icanism can have my support.

will not be neutral if such a

with every weapon at my command.

"I dislike Wilson, I dislike his poli-

idly by and see him beaten by

mongrel American or by one profess-

THE COLONEL AND JUDGE

HUGHES.

THROUGH the 1916 campaign Colonel

A Roosevelt was careful, even with

his intimates, to say nothing that

would in any way reflect upon Judge

of the party, he preferred him over Mr. Wilson, but he was not the type

T. R. favored. More than that, in their

personal relations the Colonel felt

that Judge Hughes had not treated

him quite fairly. This was in con-

nection with the Barnes libel suit in

which the Colonel had hoped Judge

Occasionally during the campaign

scornful reference to the "bearded

lady" advised whoever of the inner circle was addressed that it was Mr.

Hughes who was in the Colonel's

mind Such occasions were rare, and

with all his heart and soul prayed for

republican success, was piqued by the

and the fallure of the candidate to

take a definite position on Germany

He was, moreover, thoroughly famil-

ar with the innermost details of the

thought, than the candidate himself.

These details came to him from many

and widely scattered sources. For

headquarters but that was cold

the colonel as the bull pup he some-

"I am afraid," said the Colonel,

ack of "pep" in the Hughes canvass

Hughes would be one of his most im-

Hughes. Hughes was the candidate

ing mongrel principles."



(Copyright, 1920, John J. Leary.) CLASHES WITH THE KAISER.

T is not generally known that on at least three occasions—twice before the great war and once since—Colonel Roosevelt and the kaiser clashed. The Venezuela incident is more or less widely known, largely through Mr. Thaver's excellent book. But the clash of wills at the time of Colonel Roosevelt's visit to Berlin, and his refusal to take the kalser's part in 1914, are not at all well known.

The colonel told of the clash in Berlin en route for Boston one Sunday in 1916.

"It is," said he, "not generally known that I had a little friction with the kaiser when I visited Ger-

"When I reached Berlin I found an invitation for 'Mr. Roosevelt' to be the kaiser's guest at Potsdam. Mrs. Roosevelt was traveling with me. asked at the embassy what the invitation meant-if it included her. When I found it did not, I declined, and said I was stopping at the em-

"The invitation was repeated. My answer was that Mrs. Roosevelt and I were to be the guests of the em-bassy. I was traveling as any American gentleman might travel with his wife and I did not propose to go any place where she would not be welcomed or could not go. The next day 'Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt' were invited. By maintaining my point I

"While I was his guest, Wilhelm, a delightful host, was very frank in telling what he thought of other Americans who had visited him-Andrew Carnegie and others. Later he sent me photographs he had taken of some of them with bits of his opinions of them written on the backs. They were not opinions calculated to please the subjects of the pictures. "I suppose he was advised that he

should not have done this, for the return of the photographs was requested. I said. 'Oh, no, his majesty the kaiser gave the photographs to me and I propose to retain them.' I suppose I was the one man in the empire at the time who could refuse to obey his wishes.

"Anyway, I kept the photographs. They have been mounted on glass so one can read the inscriptions.

I clashed again with the kalser directly the war broke out," the colo-

"Then I was called upon by a young member of the German embassy staff in Washington-a count-I cannot recall his name now.

am instructed by his majesty the kaiser,' said he, 'to present his compliments to Colonel Roosevelt, to say to him that he has very pleasant 1915, Colonel Roosevelt threatened, say to him that he has very pleasant recollections of his visit to Berlin and Potsdam and to say that he hopes Colonel Roosevelt will appreciate Germany's position and can be relied upon to see the justice of it."

'You will please present my compliments to his majesty the kaiser, I answered; 'say to him that I, too, have very pleasant recollections of my stay in Berlin and Potsdam, and his many courtesies to me, his guest, but that I also have a very lively collection of courtesies extended to me by his majesty the king of Belgium, whose guest I also was."

"He clicked his heels together, caluted and left. I have not heard

then ambassador, told him so; so reported to the foreign office. I insisted on our rights, and finally told the ambassador that Admiral Dewey and his ships would be ordered to sail for Venezuelan waters within 24 hours if in the meantime I did not receive definite assurances that Germany had abandoned its intentions. Dewey was then in West Indian waters.

was not bluffing and his cable reversing himself caused a panic in the German foreign office. Soon after this he was recalled in disgrace. He was in so bad only one German official was at the ship to see him off. On his re- that Mrs. Harold Vivian, wife of a was a desire of these men-all turn to Germany he dropped out of political writer on the New York Americans, men who have done sight completely.

The one man who sized me right and who put Berlin on the right track was Carl Buenz, then consul-general in New York. He lived out Long Island way and had visited me at Sagamore Hill. He was shrewd enough to size up the situation acthat I was not bluffing.

"Lately, you will recall, Buenz has been indicted for plotting to put the Colonel's rule about attending months past, ever since the war in bombs on English ships-some of those German war plots.

"Dewey at that time had instructions to be ready to move on a mo-

ment's notice." Subsequent to this conversation Henry A. Wise-Wood, noting that the accuracy of some of Colonel Roosevelt's published utterances on the Venezula matter had been challenged. wrote to Admiral Dewey. Dewey's reply, published at the time, corroborated fully all that the Colonel had

"That, gentlemen," said the Colo mel. calling attention to the Dewey letters, "is another of those instances where proof of things you know to be so comes to you when you need from unexpected quarters. It is passing strange how, somehow or

said about holding his ships in readi-

Once, later, Colonel Roosevelt mentioned Carl Buenz. Buenz, who was out on bail on the plot charges, was old and, as it proved, hopelessly ill. He wished permission to return to Germany in the hope that he might there get relief, or, failing that, die in his old home. To get this permission he asked the Colonel's assist-

"I surely shall do all that I can for him," he said, "but I fear that all sort now. won't be much. He is entitled to consideration, not because he plotted, as I assume he did, but for the really as well as his own in the Venezula matter. Whatever else he may have



Thinking It Over.

am afraid he won't. and Buenz, later convicted, died in thing intelligently. But whatever the federal penitentiary at Atlanta.

THAT GARY DINNER.

in the event that certain contingencies became facts, to support President Wilson for re-election against the republican nominee.

The threat was made at a luncheon given at the Harvard club in December of that year by the late Robert J. Collier. Later, in explaining the famous Gary dinner to me. Colonel Roosevelt repeated the threat.

The Gary dinner may well be described as the mystery of the 1916 campaign, Exactly what it meant few knew then, and publicly it has

was convinced that I would maintain friends, but who now know that I litical hara-kiri. The others said I ar, right, might see the situation exactly as it is, and be in a position

"There is," said he immediately Americans must stand together-big

That the Gary dinner threw the such "old guardsmen" as Boles Pen- ism. rose and Murray Crane flying to New

curately. He told the embassy it was to sing at the big dinner Judge Gary seeing the light. That's all there was in error and warned it to beware, gave Colonel Roosevelt last night." Vivian lost interest in the grapeprivate dinners except in his own diate friends, as well as the Colonel's horror of large private dinners anywhere. It appealed to him as a story, public. What happened, whit was that Colonel Roosevelt was preparing to run for the presidency again. For some days there was day associates were concerned. considerable speculation as to what t really meant, until Robert E. Mac-Alarney, then city editor of the New

> My reception by the Colonel was characteristic. "I certainly will not give any inerview on that dinner," he declared. "Neither will I authorize any state- agreed with me before they left. ment. I will, however, tell you just what it means and what impened explain in your own way and on your own responsibility.

York Tribune, suggested I see Colo-

nel Roosevelt and end the mystery.

sume, as some have assumed, that this dinner had anything to do with asking. Do they want Roosevelt? "that there are a great many like

"All that was discussed at that want of a better term, call 'he greatvaluable service he did this country er Americanism.' If that a politics,

I hope he gets what he asks, but I can tell me what you think you want The Colonel's fears proved true, you need all the facts to write of the I must not be quoted and it must not be made to appear that I am the source of information."

"How was it," I asked, "that Judge Gary, whom I know to be interested and an advocate of, preparedness, happened to ask you to meet the people who were at that dinner?"

"It is not my practice," said he, "to cross-examine those who invite me and arouse the American people, to it upon him, is ignored. to dine as to their motives for so urge them and ultimately, through "What these men hate is his cowwas a feeling of 'I told you so.'

always been friendly to me. I do not know that he voted for me in 1912, every American should work to sebut I would not be surprised to learn cure the peace and prosperity of the With the verdict of the Chicago conknow that he voted for me in 1912, but I would not be surprised to learn The facts are that it was but an Roosevelt men 18 months ago. They was rocking the boat.

"Now they say that in preaching preparedness, I was right and am right. And I think that Mr. Gary after dinner, "no politics in this. We had in a way a sort of desire to say have come to a situation where all to his friends in important business "'Come and have a look at this business men and little business men, fellow you thought so terrible; no farmer and banker, artisan and long- tice that he does not shoot at the shoreman. I have not gone to the musicians; that he eats in a normal big business men-they have come way and prefers his food cooked; that when he talks he talks sanely as you and I talk, and talks nothing politicians into a flutter and sent but the soundest kind of American-

"That is only a guess, however. York to find out what it was all any event it could not have been the about, was entirely due to the fact big motive. Behind it all, I believe, World, had an engagement to attend things and are doing big things, men a concert on the night of the dinner. who have a stake in the country-The next morning Vivian, in the to take counsel' together on the big course of breakfast small talk, asked problem of national preparedness. how she enjoyed the entertainment. Under the circumstances, was it not "I did not go." said she. "You see natural that I should be asked to at--" (naming the young woman with | tend and submit my views? I was whom she was to have gone) "had glad to go, glad that these men were

"What did I tell them? Exactly fruit then and there. He knew of what I have been telling others for Europe began, and what I propose home or in the homes of his imme- to tell everybody who will listen to

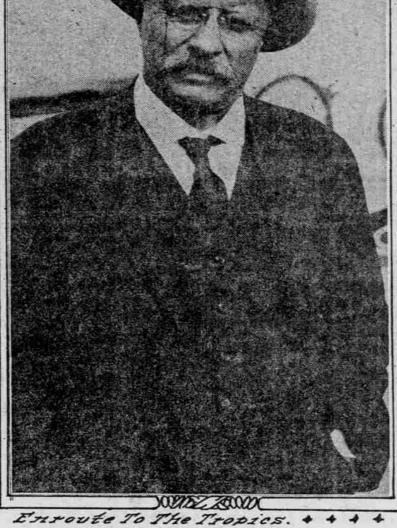
me-the need of preparation. "But with all of this talk about the Gary dinner why is the luncheon Hughes campaign, more so, some folks and the next day the fact that there Bobby Collier gave at Harvard club had been such a dinner, together with overlooked? There were politics there the names of the guests, was made in plenty. Mr. Collier, I suspect, also had something of the 'I told you so' said at the dinner, was not. In con- idea in his head when he planned the sequence, political editors and the luncheon, for in the movement for public jumped at the conclusion preparedness he was in much the toward the candidate. The more seasame position as Judge Gary-with me, but lonesome so far as his every-

> "All but one or two of the men he had at the luncheon were anti-Roosevelt men three years ago. They were anti-Roosevelt men when I began tell the Colonel whenever they saw elected. I can do nothing but support talking preparedness 18 months ago. Then they said, as Judge Gary's to meet him whenever possible-the friends had said, 'Roosevelt is rocking the boat.' Three-fourths of them most of the party were writers-

"We did talk politics there-the straightest kind of politics. The po- ter, the man addressed; "I desire to there, and then, if you wish you can litical discussion was started by save a fragment of my self-respect." Frank Simonds referring to an edi-"It is absolutely nonsensial to as- ing attention to the way party lead- on the subject of Hughes." ers were dodging the real issue and

I am not thinking of anything of that in 1916. That editorial was strong sonslity at best. Close contact with he does not watch out. As matters "In the discussion that followed, I tive, for he is a very selfish, very dinner was what you night, for said that, much as I dislike Mr. Wil- self-centered man. Those boys would son and despise his policies, in the like to be his frinds, but he won't event of the republicans nominating let them and his namby-pamby policy then we talked politics.

"Now, let us sit down and discuss hyphenated promises, I would supany man on a hyphen platform or on or lack of real policy disgusts them. he knows nothing of the great things "They have, as the boys would themdone, this should not be forgotten, this thing. When I am through you port President Wilson for re-election selves say, taken his measure,



candidate is named or such platform to do. You can have all the facts; adopted. There is no such thing as of the boys on that train and at is nominated at a time when we you need all the facts to write of the being neutral between right and Bridgehampton (Hughes' summer needed an advocate—not a judge, wrong. Neutral! I do not care who home) are among the shrewdest you write, it must be understood that the man is or who his friends are or judges of politics in this country. They see that as clearly as I do. It is the who comes to me in his behalf, if such see—they must see—mary things on only thing for me to do because it is a candidate is named, I will fight him a trip any candidate will overlook. the right thing to do." however shrewd he is. They know "But at neither place did I say any- the psychology of crowds and the thing to advance either my own can- newspapers and are valuable advisers didacy or that of any other man. I in a campaign. Does Mr. Hughes take

greater Americanism and national his chances. If he had consulted these "Gary, as you probably know, has preparedness. If you say that I am men and taken their advice he would

never been authoritatively explained.

The facts are that it was but an quarreled. He accepted it loyally blessed minute, and not to be any on his words and on me when Barnes on his words and on me when Barnes "He clicked his need together the control of his guests that highly and don't overlook the fact that and whole - heartedly, though, it and from him or the kaiser since.

"I imagine the kaiser also had recollections of the Venozuela matter. He lections of the Venozuela matter. He lections of the Venozuela matter was bluffing that I was bluffing ness men, who have not been my of his guests that night were antispended that it was but an incident in the Colonel's campaign of his guests that night were antispended that and whole - heartedly, though, it and whole - heartedly, though, injure the candidate's chances. His cies almost to the point of hate, but fear was that Hughes would not make am too good an American to stand the right sort of a campaign.

"Hughes' danger," he then said, "Is that he will not carry the fight to Wilson."

The declaration that Hughes would have to fight to win was made im mediately after the convention and before the public at large knew what position he would take in the canvass. He was not at all confident of the result, not wholly satisfied with Hughes as a candidate, but

never hesitated about suporting him. When he made this declaration he had prepared his letter declining the progressive nomination and awaiting the meeting of the progressive national committee in Chicago before making public his position. Judge Hughes knew this; so did the leaders of the republican and what was left of the progressive

His own programme was definite It provided for such speeches for Hughes as might be called for, him.

"The truth is," said he, "and a fel developed only when the colonel, who low does not like to speak as I am going to, I have done my share. Let while.

cago I hope to be let alone. The committee will agree with me-there will be nothing more for me to say. I have said it all in my letter. Mr Hughes has seen it and is satisfied. There is nothing more for me to do example, there was hardly a reporter or say.

"Don't you see that as things are on the Hughes train or at the national working out I took the only course open? If Burton or Harding had been named I would have to support the soned of them were of the T. R. "old nominee against Wilson. guard," as members of the "Roosevelt Hughes at his very possible worst, newspaper cabinet," and as loyal to and he cannot do worse than Wilson has done or is doing. It is impossible times referred to as a standard of Any change is bound to be a good one loyalty. These did not hesitate to Hughes will develop all right if he is him-and they made it their business him.

"Hughes won't come out here inside news of the trips.
"Feeling as you do," he remarked don't believe he will. What will probably happen is this: I will meet Mr. to one of these, "you are going to find Hughes in town at dinner; speeches t difficult to vote for Mr. Hughes." will come later—if they come at all. "Hughes, hell," replied William Hos-Whatever I do depends on Mr. Hughes

"I cannot make his fight for him after Hoster had gone, I remarked do his own battling, make his own carry the fight to Wilson. If he does asking. Do they want Roosevelt? "that there are a great many like meaning, as you know, for president in 1916. That editorial was strong meat. It appealed to me immensely, "In the discussion that followed I take him more attractive personality at best. Close contact with him does not make him more attractive personality at best. Close contact with him does not watch out. As matters stand and if the election were held the declared the Wilson thou it was not until November 1 dead 30 or more years, was resurrect-beaten. Wilson will do it with him if he does not watch out. As matters stand and if the election were held the was not until November 1 dead 30 or more years, was resurrect-beaten. Wilson will do it with him if he does not watch out. As matters stand and if the election were held the was not until November 1 dead 30 or more years, was resurrect-beaten. Wilson will do it with him if he does not watch out. As matters stand and if the election were held the was not until November 1 dead 30 or more years, was resurrect-beaten. Wilson will do it with him if he does not watch out. As matters stand and if the election were held the was started on an admitted to when he was started on an admitted to be the part of the was not until November 1 dead 30 or more years, was resurrect-beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is beaten. Wilson to get the jump on him he is tomorrow. Hughes is beaten.

"Here is the cruelty of this nomibeen out of touch with real things the progressive party movement sto for and did; he is out of touch with "Hugnes has not made Wilson

"You know as well as I do that some with national and world politics. He

"I cannot but support Hughes, You A few days later, June 28, to be A few days later, June 28, to be ous to the effect that "we are on the exact, Colonel, Roosevelt motored into New York to dine with Mr. Hughes—

New York to dine with Mr. Hughesjust as the colonel had said some days am not interested in candidates. I am interested in principles. My sole interest at these two affairs was to try advice, when they manage to force told me, Mr. Hughes doing most of the talking.

"It was," he told me the next day. doing. But if I were to guess, I them, compel congress to take the would say that one actuating motive proper attitude on the question of however right, that might jeopardize piedged him my support to the limit I lost supporting Mr. Hughes." "not my night to talk. When I had "have restored to me what self-respect there was little for me to say. As I have said to you and to others, I cannot make his fight or plan it.

"I did tell him, though, that he'd have to make an aggressive fight of him. it, to keep Wilson on the jump every

"Will he do it, colonel?" I asked. "I don't know," he replied, "A term on the beach takes the punch out of many men; it slows them up. It may be that way with Hughes; I ment, Mr. Hughes complained that

At this talk he reiterated a hope, expressed immediately after Mr. Hughes was nominated, that the newspapers allow him to drop out of the limelight.

"There won't be a thing doing out here," he said ("here" being Sagamore Hill). "You see I have simply got to stay out of the limelight. These what they are talking about. "It would lick Hughes sure.

"It could not help but make him a tall of the Roosevelt kite, It would not be fair to him or to me. You see two or three prepared addresses.

"Furthermore, unless you boys (the Hughes sure as shooting-make no mistake about that." In the Hughes campaign Colonel

Roosevelt made one trip as far west as the Rockies, the original programme of going through California being amended. This change in the Crocker and other "old guardsmen" who were opposed to him.

where on his arrival the colonel found a messenger awaiting to ask that he confine future addresses to the tariff and Mexico and let Germany and preand Mexico and let Germany and preparedness alone. At first the colonel
agreed to this. Then he wired the
national committee canceling all his
engagements east of Denver. This
the committee apparently dared not
the committee do, for he was wired to proceed as he idea of the way a candidate should go, wished.

wished.

From this trip the colonel returned rather depressed and worried as to the result. It was to have been his only trip, but in the last week of the campaign the republican national committee called on him to go to Ohic. There had been many calls for him from that quarter early in the conditional resolution. torial in the New York Tribune call- that he seemed "to feel rather keenly plans. His danger is that he will not There had been many calls for him from that quarter early in the con- litical showman was resorted to. Even that he is safe. But if he allows test, but it was not until November 1

receding, but he doubted if it was re-

ceding fast enough.
"I doubt it," he said. "I have n fears for New York, but I am afraid of the west, If Hughes would only

fight. As matters are, the people do not know where Hughes does standthey look upon him as another Wilson when they do not look upon him

as a man without a policy. "It is his own fault. I tell you he would have won even German votes

The campaign has lacked definite direction. It has been like Mr. Hughes' speeches—it has lacked the punch. It is a fact that a lot of the aged reactionaries who have had so much to say at headquarters really think this fight could have been won on the tariff."

by preaching straight Americanism.

Coming back east after speaking in Toledo and Cleveland, he returned to the subject, declaring that Ohio was gone, that even "poor Herrick is beaten with the rest-a victim of the cowardice of others." "Herrick" was Myron T. Herrick,

days of the war, and a prime favorite of the colonel; he was the candidate for the United States senate. "The 'Old Guard' here is not awake

our ambassador to France in the early

yet," said he; "they have simply thrown the state away. "I have been asked tonight why I did not come out earlier in the cam-paign when they asked for me instead of going into the sagebrush. I told them I went where I was sent: that they should ask that question of the

national committee." Sometime after the campaign was ended, a visitor at Sagamore Hill re-marked: "Anyway, we haven't Hughes to worry about."

"Exactly," said the colonel; "we did not elect Hughes and we are not re-sponsible for Mr. Wilson.

"Hughes would have been another Wilson in many respects, only he would have surrounded himself with men of a higher grade than Mr. Wilson has about him. He could not well get men infefior to those about Mr. Wilson. But he would have considered his election an act of God, and, in the Wilson way, been careless or contemptuous of the opinions of

Mr. Hughes came up for discussion again at luncheon at Sagamore Hill just before Christmas of that year, The colonel was, as usual, to play Santa Claus at the Cove school, and the "newspaper cabinet" was down for the occasion. In the luncheon party, in addition to Colonel and Mrs. Roosevelt, were N. A. Jennings, Mrs. Jennings, William Hoster, Rodney Bean, S. L. Bate, the then resident correspondent at Oyster Bay, and my-self. As it was the first time since election that so many members of the "cabinet" had met with the colonel, there was much discussion of that event, but more of the statement of Secretary Lansing a few days previtary's explanation that he did not exactly mean what he seemed to say, the whole matter complicated by rumors of "leaks" to Wall Street and bad breaks in the market.

"The antics of the last few days," said the colonel in this discussion

Months later Colonel Roosevelt told something of his relations with Judge Hughes prior to 1916 that partly explained the small opinion he held of

Hughes," said he, "went plumb back the direct primary fight was Later, when I needed him, he denied all knowledge of it.

"It came about in this way: In his fight as governor for good governdon't know. But I do know that he must fight to win."

Murphy and Barnes were working tothere was evidence of a definite agreement and the two machines were working as one, not only in this, but in other matters affecting the public interest. "When the Barnes suit came up. I

wanted him as a witness. He declared that he did not recall the conversation and that he had no recollection fools who want me to jump into the that such a state of affairs had exmiddle of the campaign do not know isted. Even when he was shown a printed statement coming from him, he had no recollection of the matter. That is the way Mr. Hughes stands up. "It was his idea in this campaign

that. The most I can do is to make from all reference to the war in Europe or preparation for our inevitable part in it. He wanted to make his reporters) keep me to the rear, allow fight on war with Mexico, as though me to go to the rear, you'll beat people could be interested in that. The real subject he dodged whenever he could. More than that, he tried to make me dodge it. "To do this Garfield was sent to

my speeches, especially in Chicago, I omit preparedness and national de itinerary in all probability cost Mr. fense. It was feared that I would Hughes the election. Made by the alienate the women voters. I agreed national committee, the colonel's in- to do so, but after sleeping on the timates believed the change was due matter, decided it was not the thing to a desire that nothing be done for me to do. So I wired national which might help Hiram Johnson in headquarters canceling all of my enhis campaign for the senate, or of- gagements. The answer to this was fend Harrison Gray Otis, W. W. advice to proceed as I had been, talking what was in me. "Results in Chicago proved that was

Even then, the trip came danger the correct course. The honest course ously close to ending at Denver, always is. At the stockyards, I had a most wonderful meeting and the women were the most enthusiastic of the lot. The idea of American manhood, willing and insistent on de-fending its women and children even to the point of going to war to avenge

the old-fashioned torchlight parade. "How's the meeting going?" asked, sotto voce.

"It's cold, freezing cold, colonel," I swered. "You'll need your over-

The colonel grinned.
"Hughes," he "replied, "must have brought his ice with him."