

BRYAN'S PART IN BALTIMORE CONVENTION SUPERBLY PLAYED

Commoner's Tremendous Influence, Swung to Wilson at Opportune Moment, Assures Nomination of New Jersey Man—Progressive Element of Democratic Party, After Long and Stubborn Fight, Triumphs.

BY JOSEPH P. TUMULTY.

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CHAPTER XVI (Continued).

THE message of congratulation to Champ Clark was prepared and ready to be put on the wire for transmission to him when the Baltimore convention assembled again on Saturday, June 29, 1912. I had argued with the governor that, despite what McComb had said to him over the phone on the previous day, I felt that there was still a great deal of latent strength in the Wilson forces in the convention, which was ready to jump into action as soon as it appeared that Champ Clark's case was hopeless.

The first ballot Saturday gave weight to my view, for upon that ballot Wilson gained 15 or 20 votes, which injected new hope into our forces in the convention. From that time on Wilson steadily moved forward, and then came Bryan's resolution opposing any candidate who received the support of the "privilege-hunting" class, and attempting the expulsion of a certain eastern group from the convention. Pandemonium reigned in the convention hall, but the vote upon the resolutions themselves showed the temper of the delegates. This made the Clark nomination hopeless. Bryan's role as an exponent of outraged public opinion and as a master of great conventions was superbly played. When he finally threw his tremendous influence to Wilson the struggle was over. Indiana jumped to Wilson; then Illinois; and the fight was won. Wilson received the necessary two-thirds vote and was proclaimed the candidate.

The progressive element of the democratic party had triumphed after a long, stubborn fight by what at first was a minority in the convention for enlightened progressivism, with Woodrow Wilson as the standard-bearer. To those, like myself, far away from the convention there was the sense of a great issue at stake at Baltimore. One old gentleman who visited Sea Girt after the convention compared the stand of the liberals in the convention to the handful at Thermopylae; others compared their heroic determination to the struggle of Garibaldi and his troops. To the outside world it was plain that a great battle for the right was being waged at Baltimore, under the inspiration of a new leadership.

FIGHT FOR PRINCIPLE SEEN.

At times it appeared that the raw Wilson recruits would have to surrender; that they could not withstand the smashing blows delivered by the trained army which the conservatives had mobilized. But they stood firm, for there was in the ranks of the liberal group in the Baltimore convention an unconquerable spirit, this is that of the crusaders, and a leadership of ardent men who were convinced that they were fighting not merely for a man but for the principle which this man symbolized. Among these were men like W. G. McAdoo of New York, A. Mitchell Palmer and Vance McCormick of Pennsylvania, Senator "Bull" Hughes of New Jersey and Angus McLean of South Carolina.

Although the Wilson forces were largely made up of "new" men, some of whom had never before been actively interested in politics, comparatively young men like McAdoo, Palmer, McCormick and McLean, and old men like Judge Westcott of New Jersey, yet they were drawn to the light that had dawned in New Jersey and were eager and anxious to have that light of inspired leadership given to the nation. Judge Westcott of Camden, N. J., fired the convention with his eloquence and brought showers of applause when he quoted at length from the speech Mr. Wilson had made when president of Princeton and for which he was lauded, lampooned and derided by the Princeton opposition:

Men are known by what they say and do. Men are known by those who hate them and those who oppose them. Many years ago the great executive of New Jersey said, "No man is great who thinks himself so, and no man is good who does not strive to secure the happiness and comfort of others." This is the secret of his life. This is the last analysis, the explanation of his greatness. It is the effort to retain high scholarship and simple democracy in Princeton university. The great voice of a standard-bearer does not come from seats of learning; it comes from the halls and the woods, and the farms and factories and the mills, rolling on and gaining volume until it comes to us from the homes of common men. Do these murmurings echo in the corridors of our universities? I have heard them. I have heard them in the spirit that moves America. I have seen in the state of New Jersey. Here is the very seat of the silent revolution now solidifying sentiment and purpose in our common country.

Men, overwhelmed with the emotion of the great hour and the vindication of the bold liberal, Woodrow Wilson, bowed their heads and sobbed aloud. The "amateurs" of that convention had met the onslaughts of the "old guard" and had won, and thus was brought about, through their efforts, their courage, and their devotion, the dawn of a new day in the politics of the nation.

CHAPTER XVII.

Facing a Solemn Responsibility.

Shortly after the democratic national convention I gave a dinner at the newspaper men's cottage at Sea Girt, to which I invited the democratic candidate and the newspaper men in order that they might be given a chance to meet him in the most intimate way and obtain from him what was pleased to call the "inside" of his mind. Upon the conclusion of the dinner the democratic candidate opened his heart in a little talk of the most intimate and interesting character. It not only contained his views of the presidency, but also a frank discussion of the great problems that would confront the next administration.

In this little talk he discussed Theodore Roosevelt in an intimate way. In referring to Mr. Roosevelt, he said that he had done a great

service in rousing the country from its lethargy, and in that work he had rendered admirable and lasting service, but beyond that he had failed, for he had not, during his administration, attacked two of the major problems—the tariff and the currency—which he, Wilson, considered to be the heart and center of the whole movement for lasting and permanent reform in America. Discussing Mr. Roosevelt, he said:

"He promised too often the millennium. No public man has a right to go so far afield. You have no right to promise heaven unless you can bring us to it, for, in making promises, you create too much expectation and your failure brings with it only disappointment and sometimes despair. I do not want to promise heaven unless I can bring you to it. I can only see a little distance up the road. I cannot tell you what is around the corner. The successful leader ought not to keep too far in advance of the mass he is seeking to lead for he will soon lose contact with them. No unusual expectation ought to be created by him."

Task Forcible One.

"When messages are brought to me by my friends of what is expected of the next president, I am sometimes terrified at the task that would wait me in case I should be elected. For instance, my daughter, who is engaged in social welfare work in Philadelphia, told me of a visit she paid a humble home in that city, where the head of a large family told her that her husband was going to vote for me because it would mean cheaper bread. My God, gentlemen, just think of the responsibility an expectation of that kind creates! I can't reduce the price of bread. I can only strive in the few years I shall have in office to remove the noxious growths that have been planted in our soil and try to clear the way for the new adjustment which is necessary. That adjustment cannot be brought about suddenly. We cannot arbitrarily turn right about face and pull one policy up by the roots and cast it aside, while we plant another in virgin soil.

"A great industrial system has been built up in this country under the fosterage of the government, behind a wall of unproductive taxes. Changes must be brought about, first here, then there, and then there again. We must move from step to step with as much prudence as resolution. In other words, we are called upon to perform a delicate operation and in performing a delicate operation it is necessary for the surgeon who uses the knife to know where the foundation of vitality is, so that in cutting out the excrescence he shall not interfere with the vital issues.

"And while we do so we must create by absolute fairness and openmindedness the atmosphere of mutual concession. There are no old scores to be paid off; there are no resentments to be satisfied; there is no revolution to be attempted. Men of every interest must be drawn into conference as to what is behooves us to do, and what it is possible for us to do. No one should be excluded from the conference except those who will not come in upon terms of equality and the common interest. We deal with great and delicate matters. We should deal with them with pure and elevated purposes, without party, without excitement, without undue haste. Like men dealing with the sacred fortunes of a great country, and not like those who play for political advantage, or seek to reverse any policy in their own behalf."

CHAPTER XVIII. Mr. Tumulty's work, the chapter on William F. McCombs, appeared in The Oregonian (Sunday, October 30.)

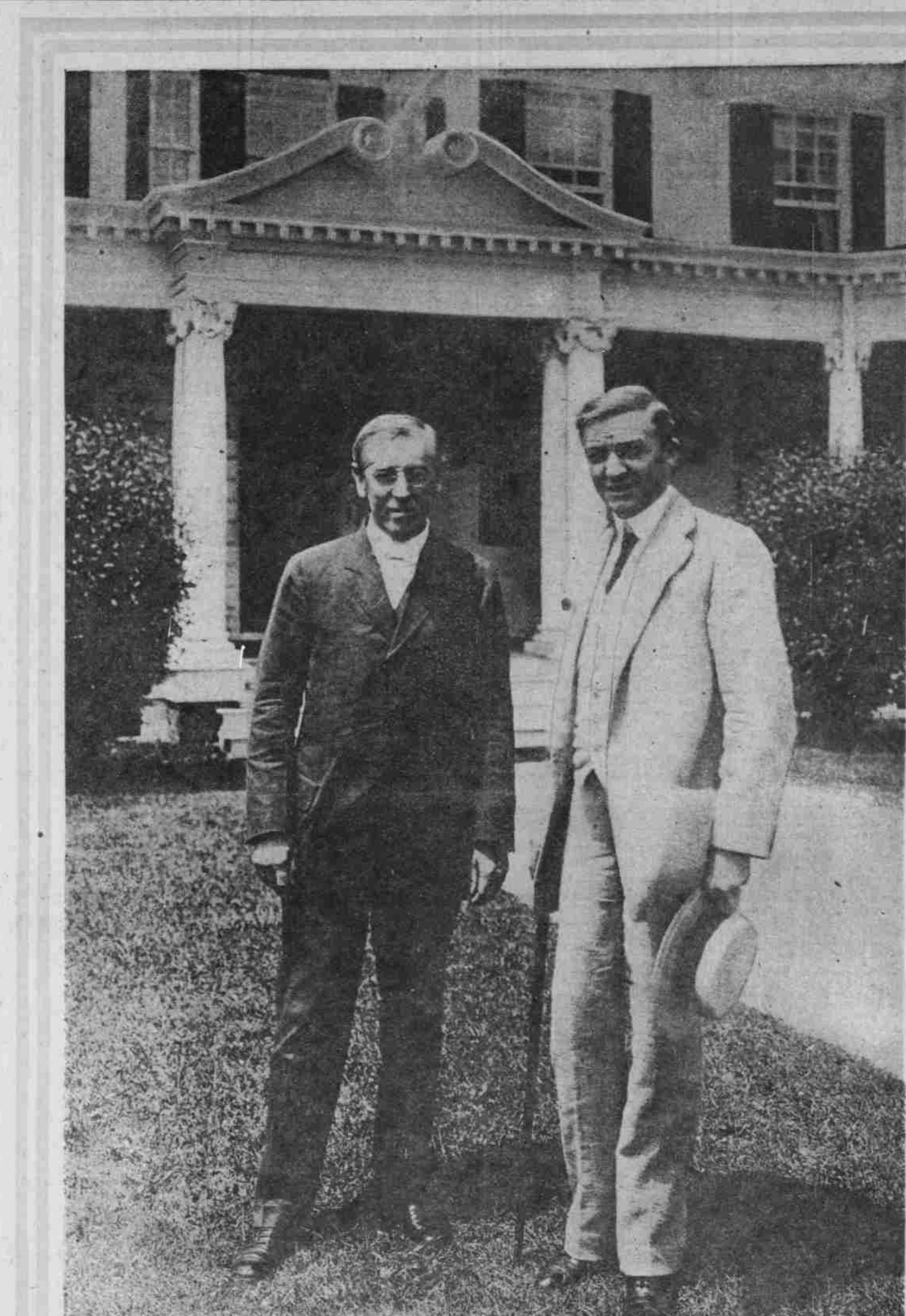
CHAPTER XIX.

Mexico.

Many grave matters inherited from the Taft regime pressed upon the new administration for immediate solution. One of the most serious was the situation in Mexico, growing out of the revolution against the Madero government, which broke out in Mexico City, February 9, 1912. The murder of ex-President Madero and Vice-President Suarez, and the usurpation of presidential authority by General Victoriano Huerta, minister of foreign affairs, and the general industrial and social chaos of Mexico made it necessary for the new administration, only a month in power, quickly to act and to declare its policy with reference to the question then pending as to the recognition of the provisional government, the head of which was Huerta. After becoming "president" of Mexico, the usurper had brazenly addressed the following telegram to President Taft: "I have overthrown the government, and, therefore, peace and order will reign," and boldly asserted a claim to recognition by the government of the United States.

This was the status of affairs in Mexico when President Wilson was inaugurated. The duly elected president of Mexico, Francisco Madero, had been overthrown by a band of conspirators headed by Huerta. Were the fruits of the hard-won fight of the Mexican masses against the arbitrary rule of the favored few to be wasted? President Wilson answered this question in his formal statement of March 12, 1913, eight days after his inauguration. With respect to Latin-American affairs, he said:

"One of the chief objects of my administration will be to cultivate the friendship and deserve the confidence of our sister republics of Central and South America, and to promote in every proper and honorable way the interests which are common to the peoples of the two continents. I earnestly desire the most cordial understanding and co-operation between the peoples and leaders of America, and therefore, deem it my duty to make this brief statement.



WOODROW WILSON AND WILLIAM F. MCCOMBS.

Woodrow Wilson and William F. McCombs, standing in front of the White House, after Wilson's inauguration.

President Remains Firm.

Two considerations animated the president in the formulation of his Mexican policy and compelled his adherence to it throughout his administration, namely:

The first conviction that all nations, both the weak and the powerful, have the right to control their internal affairs.

The belief, established from the history of the world, that Mexico will never become a peaceful and law-abiding neighbor of the United States until she has been permitted to achieve a permanent basis of settlement of her troubles without outside interference.

Steadfastly, Woodrow Wilson refused to recognize Huerta as the provisional president of Mexico. Huerta, the bitter, implacable foe of everything progressive and humane in America, boldly defending the privileges of the old oligarchy group which he represented, openly defied the authority of the United States and sneered at the much ridiculed policy of "watchful waiting" proclaimed by the new administration.

United States congress and throughout the country, many of whom, urged by the oil interests, in their mad delirium, cried out for a blood and iron policy toward Mexico. Resisting the American interests in Mexico was a part of the president's task. Those who cried loudest for intervention were they who had land, mineral and industrial investments in Mexico.

"Vigorous Policy" Demanded.

The "vigorous American policy" which they demanded was a policy for personal enrichment. It was with this phase of the matter in mind that the president said, "I have to pause and remind myself that I am president of the United States and not of a small group of Americans with vested interests in Mexico."

But the new president, having mapped out the course he was to follow, a course fraught with a great deal of danger to his administration, seeking to bring about the moral isolation of Huerta himself, calmly moved on, apparently unmindful of the jeers and ridicule of his critics in America and elsewhere. "I am willing," he said, "no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play the verdict of mankind. Personally, it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the 7th of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. No difference does that make?"

—but my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great national convention."

What was the president seeking to do in proclaiming his policy of "watchful waiting"? He was merely seeking to establish in Pan-American affairs the principle that no president of a South American republic who came to power by usurpation and assassination should receive, while he was president, the recognition of the United States. This doctrine was not only good statesmanship, but it was likewise sound in morals.

It was not only disheartening to find bitter criticism of this policy from the outside, but it was depressing to find the enemies of watchful waiting "boring from within" through his own cabinet officers. Lindsey Garrison, his own secretary of war, had no sympathy for this idealistic policy. His only antidote for what was happening in Mexico was force and intervention, and he honorably urged this view upon the president, but without succeeding in bringing about the consummation so dear to his heart.

But the president stood like adamant in his resolve that the people of Mexico should not be punished for the misadventures of their usurping president, and steadily, against great odds, he moved forward to vindicate his policy, unmindful of the jeers and criticisms of his enemies. The heart of that policy he eloquently exposed when he said:

"I am more interested in the fortunes of oppressed men, pitiful women

and children, than in any property rights whatever. The people of Mexico are striving for the rights that are fundamental to life and happiness—15,000,000 oppressed men, overburdened women and pitiful children in virtual bondage in their own homes of fertile lands and inexhaustible treasures. Some of the leaders of the revolution may often have been mistaken and violent and selfish, but the revolution itself was inevitable and is right. The unrepentant Huerta betrayed the very comrades he served, traitorously overthrew the government of which he was a trusted part, and he has driven his people to rebellion with which he has pretended to sympathize. The men who overcame him and drove him out represent at least the fierce passion of reconstruction which lies at the very heart of liberty; and so long as they represent liberty imperfectly, such a struggle for deliverance, I am ready to serve their ends when I can. So long as the power of recognition rests with me the government of the United States will refuse to extend the hand of welcome to anyone who obtains power in a state republic by treachery and violence."

President's Policy Wins.

But the president's policy of watchful waiting did win. The days of the Huerta regime slowly wended their uneasy way along. Huerta suspended the Mexican constitution and, having imprisoned half of the Mexican congress, proceeded to administer the government as an arbitrary ruler. Slowly but surely he began to feel the mighty pressure of the unfriendly government of the United States upon him. Still defiant, he sought to unite behind him the Mexican people, hoping to provoke them to military action against the United States. To hold his power he was willing to run the risk of making his own country

a bloody shambles, but President Wilson had the measure of the tyrant Huerta from the beginning, and soon his efforts to isolate him began to bear fruit. Even now his bitter critics gave a listening ear to the oft-repeated statement of the American president, as if it contained the germ of a prophecy:

"The steady pressure of moral force will before many days break the barriers of pride and prejudice down, and we shall triumph as Mexico's friends sooner than we could triumph as her enemies—and how much more handsomely and with how much higher and finer satisfactions of conscience and of honor!"

Little by little the usurper was being isolated. By moral pressure every day his power and prestige were perceptibly crumbling. His collapse was not far away when the president declared: "We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting." The campaign of Woodrow Wilson to force Huerta finally triumphed. On July 15 Huerta resigned and departed from Mexico. Wilson's humanity and broad statesmanship had triumphed over the system of cruel oppression for which the "unrepentant Huerta" had stood.

During the Huerta controversy a

thin thread of hope, which had been

the Mexican affair and which culminated

in the new famous Tampico incident.

Americans Are Arrested.

On April 9, 1914, a paymaster of the United States steamship Dolphin landed at the turbid bridge at Tampico with a whaleboat and boat's crew to obtain supplies needed aboard the Dolphin. While loading these supplies the paymaster and his men were arrested by an officer and squad of the army of General Huerta. Neither the paymaster nor any of the boat's crew were armed. The boat flew the United States flag both at the bow and stern. Two of the men were in the boat when arrested and hence were taken from United States "soil." Admiral Mayo, commanding the American squadron then off Tampico, immediately demanded the release of the sailors. Release was ordered after the paymaster and the sailors had been detained about an hour. Not only did Admiral Mayo demand a release of the sailors, but insisted on a formal apology by the Huerta government, consisting of a 21-gun salute to the flag.

During the critical days following the refusal of Huerta to accede to Admiral Mayo's request the state department was notified that there would arrive at Vera Cruz the German steamship Ypiranga about to deliver to Huerta 15,000,000 rounds of ammunition and 500 rapid-fire guns.

CHAPTER XX.

About 2:30 o'clock in the morning of April 21, 1914, the telephone operator at the White House called me at my home, and rousing me from bed informed me that the secretary of state, Mr. Bryan, desired to speak to me at once upon a very urgent and serious matter. I went to the telephone and was informed by Mr. Bryan that he had just received a wireless from Admiral Mayo informing him that the German steamship Ypiranga, carrying munitions, would arrive at Vera Cruz that morning about 10 o'clock, and that he thought the president ought to be notified and that, in his opinion, drastic measures should at once be taken to prevent the delivery of these munitions to the customs house at Vera Cruz.

While Mr. Bryan and I were talking, Mr. Daniels, the secretary of the navy, got on the wire and confirmed all that Mr. Bryan had just told me. Soon the president was on the phone and, in a voice indicating that he had just been aroused from his sleep, carried on the following conversation with Messrs. Bryan, Daniels and myself. Mr. Bryan reported to him the situation at Vera Cruz and informed him of the receipt of Admiral Mayo's dispatch in these words:

"Mr. President, I am sorry to inform you that the Ypiranga is en route to Vera Cruz. I have just received a dispatch from Admiral Mayo that a German ship will arrive at Vera Cruz this morning at 10 o'clock, containing large supplies of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries. From many of these sources I have learned that the Ypiranga is carrying a cargo of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries. I have just received a dispatch from Admiral Mayo that a German ship will arrive at Vera Cruz this morning at 10 o'clock, containing large supplies of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries. I have just received a dispatch from Admiral Mayo that a German ship will arrive at Vera Cruz this morning at 10 o'clock, containing large supplies of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries."

Replying to Mr. Bryan, the president said:

"Of course, Mr. Bryan, you understand what drastic action in this situation might involve. I am our relations with Mexico. I have just received a dispatch from Admiral Mayo that a German ship will arrive at Vera Cruz this morning at 10 o'clock, containing large supplies of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries. I have just received a dispatch from Admiral Mayo that a German ship will arrive at Vera Cruz this morning at 10 o'clock, containing large supplies of munitions and arms for the revolutionaries."

For a second there was a slight pause, and then the president asked Mr. Daniels his opinion in regard to the matter. Mr. Daniels frankly agreed with Mr. Bryan that immediate action should be taken to prevent the German ship from landing its cargo. Without a moment's delay the president said to Mr. Daniels: "Daniels, send this message to Admiral Mayo: 'Take Vera Cruz at once.'"

Pacificists Meet Emergency.

As I sat at the phone on this fateful morning, away from the hurly-burly world outside, clad only in my pajamas, and listened to this discussion, the tensions of the whole situation and its grave possibilities of war with all its tragedy gripped me. Here were three men quietly gathered about a phone, pacifists at heart, men who had been criticized and lampooned throughout the whole country as being too proud to fight, now without hesitation of any kind agreeing on a course of action that might result in bringing two nations to war. They were pacifists no longer, but plain, simple men, bent upon discharging the duty they owed their country and its grave possibilities of war with all its tragedy gripped me. 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