

July 2015

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Recommended Citation

Morse, H. Newcomb (1989) "The Legal and Political Foundations and Meaning of President Wilson's Great Western Tour," *Akron Law Review*: Vol. 22 : Iss. 2 , Article 7.

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THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS AND MEANING OF PRESIDENT WILSON'S GREAT WESTERN TOUR

by

PROFESSOR HOWARD NEWCOMB MORSE*

I was once asked if I would take part in a great peace conference, and I said, 'Yes; if I may speak in favour of war' — not the war which we seek to avoid, not the senseless and useless and passionate shedding of human blood, but the only war that brings peace, the war with human passions and the war with human wrong — the war which is that untiring and unending process of reform from which no man can refrain and get peace.¹

— Woodrow Wilson

September 4, 1919 is a red-letter date in history. On that date President Woodrow Wilson, wearing a sailor straw hat after Labor Day² revealed his famous smile when he arrived in Columbus, Ohio. There, he delivered the first³ of forty-two speeches which concluded on September 25, in Pueblo, Colorado.⁴ Those twenty-two days marked the most memorable train trip in history — President Wilson's Great Western Tour: a journey through sixteen states aboard the special seven-car Presidential train, the *Mayflower*.⁵ The train was aptly named, for the President's speaking tour symbolized the hope of the world, just as the Pilgrims' hope led them to set forth for the New World hundreds of years before. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Wilson, Admiral Cary T. Grayson (the President's physician and best friend), Joseph Patrick Tumulty (the President's private secretary), forty-eight attendants and newspaper correspondents, and seven Secret Service operatives headed by Edmund Starling.

The first query is: What manner of man was Thomas Woodrow Wilson, lawyer and Twenty-Eighth President of the United States of America, who said, "I do not mean democratic with a big 'D,' though I have a private conviction that you cannot be democratic with a small 'd' long without becoming democratic with

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¹Selected Literary and Political Papers and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, 345 (1926) [hereinafter *Political Papers*].

²See G. JOHNSON, *WOODROW WILSON: THE UNFORGETTABLE FIGURE WHO HAS RETURNED TO HAUNT US*, 255 (1944); *The Sioux City Journal*, Sept. 9, 1919, at 4. It is interesting to note that on September 10, 1919, *The Bismarck Tribune* in its editorial page commented, "They made a great fuss over President Wilson's September straw hat, but our wives and sweethearts wear 'em in January and no one notices any more."

³1 *Political Papers*, *supra* note 1, at 350.

⁴*Id.* at 369.

⁵See G. JOHNSON, *supra* note 2, at 254.

a big 'D,'⁶ and who described himself as "a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat"⁷ He would not have felt comfortable in the Party whose philosophy was summed up by Calvin Coolidge as "The business of America is business";⁸ he expressed the opposite sentiment: "America was not founded to make money; it was founded to lead the world on the way to liberty."⁹ America's mission in the world according to President Wilson, was not to attain wealth and power, but to fulfill God's plan by unselfish service to mankind.¹⁰ "He," like the English statesman Edmund Burke, "was always an intense party man."¹¹ Yet as a Party man, he was fair and just and could be objective; he had a good word for Republican Theodore Roosevelt¹² as well as an expression of admiration for Democrat Grover Cleveland.¹³

"The brooding pedagogue of Princeton"¹⁴ was our first true "All-American" although he conferred that distinction upon Abraham Lincoln when he wrote "The whole country is summed up in him";¹⁵ President Wilson delivered the principal address on January 19, 1909, at the University of North Carolina on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the birth of Robert E. Lee,¹⁶ twenty-four days later, was the main speaker in Chicago celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lincoln,¹⁷ and wrote eulogistically of both.¹⁸ He referred to himself as wanting to be "President of the *people* of the United States;"¹⁹ to which might be added that he not only wanted to be, but *was*, President of *all* the people of the United States.

The Great War had devastated and despoiled the world, and the United States had made monumental sacrifices to make that war, as President Wilson stated,

⁶2 Political Papers, at 120. President Wilson further stated: "I believe, and this is the reason I am a Democrat, not merely with a big 'D' but with a little 'd' -- I am all kinds of a democrat, so far as I can discover -- but the root of the whole business is this, that I believe in the patriotism and energy and initiative of the average man." *Id.* at 178.

⁷*Id.* at 387.

⁸From a speech to the Society of American Newspaper Editors, January 17, 1925.

⁹G. SMITH, *WHEN THE CHEERING STOPPED — THE LAST YEARS OF WOODROW WILSON*, 64 (1964).

¹⁰A. LINK, *THE HIGHER REALISM OF WOODROW WILSON*, 19 (1971). President Wilson further stated: "We do not judge progress by material standards. America is not ahead of the other nations of the world because she is rich. Nothing makes America great except her thoughts, except her ideals, except her acceptance of those standards of judgment which are written large upon these pages of revelation (the Bible)." 1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 350.

¹¹3 Political Papers, at 135.

¹²1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 317-18; *see* 2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 383, 384.

¹³1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 73-101; *see also* A. LINK, *supra* note 10, at 30.

¹⁴R. Stannard Baker & W. Dodd, *Introduction to Selected Literary and Political Papers and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, xxiii (1926).

¹⁵3 Political Papers, *supra* note 11, at 208.

¹⁶1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 198.

¹⁷*Id.* at 221.

¹⁸*Id.* at 206, 224.

¹⁹2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 21.

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the “war to end wars”²⁰ and the war to make the world safe for democracy.²¹ The war had been won; now it was imperative that the peace be won, that there be a just peace to foreclose the possibility of future wars. President Wilson was known as the Covenanter,²² for he was the chief architect of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the world’s first Constitution, just as his colonial fellow Princetonian James Madison was the chief architect of the Constitution of the United States 132 years before. The Covenant was as integral part of the Treaty of Versailles,²³ the peace treaty following the Great War.

From being the first true “All-American,” President Wilson went on to become the first international man. He, “nothing if not an idealist,”²⁴ “a Christian idealist,”²⁵ “a moralist before he was a politician,”²⁶ and, like Burke, “first and last a master of principles,”²⁷ came to offer us something even more than the “more perfect Union”²⁸ envisioned by James Madison — he tendered to us a more perfect world. “His concept of statesmanship always remained the picture of a minister laying down the law of God to his flock. Ultimately the White House became his pulpit and the world his congregation.”²⁹ “Wilson found his extreme expression should be in sermons from a pulpit which was the White House.”³⁰ His “congregation” was at times “mankind.”³¹ “He did ‘love men in the mass’ in the most Christian manner.”³²

President Wilson, along with Lloyd George of Great Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy, hammered out the Versailles Treaty at the Paris Peace Conference, and in so doing, had forged ahead with a hope characteristic of the Pilgrims’. Wilson’s *tender* of a more perfect world might be spurned by a Republican-controlled Senate, with its Foreign Affairs Committee chaired by Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts;³³ he was faced with the distinct possibility that the Versailles Treaty might not be ratified, but flatly rejected. The President embarked upon a mission to overstep the Republican Senators and take

²⁰E. IONS, WOODROW WILSON — THE POLITICS OF PEACE AND WAR III (1972).

²¹2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 244, 397.

²²Political Papers, *supra* note 14, at xxxii.

²³E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 109.

²⁴Political Papers, *supra* note 22.

²⁵D. GRANTHAM, *Foreword to A. LINK, supra* note 10, at xx.

²⁶E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 119. Of President Wilson, Dr. Sigmund Freud said: “He was . . . the leader of all the idealists of the world.” Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Twenty-Eighth President of the United States — A Psychological Study, 245 (1967).

²⁷3 Political Papers, *supra* note 11, at 141.

²⁸U.S. CONST. preamble.

²⁹E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 16.

³⁰*Id.* at 60.

³¹*Id.* at 251.

³²*Id.* at 151, 152.

³³Lodge and his ilk were correctly characterized, in President Wilson’s own words, as “contemptible . . . narrow . . . selfish . . . poor little minds. . . .” G. Smith, *supra* note 9, at 56.

his case directly to the people; his Great Western Tour was designed to persuade the people to pressure Republican Senators such as McCumber (N.D.), Kellogg (Minn.), Poindexter (Wash.), Spencer (Mo.), Johnson (Calif.), Borah (Idaho), and Thomas and Phipps (Colo.) to change their anticipated nay votes to yea, in favor of ratification. As an editorial in *The Bismarck (N.D.) Tribune* expressed it, "The President pleaded with the Senate — and Senators have talked, talked, talked, largely with a view of advancing personal or political interest in next year's elections. After weeks of such delay the President decided to do what he might well have done at the beginning — to bring the case to the people. The people have no axes to grind, and no political games to play."³⁴

President Wilson "clung to one great central idea: . . . a League of Nations which would be a forum for the dispensation of justice for all men and wipe out the threat of war forever."³⁵ Those Republican Senators who were against the treaty were flirting with obstruction of justice in the sense that the President understood justice to include "sympathy and helpfulness and a willingness to forego self-interest in order to promote the welfare, happiness, and contentment of others and of the community as a whole."³⁶ President Wilson admonished, and as it turned out, prophesied "that there would be a terrible war if the nation did not enter the League."³⁷ "The nation that should now fling out of this common concord of counsel (the League of Nations) would betray the human race."³⁸ "An outrageous peace" (one unfair and unjust to Germany and one without the League of Nations with the United States a member) "will condemn the world to another war worse than this one."³⁹ "I predict there would be another world war within a generation if no pains were taken to prevent it. If this guarantee is not lived up to, I want to say that in another generation or two we must have another and far more disastrous war."⁴⁰ "There is a way of escape if only men will use it."⁴¹ "The escape was the League, the authority of law substituted for the authority of force."⁴² Only twenty-two years later the Second World War began when Hitler's legions invaded Poland. Tragically, due to the impedimentary tactics employed by the Republican Senators, the nation that deserted the "common concord of counsel" was the United States.

³⁴The Bismarck Tribune, Sept. 10, 1919.

³⁵G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 50.

³⁶Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 398. This eloquent definition of justice is from the last work that President Wilson wrote, an essay entitled "The Road Away from Revolution," which published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1923.

³⁷G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 232.

³⁸Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 336.

³⁹E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 194.

⁴⁰G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 66, 67.

⁴¹*Id.* at 234.

⁴²*Id.*

HISTORICAL MENTORS

The Great Pedagogue's philosophy was largely formed by his historical mentors: Kant,⁴³ Carlyle,⁴⁴ Hegle,⁴⁵ and Augustine.⁴⁶

The progenitor source for President Wilson's League of Nations was Immanuel Kant's *Eternal Peace*.⁴⁷ The President was convinced that the League of Nations would "preserve peace eternally."⁴⁸ In fact, the League of Nations was formerly named the *League of Peace*.⁴⁹

The influence of Carlylean hero-worship⁵⁰ on President Wilson is evident in this statement in his address on the centennial anniversary of the birth of Robert E. Lee: "[We] are a nation and are proud of all the great heroes whom the great processes of our national life have elevated into conspicuous places of fame."⁵¹ And the President, in the essay entitled "The Interpreter of English Liberty,"⁵² his great ode to Burke, wrote: "We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men. . . ."⁵³

Conservation was eloquently addressed by Carlyle. "In an opening of the woods; — for the country was still dark with wood in those days; and Scotland itself still rustled shaggy and leafy, like a damp black American Forest, with cleared spots and spaces here and there. . . . [There came about] the insensible but almost total disappearance of these woods; the trick wreck of which now lies as *peat*, sometimes with huge heart-of-oak timber logs imbedded in it, on many a height and hollow. . . . A sorrowful waste of noble wood. . . . Why will men destroy noble Forests . . . in such reckless manner. . . ."⁵⁴ In his first inaugural address, President Wilson admonished, "We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature. . . ."⁵⁵ As the President noted, "the question of conservation is a great deal bigger than the question of saving our forests and our mineral resources and our waters; it is as big as the life and happiness and strength and elasticity and hope of our people."⁵⁶

⁴³See Morse, *A Legal Commentary on the Kantian Kingdom of Ends*, 9 WHITTIER L. REV. (1987).

⁴⁴See Morse, *A Legal Commentary on Carlylean Philosophy*, 8 WHITTIER L. REV. 1011 (1987).

⁴⁵See Morse, *A Commentary on Hegelian Philosophy and the Absolutes in Law*, 17 AKRON L. REV. 383 (1984).

⁴⁶See Morse, *A Legal Commentary on Cartesian Extension and Enlargement of Augustinianism*, 10 CAP. U.L. REV. 759 (1981).

⁴⁷I. KANT, *ZUM EWIGEN FRIEDEN, THE PHILOSOPHY OF KANT*, (1949).

⁴⁸E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 265.

⁴⁹2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 220.

⁵⁰T. CARLYLE, *PAST AND PRESENT, THE WORKS OF THOMAS CARLYLE*, 75, 208 (1885).

⁵¹1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 218.

⁵²3 Political Papers, *supra* note 11, at 104.

⁵³*Id.* at 151.

⁵⁴T. CARLYLE, *supra* note 50, at 97, 98.

⁵⁵2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 2.

⁵⁶*Id.* at 24.

The sordid abuses of capitalism were decried by Carlyle: "Where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbor, turned against his neighbor, clutches what he can get, and cries 'Mine!' and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-purse and cut-throat Scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort, can be employed."⁵⁷ President Wilson sagaciously counseled and observed: "Capital must give over its too great preoccupation with the business of making those who control it individually rich and must study to serve the interests of the people as a whole. It must draw near to the people and serve them in some intimate way of which they will be conscious. Voluntary cooperation must forestall the involuntary cooperation which legislators will otherwise seek to bring about by the coercion of law. Capital now looks to the people like a force and interest apart, with which they must deal as with a master and not as with a friend."⁵⁸ And in his first inaugural address, he lamented: "We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through."⁵⁹

Just as Article I of the Civil Code of Louisiana of 1870 is a definition of law, so too Carlyle's "Codal Article I," if not in form at least in substance, seems to be the same, except cast, as might be expected, as a literary allusion. "Let there be light? . . . The mad primeval Discord is hushed. . . ."⁶⁰ "[To] lighten, more and more into Day, the Chaotic Night. . . ."⁶¹ "[J]ustice, radiant, beneficent, as the all-victorious Light-element, is also in essence, if need be, an all-victorious *Fire*-element, and melts all manner of vested interests, and the hardest iron cannon, as if they were soft wax, and does ever in the long-run rule and reign, and allows nothing else to rule and reign. . . ."⁶² "This *is* the radiance of celestial Justice; in the light or in the fire of which all impediments, vested interests, and iron cannon, are more and more melting like wax, and disappearing from the pathways of men."⁶³ Fire is the law, producing the light of enlightenment and the heat that melts injustice; the interaction of both transforming chaos and conflict into concord.

President Wilson echoed a sentiment of similitude, even to the allegorical light and cannon: "Almost every vicious man is afraid of society, and if you once open the door where he is, he will run. All you have to do is to fight, not with cannon but with light. . . . I believe that light is the greatest sanitary influence in the world. That, I suppose, is scientific commonplace, because if you want to

⁵⁷T. CARLYLE, *SARTOR RESARTUS*, THE WORKS OF THOMAS CARLYLE, 185, 186 (1885).

⁵⁸1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 191.

⁵⁹2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 3.

⁶⁰T. CARLYLE, *supra* note 57, at 158.

⁶¹*Id.* at 170.

⁶²T. CARLYLE, *supra* note 50, at 22.

⁶³*Id.* at 23.

make a place wholesome the best instrument you can use is the sun; to let his rays in, let him search out all the miasma that may lurk there. So with moral light: It is the most wholesome and rectifying, as well as the most revealing thing in the world, provided it be genuine moral light; not the light of inquisitiveness, not the light of the man who likes to turn up ugly things, not the light of the man who disturbs what is corrupt for the mere sake of the sensation that he creates by disturbing it, but the moral light, the light of man who discloses it in order that all the sweet influence of the world may go in and make it better.”⁶⁴

Leaders, governmental and otherwise, should be accessible to their constituents and to those to whom they are responsible and who are responsible to them. The element of accessibility is absolutely essential to effective governance. Carlyle wrote: “I wish, too, that every Monk of you have free access to me, to speak of your needs or grievances when you will.”⁶⁵ President Wilson criticized inaccessibility of leaders: “Privacy, official reticence, governors hedged about and inaccessible — these are the marks of arbitrary government. . . .”⁶⁶

The Hegelian recognition of, and reliance upon, absolutes⁶⁷ was accepted by President Wilson, who characterized “the right of the people to a potential voice in their own government” as the “most fundamental of all the principles of a free State.”⁶⁸ He announced: “I am going to hark back to those fundamental principles which hold good despite changes of policy.”⁶⁹ “What this country needs now in the field of politics is principle; not measures of expediency, but principles — principles expressed in terms of the present circumstances, but principles nevertheless. And principles do not spring up in a night; principles are not new, principles are ancient.”⁷⁰ “You are certain also, are you not, that there are definite comprehensible practices, immutable principles of government and of right conduct in the dealing of men with one another.”⁷¹

A recurring theme of Augustinian philosophy is his equating of life with tribulation.⁷² In his words, “Is not the life of man upon earth all trial?”⁷³ “Is it not true, then, that the life of man upon earth is all trial without intermission?”⁷⁴ “This life . . . is . . . a continuous trial. . . .”⁷⁵ President Wilson expressed this

⁶⁴2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 82.

⁶⁵T. CARLYLE, *supra* note 50, at 96.

⁶⁶1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 161.

⁶⁷See generally Morse, *supra* note 45.

⁶⁸1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 6.

⁶⁹*Id.* at 212.

⁷⁰*Id.* at 214.

⁷¹*Id.* at 332.

⁷²See generally, Morse, *supra* note 46.

⁷³A. AUGUSTINE, THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, 236 (R. Warner trans. 1963).

⁷⁴*Id.*

same thought: "You know that human life is a constant struggle. For a man who has lost the sense of struggle life has ceased."⁷⁶

Saint Augustine wrote in his *The City of God*: "The purpose even of war is peace."⁷⁷ The Freud-Bullitt biographical estimation-evaluation of President Wilson⁷⁸ stated: "He decided to go forth to war for peace. . . ."⁷⁹ "He could make war only for peace. . . ."⁸⁰ "He wanted to bring forth not war but peace, and an ultimate perfect peace was to him always the noble end which justified the means of war."⁸¹ "[I]t was a war for peace."⁸² "[A] war which he felt sure was a crusade for peace. . . ."⁸³ "As deep an emotion as he had ever felt was his feeling that if he led the United States into war he must lead it into a war for peace."⁸⁴

WILSON'S MASTER PLANS

President Wilson had two Master Plans for his governance: firstly, applying to the world the doctrines that our Founding Fathers devised for our nation, and secondly, applying to nations rules of conduct originated for individuals.

Proceeding with his First Master Plan, the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson⁸⁵ was extended by President Wilson beyond the United States to encompass the world. President Wilson declared before the United States Senate, "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed."⁸⁶

Likewise, President Wilson projected the philosophy of James Monroe⁸⁷ beyond the borders of the United States. President Wilson proposed, "that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."⁸⁸ This great sentiment subsequently became known as President Wilson's doctrine of the self-determination of nations.⁸⁹

⁷⁶1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 343.

⁷⁷A. AUGUSTINE, *CITY OF GOD*, 327, 328 (WALSH, ZEMA, MONAHAN & HONAN, trans. 1958).

⁷⁸See generally E. IONS, *supra* note 26.

⁷⁹*Id.* at 170.

⁸⁰*Id.*

⁸¹*Id.* at 176.

⁸²*Id.* at 184.

⁸³*Id.* at 192.

⁸⁴*Id.* at 248.

⁸⁵The Declaration of Independence para. 2 (U.S. 1776).

⁸⁶2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 223.

⁸⁷President Monroe's Seventh Annual Message to Congress, December 2, 1923 (the doctrine, afterward bearing his name). F. WHARTON, *A DIGEST OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE UNITED STATES*, 273-275 (2d ed. 1887).

⁸⁸2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 226, 227.

The scope of application of the philosophy of George Washington⁹⁰ was also enlarged. President Wilson proposed that, "[a]ll nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power; catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power."⁹¹ "We still read Washington's immortal warning against 'entangling alliances' with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights."⁹² President Wilson's inveighing against the "special and limited alliances" found fruition in the first of his immortal "Fourteen Points,"⁹³ and his advocating of the "general alliance" was destined to become "the Fourteenth Point."⁹⁴

Proceeding with his Second Master Plan, President Wilson declared: "It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals."⁹⁵ Addressing a joint session of Congress, he said, "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states."⁹⁶ "The same law that applies to individuals applies to nations."⁹⁷ And his definition of law was magnificent: "[a]n instrument wherewith to secure equality of rights and a protection which shall be without respect of persons."⁹⁸

THE END OF THE GREAT WESTERN TOUR

The evening of September 8th, 1919, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota marked the occasion of the first truly significant address on the Great Western Tour. Only that morning, in Omaha, Nebraska, the hometown of Democratic Senator Hitchcock, (President Wilson's minority leader and spokesman of the Foreign Affairs Committee), the President addressed an audience of 7,500 persons.⁹⁹ The

⁹⁰"Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world." President Washington's Farewell Address, September 17, 1796. Jefferson expressed the same sentiment: "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state of persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." President Jefferson's First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801. It is noteworthy that President Wilson wrote a marvelous biography of George Washington.

⁹¹2 Political Papers, *supra* note 6, at 227.

⁹²*Id.* at 268.

⁹³*Id.* at 257-259.

⁹⁴*Id.* at 259.

⁹⁵*Id.* at 171.

⁹⁶*Id.* at 241.

⁹⁷*Id.* at 375.

⁹⁸1 Political Papers, *supra* note 1, at 114.

⁹⁹The Sioux City Journal, Sept. 9, 1919 at 4.

Republican-sponsored amendment to the Covenant guaranteeing the right of unconditional withdrawal from membership in the League of Nations, said the President, meant that its sponsors wanted to "sit near the door with their hands on the knob" and if they saw anything they did not like to "scuttle and run."¹⁰⁰

That evening, in Sioux Falls, the President said that the country had sacrificed greatly, not for temporary advantage, but for a permanent betterment of the world. In the eyes of the American boys who went across the seas, he continued, the people of Europe had seen a determination not only to defeat Germany, but to see that such a thing never happened again.

The political settlements themselves, said the President, were made for the peoples concerned. He asserted that the document laid down forever the principle that no territory should ever be governed except as the people who lived there wanted it governed. "That is an absolute reversal of history," said the President, "as it's all in the League of Nations."¹⁰¹

High taxes, a large standing army and a "military government in spirit" would be required, he stated, if the United States were to follow the advice of some men and "stand by herself."¹⁰²

When the President added that sometimes he had been "called an idealist" someone shouted, "Good," and the crowd cheered.¹⁰³

On the same day, General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, the Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Force in France, returned to the United States, arriving in Hoboken, New Jersey aboard the Leviathan, the world's second largest ship.¹⁰⁴ On the gangplank, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker presented to General Pershing his commission as a full general, the rank held by Grant, Sheridan and Sherman.¹⁰⁵ And Babe Ruth hit his twenty-sixth home run for the Boston Red Sox, beating the New York Yankees in both games of a double-header in New York. President Wilson was a great baseball fan.¹⁰⁶

The Mayflower's next destination was St. Paul, Minnesota. On September 9th, the President addressed a special session of the Minnesota Legislature, and later in the evening, he spoke before an audience of 14,000 at the Auditorium. The Mayor of St. Paul, L.C. Hodgson, a Republican, introduced the President, Mr. Democrat, as "a great spiritual leader of American democracy," whose power

¹⁰⁰*Id.*

¹⁰¹*Id.* at 1.

¹⁰²*Id.*

¹⁰³*Id.* at 2.

¹⁰⁴*Id.* at 1. It is noteworthy that the George Washington (the ship that had borne President Wilson to France for the Paris Peace Conference) and the Leviathan both were reconditioned former German ships.

¹⁰⁵*Id.*

¹⁰⁶*Id.* at 11. See also G. JOHNSON, *supra* note 2, at 113; G. SMITH *supra* note 9, at 264. "He was the first President officially to throw a first ball." G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 264.

was written "in the hearts of his people."¹⁰⁷ Because of its mixed ethnic derivations of the people of America, the President asserted, America was destined to be the mediator of the world. It was the only nation, he continued, "that can sympathetically organize the world for peace."¹⁰⁸

On September 10th, President Wilson delivered a major address in Bismarck, North Dakota. His welcome was described by *The Bismarck Tribune* as "the most spontaneous and splended reception over tendered a dignitary within the borders of the Flickertail state."¹⁰⁹ He showed the way for ridding the world of "the four D's": Dangers, Distractions, Disturbances, and Destruction.¹¹⁰ Reviewing briefly the world's war, he asked: "Shall we have in the future the same dangers, the same distractions, the same disturbances, the same destruction, or may we expect that the world will sit at a counsel table and delay the use of the force until there is time for deliberate discussion. If the world is not ready for that it is not ready for peace."¹¹¹

Referring to the ages-old battle for bread which President Wilson declared at the bottom of all wars, he said: *The Lord's Prayer*, opens with 'Give us this day our daily bread.' The Saviour knew that a man can't serve God or man on an empty stomach.' The world's bread, he declared, can be made secure only by a cessation of wars and rumors of wars. War can be made impossible only by a League of Nations Covenant like the document which America was asked to ratify.¹¹²

North Dakota, the nation's leading wheat producing state, was indeed an appropriate forum in this context. "Are we here in the United States disconnected from the rest of the world — can we stay out and look after our own affairs? If Europe is at war who is going to consume your wheat? We produce more wheat than we can use. We must have a world market. . . . America was not founded to make money — it was founded to lead the rest of the world to liberty."¹¹³

On September 17th, President Wilson, wearing a two-gallon hat, arrived in San Francisco. It was the 132nd anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution. The doors to the Civic Auditorium, which seated 12,500 people, were opened at 7:00 P.M. The auditorium filled in six minutes with 15,000 persons. Ten times as many people were turned away and 20,000 persons surrounded the building. On the speaker's platform to honor the former President of Princeton University was Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, the President of Stanford University. Mayor James Rolph, Jr. of San Francisco introduced President Wilson as "the

¹⁰⁷*The Sioux City Journal*, Sept. 10, 1919, at 1.

¹⁰⁸*Id.*

¹⁰⁹*The Bismarck Tribune*, Sept. 10, 1919, at 1.

¹¹⁰*Id.*

¹¹¹*Id.*

¹¹²*Id.*

¹¹³*Id.* at 5.

greatest leader in the world.”¹¹⁴

The President declared:

It is by far the most important question that has ever come before this people for decision, and the reason I have come out upon this long journey is that I am conscious that it is the people, their purpose, their wish, which is to decide this thing, and not the thought of those who have any private purpose of their own. . . .

This is the first time in the history of international diplomacy that any great nation has acknowledged the validity of the Monroe Doctrine, and now, for the first time, all the great fighting powers of the world, except Germany, which for the time being has ceased to be a great fighting power, acknowledge the validity of the Monroe Doctrine, and accept it as part of the international practice of the world. . . .

It is the most hopeful change in the law of the world that has ever been suggested or adopted.

Now is the golden hour when America can at last prove that what she promised in the day of her birth was no dream, but a thing which she saw in its concrete reality: the rights of man, the prosperity of nations, the majesty of justice, and the sacredness of peace.¹¹⁵

On September 25th, in Denver, Colorado, the President delivered yet another major address before a throng of 12,000 people.¹¹⁶ Eight years earlier he had spoken in celebration of the tercentenary anniversary of the King James version of the Bible when he was campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination.¹¹⁷ The President told of his greeting from the children on the Capitol grounds, and of his thoughts as he faced them. “They are the ones I am arguing for,” he said softly. “They are my clients.”¹¹⁸

“The issue is clearly drawn because, inasmuch as we are masters of our own participation in the action of the League of Nations, why do we need reservations? If we cannot be obliged to do anything that we do not ourselves favor, why qualify our acceptance of a perfectly safe agreement? The only object, my fellow citizens, is to give United States exceptional advantages in the League of Nations, to exempt it from the obligations which the other members assume, or to put a special interpretation upon the duties of the United States under the covenant, which interpretation is not applicable to the duties of the other members of the covenant; and, for my part, I say it is unworthy of the United States to ask for any special privileges of this kind.

¹¹⁴San Francisco Examiner, Sept. 18, 1919, at 2.

¹¹⁵*Id.* at 3.

¹¹⁶The Denver Post, Sept. 25, 1919, at 2.

¹¹⁷The Rocky Mountain News, May 8, 1919, p. 1.

¹¹⁸The Denver Post, September 25, 1919, at 2.

“I am for going into a body of equals or staying out. Why, that is the very principle we have been fighting for, and have been proud to fight for, that the rights of the weaker nations were just as sacred as the rights of the greater nations. That is what this treaty was drawn to establish.”

“Stop for a moment to think of the next war, if there should be one. I do not hesitate to say that the war we have just been through, though it was fought through with terror of every kind, is not to be compared with the one we would have to face next time.

“What they used were toys as compared with what would be used in the next war.”¹¹⁹

After making a speech in that city, President Wilson ended his Great Western Tour in Pueblo, Colorado. It was not intended to be the tour's end: a speech in Wichita, Kansas was scheduled for the following day. But that night in Pueblo the President suffered a thrombosis of the brain. Admiral Grayson ordered that the stricken President be returned to Washington immediately. Thus, the Great Western Tour came to an abrupt ending; the noble mission unfinished, unfulfilled, and destined to fail. He suffered an even more serious thrombosis on October 2, from which he never fully recovered. Partially paralyzed, the President served out his second term, leaving office on March 4, 1921. He died on February 3, 1924, the statesman incomparable.

President Wilson's legacy, not to the world, but to all the people of the world, was the most precious and lasting gift — the truth!

The last query is the same as the first: What manner of man was Woodrow Wilson? While many men have assayed President Wilson's character and contributions, they have been well-nigh unison in their measure of the man. He was “The God of Peace and Apostle of International Justice, the great man of great men,”¹²⁰ the secular king of kings. Georges Clemenceau told President Wilson: “You are a good man, Mr. President, and you are a great man.”¹²¹ Of President Wilson, Winston Churchill said: “[H]e played a part in the fate of nations incomparably more direct and personal than any other man.”¹²² In January, 1917, he described himself as “a good man and and an honest lover of his fellow man.”¹²³ But perhaps

¹¹⁹*Id.* at 18.

¹²⁰G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 46.

¹²¹E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 243.

¹²²G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 248.

¹²³E. IONS, *supra* note 20, at 217.

the best assessment came from his own lips in September, 1919, when he was on the Immortal Great Western Tour: "I am the attorney for these children."¹²⁴ He gave the word "attorney" its greatest meaning, its "finest hour," so to speak. As the President of the United States of America, he was not only the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy but also he was the legal agent of all American children and as the Founding Father of the League of Nations the legal agent, the Great Emancipator, of all the children in the world, to free them forever from the fear and the threat of the scourge of war.

¹²⁴G. SMITH, *supra* note 9, at 76.
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