# STORY OF A SOUL'S ADVENTURE WITH THE WORDS. THOUGHTS AND THE DEEDS OF WOODROW WILSON

Off the Game of Faith"

"THREE MEN AROUND A TABLE CAUGHT IN A WHIRL OF MUDDLED THINKING

"Move to End All Wars Didn't Create Anything"-"Thing Couldn't Be Done; This Wasn't the Millennium." "Hope of the World in Young Men"

> By CLINTON W. GILBERT Staff Correspondent of the Evening Public Ledger

ful articles to prove how much better the world would be when the people ruled the elections. William Allen, they don't rule the elections. The old gang rules the elections. It is the same old

"Fell" for Direct Elections
"I know, I know," he said. "It was disappointing. But it is not quite as you say. Now in Kansas."
"William Allen," I cut him off. I fell for the direct election of senators, to improve the Senate, And now for a judgment upon me I have to spend my life in Washington, much of the time in the Senate press gallery."

He opened his mouth as if to say.

"Fell" for Direct Elections whole world, in the recut instance, to appeals of faith in better things are exhausting. You pass through the huge crisis that is necessary to overcome the inertia of organized thinking, and you look afterward at the small appearent result of all the cost in the way of the pressed. There is a deep reaction.

Stirred All Mankind

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Stirred All Mankind opened his mouth as if to say

\*There was your man, Thompson, the pride and joy of the direct elector of Kansas, "I went on severely.

"I know." he said, and like the carpenter he shed a bitter tear.

"I fell for Charles Evans Hughes of hirsute idealism, when he was governor of New York and I wrote many powerful articles to prove that he could save the world."

The most tremendous faith that has been aroused since the Crusades was the faith Mr. Wilson aroused by his plea in the midst of a war which destroyed 10,000,000 men that this war should end all war, that men should organize the whole earth for all time against war. He stirred all mankind And now that we see the thing, partly realized, and perceive that we have just a new institution bearing a striking resemblance to other institutions of the

william Allen stirred as if in de-fense, but I drowned out his words, "and finally." I continued, "I fell for Woodrow Wilson, and, hardest of all, I fell for his league of nations. And now I am through! Never again!" Just at that moment a brilliant Amerthat though the institution is new the men who control it are the same old men—the same bosses sit around the

tenn journalist entered the room, Wil-liam Allen White's eyes rested upon him

same table in the same back room as before direct primaries—and that these same old men are the men who brought down upon the world the trouble in the past, and that they show surprisingly the same selfishness and lack of vision as before, and facing this old, old ex-perience we resultse that the institution There's Blank. He's never fallen for anything in his whole life. His mind never stoops to folly. He sees clean through every bit of bunk there is. He's never known the joy of being fooled. He can't. No. I am not through. I am going right on and I know it. Bunk springs eternal in the human breast. It is falling for bunk that keeps me young. I know this league of nations looks bad from here we have gone through that keeps me young. I know this league of nations looks bad from here we want to confess, and fack of vasion of he before, and facing this old, old experience we realize that the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the state of the idea to organism of the same selfssness and fack of vasion as before, and facing this old, old experience we realize that the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the same selfssness and facing of the perience we realize that the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, the institution has no necessary virtue in itself, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, rate—state, but for its hopeful operation depends on the mony, r league of nations looks bad from here and right now. But then you can't tell what the people may do with it. I can see how they may ret fool the fellers who have fooled us with it. And you, you are not through. A man who has fallen for bunk so long as you have can't stop now. It's a habit. It's his can't stop now. It's a habit. It's his last time."

Me want to confess, and misery loving company, we want to take some one of mind, some William Allen White, apart and say. "Boy, it is bunk, the worst bunk of all but, believe me, this is the last time."

In what I have just been writing I have spoken of what "you" thought and can't stop now. It's a habit. It's his nature. And I wouldn't change mine." he went on with a glance at the brilnt journalist who never suffered from spouded to the world wide emotions of the crusade for an organization that wars knows to a certainty that the the world bring about the brotherhood of the will be no better than the past." I hope it is not an indiscretion for me to record this conversation. At any rate I did not make stenographic notes of it and retall it to the Senate foreign relations committee, And if William Allen White wants to disavow it his were responsible in a way for my

have spoken of what "you" thought and what "you" felt and how "you" re-

were responsible in a way for

DREAMS OF "POLITICAL sades, the psychology of the mob, they will pass on to that much wider but kindred field, the psychology of the rapid spread of world beliefs, the psychology of things like the direct primaries reform, the labor movement, or whatever the latest thing is, they will find that what "you" think controls what "I" think, that my emotions vibrate in response to a universal vibration of emotions; that I, ordinarily critical and sanely skeptical, have become extravagantly hopeful because "you" are extravagantly hopeful because "you" are extravagantly hopeful the Game of Faith"

Conference—President "Takes the Limit off the Game of Faith" along by that mad thing, unity of pur-pose, unity of feeling, and unity of something which for the moment is mistaken for thought. It is a unity not often achieved, perhaps fortunately for the human race, for as I have said before, it takes much out of you. But while it lasts it is a tremendous force, an irresistible inspiration. And the in-vestigators will always find some one at the head—the mob always has a leader—uttering large inspiring phrases which he may believe for the moment, himself carried away by the spirit he has conjured up, phrases like "all men are born free and equal"; "liberty, equality and fraternity"; net to veninte upon more recent shibboleths still charged with deep feeling.

so; for 1 look depressed and doubtless as; for 1 look depressed much more easily than does William Allen. He precess of time worken on, so for 1 look depressed much more easily than does William Allen. He precess of time worken on, so for 1 look depressed much more easily than does William Allen. He precess of time worken on, so for the precess of time worken on, so for the precess of time worken on, so for the precess of time worken on, so for earth the huge that shows in the fundamental of the precess of time worken on, so for the precess of the precess

Every great movement strong enough to overcome the inertia of mental habits and stir the depths of faith is a con-iagion. The spirit of a mob has been studied and it is known how each man

### REASONABLE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

"I don't think Mr. Wilson so much got us into a world combination as he got the world combination into which we almost inevitably were forced to enter made fairly respectable—one presenting reasonable hopes for the future. one that substituted for the pure rule of might a sort of rudimentary inter-national justice, not the perfect thing, the 'impartial justice' he talked about, but still some more justice than would otherwise have been there."

that some quite human Americans with certain business interests that might be indecently exposed to foreign competition were not taking a perfect view of the situation and did want tariffs. These reactionaries were all going to vote the Republican ticket. So Mr. Martin and reactionaries were all going to vote the Republican ticket. So Mr. Martin and Mr. Hitchcock both wrote to the Presient quite modestly and asked him what dent quite modestly and asked him what point three did mean anyhow; in the perfect future would there be any tariffs; a question something like the question about marriages in heaven. The answer was that there would be; the first words which indicated that something of the present was going to carry over into the perfect time to come.

Now one more suggested or inferred the president and certainly in continue. It will be the large for the president and certainly in continue.

Now one more suggested or interred the tresident and certains in the their skeptic going to be an article and not a book, ica's big navy program, persisted in and never-f i refer to the "magnanimous peace" after the conclusion of the armistice, the English. that we were going to make with Germany. Of course, in a world out of which war had disappeared and where selfishness had been diminished and the brotherhood of man had been realized, naturally you had to treat the defeated enemy like an erring brother. Probably he must sit at the peace table and help write the peace himself.

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" and thus change the believers' standard of credence. Even the idea of treating Germany as the South had been treated by the North did not present difficulties to the imagination in those days. We may have thought that we should have trouble to get Europe to go that far on the read of brotherhood with us, but we did not reject the idea, at least as an alm of our President, on the ground of its being preposterous. Whit hefore you exclaim out against this. It is now several months since our whole standard of beliefs ranged alongside the hig belief in the warless world. Now I will give you a light on the origin of and thus change the believers' standard he favored a superstate or not at the feredence. Even the idea of treating time this expert was unenlightened. But

standard of beliefs ranged alongside the hig belief in the warless world. Now I will give you a light on the origin of such beliefs or suggestions as this last.

President Wilson made a speech in New York on September 27, 1918, on the occasion of the opening of the fourth Liberty loan, in which he said the critical framework is invested to the control of the contr fourth Liberty loan, in which he said the price of peace "is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. \* The impartial justice metal out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those through; that it would have demande surrenders of sovereignty everywhere that no nation certainly in this ag would consider for a moment. But the post it is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement would consider the advantage of sovereignty everywhere that no nation certainly in this ag would consider for a moment. But the post is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement would consider the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement, we have a considered the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement. We had come to believe one thing so big that nothing seemed impossible. Besides there was the Great war, the most tremendous thing in the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement. But the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement. But the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We have caught in a movement with the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We have caught in a movement with the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We have caught in a movement with the possible was a supplied to the point in the point in the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement with the possible would consider the point in the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement with the possible would consider the point is that clear thinking was impossible. We were caught in a movement with the possible would consider the possible was a movement with the possible was a possible with the possible was a possible was a

be much fin. But it is not so. One in a certain scale. We believe now that one of the wise provisions of nature is that most of us full readily for what in another than the control of the wise provisions of nature is that most of us full readily for what in another than the control of the wise provisions of nature is that most of us full readily for what in another than the control of the wise provisions of nature is that most of us full readily for what in another than the control of the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that the control of the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that most of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is the provision of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is that the work of the wise provisions of nature is the wise provision of the wise provisions of nature is the wise provision of the

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of might a sort of rudimentary interthe impartial justice he talked about, otherwise have been there."

I went to Paris to the Peace Conference as a newspaper correspondent. By this much my experience differed from the average. My disillusionment was direct and speedy. Yours came through reading the news dispatches, more slowly. Very soon old diplomacy was noticed. A subtle something pervaded the atmosphere, which showed that the breath of the golden age had withered nothing. I and every American observer was conscious that something held the Europeans together—their common experiences, their common beliefs, their secret treaties, their different point of view. A Frenchman once explained it to me by saying. "We are a very old people and experience has newspaper correspondent. By this much my experience differed from the average. My disillusionment was direct and speedy. Yours came through reading the news dispatches, was noticed. A subtle something pervaded the atmosphere, which showed that the breath of the golden age had withered nothing. I and every American observer was conscious that something held the Europeans together—their common experiences, their common beliefs, their secret treaties, their different point of view. A Frenchman once explained it to me by saying. "We are a very old people and experience as a newspaper correspondent. By this much my experience differed from the average. My disillusionment was direct and speedy. Yours came through reading the average have dispatches, more slowly. The properties of the present of the poles of the present of the poles of the present of the average. The average of the present of the pres optimism of youth. It is hard for us to understand each other." And the French had taken trouble to re-enforce their skepticism with a very thoroug and never-failing understanding wit

enemy like an erring brother. Probably he must sit at the peace table and help write the peace lainself!

And bearing on this hope there was again the parallel—the deadly parallel—of the United States. This coming international organization, with such adaptations as a superheated imagination would see were necessary, would be the United States of the World, Remember how we set an example to all mankind in letting the South after the Civil War back into the Union without punishment of any kind! The very illing! Apparently the trick—and I use the word without an evil intent—of setting a big movement going is to implant one new big belief into men's hearts—like the belief in a world so organized as to make war impossible—and thus change the believer's standards of credence. Even the idea of treating a strength of the idea of not carry in the distance of that this was what he would work for,

I remember the shock I felt when I read M. Clemenceau's speech, "What blasphemy," I thought, "that this old unregenerate, who has outlived his usefulness and who does not realize the ne age even now when it is already here should utter such outworn doctrine. And then with American confidence, I added "What folly!" It was, however, the first little jar my faith got in Europe. The wicked still flourished, Europe. The wicked still flourished, and had not been cut down, not ever in

convincing. You felt here was one man you could rely upon, one in whom was no guile. You sensed, as Mr. Scott said, his religion, his tremendous sin-cerity. I should say he was the most

## ness they were evidently as nothing. I suspect he was a victim of the popular psychology he had created as a necessary part of his movement. At any rate this victory of old diplomacy passed by CHIEF JUST AS LEADER INFLUENCES THE MOB

Many Persons Accept Promises and Even Mere Phrases Without Stopping to Analyze Them, Without Asking Their Practicability"

EAGERNESS FOR A NEW FUTURE LIKE RUSH FOR NEW VEIN OF PURE GOLD

"Everybody Listened to the Growls of Germany and Often Trembled-Mr. Wilson Listened to What His Own Country Was Saying, Often Anxiously"

They made us accept promises and even mere phrases without stopping to analyze them, without asking their practicability.

Freedom of the Seas

Probably Mr. Wilson thought almost as loosely as the rest of us. To get the whole world going with you you have to let yourself go, too. And there is the case of the freedom of the seas. It was one of the fourteen points, Great the was one of the fourteen points, Great the case of the freedom of the seas. It was one of the fourteen points, Great the case of the freedom of the seas. It was one of the fourteen points, Great the many Britisher in the case of the fourteen points, Great than the point of conference the was one of the fourteen points, Great the case of the freedom of the seas. It was one of the fourteen points, Great than the reserved the right to refuse of the league of nations more heartily about what could be accomplished there because no one, except a few cold and skeptical persons like the journal working ourselves up to a great faith working ourselves up to a great faith of the case of the seas. working ourselves up to a great faith in a new and perfectly organized future. You cannot go into things like the league of nations coldly and with all

said, his religion, his tremendous sincerity. I should say he was the most honest man in Paris.

And an American economic adviser told me, furthermore, that upon the business side of the peace he was the ablest of the British. A remarkable man. A subtly wise choice. He made every American feel that after all British was a true cousin of ones head one.

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practicable promises. As a matter of fact, publicity took care of itself. After the Peace Conference lost self-confidence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper men to pour secrets into dence, the delegates ran around seeking the newspaper our own representatives to drive better bargains than they actually did. We were mooning when we should have had a right to expect our own representatives to drive better bargains than they actually did. We were mooning when we should have had our wits about us. Mr. Wilson was so taken up with his mission that be neglected the simple precaution of setting himself free from the secret treaties at the armistice conference. It was, I think, the inevitable result of the psychology of the crusade. Moreover, Mr. Wilson, even liberated from this exalted mental state, probably is not the best bargainer in the world.

Bargaining is a trade in itself. And Mr. Wilson's trade is swaying great masses of men, even swaying the whole world by his words. Details are irk-some to him, as they always are to men of his type; so is the too capacity of the pour of the psychology of the crusade.

perpetual mandate for them, which could be only terminated by the acquiescence, by vote in council, of the power holding the mandate. If you have a thing that cannot be taken away from you without your censent, to all practical intents you own it. The mandate meant at most that the holding of a colony was "affected with a public interest," but one hard to invisit upon.

Then the fourteen points were strangely interpreted in Mr. Wilson's absence by Colonel House, his agent, to give many Germans to Poland; to set up a Rhenish republic, and a Saar valley settlement provided for in the secret treaties. To be sure, the boches were greatly modified later, but they gave a disquieting gimpse of the secret treaties, of the control old diplomacy had over a meeting supposed to belong to

Europe. The wicked still flourished, and had not been cut down, not ever in their old age.

British Journalist's View

The day before I had been in Manchester where I met that wonderful old man, Mr. Scott, the editor of the Manchester Guardian. He is a friend of Lloyd George, but not an indiscrimining one. The British premier's reputation was somewhat disquieting; so I asked Mr. Scott about the British deleation was somewhat disquieting; so I asked Mr. Scott about the British deleation to the Pence Conference, where it stood upon the league of nations. "Lloyd George is for the league without a doubt, he said. "You can count upon him. But remember, he never thinks an idea out or understands its 'ogical implications and he is perfectly capable of doing things utterly inconsistent with his general conviction. On the Other hand, Loyd Robert Cecil, like all the Cecils, is a religion with lim. With Mr. Balfour, too, it is practically the same thing." An extremely accurate analysis of the delegation.

It was a cleverly chosen delegation.

Lord Robert Cecil, the idealist, made

quences of its actions. We did not esof the balance of power in Europe we thought we were completely lated. We were drawn inevitable

The combination would probably have been an alliance, openly one and se known by name, harsh and arbitrary. Mr. Wilson succeeded in getting it called a league of nations and in admitting others into its deliberations, with rather limited powers, to be sure, than the three or four big nations that would have made up the alliance. He also induced the combination to adopt a pact which, in effect, is a self-denying ordinance by which members agree to be governed by certain principles of justice instead of by their own sweet wills.