

GERMAN ATTACKS ON GERARD ARE REFUTED BY KAISER'S OWN HANDS

Official Gazette Denies Truth of Former Ambassador's Publication in The Oregonian of the Now Famous Message Sent by Emperor William to President Wilson.

BY JAMES W. GERARD.

American Ambassador at the German Imperial Court, Berlin, from February 1917 to 1918. Author of "My Four Years in Germany" (Copyright, 1917, by Public Ledger Company.)

AFTER the appearance, in August, 1917, in The Oregonian and other newspapers in America and the Telegraph, in England, of the message of the Kaiser to President Wilson, the official North German Gazette, evidently unaware of the fact that the original message of the Kaiser in my own hand was in my possession, published the following:

"The London Daily Telegraph publishes from the memoirs of former Ambassador Gerard a telegram that his Majesty the Kaiser is alleged to have sent to President Wilson on August 16, 1914, and in which the Kaiser's participation of England in the present war are set forth.

"We are, in these circumstances, in the possession of the assurance that a telegram of the Kaiser of this nature does not exist.

"It is correct that an audience was granted to Ambassador Gerard on August 16, 1914, in order to give the opportunity to spread before his Majesty the Kaiser the peace-offer of President Wilson.

"The personal message of President Wilson to the Kaiser runs as follows: 'I feel, according to Article III of this Convention, it is my right and my duty to declare to you in the name of the truest friendship that I would welcome every opportunity to act in the interest of the peace of Europe, whether now or at another time.'

"This proposition came at a time when the opposing armies had already crossed the frontiers and when it seemed out of the question to halt the march of events.

"His Majesty could, therefore, only transmit to the President his thanks for the mediation offered and to the Emperor the assurance that he would do his utmost to secure the mediation of a neutral power, but that later the friendly proposition of President Wilson could be taken up again.

"His Majesty then talked for some time with the American Ambassador and set forth to him separately the events which led to the outbreak of the war, and finally did the Kaiser call attention to the equivocal and unlovely position of England which had destroyed the hope of a peaceful issue.

"The setting forth of Ambassador Gerard in his memoirs seems to be a contradiction of this conversation.

"If the press of Germany sees revelations of this kind, that only shows that they are not acquainted with the German White Book which sets forth these events.

"Possibly, during the interview, the Emperor wrote down notes for the Ambassador in order that the latter should not send anything to the West without his knowledge. We have to do only with certain notes to aid the memory of the Ambassador, not with a communication of the Emperor to President Wilson.

Explanation Lame and Silly.

The Tagblatt repeated this lame and silly explanation in its issue of August 13, 1917, and complained that, although its correspondent at The Hague sent, on August 7, 1917, this part of my first book in a telegram, only on August 11, the newspaper omitted the delivery to the Tagblatt of this story from the correspondent.

Then the newspaper dispatch had to be sent to the Kaiser's court, who only released it for publication at midnight. The Tagblatt says "the form of the explanation which has now appeared is not a possibility." Could Mr. Gerard consider these "notes" in the handwriting of the Emperor as a draft for a telegram of the Emperor to Wilson—as Mr. Gerard repeats them?

Censorship System Exposed.

Does not the Tagblatt article give a glimpse not only of the censorship system, but of the positively glorious incompetency of the government officials who denied the existence of the original message in the Kaiser's own hand which the most elementary inquiries in their own circle would have disclosed not only in existence but in my possession?

The redoubtable Reventlow, writing in the Conservative Tages Zeitung, commented on the Kaiser's telegram to President Wilson, and gave them to Gerard, but these were only scraps for Gerard to use in his book, not a question of a direct communication of the German Kaiser to the President.

In accordance with the Gerard reports, it now seems that the Kaiser's Ambassador telegraphed the imperial notes immediately and literally to Washington. Mr. Gerard has, therefore, again in this respect lied, which is not surprising.

Reventlow, of course, had not then seen the facsimile of the Kaiser's telegram, which is headed "in my own hand, to the President, personally."

Reventlow's Denial Confirmation.

Later the other German newspapers took the Foreign Office to task for making such a weak denial of an incontrovertible fact. Reventlow's charming parliamentary language of fear old Reventlow.

The article, by Reventlow, commenting on my publication of the Kaiser's personal message to President Wilson, of August 16, 1914, which appeared in the Tages Zeitung of August 14, last, is interesting because Reventlow is without doubt the oracle and mouthpiece of the Prussian Conservatives.

He continued to attack me in this article, but much of the attack is in reality praise, and, as we say in expressive slang, "every knock is a boost." The article continues:

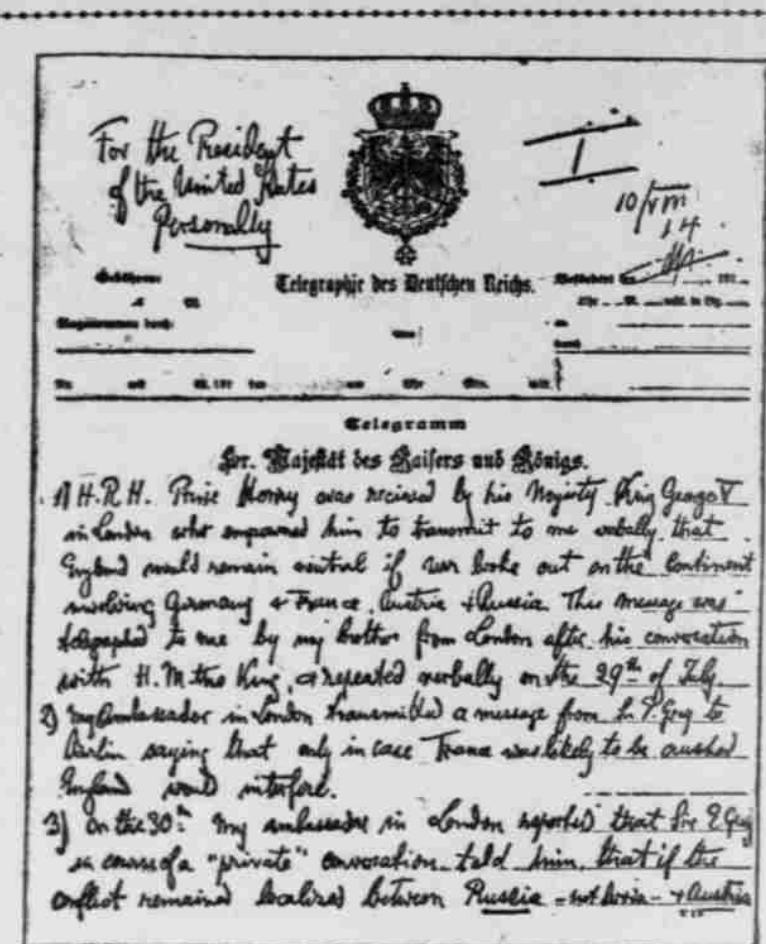
"It is very desirable to know if the former Chancellor was present at the audience; it is regrettable not inconceivable, but it is a new proof of the incompetence of the Chancellor that he did not, according to his duty, inform his Imperial Lord of the political personality and character of a man like Gerard.

"In the U-boat crisis Mr. Gerard had been able to play a quite decisive part. He was, like Mr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, entirely of the view that the German empire must live in accordance with the demands of the United States and constantly showed himself wonderfully informed about what step each inner circle would for the moment take.

"The influence of Mr. Gerard is all the more shameful and heavy reproach for the official leadership of Mr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, since his American Ambassador, while an intriguer, was not a personality.

"But when Gerard said anything, wished anything or threatened anything, that imparted always a fear-exciting event, and he was finally able to seize and use this halo to the limit. That a man like Gerard has been able through all these years to win and keep such a position and such influence over German affairs is without example in German history.

But I must really put aside the halo



FIRST AND LAST PAGES OF THE KAISER'S PERSONAL MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT WILSON AUGUST 16, 1914, ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY AND WRITTEN AND SIGNED BY EMPEROR WILLIAM.

which Reventlow so graciously hands me. While I was informed of what was going on, I certainly did my best to persuade Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Jagow and Zimmermann as well as the Emperor and numerous others from defying America. If Von Bethmann-Hollweg and any of the others were afraid of the peace negotiations, that is to adopt any other policy would bring America into this war, then they took this position and history will prove them right.

Reventlow says further: "In the winter of 1914-17 one dreamed already of loans and imports from the United States during the peace negotiations. Mr. Gerard came back from America with aims for the wounded, and the result of his sublime patience and that of Mr. von Bethmann-Hollweg was pictured by the Gerard celebration in Berlin.

Then came the decision for ruthless submarine war. The first time in his Ambassadorial service was Mr. Gerard surprised, and the men who entertained him were also surprised, for they dreamed of something quite other things. It is incorrect, if it has been stated, that at the time of the Gerard celebration ruthless submarine war had already been agreed on. That came later.

Subsida War Not Unexpected.

But I did know that ruthless submarine war was coming, knew of the orders given, and this is proved not only by my reports, but they are still secret, but by what I told not only many people in America, but several editors who with my full approval published articles showing this belief.

I am obliged to Reventlow for what he says of me. I admire him as a powerful writer, for whose ability I have a deep respect, and perhaps if I were a Prussian junker I would follow him as blindly and obediently as do the army and navy officers, the nobles, great and small, and the land-holding squires of Prussia, to whom his writings are seduced as the pliers of the Pied Piper to the townfolk of Hamelin.

Reventlow's charge of lying was made in the line of his duty as a Prussian junker according to the best traditions of a Prussian government and diplomacy, but it is so thoroughly discredited by the authenticity of the Kaiser's telegram so unobviously admitted.

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endeavoring to procure a peace that would permit us to live in cordial and neighborly relations with Belgium.

"Shirts-Sleeve" Diplomacy Cited.

"Mr. Gerard's memory would seem also to have served him faultily when he wrote down what was said about Russia. He dealt but superficially with Germany's eastern war aims, observing that the United States' interest in this direction was very limited and that Germany undoubtedly would have a free hand there. For Rumania and Serbia he also revealed very slender sympathy. Mr. Gerard did not obtain out of my mouth any of the statements

concerning these countries which he attributes to me.

"When diplomats undertake to exploit their official career for journalistic purposes they are very apt to be misled into putting into mouths of foreign statesmen utterances which either are the creation of an ample imagination or are based on faulty memory. Discussion of political opinions is bound to be transitory and fleeting.

"You Americans are impetuous people. You do not seem to permit even your retiring diplomats to observe the traditional silence nor have you the patience to abide the post-mortem publication of their memoirs.

Sir Edward Goschen (former British Ambassador to Germany and Austria) or Jules Cambon (former French Ambassador to Germany, the United States and Spain) probably could excel Mr. Gerard in revealing the German diplomatic history and gossip. Count von Bernstorff, former Ambassador to the United States, too, I imagine might furnish with diary of his Washington experiences.

"In Europe, however, it was seen that publication of such matters were best postponed by common consent to a later period when judgments were both calm and more mature. Mr. Gerard, however, may hold the special privilege of being able to reveal diplomatic history, as you call it, and I shall not dispute his prerogatives. But he must not give his imagination the free rein."

Gerard Replies to Doctor Hollweg.

And this was my answer published in the New York Times for September 2, 1917:

"Doctor Hollweg apparently did not have the exact copy of my articles, for if he had read them he would have seen clearly that I said the peace terms described were the German peace terms and not the opinions of the Chancellor. Doctor Hollweg said he himself was subject to the rule of the military press of Germany and could not follow his own desires.

"In the second place, Doctor Hollweg admits that the German Government intended to exact guarantees from Belgium, and makes the admission himself after the interview in which he so sharply criticized me.

"Doctor Hollweg makes nothing different from these and so it might be assumed they are the German terms, after all. I consider it a matter of great regret that the German Government put Doctor Hollweg out of office, and I feel that personally he is bitterly opposed to the ruthless submarine warfare of the German Government.

"I do not believe in back-stairs diplomacy any more than Dr. Hollweg. I believe the people of a nation are entitled to know what is going on. This German diplomacy may be all right in a monarchic or the most limited type, but it will not go at all in a modern democracy.

"As to the ethics of publishing my memoirs now, I pass over the obvious reprieve that to hear a German speak of ethics borders on the ludicrous, and especially the man who openly in the Reichstag announced that necessity knows no law and that the German troops were at that moment deliberately violating the neutrality of Belgium.

"But I believe that the old-style diplomacy in the dark caused this war. Of course, it is hard for a German official to conclude that the people have a right to be enlightened about this awful calamity. But I hope, one of the results of this war will be the end of back-stairs diplomacy. When the Germans, with the Chancellor's approval, violated the usage of all nations and times and kept me as a hostage after I had demanded my passport, I think to talk of ethics comes with a bad grace from the German side."

Ex-Chancellor's Talk of Ethics.

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Some conception of the giant range of Germany's latest war device, the mysterious cannon which is bombarding Paris from an estimated distance of 75 miles, may be gained by a glance or two at the map of Oregon.

So does the thriving Oregon city of The Dalles, almost directly east of Portland. From either point, the pinnacle of Jefferson or the City Hall of The Dalles, the big gun could plump its 299-pound shells into the Portland shopping district on a busy afternoon.

Napavine, Wash., is also strategically located for such an attack from the north, while to the west both Astoria and Tillamook are well within the radius of range. As for the military students of Oregon Agricultural College at Corvallis, to the south, did they but possess the giant gun, they might shoot either at the distant blue Pacific or a church spire in Portland, for the city of the "Aggies" is within the radius of range.

While imagining these sanguinary developments it is proper to remember that each of the points named is equally within range of Portland, and that the merry Mazamas, cavorting gleefully on the crags of Mount Jefferson, might find their picnic onerous should Portland fire a round at the big peak.

And there you are: A huge state in Oregon. On travels by train and stage, by horse and foot, up dale and down dale, to gain some point so remote from human habitation that the mountain trout know nothing whatever of the danger that lurks in a dusky miller. But the new hate device of the Hun would cough gruffly and annihilate both distance and scenery.

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