liberately calculate that it was better

not to know? As responsible head of

prises must profit by the closing of his

mischief-he could not do otherwise.

ommend action to be taken. On June

NO REAL CENSURE OF MANGIN

having really injured the cause.

Mangin had taken with the American

commander. Much credit should here

But no blame could attach to him if

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

story. The Peace." which is an authoritative narraftee of how the peace of Paris was concluded. Woodgow Wilson gave Er. Baktr access to all his personal, unpublished papers, which are the only reliable and incontroversible reports of the facts, and which heretofore have never been made public. The epochal feature will be published in The Journal serially throughout the year. (Copyright, 1922, by Doubleday, Page & Co., Published by Special Arrangement with the McGura Newspaper Syndicate)

THE French crisis of the peace conference, so far as the four were

concerned-or, better, the three (for the Italians had 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 tained in violation of engage

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 Ray Stannard wild and ungovernable forces of violence and chicanery released by the war and reveal the moun-

tainous 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 | been played behind his back if he had evasion or modification, which will be chosen to prevent them? Did he detreated in this chapter, the obstinate consistency of the French, especially the extreme group, in adhering to the the government, he was pledged to atmost limit of their claims, as first certain things. But many such enterset forth, is remarkably exemplified. The French never stopped fightinghave not stopped yet!-for their full out any of these intrigues until they These efforts at evasion were brought to his attention by his how how bitterly they resented the American or British colleagues. Once concessions which Clemenceau had ac- informed, he always took honorable epted, to which he had been driven and straightforward steps to undo the by the pressure of events and by Presi-

Consider first what has been called they came too late, as in the case the "Rhine rebellion." In accepting the emilitarization and temporary occu- icia. compromise French demand for a special political state, Mr. Jennenney, to make a comstatus in the German territory west of plete investigation on the spot and rec-

publicly known than there began to be to Wilson, together with his own letter strange reports of intrigues to break it to General Mangin, written in consedown, both by politicians and military quence. These became so serious that on April 29 (secret minutes Four) Lldyd George called the attention of Wilson and Clemenceau to a speech of the burgomaster of Cologne "intimating the possibility of the establishment of a separate republic for the Rhenish provinces and Westphalia. THE RHINE REPUBLIC'S

This project (dropping Westphalia) continued to simmer along more or less promised his military position, and so publicly under the direction of Dr. Dorten and a band of conspirators at Wiesbaden. These were in constant ouch 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 proved Mangin's course. The conspiracy under way at least. But in the face of the reveal that it might appear as an act of war. General Mangin personally gave could only do their best to restrain the advice to the plotters, disapproving a project of April 17 and accepting one of the 19th. A proclamation was drawn up announcing the separation of the late bank to be a project of the late bank to be a project of the plotters. The late bank to be a provinced by the late bank to be a project of the plotters and the rising of the 24th; and Mangin's agent to Liggett devoted himself.

24 was fixed as the day for issuing the Before a successful result of the coup could be assured, however, the approval actually posted here and there, but of the other commanders along the without serious effect. What really Clemenceau laid before the four a pro-Rhine—American, British and Belgian discredited the movement were the counter demonstrations among the laings would not be interfered with. Man-boring population in the form of gen-gin, on the 22d, sent staff officers to interview them all. President Wilson was startled on the same day by a tele-

CLEMENCAUS COURSE

he was not on good terms with the suspicious of it in the present circum- easily convinced. Foch especially, the licular shoulders.

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Sent sale at Sherman, Clay & Co.

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STAGES

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own rider on Earth

POODLES"

MANNEFORD

left bank, but also their project for severing this region from Germany France. As early as February 14, sion of intercourse between Germany secret minutes of the Ten. Februar 17). But no real relief was secure A convention supplementary to the treaty, regulating the relations between and under American and British pres sible with the normal life of the con less powerful than France, continu

FRENCH DESIGNS ON RUHE The occupation of certain cities "sanctions" also fitted into the econon ic side of this program of security, goes toward satisfying a desire which did not enter into the compromise by tween Clemenceau and Wilson, because any permanent claim to this district dared not even go so far as to stipulate regular and prolonged occupation but they longed to squeeze this sating heart of German industrial life In the Loucheur report of February, 1919, on disarming Germany in advance was advocated as a means of preventing rearmament. The opposition was efficacy of disarmament, decried the proposal. But, in his speech of May 6, before the Plenary Session Foch criticized the scheme of evacuating the occupied territory, on the ground of releasing first, "the bridgeeads which furnish access to the basin of the Ruhr, the principal source agreement as to the Rhine, Clemenceau course was entirely correct. He at of Germany's wealth, which we no had, of course, abandoned the early once dispatched an under secretary of longer menace and whose seizure we renounce." Even Clemenceau shortly before the signature of the German treaty, on June 24, advocated seizing - after the signature - as a means of crippling Germany's resources for an attack on Poland.

note was to be sent demanding satisfaction for the scuttling of the German ships at Scapa Flow, the burning of the captured French flags at Berlin, In this letter there was no real censure of General Mangin, much less and the reported intrigues against Porepudiation of the project for land. There would be little time for evading France's agreement in the peace conference to drop the idea an answer before the treaty was signed. As Balfour remarked: of an independent Rhineland. In-"If he understood M. Clemenceau's deed, no secret was made of the conintention, he would prefer it to come currence of the government in Mangin's

after. Then, if the answer were unsympathy with the movement of revolt; satisfactory, which in all probability would be the case, the allies would he was only reproved for having comhave to take action, and the action proposed by M. Clemenceau was to oc-Whatever the chances of the movement for independence might have been, they were spoiled by the course General

To this ironical expose of his plan Clemencean naively replied that Balfour had quite understood be given to the clear headedness of policy." General Liggett. If his suspicions as to Needless to say, it was not approved

omous Rhenish republic," under a pro-as he reported to his chief, the order May 1) showed the dangers attending visional government and with a call to postpoone could not reach all in-such a process; but the French would visional government and with a capifor election of an fissembly. The capital was declared to be Coblenz, within
the American zone of occupation—thus

The announcement of detaching Bavaria by a separate retal was declared to be Coblenz, within
the American zone of occupation—thus

The scheme of detaching Bavaria by a separate rethat the city council is about to instidetaching Bavaria by a separate retinte a second division of the municipal
victualling organization, referred to in miner demonstrations, such as the one another chapter, was not dropped until put down by the military police at April 25, when the supreme economic Coblenz on the 25th. interview them all. President Wilson was startled 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 the establishment of a Rhine republic, and enter the American zone to start the revolution. He had declined to consider the proposition at all. Wilson and Pershing both vigoroursly confirmed his stand and ordered the exclusion of all agitators.

The dream of the demand for independence and its longed fully to the central government, Will not hurry things any; and, it case in 1871." This characteristic utterance showed the limitations upon Clemenceaus aid that had not been the case in 1871." This characteristic utterance showed the limitations upon Clemenceaus's vision and his reluctance to admit that the clock could not be turned back to 1871. This man seemed to admit that the clock could not be turned back to 1871. This man seemed to sign by separate states as a denial to sign by separate states as a

Clemenceau's connection with these . "I don't believe it is at all genuine— The more reactionary elements in military intrigues. Of course, we know I mean spontaneous. I would be very France, however, would not be so generals; they detested his policy of compromise and he resented their interference in his conduct of affairs. Neither party took the other into its control of fidence. Yet could all of these tricks the four the French not only agreed to the council of the coun was beginning to consider how Germany might be coerced into signing the peace if she balked. It was also during the time of inception of the Rhine republic plot. That plot was

kept under cover; but, on May 19 (secret minutes) Foch reported an in-trigue of a different sort to the council. This was the request of Dr. Heim of Bavaria, who was at Wies-baden with the Rhineland conspirators. to talk to some French representative about a new separatist movement there. Although Foch reported the af-fair, he had already taken the re-sponsibility of detailing General Desticker to hear and question the would-be revolutionists; and the conversa-tion, held at Luxemburg on the same day as Foch's notice of it, was reported to the council on the 22d. Helm talked confidently of the separation of all the other considerable German states from Prussia and the formation of a new confederation, including German Austria, under a "protectorate," mainly economic, of the entents. He argued that such a Catholic and conservative "bloc" would form a more effective barrier against Polebusies. effective barrier against Bolshevisn than a Prussianized Germany coulever constitute. The Frenchman ob-jected to the inclusion of Austria and was unable to get very satisfactory assurances concerning the payment of reparations. The unwillingness of France to renounce anything in this line was the main obstacle to any real

FOCH'S STARTLING PROPOSAL No action was taken upon this repor by the council; but when, on June 16, Foch was summoned by the four to give final details of his plans for coercing Germany, he made the startlin proposal of basing them on a separati policy. He argued that his troop were insufficiently numerous to pen-

ouragement of separatist move-

consider a peace so obtained; for violations justifying reoccupation everyone realized that he was not "even those which have no connect all. As Lloyd George put it What he feared was that Marshal annoyance aroused by the mars Foch was mixing up politics with strategy, He hoped that Marshal Foch would not mind his saying that he political matters to create doubts Even Clemenceau opposed the plan

based on the signing of separate armistices, was hardly more favorably reits final instructions in abeyance until definite word was received from the of the agreement; but he had to adm

The decision of the Germans to sign the treaty as it stood obviated the neselves as "acting in the name of the German empire and of each and every competent state." The idea of interference with German unity was thus finally shandoned We come finally to a number of

efforts to evade or modify the agreements made by the four with "diplomatic jokers" in the actual drafting of the treaty. The French had special opportunities for making conversions more favorable than the actual agreements, in view of their control of the machinery of treaty making-chairmanship of committees, etc. In the hurry and bustle of the few days pre-In the ceding the handing of the treaty to the Germans several little "jokers" were passed over unnoticed, only to be discoverd later. One such-annuling warm; and even Foch, who disbelieved any vote for Germany in the Saar dis trict if the German government failed to redeem the mines of gold-was pointed out by the Germans and rectified at once. (May 22.) The story of another of these discovered by President Wilson is most-

trate far into Germany without such significant. The draft agreement of means of securing the flanks and rear April 20, concerning the 15-year occupation of the left bank, had contained advanced. When asked if he meant a vaguely qualifying clause parmitadvanced. When asked if he meant to buy the consent of the separate states to separate treaties of peace by remissions of indemnity, he replied no. He could only define his idea of "special treatment" for them by remarking that "they would have a pistol at their throats at the beginning." No one undertook to quin the marshal as to what kind of security he would consider a peace so obtained: for speaking from a military viewpoint at with indemnities"—fell to the repar-all. As Lloyd George put it: ation commission. Amid the genera speech, this remark passed without immediate effect; and the treaty was in his judgment on strategical mat- Foch, he found that the language had been altered so as to authorize reoccupation "in case ... . the reparhas failed to observe the whole or par treaty." On May 2, the president pointed out in the council how far this wording diverged from the intent "that the original text was partly misnot only been retained but strengthened in the direction of giving th reparation 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 this qualification of the withdrawal time apply only to financial obliga-Moreover, a real and material change had been made in substitu "failed to observe" for "refuse to execute." Correction of these slips was authorized without objection; Clemenceau refused his assent to revision of the original text requested by Wilson-a change from "will" to

"may" in the reoccupation phrase. new article 430, approved finally May 12, applies only to obligations "with regard to reparation." This correction restores the balance of the agreeme from the slight further tilt it had take

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

(To be continued next Sunday.) (Gopyright, 1922, by Doubleday, Page & Co.

than 14 miles an hour-its utmost

speed attainment. Fact is, the siren

was blowing as a safety measure lest

some other car would run down the

vehicle with the tortolse-like gait as

it was "hastening" on a hurry-up call.

It any qualified person has a burn-

bolds the place, mainly, I judge, because Mayor Baker doesn't want to be put in the light of stirring up old troubles by removing her. The mayor and Mrs. Thompson had quite some

words in connection with the matter of exhibiting "Some Wild Oats" at The

around the city hall say that appoint-ment of an entire new board is about

the only move the mayor can make without bringing upon his fiead the outpourings from the viol of criticism.

ing pictures, they might offer them-

seives to Mayor Baker, This board

three of its mem-

to reach its limit

## The National Capital

McNary in Charge

of Agriculture Washington, July 28 - (WASHING-TON BUREAU OF THE JOURN'AL)-The departure from Washington of decision of policy as to Muscle Sho and the new grain futures bill.

It is recalled that Senator Norris threatened to resign the chairmanshi good, and he is not expected to return here until the warm season is over.

nanufactures, headed by La Follette with McNary as ranking member. La Follette has requested McNary to look after it in his absence. The first task is the assembling and lassification of data secured through-

of eight experts to prepare this data to complete. The Poindexter bili au-for presentation to the committee thorizes \$100,000. After that will come the examination of witnesses, leading off with experts of the federal trade commission.

o bob up again as soon as the senate takes up the soldier bonus measure. Apparently there are enough votes at hand to postpone the bonus until the tariff is out of the way, but that will not be until late in August. When it does come, there is bound to be a fight does come, there is bound to be a fight portion as against the land set.

The thought man of the right true could be remarks the senate had just votes. The thought man of the right true could be remarks the senate had just votes. ent provisions of the bill as it was

It is too early to predict what the course of this battle will be. The presi-dent will be asked to indicate his views, should be kept out of the bonus bill, the majority leaders will acquiesce in that decision. Senator McNary, one of the authors of the reclamation bill, no doubt will assist in the same direction if it shall appear that the president is inclined to veto the bonus

Columbia Basin Project Deferred

Washington, July 29.—(WASHING-TON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)

The liesure of the house of representatives, which will not be interrupted by work until the middle of August, makes it certain that nothing of consequence can be done toward investigation of the Columbia basin been ordered into the cost of transfer investigation project until next year.

dexter, the bill provided for a report | Lenroot Criticises by a commission of three by January 1, 1923. Director Davis of the reclamaon reclamation that it would be impos- "The way these amends sible to make a report in that time. favorable weather, and not much good Lenroot puts it, referring to the weather will be left this year after of "follow the leader sion. Several important measures are the passage of the bill can be hoped time for report until January 1, 1924. The committee on irrigation and recjamation, meeting under a hurried call by Chairman McNary to hear the argument for the bill, lost no time in ordering a report, the measure having been approved in advance by Secretary irrigation explained to them, and keen interest was manifested in this pro-

monopoly. This is in the hands of a favoring report by General George W sub-committee of the committee on Goethals, was undoubtedly the factor ing the approval of recognized experts before being brought to congress. Director Davis of the reclamation servout the country by means of a ques-tionnaire. Gilbert E. Ros. New York ice said the data already secured can attorney and former law partner of be utilized, as far as it goes, but fur-La Foliette, has been retained by the ther engineering studies are required.

> cided to leave the investigation to the if we want to make a tariff bill w interior department, which will put the will command the confidence of the reclamation service in charge. Asked country, and which Republicans co He thought men of the right type could ed down an amendment he had offered

Estimales of cost of the project first given to the committee were at the rate of approximately \$200 per acre. These were reduced by J. C. Ralston consulting engineer of Spokane, who explained that the figures had been worked out when prices are reduced that the figures had been worked out when prices are reduced the duty on cotton knit userwear from 50 per cent and valors to 40 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent and valors to 40 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent and valors to 40 per cent, the 40 per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent and valors to 40 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent and valors to 40 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent, the 40 per cent being per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent higher than existing law, userwear from 50 per cent higher than exist law and the 50 per worked out when prices were at the highest levels, and that under present conditions the construction cost should be around \$125 an acre. This would he approximately \$220,000,000 as a grand total for the reclamation of

Postal Rate

firing the project until next year. porting the various classes of mail cont, and on this he wor, 28 to 27. Some preliminary work and organization can be performed in the winter since any reliable statistics have been licana. Neison of Minnesota. Not

some preformed in the winter tion can be performed in the winter months, but the engineers will not attempt the main task until good weather conditions can be had next weather conditions can be had next committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will begin weighing the several attachment was absent when the committee, will be attachment was absent when the committee w This is the best outlook that can be forseen on the Poindexter bill providing for the investigation. Although it ing for the investigation. Although it count will be made of the number of the committee will be made of the number of the committee and do not be a sent to the agricultural and do not be a sent to the agricultural and do not be a sent to the agricultural and do not be agricultural and do not be a sent to the agricultural and do not be a sent to the agricultural and do not be a sent to the agricultural and the sent to the sent to

"Follow the Leader'

TON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL! September, the earliest date by which his fellow Republican senators are playing as they vote, day after day, for. So the committee extended the for tariff rates that go nearer the six than ever before in the history of tariff

Senator Lenroot, who stands so high in his party councils that the ser

over, when Republican senators ta

Foliette, has been retained by the ther engineering studies are required, any senator; I am not criticizing mittee and has asked for a force which he estimates will cost \$200,000 am merely stating facts which they thorizes \$100,000.

It had been proposed to create a commission with experts from the departments of the interior, commerce and agriculture, but the committee design the privilege, but I do say the list their privilege, but I do say the list their privilege. ahead and voted the high rate because it had been reported by the committee.

although the reason given to supporthe high rate was a mistaken figure. Washington, July 29.—(WASHING- was 26 for and 29 against. Republican TON BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL.) voting with him were Borah of Idaho ton, Kellogg of Minnesota, Sterlin South Dakota and Willis of Ohio

has passed the senate, the bill will have to wait on the house, which may or may not be willing to rush it through. Senator Poindexter has been urging action on it. He is running for received from each. An officer from each railway mail service division has been urging action on it. He is running for reelection, and as all of Eastern Washington is interested in the Co-jumbla basin project, it is considered for excellent eard for him to play. Retter yet, if the engineers could be sent into the field and made visible before the November snows and ballots begin to fly.

As originally introduced by Poin
Sent and the revenue received from each. An officer from each railway mail service division has been called to Washigton to received from each railway mail service division has been called to Washigton to received the committee and suffered reverses on part of the committee and do not use "independent jidgment." After the committee and suffered reverses on part of the control teach suffered reverses on part of the control teach suffered reverses on part of the control teach suffered reverses

## Town Hall Gossip -Gleaned by the Gossiper-

passing strange, aver the wise ancient bus from the hospital. Disones at the city hall, that the city gov-ernment should wait until it finds



itself caught in a clear right of way and waited for jam before steps the mad dash by. But, instead, came are taken to refi- the old cart rambling along at less 000 worth of waof the condition of the sinking fund, is the parhas brought about ber of the board of censors of movconsider-

ack of a more rapid accumulation in the sinking fund has been a tender spot for years. The fact is that city officials years ago were remiss in not definite plan-either raising of the water rates or direct appropriation from In the third place, among France's the deficiency. Maybe the propose

tute a second division of the municipal



court, comes the grand rush of applicants for appointment to a municipal judge-ship. Gentlemen will please line up in the south corridor leading to ment of an entire new board is about grand rush of ap-Mayor Baker's office and take their turns. Don't

Wilson wrote to Clemenceau, asking on the project was expressed in the conference with the American delegates and experts on June 3, when he replied to a question concerning the republic:

Here again arises the question of lemenceau's connection with these lemenceau's connection with these lemenceau's connection with these lemenceau's connection with these lemenceau's lemenceau's lemenceau's lemenceau's connection with these lemenceau's lemenceau as that of the higher courts, but there are a lot of barristers who firmly believe it would look well on their par



that the city furnish it certain in-

nish it certain information for the state economic survey. This will require a lot of extra
work in its compliation and it can be
done much more advantageously by
experts in the city departments than
by outsiders. Funk proposes that such
of the expert city employes who dewire may work overtime on this task. they balk at the rate of \$1 an hour and declare it should be \$1.50. Funk thinks otherwise, declaring this is a period of descending prices—and I guess he will win. In any case, the city is stuck for the costs of work required by a state department, but it's getting used to that sort of thing.

Even though the city dads have to



When it comes to dishing the dirt about city hall departments, there's one that must escape the muckers, be cause of its me the proprieties. I refer to the civil service and its conduct of examination of can-didates. Why, it's no unfrequent sight to see the shades on the glass doors opening into the countions are held carefully drawn down full length, so no wicked person might signal to any

In these piping days of disputed costs of living the query arises at the city hall: Is \$1 an hour a sufficient rate for overtime payment for experts? City Auditor Funk says: "Yes. Indeed." Said experts say: "No. certainly not; it should be \$1.50 per hour." It's like this: The Oregon state audit committee has demanded that the city furties. The committee has demanded that the city furties. The committee has demanded that the city furties. The city furties are shown as a complete the answer to some puzzling question—or some other potent reason. And the ground giass door into the ante-chamber is carefully closed when candidates are reading the eye-test charts, so no one can prompt the weak of sight. But the supreme test of carefulness came the other day, when the examiner took it upon himself to personally conduct to the washined, so that the man did not talk with any outsider while the examination was in progress. No, sir-ee, the civil service exams, are above suspicion.

supreme court having decided



of the city Portland. A now Hal White, manager of The Auditorium, ous eyes toward that nifty pile of "jack," ashe needs

cut off some furbelows on other departments, it seems they really must take funds to get a new car for the emergency hospital. The old gas-wagon is likely to give people on the streets nervous prostration, and thus cause additional work for the emerge ney M. D.s. The other day folk on the street heard a terrific screech of the siren on the

