakness, they were a great strength to us all. It is a privilege to serve them, and we should show by our achievements how deeply we appreciate the obligation. And yet, if the best is done, nothing more can be demanded, and nothing more can be said. But I do not believe you can reform

May 6, 1919. Con.

a criminal with kindness. You must first break his spirit and then let him come back, if at all. The greater your kindness, the more you justify him in his wrong doing, and in his own estimation of his excuse.

I am leaving in a few moments for Luxemburg, Trier, and Coblenz. There is an important question calling for immediate conference in enemy territory. I go of course by motor. I shall stay until late in Luxemburg, then go on to Trier for the night, spend Wednesday, until at least 4 P.M. there, and then go on to Coblenz, where I shall meet Gen. Liggett, Gen. Craig, Col. Hunt, and Col. Rucker for conference on Thursday. I shall then race back here. I expect Maj. Strode to go with me. He has never been to Germany, and these trips are long, tiresome, and lonely without a companion.

Spiller is not well. He was sent away for two weeks, and we have let him join the press train, a joy riders trip through France to see what American Arms accomplished. You can not go without an invitation, and only the Southern crowd get these chances. They work them through the U. of Va. and the Southern men in the Armies. I will say for Strode that he declined. The Liquidation Committee is now in Paris. It has just come over, and is made up of Fla. S.C. Ala. & Miss. men, except ex-Senator Hollis, Dem. of New Hamp. just retired. They have a perfect retinue of clerks, male and female, and these minionettes pull the strings for their acquaintances in the army. Spiller knows more cheap, shoddy, civilians, and especially a bunch from Miss. The good old times are certainly here "for the way down south."

Trier, May 7, 1919.

We reached here last night in fact quite weary, we lost an hour due to a bad wheel hot box, and almost set the car on fire. We got in at 8. We spent an hour and a half in Nancy. I shall send under separate cover some postals.

I did not fancy the place, the Maj. Strobe is greatly impressed with it. It does not in my judgment compare with Dijon. We found that since 1870 the place has grown in art as well as in the commercial occupations. Much was done for it by Stanislas the father-in-law of Louis XV., to whom the province of Lorraine was given as a home after he lost his Polish Crown. I shall send you some pictures of the town from Coblenz. The weather is yet cold. The people feel it they look and act half frozen at that.

They are too close in peace times even to have fires, so I am told. We have an interview this morning at 9 with Gen. Smith and Col. Johnson, and then go on to Coblenz where we shall be in time for dinner and spend the night. I hope to leave there Thursday night, and get back Friday. I am always rushing, and always in a hurry but I would rather burn out like that sniff, piff, pist than rust out. I told Strobe yesterday that people live too long. He said nothing, although he was looking at an old woman pulling a wagon hitched to it with a donkey and a dog. Then I said, "don't you agree?" and he replied, "Gosh you sure are right."

May 8, 1919, Coblenz.

We reached here last night, and have been very busy since our arrival. Strode had never been up to Ahrenbreitstein, so we drove up there and had a wonderful view all about, and up the Moselle and up and down the Rhine. It is clear and warm so the view was good.

We found Col. G. well and happy. He is very contented and has of course most comfortable quarters. The hotel is full up, and I am rooming with Col. Hunt and Strode is put in with some casual but is very conveniently located to the bath. He does not care for the bath says it is too much trouble. I am taking advantage of sunken pools, and disappearing baths with blue tile bottoms, and green sides. I stayed in the bath so long last night, that Hunt asked me if I were a fish. G. says you get used to having these conveniences and that after a time, you don't take a bath, simply because you can. I wonder, if that is true? It does not seem so now.

The Germans got the Peace treaty yesterday. They say they will not sign, that there is nothing left if they do. At least, this is their reply, here at least, we quit, come and take us, but hurry, before the Bolsheviks get us. The Huns have the treaty, but the Allies are kept in the dark, such is democracy, to let the enemy know what is to be expected of him, but the victors must not know what is to be expected of them. In short, Democracy is to shut its eyes, open its mouth and swallow with thanks, anything that is given it.

The Germans will make a great howl, but it is only a pretense, a play to the gallery. They know the terms, and have known them for some time. They are supposed to receive them today for the first time, but in reality, they have known them for some time. No matter how strict, they may prove to be, they can never be commensurated with the appalling crime of which they constitute the penalty. In any event, they will get off too cheaply. What is most important is this: Will the terms satisfy the Allies who have been forced to sacrifice the flowers of their civilization and the hope of their future.

The Boche await the terms in humiliation, the Allies in expectancy, will they be what justice demands? That is the question all are asking, openly, and inwardly, we know what we expect we have won at a terrible cost, and we expect the terms to bring us compensation, reparation, and damages, and at the same time render the Boche absolutely helpless for future evil. We must be indemnified for our losses. We must have it, and feel and realize that it is ours. No amount of nebulous phrases can alter or cover up this fact, and if the terms now in the hands of the Germans do not come up to these expectations, then democratic government will be more disappointed than the Germans themselves; because it will mean, that again the Allies sacrifice and suffer, while the enemy is spared.

I shall leave here tomorrow morning for Ruttlich, then to Trier, and Chaumont Saturday. I shall expect to have some mail, as it is nearly a month since I have heard.

May 9, 1919 7 A. M.

Leaving very shortly for Trier and Chaumont. The day is clear and cold, and the trip should be a pleasant one. The wind burns like fire. I do not know how far we can go, but we shall go as far as possible. The population was quiet last night. The papers have printed a resume, but no comment. The official class are stunned. They say, they can not and will not sign, and that no Government can live that consents. I do not agree, What can Germany do, but sign?

The Treaty as I read it in private dispatches is nothing but a receivership, moral, financial, and commercial. As I wrote to you yesterday, the Germans will howl, but they will sign. The burden of 30 billion will cure them of the Kaiser, and as they pay, they will remember, and can they ever forget?

The Allies will supervise the carrying out of the treaty, for at least 15 years, and during that time will occupy the west side of the Rhine.

Alsace-Lorraine is restored to France. The Saar coal fields given to France, the Saar Valley internationalized, and the Baltic and Dantzig permanently. Germany is to cede most of upper Silesia to Poland, and also agrees to certain cessions in case of Denmark and Belgium, that is in boundaries.

Outside of Europe the dream of German colonization has set forever, and she is made renounce all claims outside of Europe in Asia, Siam, China, Egypt, and Morocco. The Navy is gone and the Army is reduced to 100,000 men. The defences of Heligoland and all forts along the Baltic are to be destroyed. The commercial supremacy is gone forever, if the treaty is carried out, and especially the provision causing her to replace all ships destroyed. The requirement that she replace the Library of Louvain with ancient and valuable manuscripts is certainly just restitution. She is also compelled to reconstruct the entire commercial and agricultural districts of Belgium and France. This is all we know, only scattering reports.

London and Paris papers are two days late in reaching here. You will know it all before you receive this, but it is all quiet along the Rhine, the noise is no doubt in Berlin, and over territory not subject to occupation

May 10, 1919. Trier.

I sent you a line yesterday from Coblenz, and shall add a few lines today before starting for Chaumont. I shall leave at 7:30 and hope to reach there by 10:00. We went to Wittlich, the Third Army is breaking up there, and after transacting our business, came on here. I was with General Smith, until late, but strange I did not sleep well, tho' most tired. We cannot have breakfast here, until 7. The European people do not arise as early as we do.

I see no signs of any interest in the Peace Treaty. The people are not worried, but on the contrary, they seem very happy and when they meet each other, they invariably smile and continue to do so, as long as their conversation lasts.

This at least shows indifference, and that of the subject changes, and involves the Peace Treaty, they are indifferent as to the outcome. You of course hear, that they will not sign, that they will say "come take us, we quit." I admit they are yellow enough to do it, but I shall never believe it, until they actually do it.

They will sign and begin to pay up, and get ready for another war. They are certainly going to fight again, and as soon as they can. The next war will be in the air, and of short duration as you would expect it to be under the circumstance.

The Germans say, England can have all the navy she wants, that from now on, it will be only a plaything, because a high explosive shell dropped from a bombing machine will sink any ship. But to get back to the Treaty, did the Hun not receive it like a prisoner at the bar? But such was the case at Versailles, Wednesday, when the German delegates cowed and suing for peace admitted their guilt with brazen impudence. But this fact is true, the most barbarous power in all time has been brought low and branded as the arch criminal of history. The Huns are powerless. I know it, at least for a generation, but their army was unbeaten in a military sense, and that is where the mistake was made, by ill advised intervention, Nov. 11, 1918. If their Army had surrendered, and the German High Command taken, then the Hun would have felt he was beaten.

The great criticism of the treaty is, that it leaves the difficult matters to commissions, and the debatable questions to the League of Nations. The abstract is not satisfactory. I have read it all. It lays stress on the strong points, and glides adroitly over the weak ones, or leaves them completely in the shade. Its length is against it. Germany is powerless now, but she will recover and never lose her predatory bandit nature.

Major Strode has just come in to say breakfast is ready, so I must stop. I hope to have mail in Chaumont.

Chaumont, May 11, 1919.

I do not meet many officers outside of my mess. Those who go to the Y do, but I do not care to linger there, because it does not interest me. It is the substitute for the lobby of a hotel at home, and you know that Wallace and Strode are the kind that wander there every evening after supper. I do not doubt that I miss much, and yet I would be different in essential particulars, if I did go there and spend my time in that way. I would be interesting and entertaining, I know that, and yet we do not change the habits of life time in a week or a month. I have tried to re-read my international law at night, and in that way, I have qualified myself to go to Germany and advise about the civil courts now carried on there. Such courts in occupied territory are based on international, and not municipal law, that is the law of the country of the occupying army. Sometimes Col. W. and I go for a walk, and often we chat about the work in the evening, and arrange about the plans to be followed. I have dined several times with Gen. Bethal, and have gone for a drive with him once or twice, when he wished to discuss matters of importance outside the hearing and the sight of his office. I suppose my life is a narrow one, and yet it is the life I have always led. It is the only kind of life that develops me in the least. I am sorry to say that my ideas come from reflection and not from association with people constantly. The only thing is this, my information acquired by hard study every night in Milwaukee, and by always preparing my cases is now of great value, and is accurate.

Since writing you yesterday, will you believe it, ten copies of the Tribune came and I am in great glee and luck. So for the present, if you have not done so, do not stop the order. I am piecing the papers together, and while some are missing, they are as a rule quite consecutive. There is nothing to indicate when we break up, tho, the latest report now is, that we do not go to Paris, but will remain here until ordered home. This pleases us all. No one cares for Paris, not only because of the expense, but also because of the long distances, and the difficulty in obtaining comfortable quarters. As I wrote you yesterday, everything turns on whether the treaty will be signed. I believe Germany will sign, and simply because she has nothing to gain by refusing to sign, she has too much to lose, if she does not. The weapon of the blockade will bring her to her senses. It was a mistake ever to relax it. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau lied, when he said the Allies had murdered hundreds of thousands by maintaining it after the signing of the armistice. I have seen and examined evidence to the contrary, and I know, that the Germans usually lie, when they affirm anything. I think it a mistake to have prematurely modified the blockade, before peace was signed. Most undoubtedly war continued, and to say the least, it was imprudent to help the enemy recuperate before the peace was signed. The net result of it is, that the German has recovered very much of his old time arrogance. So, if they refuse to sign they return to a state of actual physical war. They are powerless and they certainly know it. They must and they will accept, but will they execute, ah, there is the rub. You have noticed the replys of the Hun delegates. It is assumed, they were prepared in advance, and for home consumption. The language of these notes does not ring true, and the arguments advanced do not bite. The treaty, as offered, shows the German people how they are regarded, and what their place in the world really is. They are asking when they will be admitted to the League of Nations as innocently as tho' they did not know the confession of guilt and repentance are the first requisites, if not the sole requirements of forgiveness and admittance to and equal standing with the other nations of the earth. And in their case, repentance means this, that the spirit of Prussianism has gone forever, and that in its place has come without reticence or ambiguity, an unqualified pledge of future good behavior. To recur again to the question, whether Germany will keep the faith, even if she does sign, it is difficult to guess, until we see the whole treaty, I assume that the official abstract presents the treaty in its most favorable light, and yet a perusal of the document as a whole, might disclose loopholes not imaginable from a reading of a mere summary. The mere fact that England and America have promised morally to aid France, and come to her assistance in the event of an unprovoked German assault, shows that the treaty is nothing in the absence of force. It is a confession that no mere "scrap of paper" can render Germany incapable of an attempted aggression. This promised undertaking is a further confession that the League of Nations is a mere formula, because if it were felt to be efficacious, there would be no necessity for a defensive compact. In a word, the League means this, it is powerless, unless, without a compact security, as it were, to insure its existence and recognition.

It was a happy omen that the treaty was delivered at Versailles just four years to the day after the sinking of the Lusitania. The Germans then sang the Hymn of Hate, struck a medal in honor of the deed, and wrote poems deploring the fact that Sir Edward Grey who had striven to the last to avert war, was not among the victims. But times change, and often, the Goddess

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comes sooner than expected. Today all Germany is in official mourning, because their hellish plans miscarried strange psychology, to pray God for aid that your crimes may succeed, and then pray him for mercy, because he did not give you the necessary assistance. This is so well illustrated in the studied attitude of Count Brockdorff, Rantzau when he replied for German Kultur, after the receipt of the treaty. It was the incarnation of the whining, defiant, sanctimonious, truculent spirit of the arrogant Junker that willed and made the war. You recall his taunting the Allies with their hatred of Germany, and then seeking to mollify them by claiming they were fellow criminals with the Hun in starting and maintaining the war, and climaxing it all with the generous offer of assisting in making a peace of Justice. If proof were needed, here it was of the width and depth of the gulf between the Saxon and the Teuton mind.

Something is wrong, somewhere. There was no repentance. Nothing but sullen defiance. There was no recognition of guilt. No desire to change, no remorse, just brute complacency. And I have this reflection, until Germany, the German people, and never confuse them, the Gov't is the people, feels its responsibility, and realizes that it aided, abetted and approved the Kaiser in his crusade of murder for the sake of world power and lucrative rule, we can not deal with her or bridge the gulf, because the only crossing is reformation, and a moral and spiritual cleansing, an impossibility, if the criminal is openly and defiantly obdurate. I have my doubts, based on what I know and see. I hope and pray they will sign, and even then, I shall doubt, if they do sign, they go to a reformatory for a term of years, where the discipline is beneficial only when the inmate realizes why he is there, and is sufficiently moral to desire to qualify for release.

May 14, 1919.

I did intend to say in my letter of yesterday that it is most illuminating to view Germany in victory and defeat, study her by contrasts. In victory, of course she is bestial, and in defeat, like the bully she is, she whines and wags like a helpless cur. It is instructive to contrast the attitude of her people in regard to the Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest treaties. Those peace treaties have no parallel for harshness and brutality since the invasions of Atilla, their pro-genetor and prototype. Did the people of Kultur protect or officially weep or mourn? No! but with scarcely and opposing voice, these documents were hailed with delight, and the Reichstag ratified them as expressing the "Will to Conquer". The will to be, the will to expand, the will to have a place in the Sun. I find that the Bucharest treaty annexed 1/5 of Roumania, and that in addition to this act of brigandage \$500,000,000 was demanded and taken. All of the Roumanian deposits in Russia were seized and placed to Germany's credit. Really, are these Huns entitled to any sympathy? And have they not forfeited any right to human consideration, except justice, not justice that a Divinity in the New Testament veneers with Mercy, but the Justice of the Old Testament that methodically exacts and coldly takes an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. And yet, the German delegates have the effrontery, it shows they are "case-hardened" to say that the Peace treaty is against the 14 points. The falsity of this accusation is apparant. It is so easy to establish, that one almost pities Germany for having such mal, adroit counsel, at such a momentous crisis in her career. The only serious question is, has Germany been made to pay in direct proportion to the damage caused? The fact is the Hun was stopped, as he ran amuck, his assault defeated or Civilization defeated. The nation is now suing for its very existance, and its assassins, torturers and thieves are driven to cover. They have no more right to discuss the treaty of Peace, than has a convicted criminal to argue the principles justifying his sentence by a court. That Germany is now impossible and unsafe is shown in the fact that she can not realize her position and appreciate the way in which she is viewed. However, she must be made make reparation, and repair all she has done and destroyed. She will also have to submit to measures that will make it impossible for her ever again to set the world on fire. Civilization is united on this, and there is no dissenting vote, and for that very reason, and the Germans know it, it is a waste of time to quibble. The comments of the Hun on the League of Nations are equally beside the mark. They are not called on and will not be allowed to furnish a basis for Peace. No matter what the League turns out to be, if finally adopted, Germany has no place in it, until she shall have proved by acts, not lip service, that she repents of her appalling crimes, and gives assurances of a settled and fixed determination to carry out and observe her international obligations. The sole way to prove her repentance is to plead guilty and begin at once to repay what she obviously knows she owes civilization. She is a bad loser and a poor gambler. Certainly she is not yet fit to be admitted to a League of any sort. The latest reports are, that she will sign the treaty.

I am sorry about Mrs. Boughten, and often wonder if she is dead. If she is, her death must have occurred about May 1st or 2nd. How slow the mail is! Here I have been to Germany and back twice, and you had not heard

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of the first visit, but of course, you have my letters by this time, and the cards from Germany. I have some more shells picked up on different battlefields, and as soon as they are polished up they will go to you at once. I have three small pounders, and the shells are very attractive. They are about an inch and 1/4 in diameter. Some of the officers have made them into egg cups, but to me, they are hardly practicable for such a purpose. I shall send all I can get in the mail, and you can do with them as you see fit. I could get you some more helmets, if you wish them. The large shell, 75 pounder, from the Argonne will be of interest, I know. I am also trying to get you some more photos. Do you wish them plain, or with the signature across the face? We are to have the corps picture taken this afternoon at 2 o'clock. I shall send it, if possible, also all those I have received in exchange. It is really disappointing that mail takes so long to go and come. Capt. Adams of this department who lives in N.Y.C. says, it takes just 30 days for him to ask a question and receive an answer, written on the day his letter is received in N.Y. If the people in authority really cared in the least, it could be changed.

May 15, 1919.

My mind is a blank on to question whether I wrote you how the Germans seemed to take the Peace treaty in Coblenz last week. The terms failed to arouse any interest. The attitude was one of indifference and an absence of anxiety or fear for the future. You would never have observed that anything of importance to the people was taking place, so free from care and so contented did they appear to be. It was the first day of spring on the 9th. and the population was more interested in the sunshine of an ideal spring day, than in the happiness of tomorrow.

From impressions then formed, added to what I have since heard, there is no doubt that she will sign the treaty with expostulations. There is also no doubt that she will do so with mental reservations as to the carrying out of the financial stipulations, and with the avowed purpose of circumventing as many of the clauses as possible. The predominant idea in the German mind is to regain her peace status, and get the American army out of Europe. She wishes this principally for two reasons, that she may by active propaganda in the U. S. re-establish herself there, and so interweave the industrial, commercial, and social relations of the two people-that the Americans will later use their influence to have the financial burdens remitted, and also urge a shortening of the duration of the occupation period, on the theory, that it is impossible for Germany to create sufficient wealth to meet her obligations, if she is embarrassed by the restrictions of an occupying army.

This is clever, but true. I also hear that the same attitude is displayed in the territory occupied by the French at Mayence, and by the British at Cologne. The news that the American troops are to be withdrawn interests the Germans more than the treaty. This may be, the German realize his helplessness, and wants the Americans out for the reasons above stated. I do believe the people are resigned to the fact, that they are helpless, and that they will gain and live by submitting. They will have a hard time of it for a few years, but what are a few years, in the life of a nation? An interesting question I hear mentioned, is the effect of present conditions on the German Gov't. It is said, that the Ebert Gov't cannot long continue- and that its existence does not depend on whether it signs the treaty or not. Of course, any gov't which refused to make peace would be overthrown, and any gov't that signs the treaty will no doubt go to the boards, and all this shows the necessity of occupation by some force. In any event, there is no doubt that this gov't is doomed since it is distrusted by the Socialists and thoroughly detested by the Conservatives or Junkers. There is no real fear of Bolshevism. It is a favorite pastime to yell gutteral sounds and wave the red spectre of revolution. The Germans will do it, at Versailles, but it will be only camouflage-an excuse for becoming excited.

They refer to the treaty as one of bloodshed and tears, but no where do they indicate they will not sign-and they will. In fact the more you see of the German people, the more you feel like laughing and the more you wonder. Lord Bacon said Prosperity best discovers vice, and adversity virtue; but by either test Germany comes out badly. She was truculently insolent in prosperity, and her adversity has not developed any virtue-take as an example the notes to the Conference; the first accuses the Conference of breaking the faith, but offers no evidence in support, while the second complames because Germany is not at once forgiven and asked to come back to the peace table as a prodigal son.

The fact is, Germany has no moral vision-and she utterly fails to see that the world will not forgive her for having murdered and maimed those whom it holds dear, at least, until she contritely confesses, and mentally, morally, and physically makes amends. In a word, the German both here and in America

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has not learned this fact—that bad manners do not mend morals, bad as the German morals are conceded to be. As clever as the German is—his main vice consisted in conceit, blind faith in his gov't. He had implicit faith in everything the state did. He was taught to rely on his gov't and now since that support has been taken away, he has nothing upon which to lean.

For most assuredly, nowhere has there been such a loss of governmental prestige as in Germany, where the rulers, smart as they were in details, were grossly incompetent in the great things of life. Therefore it is for the good of the world and the German people that the hypocrisy and incompetency of their rulers should be exposed, because in this way only, will the great lessons of the war be inculcated, and the Germans made to think for themselves. The Germans are no doubt, helpless, and with their thinkers gone, their master in cowardly flight, and their system in obedience-disintegrating, and disrupted, they lack initiative. So it is really imperative that the Allies sternly rule this country, until the attitude of the people changes. Any relaxation will tend to restore the old order, and revive the false philosophy—clearly, it is against the interests of humanity, that under the plea of saving Germany's self respect, we should abate a little of the severity which the misconduct of her rulers visited upon her, because of the unspeakable suffering they brought upon the entire world. Relaxation may fail to sustain them, if they intend to change, and throw them back along the lines of the least resistance on the old blind faith in Medeaival Gov't which proved their undoing. But after all, the important thing is—will they sign? My answer, because it is my belief is, that they will. To be sure they will protest, they will stoop to intrigue, and apparently acquiesce, but they will sign, because they have no other alternative— and the truth is that they intended to sign all along. They deceive themselves by thinking it saves their self respect, if they arouse a wave of pity and sign in a world atmosphere of sympathy, but they are wrong, unless they will be helped by the pity of the criminally wicked, and the sympathy of the Bolshevik.

Do you know I never have any time? My desk is piled high, and the pile never grows less. I never can find time to read. and there are so many things I would read. Strange about the memory of people. Jno. Davis never sent me the book he promised— "Democracy at the Crossway". He insisted on my not buying it, said he was reading it, and I sent a reminder by Wallace. I shall order it from Brentano in Paris.

May 16, 1919.

Everyone now wants to go home. The moral is low. It is a great mistake to have these rumors run around loose. The soldiers are growing discontented, and largely because of the uncertainty. Of course, no one can say what will happen or when we can return. The latest report is, we shall go home in August or by Sept. 1 which at an outside figure could be about Oct. 1st. The Germans are again vociferating, and waving their hands. They are also making great reaches for the workmen of the Allied nations. I wonder if they mean it, or if they appreciate it is all for effect. They also cry "Internationals", and appeal to the people who range under that banner. That word is a disgrace to the language. It is a cognomen for Socialism which is, all over the world, the playful puppy of Kaiserism, just as Bolshevism, in a more hideous sense, is the malignant weapon of Prussianism. I hear the German papers are lamenting and wailing over the Peace terms; and that the editorial comments feign astonishment, and disappointment.

They abuse Wilson, which shows how ungrateful they are, and they just yell about the betrayal of Germany, and the destruction of the Fatherland. The papers say the German people are stupified, and that the future of Kultur is dark. And naturally, the Press is violent, threatening and hostile in the extreme. The seriousness is neutralized by the fact that it was to be expected. It is similar to the yell that went up at the time of the signing of the armistice, but not at any time or from any quarter do you see any indication that the Germans will not sign.

When analyzed all the protests resolve into more wailings of the dire consequences of accepting. But it is pure braggadocio and dishonesty. And you are surprised, I know, that Lichnowsky is now shouting against accepting. He shouts so loud that you think he is seeking forgiveness for having been honest. And yet he and all of them suggest mental reservations-showing that with Germany no solemn obligation ever rises higher than a scrap of paper-because they each suggest, in case they sign a speedy war of liberation. The old leaven of the Kaiser still lingers, and those who do not go out banging the door, suggest an alliance between the socialists of all countries against the power of their respective gov'ts, thus proving that socialism is a political for long distance fighting. The whole thing is discouraging, it shows that Germany is unregenerate- and that the only sorrow she feels, is the shame of defeat. Not once do you hear in all of these jeremiads a word of repentance, or a suggestion of regret. The truth is: Germany is yet a Hun- and she has no right to claim the benefits of a civilized nation, until she has expiated her evil deeds so far as they are expiable. She has never even confessed, and even then, true contrition and stonement must follow before there can be proof of absolution.

And upon this stage so set comes the debased Austria- she is now, as she has always been, the willing aider of Germany, she and her Consort Hungary. They each conducted war as Germany did, and if there was any difference- their methods were more appalling. The Germans are yet flattering them- by saying that their Austrian brethren are deeply sorry and as heart broken as possible. The Austrians are fortunate that Germany did not win and doubtless they feel relieved. If the Kaiser had won- the dual monarchy would have been a German strip of land to the south. She will have to make amends, and the question is- will she stand with Germany or break away once for all? Her defeat is so complete that she can never again be a great power- and yet her guilt great as it is, is not so black as Germany's. The leading papers in Vienna advise her to tread in the footsteps of Berlin, and bluster and bust if she can. This advice is in accordance with the country's connections, but is it wise? A chastened temper would be more politic, not to say more becoming, and in any case more appealing. I hear they will say: we have 10,000,000 Germans within our confines, and they will not be easy to deal

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with at this time; also they are instructed to add-Bolshevism is ready to sweep the land. There is one answer to this, and let us hope the Conference makes it in terms so unmistakable, that Austria-Germans, and German-Austrians can understand it.

I am sending today by parcel post several shells, I did not have them engraved, wondering, if you cared for that. The big shell from the Argonne is not yet finished. These shells are from Pont-a-Moussin, and the smaller ones are one pounders for eggcups. All of these were polished with emery paper by my chauffeur I shall send two more shells tomorrow, including nose cap of brass all German. They came from St. Mihiel. Really it makes no difference where they were picked up. The point is-they were fired in this war. You are to do with them as you wish. I have tried to get the photos, but as yet no success. The men here did not like the one you preferred they said it makes me look like a fat Dutch Policeman- and they are kind enough to quizzically add-you do not look like one. How unfortunate we can not see ourselves as others see us. Frankly I don't care how I look, appearance are so immaterial.

May 19, 1919.

Today is merely another finger point on the dial. It rained all day yesterday and is weeping yet—a case of climatic hysteria. Everything is marking time, the world is waiting for the curtain to fall. Germany of course, will sign, every body says so, and of course, it must be true. The Allies now say: if you do not sign, we shall declare a stringent blockade, and if you do, the present one will be lifted. And in this connection Koch has been sent to the Rhine. I do not see how the Hun can refuse, or what he will do, if he declines. He certainly is in a corner surrounded on all sides, and no one knows this any better than he does. Even the women at their International Congress at Zurich realized this fact, and they are doing all they can to help. Is it not discouraging that women will become maudlin. I mean the majority of them—women in the mass—they are always the kind that meddle—sending flowers and manufacturing sentiment for the criminal classes.

It seems they cannot be judicial. These same women are in sympathy with the Bolsheviks and are doing the world much harm by the example they now offer. Do you notice the position of England in Parliament on our getting the interned German ships. There is a great outcry. The English saying that these ships more than offset the billions of reparation and the vast areas of territory that goes to Great Britain. The English say, that by giving America these boats, the Conference has placed her in a position to occupy the dominant position in the world of shipping. It is all perfectly ridiculous, but it shows how touchy England is on the question of the seas. The British claim the ships should have been divided on the basis of the losses. Of course you notice that Italy blames England for refusing her Fiume. The Italian problem is still unsettled and the situation is critical. It is said that giving Fiume to the Jugo-Slavs does not and cannot settle the Balkan Question.

It is asserted that the Croats are at swords points with the Serbs; that the Serbs are at the throats of the Bulgars, and that the Bulgars are now preparing to throttle the Roumanians. The only solution of this difficulty is The League of Nations, which as a Chief of Police will keep order among these peoples. As you know, there are no Sunday papers over here, and it is always Tuesday noon, before we have any news of the outside world. In my experience here more than ever before the absolute instability of rumor has been forced upon me. Every person is his own rumor factory, and I have heard men admit, that they start stories to see how much is added to them, by the time they return. They also admit, they never recognize the original when at last it did come back. Things down at Paris seem stale from marking time, waiting for the Germans to sign. The general attitude is to criticize, this is natural, and no doubt criticism based on facts is welcome, but other criticism will cause injustice, and should not be indulged. It is important that criticism be based on facts—otherwise it does not carry weight with anyone. It is now said that Germany may not sign and risk all on a refusal, trusting to the President to help them, in the name of the new Democracy. This will bring the Allies face to face with the alternative of modifying the terms. Wilson does not favor Kolchak—he considers him too revolutionary, very much like Huerta, but he does trust the Finnish army and Gov't to restore order in Russia. And so it goes. What have they done about Burleson, do they yet carry him as a democratic asset, and how can any honest man make an excuse for him? He certainly proved what inefficiency can do, and the fact that the administration condones his offences—is the best argument in the world that it is impervious to the just demands of the people. What do you hear about Burt? and is Mr Lowndes in bad health? How is Jen—and what did Sue do with her school? I am not inclined to agree with your regrets about Lt. Col. Morgan. In fact, the entire colligate crowd do not appeal to me. They used to talk poverty and arouse

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my sympathy, but I have now learned that, all of them, ever since joining the service, have received \$7500 a year-their respective salaries; and their colleges made up the difference between \$7500 and their official salaries. This applies to Wambaugh, Wigmore, Millar, Keedy and Morgan-and the latter's brother, who is here tells me he was present with the Lt. Col. when the arrangement was made. The entire outfit sailed along on false colors and kicked and squealed whenever they could. Further I can see where their theories have hurt the service. There has been too much of the professor in American affairs-as is shown by present results

May 30, 1919.

It is so cold here. They have taken out the stoves, and shut off all heat. Col. White is complaining, and adds the policy is "short shifting"- that to lose the services of the men through illness is more expensive than to have sufficient fuel to take the chill off the room. This will sound strange to you in the midst of summer. Have you observed that at last, finally, Turkey has and is passing. Nemesis has overtaken her. I am told that the occupation of Smyrna by the Allies marks the beginning of the last act of a tremendous and really important drama-the actual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. It is true, but one does not always have it in mind, that a hundred years ago-the present states of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were under Turkish rule. Truly the Gods marked Turkey for demolition. So now Turkey in Europe has ceased to exist, and we can feel gratified that this conceited accomplice of the Kaiser is now no more. You will recall how they boasted of invincibility, when they opened their ports to the Goeben and the Breslau. It is a blessing to the world, and none the less to the people of Turkey. They will now be better off, than they were under the rule of the political mountebanks and desperadoes, known as the Young Turks. The Turks have created nothing. In fact they have blighted everything they have touched. I hear Constantinople and Armenia are to be confided to America for protection and guidance. It is a large and responsible trust to aid these backward peoples who have been freed from bondage, and to train them in self-reliance and self-gov't. We shall of course prove equal to the task. It is also said, that the States above mentioned have progressed more in thirty years, than Turkey, considered as a political entity has professed since its foundation. This is no doubt true, allowing of course, for the difference in racial stocks. We all know that the unspeakable Turk is fit only to produce, want, inertia, and ignorance.

You asked if I received a photo from Major Prosser. I did not and now wonder if he ever sent it. I have forgotten his address, and you might write him, if you feel so inclined. I shall try to again obtain copies of photos of the lost of my self for you. The outlook is not hopeful. I have urged the official photographer to accede but he says, he has no paper, that the French will not let him have it. This is possible, as there is a scarcity of many things and the prices here are sky high for every article of any value or need. There is no reason to doubt, that the American army has gone far to repay the expenses and losses of these people. I do not now recall the figures, but I hear that the monthly expenditures of our soldiers and for our soldiers in France, equals about 100,000,000 a month. There are two prices, one for the French and one for the American. It is that which makes the doughboy angry, and if you were here, a daily victim of it-you would not blame him for it-you cannot understand the reason for it either, but there is no reason to complain, it is all in the making of a new world, and a new civilization, if such a thing be possible. It is now rumored that Gen. Bethels office will go to Paris in June, and that this office may possibly go to Tours. No one knows at present. Probably it will be known definitely after the Germans sign, but everybody is up in the air-except that Pershing will go home in July that much is settled.

Paris, May 21, 1919

Very shortly, after writing you yesterday, Gen Bethal requisitioned me to come here to take up a matter with great and reaching importance with M. Tardieu. So here I am, meeting him at 11 o'clock this morning. I left Chaumont at 4 o'clock, was due here at 9, but because of an accident ahead, suffered a delay of 2 hrs. and did not reach here until 11 o'clock. The office phoned ahead and there was a room and a bath here at the Louvre. I am very comfortable, and feel quite civilized once again, as you can imagine. I am going up to see Col. Morrow in a few moments and, if possible, will return to Chaumont tonight. The French are so tedious, so redtapey, all the time. They know what they intend to do, but they want to think it over and then reply in writing. I must have something definite to report to Gen. F. as in theory I am his representative, and have letters of credentials from him and Gen. Bethel.

This is the first bright sunshine I have seen, since leaving Germany. It is always overcast in Chaumont, and more so, since they removed the stoves. The air is full of rumors that Germany is balking, and you hear the sailing orders of troops have been cancelled, but I do not believe it. No doubt all arrangements are made to go into Germany, but the Allies do not run the country, they have all they can do to run their own.

May 21, 1919. 10:30 P.M.

I have just time for a line before I turn in, as I am tired out. I have walked the city over, up to Tisit St., rue de Tilsit, where G. H. Q. is, away beyond the Arc de Triomphe, and then to Montaigne St., and then across the Seine to Bellechasse where the conference was. I saw Col. Morrow, Maj. Adams, Sec. of the Liquidation Board with whom I lunched at the Interallied Club, which is the old home of one of the Rothschilds. After lunch I went to see Col. Moss-Provost Marshall of Paris, and he and I went to our conference, at 37 rue de Bellechasse. It was attended by the Sec. of State for War, the Prefect of Police, and the 1st. Ass't Sec. of the Interior. We were in session at least 4 hrs. Some time I must tell you about it. We did it up, and I have the French proposition in my pocket, in writing, signed by the Sec. with spreading quill pen, and dried with black sand. He said, "Voila", here we have done in 4 hrs. what we have been trying to do for 4 months. I had dinner with Col. Morrow at the Interallied Club, we sat out under the trees, and you have no idea how much warmer it is here than at Chaumont. I have had a most pleasant evening. I expect to see the Provost Marshall in the morning.

Gen Banholtz, nice American name, is it not? but he is a fine man, and then go out to Chaumont, I shall try to write you tomorrow. The city is full of American soldiers going home. I want to call on Mrs. Flanders at a canteen, she phoned Chaumont today, and they told her I was in Paris. She is at 10 rue St. Hyacinthe, one of the large Red Cross canteens. I shall write you about the call. The Germans are to be granted ten days they say tonight. They did not grant time before the war. They delivered ultimatums as you remember.

May 22, 1919.

This is merely a line to say that I am leaving for Chaumont at 5:30 and expect to arrive there at 11 or 12 o'clock tonight. I have been all morning at the Provost Marshall's office, and my work is about finished. Paris is crowded with Americans. I hear several thousand have recently come over and it is too bad that they do not let the wives of officers come. I cannot understand the reason of the rule. I have not seen anyone I know but the nationality of the breed is unmistakable. There are none at this hotel, as it is reserved for American officers exclusively.

I went to see Mrs Flanders, she wanted me to help her to get passage home about July 1st. I shall try to do so. She looks thin, and you know her long nose makes her appear very Frenchy. She says she has had pneumonia, but does not wish her father to know it. She says all the Red Cross women are to go home by June 10th. She wants to go to England for two weeks to see the gardens. She expects to take up landscape gardening as a profession. I shall do what I can to help her, but the chances are slim. The rush back to the States is very heavy at this time.

I think it is well they are getting men and women home, the sooner the better. All is confusion about the Peace Treaty. The order has gone out to vacate all sailing orders, but the Germans will sign. They will not keep the compact, they think the best way to refuse to sign is to promise to keep when they intend to break. That is the general idea about it, and I think it is correct. I shall hope for the best, and no doubt you have a better idea of it all than any of us here. No one seems to know, I believe no one does know.

Chaumont, May 23, 1919.

Here I am back again, and just as tho' I had never been away, My desk is piled high with papers. Poor White, he can't do it all, and many of the things worry him. He wants to be told that it is right, and he feels better when he knows I am with him. I reached here last night or this morning at 1 o'clock. I am tired today, sort of headachy, but will be alright to-morrow. I have not gotten your gloves, for fear something might happen to them. People have a way of taking things over here, or at least they disappear, and always without trace of who showed them the way out. I find all of your nice letters and I am homesick to see you, and do hope you can come over, and be here, if only for a short time. Today is beautiful, just a perfect day, and the first warm one we have had. Of course, I shall tell you about the mess. It never occurred to me that it would prove of interest. It was discovered by Wallace. The people are very nice. They can't speak a word of English. They are Grandparents, Mon. and Mme. Boutin, and Mon. and Mme. Les calle, the daughter whose husband came back in January, from the front. They are the nicest and most considerate people I have ever met. They turned their parlor into a dinning room. They hire a cook, and Mother and Daughter wait on the table. The meals are about the same. I never lunch. Breakfast, Toast, American bread, eggs, coffee and prunes. Dinner thick soup, beef-steak every night, cut in thin steaks, salad, one vegetable, generally potatoes, and some kind of pastry or whipped custard. All food is purchased from the Commissary and delivered there three times a week. We have canned cream, and truly it is delicious, and it keeps forever. The mess consists of Lt.-Col. Brown, regular army, Maj. Shoemaker, Cincinnati, very nice Yale graduate. Major Tayler, Pine Bluff, Ark. Maj. Peyton Gordon, Washington, Capt. Adams. Herbert, and Frank Raymond of Fairmont, W. Va. Adams is from Indianapolis and Herbert from Columbus, Ohio. The Capt. take turn about being mess officers, and they do the purchasing. We put in 300 francs each month, about 2500 francs a month, or \$400.00 as the franc is now 7 to dollar, and we buy dollars with the francs, as all goods are sold to us in dollars, and we pay on francs. If the butter is \$10.00 a can (it comes that way) we multiply by 7, and it cost 70 francs. The bread is made at Is-Sur-Tille, and is 12 cents a loaf. Then we have canned fruits much of the time. We pay about three francs a day for overhead rent and cooking, about 25 francs or \$5.00 a day to them for the eight men or \$150.00 a month to the family for the cooking and use of the room. That of course is very nice for the family at the rate of 1800 a year. The purchasing power of the franc with the French is about the same, in their trade with each other, but they double the price of the same article to the man in uniform.

We have had the picture of the corps taken and Joe sent you three today. Col. Brown, Capt. Adams, and Capt. Frank Raymond are with Gen. Bethel, so they will not appear on our "photo". Spiller is not in our mess, the men would not stand for it. I am sorry for him, and he felt quite bad

May 24, 1919.

This is another rush day in the A.E.F. So many things are crowding in on us. Yesterday was a beautiful day, but is blowing and rainy today, and most disagreeable. The topic you hear most is the crossing the Atlantic by air. It is a great achievement, but so far most impracticable, is it not? It is most unfortunate about Hawker, is it not? It was a splendid effort and failed only because it was not in mortal courage to command success. The odds were against them and the British Admiralty did not aid them. Now the admiralty is bestirring itself. It always does that. You recall how it acted in the case of the Lusitania. Ships that might have pointed the course are now searching for the craft. The British navy lacks sympathy, and most of all imagination. It is thought Hawker struck a cyclone, was swept out of his course and lost.

The Germans are writing notes, a course in Hun psychology, by correspondence. They are now yelling the democratic Germany is not responsible for the acts of the former gov't. They repudiate the claim that Germany started the war, and capping a bad argument with insolence, ask that they be furnished a copy of the committee holding them responsible. There is neither sense or logic in their position, apart from the fact that her responsibility has been proved to the hilt. She has accepted the responsibility of her acts when she asked for the armistice. But why waste words? Why is there not a firm "NO". The fact that Germany is unrepentant, that she has learned nothing from disgrace and defeat should be notice that we are dealing with the arch criminal of the age. If to look upon the head of Medusa turned men to stone, this glimpse of the naked soul of the German people should turn some people to steel, but it does not, does it? The Austrians get their treaty next Wednesday, and then the Germans will raise another howl. They are no doubt obtaining time to see the Austrian terms. The leniency of Justice is strength, but the sympathy of pacivism is worse than weakness, it is criminal blunder. Nothing less, nothing more. The Germans are becoming very insolent, and very aggressive in Coblenz and in Trier. They need a good licking and iron in their souls. They will never change until their spirit is broken and the arrogance of these people is becoming more unbearable all the time.

May 25, 1919.

I was writing you yesterday there is much talk over the German notes. There are remarks over the length of the Allies reply. Some say the reply is superfluous, that there should have been nothing more than a polite acknowledgment of a communication, which is either buffoonery or insolence. Why should a condemned and savage criminal pass the time between sentence and execution in preparing a criminal code? Especially when such a code will immunize not only others, but himself as well. However if he did, his judges would give it scant respect and surely his executioner would not be justified in delaying the execution. Germany is concededly such a criminal, and she is now pleading such a defense, and submitting suggestions, including a League of Nations, which would if upon restore her to standing, and rob the Allies of their dearly bought Victory. The one fitting plan for such notes is the waste basket, because the criminals view of the law under which he is sentenced is of no importance. So what Germany thinks of the treaty, is neither interesting nor relevant. The sale value of these opinions lies in the fact that they show how unenergetic the present Republic of Germany really is. They are all the henchment of the "ex-Kaiser". In success, they proclaimed his ambitions, and so in defeat they secretly lament his failure. It is not laughable, that the boche should propose the disarming of all the Nations opposed to Germany, and that they should insist on freeing the seas of Great Britain's Navy. Then the subtlety of the request that Germany should be forthwith admitted to the League. The whole scheme is to prepare the ground for the next war. If we fail now to render her powerless, then future generations will pay the penalty of our remissness, and so, as I know you feel, the German people must be punished, because as criminals, they must be made to realize that they must not only expiate the greatest crime in all history, but further that such a crime can only be expiated by the imposition of the most stringent peace conditions. The only real guarantee of Peace is the impotency of the Boches.

To revert again to the seaplanes, I hear that fog is the great danger, but it does seem that some means of observation must be devised. It is suggested that wireless rays be sent out and detected on the plane. The question seems to be find the ray and the detector. It is gratifying that the first flight was accomplished by an American, but the enterprise of the Navy no doubt contributed to its success. The first public flight of a few miles was made less than 13 yrs. ago, so the "Tamps" says, on Sept. 13, 1906.

May 27, 1919.

Trully there will be nothing much to see in another year. Of course the world will come, I dont blame them for wanting to see, but all that will then meet their gaze will be the destroyed villages, and demolished churches, and at that many of the villages will be restored, as you must expect. But the trenches and barbed wire will all be gone, and that will end it all, except that the villages will have the appearance of a town destroyed by fire. Personally, I feel that I do not care to see it again, and yet, that is the feeling of one who does not care to repeat the experience. Did you read the letter of Bullitt in resigning from the League of Nations? It certainly is to the point, and the feeling here is that England is having her own way, and that we are agreeing. I do not believe in Bullitt, and the benefit of his argument accrues entirely to Germany. It is said that the retention of the Turk in Europe is a scheme of L. George's in the interest of India. The Germans will win yet. They are employing every device and trick which experience has taught them, or desperation prompts them to evade paying the debt they owe society. They are sparring for delay and ring every change on every note. They have run through every gamut of the emotions. They have left nothing unturned from Ft. Brack-dorff-Rantzau's silly bluster to his now lackrymose whines on the economic clauses of the treaty. But of course, Peace is not signed, and before the Hun with the unspeakable Turk and the bastard Bolshevik comes to his judgment in the Hall of Mirrors, he will try other methods to escape just retribution. But I do hear that "the man in the street" in Germany wants Peace, he wants it at any price, because war to him is a nightmare. He wants to put it aside and behind him, as a man will do a horrid dream. The recent popular demonstration in Berlin must be embarrassing the Junkers, and perhaps yet they will withdraw and yield. I yet consider that they will sign the treaty, but they want a show of an excuse before doing so, as you would expect. Peace must be made if we are to go on, but it must be an Allied Peace. The terms imposed represent merely the shame that Germany must bear for the calamity her policy brought upon the world. The share is measured, not by her deserts, but by her ability to pay, because no reparation devised by man could lay upon her the punishment she deserves. I dont feel that anything is normal, but rather that all is chaos and growing worse all the time. It is no doubt the feeling many have, it is prompted largely by the exhaustion of those emotions that produce faith, and belief in the ultimate object of life or the real purpose of man on this earth. Materialism is a refuge, and Germany has to all appearances adopted it and all is uncertainty here. No one has any point of view. It is because of the uncertainty here, that confusion reigns all about. And yet why not, and is it not an evil, that the world is too old for a flood and too young for a fire?

May 28, 1919.

The other day I read that Napoleon said in 1806, "This war must be and will be the last." and yet we know it was not. Of course the revised covenant is very different from the one Mr. Wilson took to America. It safe guards the Monroe Doctrine and provides for withdrawal upon two years notice. It also provides for a method of election to the League, and the Mandatory clause is amended to make certain the right of a nation to refuse a mandate. This much is clear and the critics of the first draft know that their discussions have borne fruit. But on the other hand much of the serious criticism remains unaffected by the changes made. The immigration, representation, and armament clauses remain the same. The question presented is whether the League is such as should be adopted. Our duty to ourselves and our successors is to give the document most careful attention. Our danger lies in the fact that we find it easy to think in terms of international altruism, because we have not come in contact with the harsh truths of international rivalry and ambition. We have not been invaded, except by the border raids of Mexico. We have not lived in the intense and peril charged atmosphere of the old world and not deprived of anything we cherish and love. The conditions are rapidly changing, and we have now been drawn into the vortex. We have only to look to see the dangers ahead. So while we think what we owe the world, in discussing this League, we should also think what we owe ourselves and our children. The League of Nations will destroy our traditions, traditions born with the Republic. So we confront a solemn and fateful decision, and whichever way we err, we confront heavy payments for our mistakes, America has the cleanest purpose of any nation, now engaged in solution of the problem. It has the fewest selfish preoccupations. It has the most to give, and it has given freely. We have therefore an especial right to stand for our legitimate and essential rights. We should by all means discuss it openly and freely. We should not hesitate, because to remain silent now is to be weak, yes, worse, it is a complete and conscious surrender of our most cherish rights. I think we should consider it fairly and discuss it honestly, if we think that amended or unamended it should be adopted, then of course pride of opinion and partisanship should not be allowed to defeat it. That is my best judgment, and what did Mr. Root say of the League as amended, I have never seen.

Germany still whines and wails and continues to undermine. They seek to maintain milder terms by sophistical argument and insincere wails about the suffering of the people, that conditions imposed by the treaty will create. The answer refutes the argument, and places the blame where it belongs. The whole world is suffering from the consequences of Germany's criminal aggressions. Why therefore should they be immune? This the point their delegates avoid, that the conditions originate, not in the peace conditions but in the situation created by those who started the war.

The terms are just because they are the direct result of Germany's actions. Nothing can alter the fact that the war zone was created by Germany, and that reconstruction is possible, only at a huge cost. The question therefore is, who should bear the cost? the aggressor or the

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victim? As they caused the destruction, so should they be made pay the penalty. But for their insane criminality, no peace treaty would be necessary. In stead of yelling they should be made pay, and returns thanks they are escaping so lightly. The allies are showing greater moderation than a victorious Germany would have done, for in formulating their demands, they have assessed not the damages done, but the Huns power of payment. In the supply of ships instead of compelling Germany to replace the whole, they have demanded only about one third. The Germans complain about the loss of the Saar coal fields, did they not destroy the coal fields of Northern France? If they need coal from the Saar Valley, let them buy it and pay for it, Why not? The Germans claim that the severity of the terms will drive millions of people out of Germany, and thus reduce the industrial capacity of the nation. But Germany's aggressions have reduced the Allies by millions, and so her alleged distress is no greater than theirs, and is richly merited, while theirs is undeserved. The Germans cry they will have to import raw material, but where is the hardship, Great Britain imports 50% of her food stuffs and raw materials, and Germany can do the same. The German position is a tissue of sophistries. The Peace Treaty leaves them in a better position than they deserve, for Germany has been spared the nameless horrors and devastation the other countries suffered. That fact alone would justify the severest of terms. The truth is Germany is wailing, not because the terms are heavy, but because her criminal attacks all failed. Germany is disappointed, not repentant, and that tells the story. I have just received some new pictures, They go by todays mail. I had to bribe the photographer to take them.

General Pershing has just called. He paid the office high compliment, and said we had been and were doing splendid work.

May 29, 1919.

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The impression prevails that we shall soon have the troops home, unless the unexpected happens and the Germans refuse to sign. They can not refuse, as I have so frequently written you, what can they do? or what would you expect them to do but sign? and all because it is the easiest way out, the best way to break the treaty. No one believes that they will keep the treaty, or that the delegates at Versailles represent any Gov't, except the old Kaiser crowd. Intrigue seems to be the order of the day. The policy of secrecy in the Peace Conference is the cause of many fears and rumors. The situation is not hopeful. Tremendous forces are engaged in a mighty struggle all over Europe. Imperialism and established order are engaged in a fight to the death. The great religions of the world are active in the struggle, and the financial and commercial interests are also pulling powerful strings. One thing that adds to the mystery is that the censorship is now on, between here and America. It is said the lines have been out of order. Berlin is up and down and unsettled as you may know, and Silesia and Poland are unsettled. The atmosphere all over Europe is cynical, sordid, almost a pathetic and fatalistic. What is true today is a lie tomorrow. Even the Peace Conference changes its mind so frequently that it is difficult to keep up with it. All of us are puzzled by the refusal of the Conference to give out the terms. It is said that English translations are freely offered for sale in Germany, but it can not be published in England, France, or America. And why? It will become effective as soon as signed, and if France, England, and Japan approve, it will leave the U.S. at war. It is also said the France, England and Japan have agreed to divide up China. This is of great importance to the U.S. It is also rumored that this deal involves the recognition of Admiral Kolchak, and agrees to place him in charge in Russia. All of this is due largely to the delay, and dilly dally. I do believe this, that we have no real friend left in Europe. In the end this will become more real, than it is now apparent. It is even said that Belgium and France are heartily disgusted with us, and that all of the small nations have nothing but a felling of suspicion and distrust for us, and our high and solemm preachings.

Did you meet Mrs. Muttman? The Gen. dined with me last night. I met him on the street, as I was on the way to dinner. He leaves for home about June 10. We know nothing definite about our movements, altho the best we can say is, home by fall.

May 30, 1919.

And today is "Decoration Day" in France, the band is now playing in the Caserne and there will be exercises at two o'clock. I am not going altho' I subscribed 20 francs for flowers. It is a beautiful day ideally clear, but not warm, and yet typically summer, they say here.

The French are great people for holidays. They seem to like them, and see them from afar. Yesterday was a French fete day, Ascension day, and the old lady at our mess insisted we have breakfast half an hour later today, because this was Memorial Day. She could not explain her wonder and amazement that we were working today. She thought everyone should have a picnic today. The French do not get up in the mornings, they are not like the Americans and they do object to our getting them up so early. They will miss our money when we go. No one ever heard of the place until Pershing put it on the map and immortalized it. I am told few people in France knew anything about it. Mayes was just in to look around. He thinks things will break up very soon, and that the army will be home by early fall. The entire matter comes to this, What will the Germans do? If they sign, then we shall vacate, if they do not, then there will be some delay. There is much uncertainty and unrest, and you would expect it, with the army marking time.

An idle army in an foreign land is a grave responsibility. Is it not great that the whole German nation have a copy of the Peace Treaty, and are selling it in English, and the Senate of the U. S. can not see it? Why our people stand for it passes my comprehension.

June 1, 1919

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Joe, my orderly, has just come in to say that the shell picked up in the Argonne weighed exactly seven pounds, and that he sent it to you by parcel post. This is the one Joe wanted engraved and I have let him have his way. It has a flower on it and the words "Argonne 1918". It looks fine but too artificial. I am sending all curios - the last being a trench hat picked up on the Verdun battle field. I have some other shells if I can ever have the boy who promised to polish them, do the job and return them. They were picked up the day that Col. Gilbert and I went to Germany via Verdun. I returned alone coming via Pont-a-Mousson. Most of these shells have rusted and, as you would expect, it is necessary to clean them up. All I can say is this- that I have personally found and picked up everything I now send. The helmets are used for flowers so I am told.

Maj. Hills, Gen. Kregers son-in-law, leaves for the States in a few days. He is in the regular army and has been living with Co. White, who as you know moved into the apartment occupied by Kreger and Rand. It consists of two bedrooms, dining room and hall. White wants me to come as Hill moves out. I have just said "Yes".

The best we can learn is that we are to remain in Chaumont until July 15, 1919. Then go to Germany or Paris to clean up, arriving in the U. S. by fall. This is a general statement but it is all you can get. If you try to pursue it further you are met with the reply, "Nothing can be settled definitely until we know what Germany does. And this seems very reasonable as we see things over here. Delay always produces rumors and the air is full of them. The mystery - the awe, that suspense always creates, disappears with time, and gossip begins to distill her poison. Some say Germany has been given too much time and that she has used it to the disadvantage of the Allies. It is said that the German counter proposals are addressed to the treaty as a whole, and not as the conference intended, to certain clauses. There is an innocent or wilful misunderstanding on their part. In other words the Germans are now offering a treaty of their own make for signature. This would, to say the least, be a unique document. A stranger unexpectedly landing on this planet and reading these German proposals, might ask who won this war. The Allies told Germany in the treaty proposed that she must disarm by land, sea and air, because the future peace of the world demanded it, but Germany calmly comes back and proposes that she will disarm on the sea if her merchant marine is returned to her. She even proposes the withdrawal of allied troops from her territory, saying with the simple blandness of a child, they will not be necessary as a surety for her promise. She also asks for a surrender of the mandate over her colonies, as though all the world did not know that she has ruled them with barbarity and horrible might. She even asserts that no territorial changes shall take place in Germany without the consent of the inhabitants concerned. And to cap it all, they refuse to give up the Kaiser. She suggests bringing the alleged culprits of both parties before an impartial tribunal, that is, the criminal says - "I don't care who tries me, if you will let me furnish the evidence." Nothing is more typical of her unchanged mental attitude, and should be more calculated to arouse the righteous indignation of the Allied Nations. It is to be

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hoped that this particular piece of impudence in the German Note will not be allowed to pass unchallenged. In short you can not imagine that the Berlin crowd have any hope that their proposals will be accepted. If they have to play to the Galleries at home - that is their affair - but would Germany do this if she realized that bluffs do not go? The Allies have their armies and they should make ready to use them, and bring these Huns face to face with the renewal of the war in its sharpest form. Oh, would that they would or that they could be induced to do so! This question can never be settled until it is settled right - and it is neither right nor a settlement to pass it on to our grandchildren.

We were invited late yesterday to go to the Gen.'s chateau and say "au revoir" to Gen. McAndrews, retiring chief of staff, who returns to the U.S. He is succeeded by Maj. Gen. Harbord who has had charge of the S.O.S. It was a pleasant evening - we got there on time, shook hands, stood about, and then came back and went to bed. And so it goes. There is very little of interest. No one knows or cares much about anything. All is uncertainty in more ways than one.

June 2, 1919

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I do not hear much except that German Socialism is as autocratic and destructive as Kaiserism ever dreamed of being. It is feared that the reconstructed Germany will be a greater menace than her militarism. It is said that Germany will sign but then refuse to keep the peace terms. She will intend to break them the day she signs, because, notwithstanding the seeming severity of the terms imposed by the first draft of the treaty, Germany feels she has not lost the war, and that she will win it eventually. She hopes to do this by destroying the German democracy-so-called and substituting a state socialized autocracy. I hear the force back of all this is international finance backed and fostered by German interests. These interests prevailed the Peace Conference and saw to it that nothing should interfere with or destroy industrial Germany. In a word, the monied power of Autocracy is in favor of a restored Germany, because autocratic Government suits its purposes better than a democracy. The Social Democracy of Germany is no different from the Junker. The whole thing comes down to this - the armistice was a blunder that this generation can never repair. There is no doubt it saved many lives - precious to home and country - but many more lives may be the price the world will pay for saving the comparative few lives that were saved, by halting the Allied armies on the very threshold of victory. The moment the Allied Nations consented to the armistice, that moment the vantage ground for the negotiations of Peace accrued to Germany. Her armies claimed they had never been defeated, and that the Fatherland had never been invaded. The German spies are also continuing to spread the poison of Bolshevism, and preparing for a world revolution. They are striving to prevent reconstruction, and they are perverting the purpose of labor. Just as they wrought the ruin of Russia, so they are now engaged in the destruction of such meager moral foundations as remain underneath the civilization of the world. Now what is the objective - it is this: Germany expects that once the desolation of the world is accomplished - she will reshape it according to the ideas of Kultur. This may be simply a theory, but it suggests it, and to picture it, is responsive to a very wide-spread feeling now abroad in these lands that is, Germany plans to ride to power on the wave of Bolshevism.

June 3, 1919.

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Everyone says what will the Germans do? It seems mere idle fancy to thresh out a question to which all the world knows the answer. Let us simply hold to the facts, and they will read us the riddle of the future. The Germans are beaten, and while their spirit and diplomacy may not have changed, they can do nothing but sign. It may be necessary to make the Germans sign. No one sees how the Allies can possibly give any consideration to the counter proposals of the Huns. It is out of the question. It would be suicidal to make any important concessions regarding reparation and the immediate admission of Germany into the League. But after all it is not amusing that the Kaiser should not, Wilhelm the Lost, view from his Holland prison the trick Fate has played him. Can you not imagine how he would have stood at Versailles and declared himself the ruler of Europe? What a spectacular scene for his play of fire and blood! But today God laughs at him as his petulant actions gather to submit their claims to the Allies. It is a striking illustration of the saying: "God shakes the dice-box, world up side down, to one he throws defeat - to one a kingly crown." In this instance the people receive the crown - but will they prove worthy? The besotted insistence of the Germans in their error is incurable - and it will never be cured. The question to me is not whether they will sign, but rather what will their signature signify? Does it mean the beginning of the Millennium, as some would fain have us believe, when we can really enjoy Peace? I don't believe it even tho' the Hun is beaten on the field, on the sea and in the air. I don't believe it even tho' her navy now lies rusting at anchor in British harbors. The Allies hold the cards and the Germans know it and that is the reason she will sign. But we are not through with her, as her greatest statesmen are now saying, "The present war was merely a prelude, an incident in the struggle for world dominion." I refer to the letter of Herr Erzberger in which he exhorts all Teutons to never forget that the present war is nothing but "an episode in the struggle with the Anglo-Saxon race for world dominion; an episode which has developed in a way not entirely to our advantage." Is not that discouraging and does it not in truth show that the armistice was mistake, that the war should have gone on, and the people of Germany made to know that their army was in fact defeated, and that they are no longer to be considered.

We do not see the Simonds articles, as the Paris papers do not print them and the London papers only occasionally. Really matters are in a bad way. There is lacking purpose as well as objective. Think of postponing the treaty with Austria! Can you imagine anything quite so stupid? The effect is lost and all possible influence dissipated.

I see Taft is campaigning with Hitchcock and playing the Wilson game. What do you hear of him and Wickersham? What was their purpose? Truly no one over here can understand it. It passes comprehension of everyone. No one can understand how his conduct can help the country.

June 3, 1919. Con.

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Decoration Day passed off quietly. We worked as usual - except that the stenographic force was cut down one half and the boys permitted to visit the graves of comrades. It meant much to the boys here and was a solemn occasion. We count our dead by thousands but they are few in comparison with England and France. But all of us defeated the most monstrous attempt ever made against civilization. It is something that we are permitted to play a decisive part in the great struggle. France mourns 1,700,000 of her sons who stoically laid down their lives to save France first - "France d'abord", but also to save liberty, and then us, because had France failed, our turn was next, just as sure as the sun rises in the heavens. It was not possible to decorate the graves of all. There are too many and they are too widely scattered in France, Belgium, Italy, England, the Balkans, Mesopotamia, Russia and the Far East. But this is the lesson - that the brutal and insensate lust of the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollerns have made the world one vast cemetery. I could not escape the thought that all we can do is to think of our innumerable dead with gratitude and strive to honor them in deeds by completing the sublime work for which they laid down their lives. They have passed on the torch to us and ours is the duty to see that it is kept alight and that it burns brightly. That is the only fitting homage we can pay.

June 5, 1919

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I have just heard of the attempt to bomb American cities and homes, not from the outside but from within. It seems like a shot from the very heart of the brother of Man at the greater heart of the collective brotherhood. It is the fruitage of delay. A greater mistake has never been made. For three years the Germans bluffed us, and then after two years of fighting with us, in which many of our soldiers were killed, they are now trying to dilly-dally around with the treaty, and bluff us out of the stand we have taken regarding the different provisions of the Peace Treaty. In the hope, no doubt, that sufficient time will elapse to permit the stirring up of trouble in England, France and America, just as Bernstorff stirred up domestic insurrection in the U.S. before we entered the war. If we do not take a firm stand they will win this war yet, and they will do it by starting internal wars, since they have failed by external aggressions. But what would you expect? Take the similar illustration of the Irish delegation, headed by Judge Dunne of Chicago, visiting the home of the Sinn Fein. His very presence in Ireland under the protecting aegis of Mr. Lansing and Col. House has proved very offensive to the English; and you would think that Judge Dunne et al would know, if they stop to think, that such conduct might involve us with a nation now our ally, and with whom we desire to remain at peace. In any aspect their position is far from patriotic. Most likely these gentlemen went to Ireland for idealsitic purposes - for did not Wilson say in his Memorial Day speech "whenever we see the cause of liberty in any way threatened, the American people are ready to cast their lot with those whose liberty is threatened." It could of course be truthfully said that Messrs. Dunne, Walsh and Ryan merely anticipated Wilson's appeal.

The instance offers a vivid glimpse of what our future is to be. America, as the defender of world liberty, will henceforth send her sons "wherever right is assailed by wrong". Think of the doughboy soon going to help the "Chink" throw off the Japanese yoke, or his going anywhere and everywhere under the sun. Does it not show to what lengths the logic of high altruism may lead us? And yet, such is the League of Nations. I am sick and disgusted with the whole mess. My training has been along the line of the mailed fist and not the padded glove. I do not feel that movement for uplift has caused this trouble. You can change people with high-sounding phrases and you can certainly produce disorder by pardoning and commuting the sentences of those who would have destroyed the temple. We are now being put to the test. The Germans are still at our gates. We must stand firm. The world beyond the inner radius of scholastic debate is heartily sick and heart weary. Why can not some one arouse America before it is too late? Why must we go on in this slipshod way? It was said that Mr. Palmer could not be Sec. of War because he did not believe in war. The lack of grit and purpose makes me ill at heart. We are now in the last stage of the race and the last lap, the home stretch calls for effort, the effort, the iron will to win. It takes self reliance that springs from grit and clear purpose. But no clamor - no amount of it - should cause the Allies to whittle down one iota, the peace which they proclaimed as the destallation of exact

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Justice. The patient suffering people of the world will not understand it, if this peace - laboriously and sacrificially won - should be disrupted because of Germany's threat of rejection. There must be no interference with the principles announced. There should be no weakening. There will be, if we ponder and continue to yield to the panic-mongers - the yellow cured pacifists who lose no opportunity to save Germany from the nemesis of her crimes.

June 11, 1919.

Reports from Paris are not reassuring in the least. It is said that Germany plans to hoodwink the Allies, Austria will aid them. The whole scheme is one of intermediation. The Huns fell the Allies fear them and especially their power to stir up domestic trouble. So they will stage a comedy of errors. This is what they will do: Count Runtzan will say, "in a matter so vital to Germany, I must consult Berlin." then Premier Scheidmann will say, "yes, we must consult the National Assembly, and through them the people at large." The treaty will then be rejected upon the ground that it violates the principles of international justice. Thereupon Count Runtzan will receive peremptory instructions to withdraw from Versailles and come home. The hope is that this will throw the Allies in a panic and that they will recall the Germans and open up verbal negotiations with them. The whole thing is rapidly becoming a farce. The treaty was a great surprise, and what will surprise be, when the treaty itself is conceded away to the blustering Hun. And so it does seem that Germany beaten by force of arms, is rapidly rising to the plane occupied by the Germany of William Hohenzollern. Today you have a Germany that is preparing her revenge, before she has been compelled to acknowledge her defeat. It is quite evident that Germany is playing for time, in order that she may provoke insurrections in the Allied countries. Can anyone doubt that the trouble in Mexico today, is inspired by German sympathizers? Everybody is losing confidence in the purpose of the Peace Conference. I hear that England has carried her point to soften the terms for Germany. The Italians and Japanese are keeping out of the fight. The English change of attitude is very curious. In the beginning, the British demanded very stern retribution, and they insisted that the sternness be written into the treaty. Then they changed front completely. The banking interests said English trade would suffer, terrifically, unless they could do business with Germany, and that therefore Germany must be sustained. The English military party also says that if Germany refuses to sign we shall be compelled to remain there fifty years. The English labor unions say that the terms are too severe, they are the foundations of another war. A curious story is that the demobilized English soldiers favor easing up the terms. These things have prompted L. George to ask for many changes, especially for a plebesite in Selisia, in that part given to Poland. Clemenceau is fighting the terms tigerishly, and Wilson is occupying a position of neutrality. The portion of Selisia, where the plebecite will be held is dominated by the Germans, but the working classes are all Polish. It is stated that Geroge, and Clemenceau agreed that if the reparation be definitely fixed, the amount should be 40 billions, but Wilson opposed this, and urged that the Germans be let go with 20 billions, believing, as he does, that Germany can not pay any more. But George has carried this point to admit Germany to the League within one year, and to limit the work of the reparations committee to three months instead of ten years. It is hoped to appease Germany in this way, by assuring her that in this way foreign commissions can not regulate her taxation and know about her industrial plans.

June 12, 1919.

The man in the street has won this war. It was he and such as he, that made the sacrifice of time and life and money, no one else. It is he who will pay for it too, and it is he who will benefit or suffer from the Peace. It is not altogether surprising that this average man should find himself altogether perplexed. It has taken the conference 105 days to prepare the terms of Peace with the outlawed Huns. They were given the terms and allowed plenty of time in which to hand in their counter proposals. The proposals are clearly and unmistakably German. They show Germany arrogant when she is not whining, in fact she is disgustingly brazen, when ordinary common sense should have prompted her to show repentance. The man in the street is yet waiting, and the Big Four are discussing. The people look in vain, and there is no answer. They see only two parties to the transaction. The Allies who won the war, and Germany who lost it. And seeing this, the average man wonders why Germany can frighten the victorious merely by making a loud noise. He cannot understand why anything should mitigate the terms which the Allies agreed originally to impose on Germany. Few can, or will understand the Peace Conference point of view. The man who fought, suffered, and bled, because he could not see how the Allies could lose the war, is now dumfounded to be told that the Allies will loose the peace. In amazement he ask how and why. The Servants of this average man will do well to remember this

June 13, 1919.

The French are uneasy and distrustful of Wilson and Lloyd George. The delay is charged to George's scruples of conscience regarding the poor German. It has had a stiffening effect on the Germans. It is said he urged the withdrawing of the Army of Occupation from the Rhine, and occupied territory. It is charged that the entire British delegation at the Peace Conference are bent upon making every imaginable allowance for the Germans, even at the expense of the Allies. Clemenceau is reported to have said, "French security can never be sacrificed to the principles of Wilson or to the political projects of L. George." The business of the Peace Conference is to make peace, not a German peace, not a slaternate peace. It should make an ALLIED Peace, because the defeated Huns begged for it, if for no other reason. The Germans understood this once, but that was when, thinking the game was up, they asked for an armistice. The Allies granted the armistice, and they accepted it. The Allies marched into Germany and the people peeped from behind the blinds, they were beaten and they knew it. These facts are not plain to the British-American pacifists whose mental processes do not differ from the Hun. I fail to see how any honest loyal American can shut his eyes to the fact, that Germany is unrepentant and that she is not entitled to be admitted to the League, until she shows contrition both in word and deed. They should not be received on a footing of equality. They should be made qualify, by demonstrating, they have formed a Republic, and that their present form is not the old Prussian Military party masquerading in disguise. There is one way she can qualify and only one, make reparation, and show she has abandoned her old dream of world domination. She is an outcast despised and distrusted, and she will be for a long time to come. I hear the French paper "Echo de Paris" quotes a speech of Georges in Jan. 1914, urging reduction of armament; and another of July 23, 1914, the very day of the Austrian Note to Serbia, in which he again urged a reduction and blamed Chamberlain for saying there could be no reduction. There was no reason why Naval economies could not now be realized. The paper also says the French lost twice as many as the English, because they had to stand the brunt, while England was preparing and getting ready.

June 14, 1919.

The delay and confusion in Paris are very bad, and yet the opinion is unanimous, if the Germans reject the treaty, the blame will be directly chargeable to the blind policy of the Allies. Precious time has been wasted, not on details but on principles, and the people have thought the principles were simple, plain, and easy of adjustment. Today everyone realizes how rapidly Nemesis overtakes Vacillation, lack of consistency. It does seem that counter pressure, enemy proposals, is always in proportion to the weakness displayed. The weaker our delegates become, the stiffer grow the Germans. I do not know today what the Huns will do, No one knows. The decision rests in the lap of the Gods. We shall know before you receive this. There is no doubt that some conclusion must soon be reached. France is in a bad state, no question about that. Work is the only thing that will save Europe. Men, millions of them, have been living in a certain state of idleness. The Peace Conference in its effort to reform the world, and to recreate humanity, has lost sight of that fact. We all know that individual responsibility will begin with the return of Peace. The present regime of strikes must cease. The high cost of living is directly traceable to two things: reduced hours of labor production; and the increase in the cost of labor. The nations of Europe must soon stand alone. America can not continue to supply them, and they must rely upon themselves. So unless they return to work, a catastrophe is certain. In fact I hear it stated that if everyone in America should work fifteen hours a day, they could not support Europe, in its present anarchical condition. The air is charged with mystery, and the French papers are sullenly excited. The world strikes and bombs, but the Conference dallies along. It has relapsed into a comfortable stagnation. You have only to reflect to see that the Hun has recovered from his material and moral abasement, so characteristic of him, during the days of the armistice. It is a long journey, marked all the way by milestones which are monuments to the indecision, and the irresponsibility of the Allies. It stretches from Spa where the defeated and humbled German surrendered, to the historic halls of Versailles, where the Hun delegates are rubbing their hands in glee over the success of their counter proposals. The conference is responsible for much, and all due to leisurely indecision. Of course, the Germans have recovered, and why not? The endless delay has enabled them to elaborate a foreign policy of which the concentration of a large army round the Polish frontier is the very best proof. The policy aims to use Bolshevism either as an ally or a tool. Witness the grinning spectre of Bolshevism in Czecho-Slovakia moving from Austria. Why they ever gave these nations separate treaties passes me. The British are seeking the admission of the Hun to the League of Nations. Germany is now fighting actually in the last trench of Bolshevism, and the Peace Conference bombarding them from the air with radio messages telling them to be good, and not to destroy the pillars of Democracy. The peril is actual and pressing. The Germans have their plans, and they will win this war yet, and especially if they win the Peace. They no longer respect the Allies, that is the pity of it, the sickening truth.

June 18, 1919.

If Germany does not sign the treaty, everything is set, and the Allies will move into the heart of Germany. She has now received the treaty as amended. There can be no doubt she has secured a great victory, the direct result of tenacity and bluff. She will have a plebiscite in upper Silesia, an omission of it in Schleswig, and a rectification of her frontier in West Prussia. The German Army is dangerously increased, the economic commissions are weakly modified, and the Keil Canal Commission is wholly abolished. It is a crying shame, but the die is cast, and we, the victims, must abide by the rules.

Little can be added to the objections already made, and what good purpose would be served, since the account has been presented. Germany has been allowed seven long days of grace, and we are allowed none. The entire matter is now up to Germany, the last word has been spoken, but the concessions are gravely important and the Hun is chuckling, and Bernstorff no doubt claiming the credit, because of his knowledge of Wilson's psychology. The letter of Clemenceau is rather amusing, where it says that the allies stand by the treaty in principle. Let us suppose they do, what difference does it make, if the change in detail pulls the teeth of the rule.

The letter is commendable in that in that it charges Germany with having deliberately planned and preparing for the world war, that she conducted it inhumanly and savagely, and that as a result of her beastiality 7,000,000 men now lie dead in Europe. But the letter means less, when you read the modifications in the treaty. The treaty today is too conditional, too provisional, in fact, the disputed questions, the matters most vital to Germany are deferred and transferred to commissions. The covering letter is meant as a terrible indictment, but the provision promising Germany a speedy admission into the family of nations at an early day, and assuring her that if she repents, and reforms, the Allied and Associated Powers believe the memories of the past years will speedily fade. Perish the thought! in a delirium of pique, I cannot see how Clemenceau ever consented to put his name to a paper including such a sentence. The long delay, the giving of much time, in a non-negotiated peace, is causing disquiet in the mind of the world. It is all the greater because the delay appears unintelligible to the masses, and the studied mystery necessarily produces rumors and fears of all kinds.

June 19, 1919.

We are pushing along in a purely mechanical way. The work is just as large as ever, if not more so, because of the cleaning up processes of the army. The different divisions are going home. Chaumont is deserted, in fact you hardly see an American soldier now, tho' I hear there are about 700 or 800 left, including officers. You can imagine the hole it would make to take about 4000 soldiers out of a town of 15,000 people. Previously it was always like an army moving, day or night, when you were on the street. The men were having their recreation periods at different times. The crowds at the base ports are very large and difficult to handle. It is too bad and most if it chargeable to the League. The modified treaty is a German joy, and because of its many changes "a most wondrous and perfect thing". Water is not less stable. Think of the committees and sub-commissions that have labored in fields that a Month ago the world was informed were unchangeable. And yet bluster and bluff has accomplished wonders, one can not help wondering what Bismarck would have said in reply in 1871 to counter proposals such as the present delegation of hum whinners have presented. What would have been the reception in Germany, if he had considered such proposals as meekly as the Paris conference has done. We have defeated the most dastardly attempt ever made to impose the tyrannous yoke of a bestial tribe on a civilized people. And oh! What it cost us in blood and people, do we forget and have we forgotten? Did the dead, die in vain? Millions have died because of Germany's crime. Northern France, the greater part of Belgium, the Venetian plains, Roumania, Serbis, and Poland have been transformed into horrible wastes. Consider this feature alone, because of Germany's gamble, French citizens are called upon to carry an annual budget of 23,000,000,000 frcs. 610 frcs. per capita against 345 frcs. per capita for the Germans. In addition France must struggle to build up a country destroyed, disorganized and lacking the prime necessities of life. Consider this and then reflect that we the victims and the Victorious instead of demanding exact justice, and full reparation, and damage in kind, are asking not what they can pay, what we can take, but what the Poor Germans will pay! As a matter of fact the Huns capacity to pay is none of our business, the sole point of interest being what does she owe? Why do we listen to her wails? She always squeals when beaten, she merits no pity, and should receive none. Is the human race running out? After the battle of Jena, when Napoleon demanded 150 million frcs. for the war Prussia had declared, Frederick William whined, just as they squeak now, and he threatened and said the poor people, the laboring people would rise in revolution. They talked to the "Little Corporal", just as Schredemann and Co. are now talking to our wise men in Paris. His reply is worth recalling, "All right, pay first, you can sign later." I can not understand the mind of this conference. This matter must be settled right or not at all. If the world needs revolution, has the disease, will anything short of a surgical operation cure the disorder? Is it not eradication not alleviation that our safety needs? I am simply disgusted that this perjured lying Hun, this ravished of women, this venereal brute should bluff his way into the family circle of his victims. He is a common thief, a bomber of hospitals, a skulking assassin, an unmoral brigand who gladly made this world a shambles to gratify his greed for plunder and power. And the shame of it, he says we don't play fair! Why he knows he lies, He knows mankind is not low enough to give him his dues, where would you find the horde, surely not in the cave dweller, perhaps

June 19, 1919.

in hordes of gorillas, but we do not call such beasts human. And this
-sniveling, welching loser is our brother, perish the thought, if the
American pacifists want him, let them claim him, but let the Hun import the
pacifist, and by some process of inbreeding improve the stock, or forever
destroy himself. They are both an exotic growth on the human body of mankind,
an eruption as diseased in its effect, as it is foul in its origin.

June 20, 1919.

As you would expect the Germans are moaning and groaning and bewailing that the Allies do not see fit to follow their Peace Proposals, and especially the suggestion for a neutral court of arbitration. The English Navy is ready and everything is all set in the occupied districts. The Germans have everything to gain by signing and they will sign. The left over mourning shows itself in audible grief for a purpose and that is sympathy, a state of mind akin to self pity, which generally and in this instance conspicuously in the mind. The Hun will sign, he is too yellow to refuse, altho' the present gov't would like to be in the position of being forced to sign. Then the people would feel it an involuntary act, a military necessity. But with it all the Peace of the world is hanging in the balance, and at this very moment the Allied leaders are weakly and vacillatingly meeting a situation that may render the German peace null and void. I refer to the Hungarian Army, at least 12 divisions, under skilled and highly trained leaders, which has now invaded Czecho-Slovakia, our ally and protege, presumably to the better see the accouchement of the League of Nations. It is a well equipped army, and its supply of money is unlimited. It is confronted by weak forces whose unpreparedness is due to the confidence of the Young Republic in the Allies and the League. Is it not incredible that our leaders at Paris should believe it possible to deal with such a situation by hurling notes full of words. It is all the more incredible when you know that the Allied military commanders have protested most vigorously against negotiating with Bela Kun. So while the new idealism cajoles, the red wave roles on, gathering force, and menacing civilization. Russian Bolshevism is picking up because Bela Kun marches on boasting that he scorns the notes of the Paris Conference, which seek to win his favor. It is now 12 days since the Allies told Bela Kun to cease, and while they have done nothing, he has steadily grown stronger. What would happen now, if Germany retired behind these Russian and Hungarian hordes? It would set Europe afire. The safe way to handle a snake is to kill it, and the only way to meet Bolshevism is to crush it, without the fear of noisy minorities in England and America. Verily this is not a tea party, neither pink nor Boston. There is no doubt that Germany has gained a great diplomatic victory, we must admit it. She has bluffed her conquerors into making a negotiated peace, as well as changing the terms of the peace in most far reaching particulars. The Allies act like a prosecuting attorney who is afraid of his case, and is willing for some reason to trade. I was asked last night what Germany had in view, and what she hoped to gain? She hopes to obtain immediate entry into the League of Nations, and thus quickly pass the sponge of maudlin sentimentality over her bloody and lustful head. Lord Cecil in his speech last Friday in London pleaded for the early admission of Germany into the Comity of Nations. He did not receive a warm reception, one of the audience rising and denouncing him as a traitor. It may please Cecil and George to take the blood stained hand of a treacherous Hun, it may allay their fears, but they have no right to ask anyone else to do it. We shall laugh about this when it seems less tragic. Think of admitting the Hun at this time! Think of having a family of nations with such a cat in the midst? It would be like a tiger and a sheep in the same cage. It would last just so long as the sheep remained a sheep, it would end the moment it became mutton. What belief can be reposed in Germany? Who would trust her? or her gov't? It is in the hands of a clique of socialists who deliberately duped and sold out their poor blind "Kamarads" among the English, French, and Italians in 1914,

June 20, 1919.

when they sold their principles to those who aimed to soak the world in blood and hand it over to the Hohenzollerns. Who will trust Germany to disarm, she is even now recuperating her military forces. The old imperial spirit yet subsists. Think of Scheidemann's last speech with the sinister conclusion "it is true we are beaten, but now onward, onward to victory" and does victory to a German mean anything but a military accomplishment? Most certainly it does not describe anything relating to these people in the moral field. I have just heard that Orlando has withdrawn and presumably taken the Italian delegation with him. It is a sad commentary on the League of Nations.

June 21, 1919.

People ask if the Germans will sign. Far too much is being made of this question. The material result will be the same, if they do sign, we shall be forced to compel execution. If they refuse, we shall do the same thing. The fundamental mistake of the Conference was to act as if they were dealing with an honorable enemy. The Hun is totally devoid of honor, and no one can believe them. It will be discovered soon that the only way to deal with the Huns is to dictate terms. The victory was thrown into the melting pot when a conciliatory peace was made the basis of discussion. A judge might as reasonably impose a conciliatory sentence on a convicted criminal. What our Peace delegates should have seen was justice, not conciliation. Justice to the victims, not conciliation to the criminals. By making a conciliated peace, their objective they have disheartened the Allies, and stiffened the enemy. The legitimate demands of France have been overridden, and the best interests of Italy have been ignored, Belgium has been sacrificed, and Germany wailingly clamors for more, America has lost out. Our moderation is attributed to timidity, and we are shunned even by neutrals, as witness their refusal to acquiesce in a blockade, should one become necessary to enforce our emasculated terms. The Germans realize this. They are pleading with tears in their eyes, and they do not realize they are beaten. Why should they? Their victorious army returned and not an enemy foot on their soil. The German people were told the Allies wanted peace on Wilson's terms. The people had never heard of them, - the censor forbade. The military party seeing they were defeated, that their disaster would be the greatest in all history, seized upon the Wilson points as a mere afterthought and makeshift. There is no doubt of this, the people knew nothing, and most of them thought they were winning the war, until the signing of the Armistice. The present terms seem harsh to the people at large, because they do not realize they are defeated, and not feeling it, seeing it, or suffering it, they can not realize how the present mollified concessions of the Conference square with a just peace. And yet they are being wheedled and coaxed to sign and the world stands for it! The Germans are now bitterly lamenting their fate, and bemoaning the hardness of their oppressors. They are appealing in the name of the German mothers to the mothers of the Allied countries to support a just peace. Did you ever hear of anything quite so insolent. As if those mothers can ever forget that the life blood of their sons was spilled that Germany might dominate the world, and wield her destructive sword, and impose her will upon civilization. Then was the time for pathos, and the touching beauties of brotherly love, but that time has passed. In fact, Germany is raking her sentence as it was expected she would. She has protested far beyond the pale of falsehood, and is still aiming to produce discord and confusion, and to awaken sympathy wherever she can. The statement that it is a new government led by new men, and inspired by new principles, is a lie on the face of it. The contention that they surrendered in Nov. 1918 because of a compelling desire to submit to the Wilson doctrine is a cheap lie. They argue because they were defeated. The German people never heard of Wilson's 14 points until after the armistice was signed. The entire concern of the German Government was to escape the utter destruction of their army, and they surrendered to save their hides. She now hopes to divide the Allies and get if possible, better terms. She has wronged every nation on earth and demands a return of her colonies, and before parting with her stolen property she asks for a plebiscite, to learn whether the true owner really wants them. She has devastated and poisoned every region she has entered, and she even denied the responsibility for the war she spent 40 years preparing for. Germany will sign the treaty because it is the easiest way to avoid it. She will seek to enlist an alliance of all the discontented so that she may again have her fling at world power. And she will succeed, if the people of the Allied countries take an overdose of idealism. I can not overlook her audacity. She reminds me of the convicted criminal who objects to be sentenced because he did not sit on the jury that found him guilty.

June 22, 1919.

The opinion is quite general over here that Germany is back of the recent bomb outrages in America; that she is mobilizing her forces for a final assault on the Allies. She hopes by turmoil, and through discontent to escape paying the penalty of her crimes. A moment of reflection will show that Germany is at the bottom of it. This is reflected in the recent refusal of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Switzerland to acquiesce in the reapplication of the blockade, if coercive measures should be taken against Germany. The fact is she must be saved and all her forces of disintegration throughout the world are now in full operation. Bombs, assassination, and anarchy coupled with open and avowed approval of Bolshevism by George Viereck in his weekly, accompanied by industrial paralysis in France, and Great Britain, and political indecision everywhere, except Germany of course, show that Bolshevism, anarchy, and revolution are articles made in Germany for export purposes, and foreign consumption. Viereck shouts that the German peace of Brest-Litovsk is a model of diplomatic honesty, a paragon of virtue compared with the present treaty. The extreme French socialists are loud in their denouncements, because of the burdens it places on Germany. And in England Henderson is marshalling the lawless elements to resuscitate the defunct kingdom of the ex-Kaiser. It is now a motley crew, and a disorderly gang. It shows that the junkers through their mouthpiece Rantzan did not appeal in vain, and that they knew their missions. But just reflect how the proletariat are responding to the S.O.S. call of the President Ebert of Mr. Hohenzollerns marionette Republic. These so called laboring masses affectionately termed "God's patient poor" and "Nature's Noblemen" oblivious of the millions of dead, and the billions wasted, of gardens turned to deserts, and women and girls outraged and tortured, all by Germany, - brutal, barbaric, and venereal, all of which is nothing to these anarchistic autocrats, seeking to divide that they may possess, are conspiring to punish and destroy those who would make Germany pay for her irreparable and heinous crimes. The entire scheme, the underlying purpose, is to save the Hun. We can now see out colossal errors in making peace the incident, and the brotherhood of man the main object of the conference. The very fact that we have demobilized our armies, not when the Hun was at our gates, but when he was within, is of course a mistake, is heartbreaking to those who want peace. One might as well abolish our courts, because of a gentleman's agreement with the criminal elements of our cities and the underground rats of the world. We simply can not and must not permit our victory such as it is, to be nullified and brought to nought by a band of paid anarchists in the service of Germany. All we need is a leader of firmness and decision and if the Big Four can find him the minute they need him to any of the men who defeated the Hun on the Marne, the Somme, or in the Argonne. We are still at war and the one certain way out is to compel Germany to accept the Peace terms. And when she does, all this turmoil will cease, and her army of paid assassins will become impotent and docile. Now the socialist orator would have us believe that the discontent among the laboring classes is due primarily to political causes. They say they are disgusted with the treaty of peace, because it refuses to recognize Russia and the soviet of Hungary. This is all bosh. The laboring people have no monopoly on the world's altruism. The discontent of the world is general and is not confined to the laboring classes. There is widespread disappointment due to the reaction from too much idealism. Men were told they were fighting for a new king of right and justice, and that the object of the war was to make the world a decent place in which to live. We all believed it, and even those who knew that, felt that the war could not change human nature's practiced self-deceit that they might be among the deluded. And so everyone suffered his and her lot. Those at the front physically and morally, while those at home grieved and saved that the brotherhood of the trenches might grow and go on. And today the great denouement awakes the world to the fact that Right and Justice are as

abstract as ever, and that the world is far from being a fit place to live in. Selfishness is just as rampant, promises just as unreliable, ingratitude is yet the rule, and loyalty and faithfulness are the rare exception. It was unwise to teach the people to want what they could not have and what their leaders should have known they could not obtain. It was wrong to tell these French people that Germany will pay. They will not pay, and they can not pay. The amount of the damage is not known, and has not been computed. People here realize that they must work for years to repay and regild the costs of a war that was forced upon them. There is no certainty, no hope. Delay has destroyed morale and uncertainty has begotten anxiety. No venture seems possible, because no one knows what the morrow may bring forth. The people are losing confidence, - they are ready to believe their leaders are marking time, secrecy breeds suspicion, the ship is drifting toward the rocks, while the pilots discuss the theories of future navigation in the cabin. And all the time "Right and Justice", and a "Decent place to live in", seems like "will-o-the-wisps", - indiscernable by the "Jack O'Lanterns" of altruistic idealism. The Peace Counsel dallies, the great men hesitate, the leaders falter and some think they wobble. The spectacle of Germany unrepentant and defiant is rapidly becoming blurred. The thinking man is disconsolate. The still small voice, not of conscience, but of safety first is whispering its ignoble counsels. Unseen influences are stirring again and the weak minded are lending a willing ear to the misplaced idealism that warns against pushing Germany too far. You would think it was the duty of the Allies to regenerate Germany and win her over to peace. It is hardly the duty of the victims to sit with the bogus boche republic and weep salt tears over the Kaisers ruin, and Germany's collapse. If Germany has not learned her lesson in the war she must learn it in the peace. She must be taught that only a change of heart can mitigate, but never rescind her punishment. Tenderness is wasted on the Hun. You might as well try to make a Mother Superior out of a diseased and art hardened courtesan, as to reform and trust the present generation of Prussians. The Peace Treaty is the best the world could do, and it must not be tampered with by any influence near or remote to those entrusted with its custody. There must be no weak minded concessions prompted either by credulousness or timidity.

June 23, 1919.

As I wrote you yesterday, we left here at 11 and made the run in three hours to Rheims. It was about 118 miles. The road was the best we have ever seen in France. In many instances we went 75 miles an hour. Rheims is a tourists mecca. It is not as badly destroyed as St. Mihiel and Verdun, but the destruction is pitiable. The cathedral is in ruins. I think it can be restored, and the scaffolding indicates the attempt is being made. Most of the trenches have been filled up. The German prisons having been used for that purpose. We ate our lunch on the outskirts, just before the town was reached. We had four punctures, one on each wheel, a most unusual experience, and so while the boys (we took two drivers to relieve the other) repaired, we had our repast. Majors Hendler, Parkhill and Morgan went with us. After going in and about the town, we drove out to what is called the Hindenburg line and saw many of the upturned tanks and some dead Germans lying in holes. The French are selling souvenirs on all sides, and the soldiers have combed the fields of everything of any interest which they sell at very dear prices. Paris is just three hours away by bus, and the people are coming in droves, as you would expect. The trip was worth it, but one sees so much that there is a great sameness after all. The Huns will sign today, so it is said. I pin my faith to no political party in America, of course. I am conscious of my own limitations, but all of them seem to put prejudice in place of principle, and declaim with passion rather than argue with reason. The respective leaders are extreme, perhaps, not because they feel that way, but because they are making bids for popularity. My thought about Pacific America is this: It assumes that to be armed is to be provocative. Has poor old China provoked anyone, and surely she fulfills the pacifist formula by for centuries avoiding the things the pacifists fear. The Wilson crowd of short horned cattle preach that we must not be prepared to defend ourselves because to do so is to become militaristic. Just glance at China, and reflect on the spectacle she presents. She is a complete demonstration of applied pacifism, a standing example of the pacifist fallacy. She is now begging the world to help her against a nation one eighth her size. If the American people want Peace at any Price, all they have to do is to follow Wilson, and avoid preparation, satisfy their consciences against virile independence. They can then be good pickings for Japan. The Germans are yet groaning and wailing. Germany forgets her recent attitude toward Russia at the Conference at Brest Litovsk, when General Hoffman informed the Russian, because they dared object to certain terms. "The Russian delegation", he said, "talks to us as if it stood victorious in its own countries, and could dictate conditions to us. I would like to point out that the facts are just the reverse, - that the victorious German army stands in your territory," and she forgets to her everlasting advantage. It was understood that she was to have two weeks from May 7th when Clemenceau first handed her the Peace terms, in which to make her reply. To some of us that seemed long for a dictated peace. Instead of two she got six weeks, and the terms changed in at least six vital particulars. The German army was to be limited to 100,000 men, but that number has been doubled. Score one for the Hun. Queen Louise in her best "bib and tucker" only asked Napoleon for 30,000 and we all know that was the corner stone of the German military machine. She demanded a civilian commission for the left bank of the Rhine, and she got it, until the hand of Foch forced a Military Commission as now rumored at the eleventh hour. This would have allowed Germany to administer her own debt and liquidate it according to her own plan. She demanded a plebiscite in Silesia in territory admittedly Polish, and she got it. She pleaded for admission into the League. She is promised a warm welcome in the near future, when if she is good, the Allies will make the lamb lie down with the lion. And yet,

this was not a negotiated peace. But why continue, - the plain fact is, the Allies won the war, and Germany won the peace. There is much discussion today, whether she will sign, but why argue it. What matters her decision one way or the other. She has gained great value, and strengthened herself. If she signs, she will not carry out the terms. It is hinted she has not carried out the terms of the armistice; that she has not returned her stolen goods, machinery, cattle and other property taken from Belgium and France. It is ever said that since Nov. 11, 1919 and during the allied occupation she has developed her industrial capacity 30% by means of industrial equipment stolen by his raping vandals from every land she touched. I wish Germany would not sign the treaty. It is not important, since in reality she signed a stronger treaty in Nov. last. The mere fact she signs will not bring us peace. The Huns are squealing and forgetful of the millions dead and maimed, they cry out against allied cruelty, and show that they are craven cowards. Think of their saying the treaty is brutal, and that by maintaining the blockade the allies have starved them. The sublimely ridiculous think was their week of official mourning, when in lieu of an amen they all shouted, "We will not sign; no we won't." The very repetition of this is the very best propaganda the Germans have had. I only hope the people in America are not disturbed, and that worry over whether she signs or not does not reflect the real attitude of the allied people. The situation is very simply and should cause no unrest. If Germany does not sign, there will be no Germany in the future, and the world will be better off, and thus for once the Hun will render a signal service to mankind. It is now said, the Huns will be granted further time, and that they have sunk their ships. Can the English by such assine asses as to leave these crews on the ships, and especially unguarded. I am not surprised at anything now. You can hear anything, and believe what you do not hear. There is disgust on all sides, and lack of confidence is supreme. No one writes about America. I never hear from Percy or any of the men, I met in Washington. Wallace has never sent a line since his arrival in the U.S. I had rather expected a line from him, but of course do not care. I have never heard from Major Stover, although I have a letter from his father which I shall send if I have not done so already.

June 24, 1919.

The Germans have won a great naval battle in scuttling their ships interned at Scapa Flow. This but confirms my opinion so frequently expressed that they are and will be a curse to Civilization, and it should effectively steel the world against admitting them into the League of Nations, or ever receiving them into full frank partnership in world affairs. History contains no approach to a precedent for such a gross breach of faith. It will be remembered for all time, long after this war is forgotten, and complete atonement has been made. The act is worthy of the best traditions of the Navy, that the fleet should end its existence in a manner fully befitting its cowardly war record, - from today to the Germans distinction of being the Brute of History is now added the new laurel of being the supreme coward of all time. When this fleet surrendered without firing a shot, the acme of ignomy seemed to have been reached, but this breach of faith in its depravity surpasses the baseness of that act. No act of the war is so despicable as this treachery. Truly, I am not surprised. The German is devoid of honor, his language does not contain that word, and the Hun people are today incapable of appreciating the sentiment it represents. The act was to be expected. The allies have received what they deserved for trusting or extending courteous concessions to a race that have shown during the past five years that they just never emerged beyond the stage of barbarism. The prevailing view is "that it is a new act of war," so intended, and so meant. The sad future of it is that all the preselyting of the peace conference has proved a failure, that it has been wasted on its sole and only beneficiary, that still true to form has now shown that she is inwardly and outwardly the only human hog on the face of the earth. If she has no contrition now, pray why should she be expected to have it in a few years when she asks admission to the society of civilized commercial and social beings. It is a deliberate violation of the armistice and a contemptuous rejection of the peace terms, because in express language it was said - "Vessels in compliance with the terms of the armistice which are now interned in ports of the allied and the associated powers are now declared to be finally surrendered." The world has Germany's answer, and it is not incredible that the Paris Oracles could trust her and seek to reform her, and grant her parole. They can't reform. They can't keep their word. They are the parasites among nations, and they have not yet learned that they are defeated. They will never appreciate that they are disgraced, because they do not see it. Their hog psychology prevents their feeling it. But whatever may be said, this must be conceded: That the Huns broke the word, flouted their faith, sunk their ships and with it, thank God, the name German into the filth and slime of perpetually cowardly disgrace. It is national and naval suicide, not unlike the suicide, the self destruction of an imprisoned criminal. And this is the nation that will now sign a treaty of peace, a mere scrap of paper. Pray, what reliance can be put in their signature, and what faith in their promise lacking as it does the merest semblance of a moral obligation. Can it be truthfully said, that they will not scuttle the treaty at the first opportunity, or just as soon as they think they successfully can. What earnest has the world that they will perform, in fact what earnest did the world have, other than idealism, and a moving desire for universal brotherhood, a status which the German now announces (at a cost of 350 millions of dollars), is essentially founded on distrust. I shall now tell what Germany had in mind. She intended a world revolution, that is clear. She intended to sign the treaty at the very beginning in the hope that a world

convulsion would come soon. Those who approached the question from the socialist angle advocated the signing the treaty merely as a means to bring about internationalism. Then the junkers class advocated a rejection of the treaty, they argued that a failure to sign would so exasperate the people of the allied countries that the Red flag would be hoisted in Rome, Paris, London and New York. In this the opposing forces of Germany were in accord. They each strove to achieve the same purpose, reach the same end, the destruction of society as now organized, and each inspired by the same hope, and moved by the same belief, that all would begin over, be forced to commence again, and that in the new order of things, Germany would have as good a chance as any other country. This is the Germany we are asked to forgive and love. We are asked to let her come back to our friendship and nestle as of yore in our national heart. This is the Germany that Clemenceau was made promise June 17, 1919, admission "at an early date", to the family circle, with the added inducing apologetic assurance that the "Allies and associated Powers believe - - - the memories of the past years will speedily fade." Can you imagine any greater affront than to have your agent say to a self confessed and a self centered murderer, rapist, and incendiary, in your behalf, yes, reform, repent and show you can be good and my master, your victim will receive you back and quickly forget your sins, just because in your efforts to find your place in the Sun you incidentally committed the acts with which you are charged and for which you are now with tears in your eyes crying for mercy, pleadingly seeking forgiveness. I know what you would do, and yet that is what America's representative did and is doing for the allied peoples of this world who believe in justice, decency, honor and morality. Do you suppose this same world can vision what Germany will do by the light of what she has done and is now doing. If not, then Germany is right, that human existence is safe only in the protection of might which is the beginning and the end of right. Well, I am extending these views too far, and they will be stale and forgotten when you read them. It is very cold - the oil stoves are burning.

June 25, 1919.

You now know that the Huns will sign, - that the worsted bully has ceased to plead and will from now on take it out in being sullen. There is not much excitement, or rather no evidence of any foolish rejoicing. This attitude is highly commendable, and shows a wonderful courage. It is the spirit of a people that the more I study them seem a race apart. They simply did their duty. They went forth silent and unseen. Their success lay in the fact that they made no imperious claims on anyone, and they neither expected nor cared for the plaudits of the marked place. These people were taken unaware, but they lacked nothing in exalted courage and the willingness to face death without question and always without fear. There should never be any mistake that German's murderous effort has cost the allies five million men and 125 billion dollars. The cost has been fearful, so fearful that it staggers the imagination. Northern France and Belgium lie ravaged and ruined, and allied Europe is bending and breaking with debt. The victory won is the most dazzling in all history and yet its fruits may be gradually filched and lost because of the softness and selfish yieldings of our politicians. Today the Hun is sullen, - and with a surly ill-will he accepts, formally the inevitable. It was the mailed fist, not the velvet glove that ultimately prevailed. The Huns admit it, for do they not say in their spiteful note, that they yield only to the overwhelming force of the allies without abandoning their view that the conditions of peace are unheard of in their severity and injustice. Surely this is the defense of the coward, who wailingly asks if he is to receive exact justice, unusual and painful though it be. And then the reference to German honor. Well, there is neither need nor excuse to waste our time on these lamentations. A nation whose escutcheon is as soiled and filthy as Germany's but deals in antonyms when it mouths such a word, even in profane history, with apologies to their pagan prototypes, the German people would stand without honor, and as an execration even among such contemporaries. The German Governments come and go. Mushroom like, they change with the settling sun. The Kaiser goes, Prince Max disappears, and Brockdorff vanishes after warning us that the peace must be a peace of vigilance, and in their place comes Bauer, to sign the treaty of Versailles. Though the signature be the writing of Bauer, the energy directing the manual will be that of old junker Germany. This note of acceptance should warn the allies that peace and security, ultimate victory, lies in unity, and in unity only surrounded by force, force to the uttermost. The note breathes defiance and itches and lusts for revenge. It admits to the world, as Germany always does, that her thoughts, her appeals to idealism and her feelings are but counterfits of the spiritual, because she never hesitates to prostitute things moral and things physical, when it advances her purposes or subserves the ends of Kultur. When peace is formally concluded, there will be a tendency to feel that war is at an end, and that all our dangers and difficulties are at an end. In fact, they will not end the passing paroxysm of war. The terms for Austria are yet baking, those for Turkey have not reached the dough stage, while those for Bulgaria have hardly been discussed. The war is still raging in Hungary, Russia and Czecho-Slovakia. So by signing with Germany we make peace on paper only with her. The German does not mean to keep the faith. He means to liquidate his obligations by fraudulent trickery, wherever he can. It is difficult to conceive of a more impudent and hypocritical note than this Bauer letter of acceptance. I can not forget the reference to Hun honor. Think of it, Germany having such a thing as honor. If the Paris Conference had put the fear of God into her blood pump, I won't call it a heart, she would not couch her notes in such language, or dare use the phrase - "the frightful sufferings of these last years" in prefacing their inability to defend themselves. President Wilson has just seen the dreary waste that the suffering German people have inflicted on Belgium, and he must know, of course, he knows, that Germany planned this war, prepared for it, forced it on France and Belgium, and then welcomed it as a means of gratifying

her lust and desire for power, knowing these facts, and the nameless horrors committed by these vandals, that they might rob, murder, rape and ravage. Who can pity them, and who but a German knowing he had committed these acts, would have the impudence to ask mercy and protest that a money penalty was an unheard of injustice. It is worth noting that this new Republic objects to handing over the ex-Kaiser, as well as to acknowledge that the old military party started this war. This is a kindly attitude to say the least. Strange, is it not? They say nothing about the loss of Alsace Lorraine, the Saar region and Prussian Poland, not to speak of the penalties imposed. These seem small matters, apparently, as well as really. The reason is plain. To acknowledge guilt and consent to the trial of the Kaiser would make it more difficult to work for the annulment of the treaty, and the recall of ex-Kaiser, another task which the new government has promised to perform. In its totality, the whine of this new Republic call forth only contempt, while if it were the wail of an honorable foe, there would be at least a full measure of sympathy. The letter can but serve one good purpose, it should open the eyes of the German people that their armies are defeated, and that they are literally and really crushed. In spite of himself, and true to his hog-psychology Herr Bauer tells the truth, in spite of himself, because only by exposing the truth in all of its nakedness can he justify himself to his tribe, when he says, "The German people have no means of defending themselves by external action. Yielding to superior force * * * the German Republic declares that it is ready to accept and to sign the Peace conditions imposed." There you have it. A confession of truth but meant to obtain sympathy. There you have the Huns giving the lie to their own claim that the armistice was merely a peace between equals agreed to from a love of peace. And so finally confessing that her military power is shattered she the Beast, Spluttering and whining, at last lies prostrate beneath the feet of avenging right.

There is nothing yet from Washington, though I am daily expecting an answer from Kreger.

June 26, ~~1921~~. 1919.

The air is full of rain, chill and cold winter again. All officers are wearing their heavy winter coats, and what is more, they are sitting in them at work. The officers have the appearance of a polar bear community. Of course, there are no fires anywhere, as the stoves were taken out about two months ago. It is like Milwaukee weather in May, after a week of cold rains and north east winds. I have your two letters from Boston and also one from Louise. I am glad you are having such a fine time and I was much interested in your description of Harvard and Cambridge. I suppose I shared not either the institution or the place. Tell Louise I enjoyed her letter, and the references to the Italians. The French of that class live in about the same amount of dirt. They seem to like it. It must be a latin characteristic. The French are undoubtedly the superior race, irrespective of class. I hope your passports are issued. I do not understand the story that the returning transports are full up. In fact, I don't believe it. The whole thing comes down to this: If the men in the department had vision, interest or a sense of courteous responsibility, they would arrange all of this by wire. A word to the Port of Embarkation would settle the entire matter. I have done as much for others, and I fail to see why they won't do as much for me. We here all know that these boats are returning from America virtually empty. There is no answer as yet from Kreger, and did they forward my cable to you. It is difficult to advise, when the distance is so great, the time so long, and the day at least two weeks in duration. But why worry.

You have no doubt concluded that the Germans have violated the armistice by scuttling their ships and burning the French flags. The evidence is now clear as to how they intend to carry out the peace terms. It is clear that the interned warships were scuttled in conformity with orders from Berlin. The sailors who sank these boats were merely the agents, not the origin of the breach of faith, and, after all, the odium rests with the new German Republic. The Democracy of the Hun, the Goth and Vandal. Why should they have chosen this moment, when they were whining for mercy to demonstrate to the world that the word of the new is just as rotten as the honor of the old Germany. I fail to see. It is sufficient that it conveys a most useful lesson, and demonstrates beyond doubt that the German is unfit to be received into the league of nations. It is clear that they would scuttle the league at the first convenient opportunity. Some of the leading German papers applaud the act, and say it was prompted by a noble motive. Possibly so, but how incontestably true that only a Hun could surrender his fleet and then from motives of honor destroy it after having promised the world for all time not to do so. Such is the honor of a Hun. I am not surprised. It merely sustains my views and vindicates my opinion so frequently expressed. An army that skulks behind a line of women and children in its advance on the enemy is according to German honor worthy to mar the iron cross, and current history now records what that insignia signifies. Is it permissible to say: What fools the allies be to put their trust in a German. The French flags were to be returned according to the treaty. The German Government was responsible for the flagrant breach of trust. The authorities in Berlin did not make the slightest effort to interfere with those who seized them and burned them before the statue of Frederick II in front of the Palace of the Ex-Crown Prince. The third example is the attempt to blow up the munition train belonging to General Haller's army. Under the terms of the armistice this army was recognized and guaranteed safe transit to Poland. Thus the armistice and the treaty which recognizes the status of Poland are set at defiance. These acts have been committed within forty eight hours. These deliberations and violations raise the question whether Germany should be suffered to sign without the imposition of adequate penalties for these perfidies. There are no apologies, no disavowals, no disclaimers of responsibility. There is condonation or ratification by silence, and express approval and either is assent. In fact, the Government papers of yesterday refer to these incidents as the one bright spot

in an otherwise gloomy situation. The new Prime Minister Herr Bauer is reported to have said in the Reichstag that the world, that history, and least of all the allies can not expect Germany to agree to the peace terms from "an inner conviction." This is a direct suggestion that the signature will be given with mental reservations, and without any binding moral force. Do you believe America will learn the lesson which this incident teaches. I have been preaching it. (I can say this to you, the egotism of the statement is, as you know, as unreal as it is apparent) that all this talk by German sympathizers and German hirelings that Germany has changed is a pure figment of a bought and sold imagination. The fact is, that it is the same Germany as in 1914, only that she is now out in the open running to cover. Do you recall the recent bids of the old junkers, speaking through Brockdorff Rantzau, that "Germany, now felt she deserved the confidence of her neighbors", and he learnedly expatiated on, "the immutable principles of morality and civilization and the sanctity attaching to treaties", Do you know the whole thing is a filthy, dirty mess, that in the midst of this purificatory process, there should come this proof that Germany democratic is as base and false and Germany imperialistic. This denouncement could not have come at a more opportune moment, because it demonstrates while Germany is pleading against prison bars, that prison bars are indispensable. It demonstrates when this new Germany is protesting her morality, that she is unworthy and untrustworthy, an outlaw without honor. Do you remember Mr. Wilson's speech, a year ago, when he said, "They do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language." I wonder if he now realizes that his prescience was a safer guide for America than his recent position before the conference at Paris. I can not catch, even glimpse, the point of view of those who would apply divine principles to materialistic compounds. I wish I could, but frankly I can not. I know they must dream and see visions, and auto-indoctrinate themselves with their own mists. Practically, of course, there is only one thing to do, and that is, be cheerful and hopeful. I realize that, and I also know that the best way through it all is to meet each day with a smile, and take the dangers and the chances of life as they come. There is an old proverb that "good times and bad times, and all times pass over"; and if we would find its truth, we must face the rough and the smooth as it comes. That is sound philosophy and poor preaching, but in this instance, and at this time, I can not follow the trail or practice the precepts of such teachings. I console myself by thinking, there are occasions when philosophy does not guide, and idealism can not comfort.

I must not ramble along with this. It means nothing, and like all ebullitions, what is it worth.

June 27, 1919.

The mail from Canada does not come as quickly as from the States. Your letter from Boston is the last. I hope you found Ruth well, and that her children have grown to promising state. I shall be interested to know about them and their plans, as well as to have any idea Charley N. might offer on conditions in general. It looks to some people over here as if Big Business is dictating the Peace for temporary rather than permanent duration. Is it said that the New York Bankers fear world collapse and universal bankruptcy if not widespread revolution. I don't know about this, but such is the rumor. Some try to explain the Wickersham attitude in that way. The fact mentioned may be true, but it is not the prompting motive in his case. He is trying in my guess to launch a birth of popularity for Mr. Taft. In fact, Mr. Curtis of the Public Ledger, now in London is quoted as saying that the League of Nations is a republican doctrine borrowed body and soul by Mr. Wilson. It is difficult to know what actuates men or things today. I can not understand present actions, except that they are prompted by selfish and political ends. It may be that we here are too close to see accurately or to hear distinctly. The weather still continues cold and the office has the appearance of hibernating quarters for bears. There are so many interruptions that it is difficult to write. The phone is ringing, calls from camps all over Europe, and requests for advice. The politicians at home introducing resolutions to bring the army home at once are proving quite demoralizing to the morale. The Germans are still pursuing their dilatory tactics. They have not yet picked their signing plenipotentiaries. No word has been received from them since their petulant note of Monday night announcing their capitulation. Is it not a mess diplomatic and otherwise? I hear that reparation will be demanded for the scuttling of the interned ships. It is difficult to see how the allies could have possibly waived this affront. But it all shows that the Hun is up to his old tricks and that he is still waging war. He is unquestionably encouraged by the gentleness of the allies. The very fact that the allies did not treat the sinking of the ships, the burning of the French flags, and the interference with General Haller's army, singly and collectively as breaches of the armistice and order their armies to move on has made Germany conclude that, because of domestic disorders and desires for peace, the allies are afraid to move. That is the situation in a nutshell. Somehow, at some time and in some way, Germany has gotten the fixed idea, - the obsession, - that the allies are bluffing, and they are calling them. You can see that as clearly as I do, for otherwise how can you explain this marking time. Is it not plain that Germany's verbal acceptance of last Monday merely blocked the allied advance, and permitted Germany to revert to her "wait and see" policy of delay. Why should she be in a hurry to sign, and why should she definitely set the day, when the allies have left it open, - not even fixed the time. I don't doubt the difficulty in obtaining some one to sign for Germany. No one in that country of treacherous wolves trusts the other. No one dares plead guilty for the nation or agree to hand over Kaiser Bill. Who wants better proof that it is the same old gang? Would a new Germany love these malefactors better than itself? Or if Germany was a democracy, would the people protect those responsible for their sufferings and present woes? I again say, that Germany Democratic, is nothing but a cheap transparent mask to be worn by the military party at the masquerade ball scheduled to take place at Versailles at any date convenient to the Hun Delegates. This should all be of only indirect interest to the conference. It should prompt that body to make Germany sign at once, and without any delay.

This suspense should be ended, and Germany instantly made to recall that there is a God in Israel. Unfortunately, all that is done is to write notes, and this, with an army of five hundred thousand men in the very heart of the Hun land ready to go forward. Every day of delay only increases the danger, and plays Germany's hand. The situation is accurately described in a phrase, I hear last night: "Whom the Gods would destroy, they provide with a typewriter." But, be that as it may, lovely peace has gone astray, traduced, if not seduced by the practiced Hun. And yet the Germans have done just what we expected them to do. They would never have agreed to sign unless they realized that resistance was hopeless. They submitted to the only argument that has ever weighed with a Hun, and that is the argument of force. They exhibit neither wisdom nor dignity, but protest (as though they were wronged) against what they term humiliation. For a German to speak of honor is to make you laugh. A harlot might as well extol her virtue merely because incarceration had prevented her plying her trade. They thought little of honor when they defiled the lands and peoples of their neighbors. They simply do not realize that they have forfeited all claim to decency and esteem when they broke their pledged faith and introduced into modern warfare brutalities and crimes never heard of before and since the days of Attila. That is one reason why she has been made confess her iniquity before the world. The mental exercise of those honest impulses will be wholesome and produce self reflection. It will do no good. The conscience of the nation is too seared and hardened to be affected by an opportunity to do penance. This they prove when they say they sign the treaty, "yielding to superior force". They at least forewarn us. They indicate as well as they dare that the peace will not be a peace, and they threaten us that they mean to play false and they drive home. That is their purpose, because it is their nature, to cheat us yet. But this much of the play is real, - that the House of Hohenzollern will tumble where it was reared in the palace of the Kings Saturday next at Versailles. It's evil will live after it and its taint will find a spiritual home in the German soul long after this generation shall have passed away. The ex-Crown Prince is reported home again, but the counterfeit shadow of the Great Napoleon has returned neither from Elba nor St. Helena. Not because Holland is unfit to be a criminal colony, but because neither of these royal lepers have the manhood to chance such banishment or the courage to stand in the open and take the blame, and pay the debt which they made the German people incur. And while these people absolve these leaders, - our leaders say, - these same people were blameless, - it was only their leaders who were to blame. Strange the tricks this lotus eating idealism plays its victims, are they not? The divide is so metaphysically fine that the sheep become goats, and the goats sheep. I shall write you further at my earliest opportunity upon certain other phases of this quickly moving panorama, in the lap of the old world.

July 4, 1919.

We are working today at full steam ahead in order to clear up as much as possible before moving to Paris next week. It is now definitely decided that we break up here the fifteenth, and this means start to pack up about the tenth and actually move about the twelfth. Of course, we shall go in by truck. The place is deserted and you miss the friendship of the men on the street. We go to 45 Avenue Montaigne, which is the building where Gen. Pershing has his headquarters. We shall stay there at least until Sept. 1, if not later. I have known this ever since I sent you the first cable, - at least that was my best guess and nothing has happened to change that view. I now feel that it will take that time at least to clean up here, if not longer. The uncertainty was due largely to Wilson playing politics until events forced his hand, as is indicated in his present agreement with France. Of course, that agreement was the price he paid France for the League of Nations. Mr. England, you notice, has one of his own with France and France is between the two. Peace is "fait accompli", the treaty having been signed yesterday afternoon at 4 P.M. It has been a long drawn out affair and ended just as the world prophesied it would. The Huns signed, there was nothing else for them to do; otherwise they would not have signed. They were defiant to the last and indicated their contempt of the allies by sending two, and only two, of their discredited socialists to represent the Imperial German Government. It is said the Huns wished to rob the occasion of any approach to grandeur. Of course, there can be no doubt that neither Herr Muller nor Dr. Bell can claim eminence, - but what difference does it make who signed for Germany. She does not intend to keep the treaty. In fact, she breached it in thought before she physically recognized it in deed. Herr Muller is the ex-Kaiser's agent, who in 1914 after Germany had decided in July to start the war, was sent to Paris to assure the French socialists that the German Social democrats would refuse to vote any war appropriations. Dr. Bell is a mere figure-head. In the Scheideman Cabinet he was Minister of the State "for former colonies". So there you can see them, the Judas and the Nonentity, both and each a marionette. In that aspect, the Huns disclosed their purpose, that they do not intend to carry out the pledge. Yes, the treaty is signed, but there is no peace, and no sane person believes there is any. The Hun does not believe he was beaten, - thanks to the armistice, and realizing what he would have done to us in case he had won, he feels from the way we treat him that he must have won after all. That is, he concludes he has been deferred to, and he reasons that if he had lost we would never have accorded him such respect and recognition. He is war hardened. He has never expressed the smallest contrition for his crimes against humanity. He squeals upon the assumption that he thereby appeals to our sympathy. But if we had treated him as he planned to treat us he would today have a wholesome respect for us. The Huns are also perfectly frank about it, - He has said - he "yields to superior force", meaning thereby the treaty will last just as long as the allies are superior to him in force, and not a moment longer. He is going to give us all the trouble he can. He is going to do it with the advantage all on his side, because we shall keep the treaty and he will use it to aid his nefarious scheme to prepare for his speedy revenge. I think you realize this, and I am quite sure there is no doubt that this conclusion as to his intention is correct. If it is not clear to you in America now, it will be later. The Germans have been talking very big of late, too big, considering their condition, and the plight of their country. They are hurling epithets at each other, and to the effect that the last talker is braver than the one who preceded him. Then,

finally, each concludes by saying that Germany's hope is in the army. The reports over here are that the treaty is most satisfactory to the American People. It is said Mr. Wilson will tour the country and explain its provisions, and that he will insist upon its ratification without change or amendment. The papers here in printing telegrams from America report that the "man on the street" says, it will be a disgrace if the treaty is not fully and promptly ratified. I know nothing, and in fact hear only at intervals from people who might attempt to quote. I can say this much: If the treaty with the League of Nations is submitted to the vote of the two million men here in France they will be in the ratio of 8 to 2 against the League. I further believe the majority, a large majority, will be found against the treaty itself. These men have seen the German, - they have been in his country. They know what he has done, and what he can pay, and they feel and think that he has been treated with entirely too much consideration. I hear comment on all sides that the Peace is worthless, a mere sham, and of no effect. The Germans as part of their propaganda have belittled it, and their exhibition of defiance in sinking their ships and burning the French flags has convinced the "man on the street" over here and the soldiers of the allied armies that no reliance can be placed in the Hun. If they defy now, when they should be suppliant, what will they do when you would expect them to be strong. If they deceive you at a time when even the vilest rogue would have an honest impulse, you are assured of what they will do when time softens the feelings of the weak and tempts the avarice of the unscrupulous. I find the world sceptical, cynical and indifferent. That is the world I know, and what is to be deplored, ready to condemn America because of its alleged attitude. There is nothing more to say, anything further would be expatiation.

The ceremony at Versailles Saturday marked the end, at least on paper of the most formidable military power known to history. Strange, and yet appropriate, the co-incidence that the treaty should have been signed on the anniversary of the death of the Austrian Crown Prince. It was a solemn occasion and made more so by M. Clemenceau reminding the German representatives that their signatures bound Germany to loyally and faithfully carry out the terms of the treaty. The admonition was timely, and yet how useless, if the attitude of the Hun be forecasted by the sinking of the fleet at Scapa Flow and the burning of the French flags. I think it does, in view of the studied insolence in sending two lone insignificant and entirely unknown plenipotentiaries to meet the representatives of Civilization. When Germany surrendered last November, there was every reason to believe that the end of the war had been reached, but steadily since, the impression has grown over here that she was unrepentant and defiant, and that peace is a long way off. She has been encouraged in this state of mind by being forgiven and cajoled when she expected "force, force to the uttermost." She knew then, that she had waged a war of unparalleled horror, and she expected to be appallingly punished, but she was not. Perhaps, having the psychology she has we should not be surprised. If society should parole a rapist with the injunction, Go, sin no more, he in time would justify his crime in his own mind. I feel from what I hear and see that Germany's arrogance today has been of slow growth, and that it was caused largely by the treatment extended her by the allies, that it is in fact a reflection of the spirit of brotherly love and, Yes, "I am my brother's keeper." The net result of this phase of the matter is, the allies have sought more to indulge and apply their idealism than they tried to correct the wrong doer, - have aimed to reform by kindness rather than by applying corrective measures of a severe, but yet merited character.

A year ago the Germans were at the gates of Paris, and German guns were bombarding by day, and German avions by night. The contrasts in her recent history must be considered. To look back a year is to be impressed, but to look back five years is to be stunned. Then, when the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand supplied her with a pretense for starting the war, she had so long worked to bring about, the "War Lord rattled his glittering brand" in its scabbard, and the nations of the earth trembled at the approach of his mighty hordes. Unquestionably she dominated the world in deed, if not in name. Her commerce had the world's markets in its grasp. Her ships were upon the seas, and her diplomacy poisoned the policies of every nation. This was her position in 1914, when the ex-Kaiser decreed that the whole world should wear the yoke of the Hohenzollern. Deliberately, and with studied premeditation, he gave the orders for his butchery to begin. That was the dawn of "The Day," but the ceremony of Saturday marked its close. The former Kaiser, a refugee and fugitive, with millions of his people slain and mutilated, is now a refugee from justice, and loathed and despised of men. Germany is in political chaos. Commercially, she is bankrupt, and socially, she is a parish. There is a shadow of justice in it, that the German Empire, born with such savage pomp in Versailles, January 18, 1871, should be buried without funeral rites in the place of its birth. And so history will record, that he and his people fell into the pit they dug for others, and that their criminal aggression brought about the destruction of the German Empire and the dishonor of the German people. The moment is past for discussing the effect of the treaty, unless the United States Senate refuses to ratify it. We should not continue in a state of mental warfare, it is neither logical nor candid. It is the attitude we condemn in Germany. However, I do not agree with General Smuts, - that the allies should "pass the sponge over the slate." Rather, I feel, it is our duty to see that Germany executes the treaty, and performs the obligations which she has incurred and accepted. The peace terms are severe, but not too severe, indeed not severe enough. Smuts is in grave error. He plays the German game and argues the German case. There is neither logic nor justice in what he says. He talks like the international socialist who, "over here", is in sympathy with German militarism, which today is merely the other side of Bolshevism. Probably there never was a criminal who did not think his sentence too severe, and out of all proportion with his capacity for atonement. It may be that Germany will be handicapped, but so will Belgium, France, Italy and Poland, and to an incalculably greater degree. So while Germany may be heavily burdened, she is better prepared, mechanically and materially than her victims, and she is untouched by devastation. Therefore, whatever impediments the treaty places in her way are in right and justice deserved. It would now be a breach of faith to make them heavier, but it would be an act of injustice to Germany's victims to seek to even partially remove these self merited liabilities. No German apologist can escape the fact that Germany was compelled to sign, and plead gently at the Bar of History, as the unexampled criminal of the ages. To go back again, in 1914, Germany a nation of 70 million people had been organizing for this war for fifty years. She mobilized ten million men before her victims could move. She sent her armies, marvellously equipped, into the field and they were commanded by men who at least claimed a monopoly of the military sciences. She took the world by surprise, and sought to strangle it, before, in fact, it was really alarmed. Her invasion of Belgium was a felons blow, and almost crushed France before the battle was gained. In a word, Germany was a force of savagery, science, preparation and surprise running amuck. The allies met and overcame her, after the fiercest struggle known to man. The Huns were held, but not stopped at the Marne, and for four long years the

battle swayed to and fro, and culminated, the military men tell me, when on March 21, 1918, the line of the allies was forced back, and almost divided. It was then that Haig issued his famous but solemn order, "With his back to the wall, England expects every man to do his duty." America answered the call in one of the proudest chapters in his history. She sent her millions to France, and eventually won the day. The heroism of France; The devotion of Belgium; the tenacity of Great Britain; the nobility of Italy; and the immortal soul of America at that critical time, when Russia failed, each and all made the result possible. The allied people gave their all, including their best, to preserve civilization and to insure freedom. And so, when Germany and her vassals shall have given their all, including their latent best, to prove their repentance, it will be time to talk of "passing the sponge over the slate". It is now the time, when the house should be put in order, when the world should turn to the one supreme law of life, - Work. "Il faut Culliver notre jardin." -as Voltaire has the moralist say in Candide.

