

The LEA

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

CHAPTER 31

The Sunday Journal herewith presents the thirty-first installment of Ray Stannard Baker's story, "The Peace," which is an authoritative narrative of how the peace of Paris was concluded.

THE French crisis of the peace conference, so far as the four were concerned—or, better, the three (for the Italians had practically nothing to do with it)—was now past. By the end of April the official settlements having to do with the French claims were mostly completed.

But, like all compromises on really vital issues, they were satisfactory to nobody. While the French felt that they had received too little, the British and Americans feared they had been given too much. There followed, during those desperately crowded and feverish weeks, attempts both to modify the terms by processes of further discussion, or to evade or circumvent them by an extraordinary series of intrigues. Some of these episodes have thus far been kept wholly from public knowledge. They furnish an illuminating commentary upon the extent of the wild and ungovernable forces of violence and chicanery released by the war and reveal the mountainous difficulties which the Americans had constantly to meet. They are the perfect expression of the methods of the old diplomacy; for even the attempts at orderly modification of the terms, for the most part, were not dictated by a desire for a juster peace, but either to serve the political necessities of the various leaders or out of fear lest the Germans refuse to sign.

In the case of the French efforts at evasion or modification, which will be treated in this chapter, the obstinate consistency of the French, especially the extreme group, in adhering to the utmost limit of their claims, is particularly set forth, in a remarkably exemplified. The French never stopped fighting—have not stopped yet—for their full program. These efforts at evasion show how bitterly they resented the concessions which Clemenceau had accepted, to which he had been driven by the pressure of events and by President Wilson's insistence.

Consider first what has been called the "Rhine rebellion." In accepting the demilitarization and temporary occupation clauses of the compromise agreement as to the Rhine, Clemenceau had, of course, abandoned the early French demand for a special political status in the German territory west of the Rhine.

But no sooner was this settlement publicly known than there began to be strange reports of intrigues to break it down, both by politicians and military men. These became so serious that on April 23 (secret minutes Four) Lloyd George called the attention of Clemenceau to a speech of the burgo-master of Cologne intimating the possibility of the establishment of a separate republic in the Rhenish provinces and Westphalia.

THE RHINE REPUBLIC'S CONSPIRACY
This project (dropping Westphalia) continued to simmer along more or less publicly under the direction of Dr. Dorten and a band of conspirators at Wiesbaden. These were in constant touch with General Mangin, commanding the French army of occupation, who favored their project. About the middle of May, when Foch was making a tour of inspection of the armies, he was informed of this situation and approved Mangin's course. The conspiracy rapidly matured to the point of execution. General Mangin personally gave advice to the plotters, disapproving a project of April 23, but approving a project of the 18th. A proclamation was drawn up announcing the separation of German portions of the left bank and their constitution as a "provisional government and with a call for election of an assembly. The capital was declared to be Coblenz, within the American zone of occupation—thus disguising the French influence. May 24 was fixed as the day for issuing the manifesto.

Before a successful result of the coup could be assured, however, the approval of the other commanders along the Rhine—Ash and Belgian—must be obtained, so that proceedings would not be interfered with. Mangin, on the 22d, sent staff officers to interview them. At President Wilson was started on the same day by a telephone message from General Liggett, forwarded by Pershing, stating that one of Mangin's officers had asked what would be his attitude toward the establishment of a Rhine republic, and stating that 60 "deputies" were ready to enter the American zone to start the revolution. He had declined to consider the proposition at all. Wilson and Pershing both vigorously confirmed his stand and ordered the exclusion of all agitators.

Wilson wrote to Clemenceau, asking that the affair be looked into at once. Clemenceau's course. Here again arises the question of Clemenceau's connection with these military intrigues. Of course, we know he was not on good terms with the generals; that he detested his policy of compromise and he resented their interference in his conduct of affairs. Neither party took the other into its confidence. Yet could all of these tricks

be played behind his back? If he had chosen to prevent them? Did he he deliberately calculate that it was better not to know? As responsible head of the government, he was pledged to certain things. But many such enterprises were being carried on in his eyes. He never did seem to see or find out any of these intrigues until they were brought to his attention by his British colleagues. Once informed, he always took honorable and straightforward steps to undo the mischief—he could not do otherwise. But no blame can be laid on him if he came too late, as in the case of the Polish conquest of Eastern Galicia.

In the Rhine affair, Clemenceau's course was entirely correct. He at once dispatched an under secretary of state, Mr. Jenney, to make a complete investigation of the plot and recommend action to be taken. On June 1 Clemenceau forwarded this report to Wilson, together with his own letter to General Mangin, written in consequence.

NO REAL CENSURE OF MANGIN
In this letter there was no real censure of General Mangin, much less any repudiation of the project for dividing France's agreement in the peace conference to drop the idea of an independent Rhineland. Instead, the investigation of the Rhine republic's sympathy with the movement of revolt; he was only reproved for having compromised his military position, and so having really injured the cause.

Whatever the chances of the movement for independence might have been, they were abandoned by General Mangin had taken with the American commander. Much credit should here be given to the clear-headedness of the French officials, who, as to the influences back of the movement, were not aroused. It might have got under way at least. But in the face of the French officers, who could only do their best to counter-coup until some more favorable moment. Dorten was induced to counter-coup until some more favorable moment. Dorten was induced to counter-coup until some more favorable moment. Dorten was induced to counter-coup until some more favorable moment.

On June 1 the proclamations were actually posted here and there, but without serious effect. What really discredited the movement were the general demonstrations among the laboring population in the form of general strikes at Cologne on May 27 and at Coblenz on June 2. These were ended by the military authorities, but they exposed the artificial character of the demand for independence and its lack of popular support. The German government also sent in unreserved protests against the action of the French authorities. The dream of the Rhine republic faded quickly away, and a question concerning the republic: "I don't believe it is all genuine. I mean spontaneous. I would be very suspicious of it in the present circumstances."

We now come to a second group of efforts to evade the agreements arrived at. Under the arrangements of the four the French not only agreed to

leave far into Germany without such means of securing the flanks and rear—a consideration he had not previously advanced. When asked if he meant to buy the consent of the separate states to separate the region from Germany on an economic basis and attaching it to France. As early as February 14, at the renewal of the armistice, the German government had protested vehemently against the continued suspension of intercourse between Germany and the occupied territories, maintained in violation of engagements (secret minutes of the League of Nations, February 17). No real relief was secured. A convention supplementary to the treaty, which defined the relations between the occupying forces and the civil authorities, was in process of drafting, and under American and British pressure it was being framed to make the occupation interfere as little as possible with the normal life of the country. But the real purpose of the treaty was to keep Germany economically and make her permanently less powerful than France, continued breaking over these agreements.

FRENCH DESIGNS ON RUHR
The occupation of certain cities of the Ruhr district, and of the whole of this side of this program of security. It goes toward satisfying a desire which had been expressed by Clemenceau and Wilson. Clemenceau was never put forward as a condition of peace. The French could not lay their hands on the Ruhr, which was declared not even to be occupied by a regular and prolonged occupation; but they longed to squeeze this pulsating heart of German industrial life. The French had been told in February, 1919, on disarming Germany in the name of the peace of the seizure of the region was advocated as a means of preventing the Ruhr from being used as a base for a new war. Even Foch, who disbelieved in the efficacy of disarmament, decried the proposal. But, in his speech on the 6th before the Finlay Session, Foch criticized the scheme of evacuating the occupied territory, on the ground of releasing first, "the bridge-head of the Ruhr," which was the basin of the Ruhr, which was the basin of Germany's wealth, which we no longer menace, and whose seizure we renounce. Even Clemenceau shortly thereafter declared that the German treaty, on June 23, advocated as a means of crippling Germany's recovery, and really intended to create a regular and prolonged occupation; but they longed to squeeze this pulsating heart of German industrial life.

The story of another of these devices covered by President Wilson is most

significant. The draft agreement of April 29, concerning the 15-year occupation of the left bank, had contained a vaguely qualifying clause permitting reoccupation at any time if the situation should require it. Clemenceau's refusal to execute the whole or part of the conditions agreed upon by her according to the present treaty," even those which have no connection with indemnities," fell to the reparations commission. Amid the general amazement aroused by the marshals' speech, this remark was without immediate effect; and the treaty was delivered to the Germans as it stood. But when Wilson came later to examine the article (48) referred to by Foch, he found that the language had been altered so as to authorize reoccupation "in case... the reparations commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations under the present treaty." On May 5, the president pointed out in the council how far this wording diverged from the intent of the original text, which had been "that the original text was partly misleading." The misleading tendency had not only been retained, but strengthened in the direction of giving the reparations commission power to pass on all violations of the treaty. Instead of being confined to its own chapter, whereas the intent had been to make a complete withdrawal of the application apply only to financial obligations. Moreover, a real and material change had been made in substituting the reparations commission for the reparations commission.

But if the French, dissatisfied with the compromise, endeavored to evade the British and Americans, were also dissatisfied and endeavored to modify them—as will be shown in the next chapter.

Town Hall Gossip
Cleaned by the Gossiper—
"The passing strange, over the wise ones at the city hall, that the city government should have been so long in itself caught in a jam before steps were taken to rectify the situation."—The Gossiper.

Columbia Basin Project Deferred
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The Columbia basin irrigation project, which will not be interrupted by work until the middle of August, makes it certain that nothing of consequence can be done toward the project until next year. Some preliminary work and organization can be performed in the next few months, but the engineers will not attempt the main task until good weather conditions can be had next year.

Postal Rate Revision Looms
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

Lenroot Criticizes "Follow the Leader"
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The way these amendments are being voted upon is not to the credit of the Republican side, is the way Senator Lenroot puts it, referring to the game of "follow the leader" which most of his fellow Republican senators are playing as they vote, day after day, for tariff rates that go nearer the sky than ever before in the history of tariff making.

The National Capital

McNary in Charge of Agriculture

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The departure from Washington of Senator Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the senate committee on agriculture, places Senator McNary, the second in command, practically in charge of the committee. McNary is expected to return here until the warm season is over.

Postal Rate Revision Looms
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The departure from Washington of Senator Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the senate committee on agriculture, places Senator McNary, the second in command, practically in charge of the committee. McNary is expected to return here until the warm season is over.

Postal Rate Revision Looms
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture
Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The departure from Washington of Senator Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the senate committee on agriculture, places Senator McNary, the second in command, practically in charge of the committee. McNary is expected to return here until the warm season is over.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The departure from Washington of Senator Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the senate committee on agriculture, places Senator McNary, the second in command, practically in charge of the committee. McNary is expected to return here until the warm season is over.

Postal Rate Revision Looms

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—The departure from Washington of Senator Norris of Nebraska, chairman of the senate committee on agriculture, places Senator McNary, the second in command, practically in charge of the committee. McNary is expected to return here until the warm season is over.

Postal Rate Revision Looms

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

McNary in Charge of Agriculture

Washington, July 29.—(WASHINGTON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—Revision of postal rates is expected to be revived as a live issue before the next congress by the investigation, which has been ordered into the cost of transporting the various classes of mail matter. It has been several years since reliable statistics have been gathered.

The Largest Circus in the World Coming

Twice Daily 2 P.M. & 8 P.M.

Thurs., Fri., Aug. 10-11

Street Parade Thursday, 11 a. m.

400 STARS 5 RINGS STAGES

and the greatest clown rider on Earth

"POODLES" HANNEFORD

Seat sale at Sherman, Clay & Co. opens 9 a. m. Aug. 9. Prices, adults, 75c; children, 50c, including tax.

Town Hall Gossip

Cleaned by the Gossiper

"The passing strange, over the wise ones at the city hall, that the city government should have been so long in itself caught in a jam before steps were taken to rectify the situation."—The Gossiper.

Municipal Court

When it comes to dishing the dirt about city hall departments, there's one that must escape the muckraker, because it's so carefully guarded: the municipal court. It's no unrequited sight to see the shades on the Auditorium and I refer to the council chamber, where, when examining the city's financial condition, the city's exchequer is more than \$36,000 to the good because it doesn't have to pay the Auditorium contractor's claims—the supreme court has already decided there was no "moral obligation" on the part of the city of Portland. And now Hal White, manager of the Auditorium, is casting his covetous eyes toward that fifty pile of bills for the needs just about \$36,000 for much desired repairs at the Auditorium. He wants to put in a dance floor that will cost about \$10,000 or \$15,000; he needs new scenery—\$10,000; and he wants to have there are a dozen other things that are considered highly desirable to make this the very best auditorium west of Chicago. The Auditorium is in a deplorable state of disrepair. The Auditorium, twenty-eight fountains are now installed. And two sidewalk fountains are to be provided for at once, through use of the Neilsen Robinson fountain fund, now amounting to \$194,150.

The Valley of Peace

We cherish memories. We value recollections of pleasant things done for those now gone. And often, too, regrets are our portion when we think of many other things we could have done, but failed to do—little things, perhaps, that would have made the pathway brighter.

There is, however, one solemn duty that every rule of love demands shall be reverently and rightly performed. When the spirit, freed, wings its way into eternity—and the body, weary, sinks into everlasting slumber—it has earned a rest that should be cleanly, protected and respectful.

But when we abandon it to the earth—we fail in this last duty. Flowers above never can hallow such a couch. Nor should better ways cause there are two incomparably better ways of reverent ways that give to the living, peace of mind in the knowledge that their dead truly rest, tenderly protected and cared for.

Visit the Crematorium's beautiful grounds any time.

Portland Crematorium

East 14th and Bybee

Incomparably the better ways

The Valley of Peace

We cherish memories. We value recollections of pleasant things done for those now gone. And often, too, regrets are our portion when we think of many other things we could have done, but failed to do—little things, perhaps, that would have made the pathway brighter.

There is, however, one solemn duty that every rule of love demands shall be reverently and rightly performed. When the spirit, freed, wings its way into eternity—and the body, weary, sinks into everlasting slumber—it has earned a rest that should be cleanly, protected and respectful.

But when we abandon it to the earth—we fail in this last duty. Flowers above never can hallow such a couch. Nor should better ways cause there are two incomparably better ways of reverent ways that give to the living, peace of mind in the knowledge that their dead truly rest, tenderly protected and cared for.

Visit the Crematorium's beautiful grounds any time.

Portland Crematorium

East 14th and Bybee

Incomparably the better ways