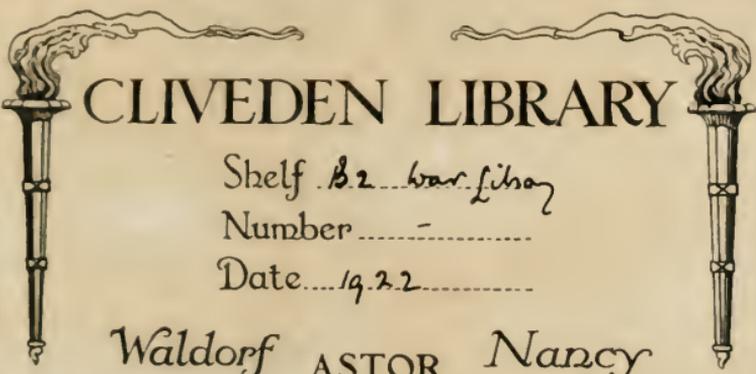


THE GERMAN- AMERICAN PLOT

FREDERIC WILLIAM WILE

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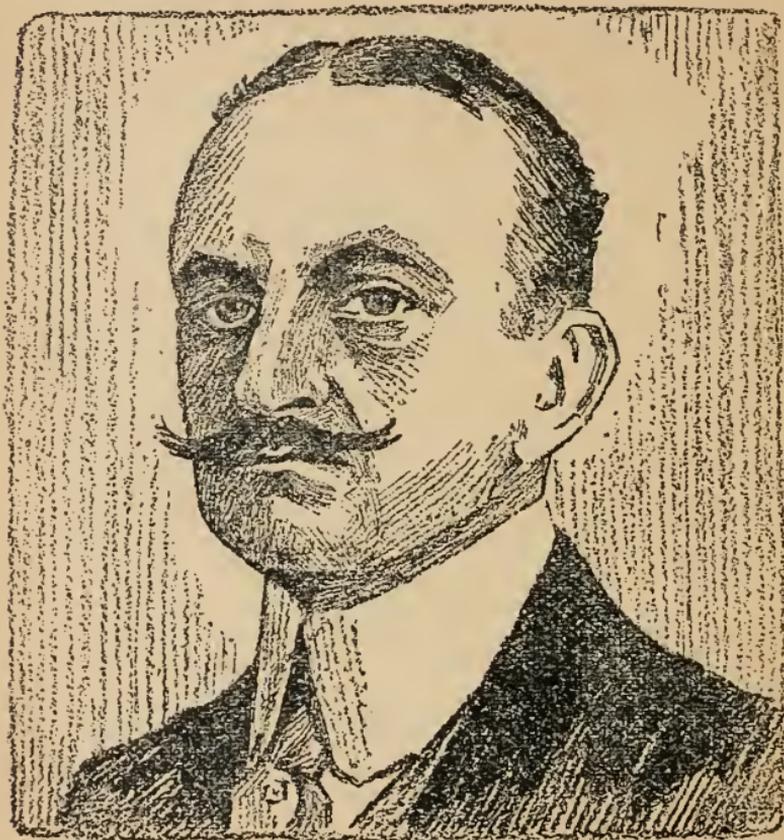
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THE Fatherland

A Weekly

(This Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.)



AMBASSADOR BERNSTORFF

WHO SUCCESSFULLY HOLDS THE HARDEST JOB IN THE UNITED STATES

AMERICANS. BE ON GUARD!

[Reproduction of front page of the notorious German organ in New York. The caution to Americans refers to a brazen leading article concerning the *Lusitania*]

THE GERMAN-
AMERICAN PLOT
THE RECORD OF A GREAT FAILURE

THE CAMPAIGN TO CAPTURE
THE SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT
OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
FREDERIC WILLIAM WILE

AUTHOR OF "MEN AROUND THE KAISER"

LONDON
C. ARTHUR PEARSON LIMITED
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1915

TO
MY FRIENDS IN AMERICA
WHO SO TIRELESSLY ASSISTED ME IN
OBTAINING THE INFORMATION WITH
WHICH THIS UNPRETENTIOUS VOLUME
DEALS

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

ON November 6, 1914, at the end of eight weeks spent in the United States immediately after the outbreak of the war, it was my privilege to describe before the festive spirits who comprise the American Luncheon Club of London some aspects of the world crisis on the peaceful side of the globe. My little talk ended as follows :

“ Knowing Germany as I do ; knowing her plans, her strength, and her ambitions, I have more than once uttered to myself during the last three months a silent prayer that some contingency might arise whereby we of the United States could wade into this fight ; for I am as convinced as I am that we are gathered here to-day that the vital interests of America are bound up with the cause of the fighting Allies.”

My prayer was answered. The United States *has* waded into the fight. As I write, in the third week of June, the issue of war or peace with Germany still hangs in the balance. Before these pages leave the press, the die may have already been cast. But whatever its visage, the red of war or the placid white of the only peace the American people will accept with honour, the intervention of the United States in Armageddon has become an accomplished historical fact. If the hard-beset Fatherland prefers a belligerent America to an America which coerced it *without* war into abandonment of piracy, President Wilson will have behind him forty-eight really United States, whose power to throw into the balance military and naval weight of no mean value can and will be speedily demonstrated. To the list of Germany's miscalculations there will then be added her contempt for America's war-making capacity in conflict with a European foe.

‡ The purpose of this booklet is to explain the amazing ramifications of the German-American plot to capture the sympathy and support of the United States. It is the record of a great failure. No propaganda crusade in history was ever organized with such thoroughness or carried on with such effrontery. Only when its diabolical comprehensiveness and steam-roller methods are realized, can Europeans measure the magnitude of the service which the Government and people of the United States have rendered to the Allies' cause in standing like Gibraltar against the onslaughts of Bernstorffism *cum* Dernburgism.

The German raid on the pro-civilization sentiment of America has not ended in fiasco because of any material contribution toward that end by England and her friends. I do not mean the lack of a counter-agitation along German lines—that would have been indisputably reprehensible. I refer to what pro-ally sympathisers consider the invincible shortsightedness which has characterized certain aspects of British policy toward the United States during the war—unimaginativeness and departmental inflexibility, which have only by a miracle failed to convert America's red-blooded sympathy into sullen disaffection. No record of the German campaign in the United States will be complete without some mention of how British disinclination to stoop to conquer has poured water on the Teuton mill. The chapter dealing with the final collapse of the Plot, and touching briefly on this point, concludes a series of articles written originally for, and published in the *Daily Mail*, by whose courteous permission they are herewith reproduced. The articles were the result of the author's special trip of investigation to the United States in February and March of this year. For the purposes of compilation in book-form, they have been, as far as possible, revised in accordance with subsequent events.

F. W. W.

LONDON, *June* 15, 1915

CHAPTER I

THE PLOT

"FRIGHTFULNESS"—the strategy of Louvain and Scarborough—did not long remain merely a feature of German military and naval warfare. It was formally adopted as a political weapon in and against neutral America. Foiled in the initial attempt to win the sympathy of the country or force the hand of the Government by mere power of persuasion, it was decided to give the German propaganda in the United States the form of a systematic and deliberate campaign of terrorization. It abandoned argument and went over to Black-Handism. What Kaiserdom openly threatened to do in the Land of the Free and Home of the Brave, in the course of its desperate Rule or Ruin crusade, was to punish financially, commercially, politically, and socially any man, newspaper, firm, corporation or party which dared oppose German bidding. Like everything German, the punitive expedition was magnificently organized. It was to be planned and executed by nothing less than a great new national society, a sort of Association of German (and Irish) Associations, with the machinery and power, if not the name, of a mighty political party.

Americans—unhyphenated Americans—were not blind to the meaning or the peril of such a movement. Employing the idiom popularized by their political party platforms when national evils are under discussion, they "viewed with alarm" the increasingly

brazen antics of the German protagonists. They did not hesitate to excoriate them as mischievous, offensive, and dangerous. Men of sane judgment and moderate speech declared that the long record of American patience and good humour offered no parallel to the equanimity with which the German propaganda early in the war was tolerated. But by the spring of 1915 it had reached a stage which caused Americans to look upon it as an intolerable outrage upon their hospitality and an affront to their dignity; they began to wonder how long, even making due allowance for the exigencies of American party politics, they could endure it, if national self-respect was not to be stricken from the roll of the Republic's virtues. The *Lusitania* massacre merely precipitated the definite revolt of the United States against German devilry.

What is above set forth is the crystallization of two months' impressions gathered in a tour across eastern and middle-western America, the fountain-head of the nation's life and thought. The terms in which these impressions are epitomized are strong, but no stronger than the words actually dinned into my ears. In the "friendly" country of the Atlantic sea-board, pro-Ally sympathy is strongest. English readers frequently fail to grasp the meaning of that statement, when *American* sentiment is under the microscope. They forget that New York is only an island off the American coast. New York sentiment undoubtedly reflects the view of the country's ruling classes, as represented by wealth, finance, and much of the nation's intellect, but it does not always reflect *American national opinion*. Atlantic coast opinion, Maine to Florida, represents only itself. The views of New England are not necessarily those of the

Mississippi Valley. Thus it was that I was warned, while absorbing early impressions on Manhattan Island, that as I trekked across the Alleghanies into the Middle West—past such Teutonic strongholds as Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee—I must prepare myself to find an atmosphere of benevolent indifference toward the German campaign, which would at many points rise to the crescendo of whole-hearted sympathy.

The premonitions with which I was inspired were to be verified, as will later be recounted. East is East, and West is West—as vividly so in America to-day, apparently, as in the sense in which Kipling has immortalized the sentiment. And “right there,” as Americans put it, they scent danger; for they tell you that the ferocity and magnitude of the German propaganda at one time were such that it threatened to sow the field of domestic peace with the seeds of bitter sectional strife. Certainly the New England “Abolitionists” who fought for the freedom of the southern slaves in Lincoln’s day campaigned in whispers and battled with the weapons of chaos compared to the Niagara of noise and the systematic clamour with which Germanism went to work to intimidate and stampede the American nation. More than one American whom I encountered murmured in accents of real concern the fear that Germany’s adherents would not shrink from embroiling “the land of their adoption” in *civil war* if thereby their “Fatherland’s” needy cause could be bolstered up.

Stated in broad outline, the German campaign in America was concentrated on an attempt to force the United States Government to abandon its attitude of uncompromising neutrality, not directly in favour of Germany, but by action designed directly to embarrass

the Allies. The campaign set itself three cardinal purposes :

(1) To bring about an embargo on the exportation of munitions of war.

(2) To embroil the United States with England on any possible pretext—contraband, ship-seizures, flag “violations,” or any other issue which arises naturally or can be artificially manufactured.

(3) To inflame Far Western antipathies to Japan and the Japanese, with a view to a Japanese-American war.

All the efforts of the vast German propaganda machine were bent in the directions indicated. The efforts, of course, were subtle—as subtle as anything connected with German diplomacy can be—for their real objectives would have become as unattainable as Paris or Calais if Herr Dernburg’s speeches and Mr. Ridder’s leading articles had blurted them out. The crusade was waged in flamboyant terms of American patriotism and sentimental susceptibilities. It was “American neutrality” which must be safeguarded, shrieked the German propagandists; it is “American honour” and “freedom of American commerce at sea” which pirate England menaces; it is “inhumane Great Britain” which seeks to “starve” Germany and Austria into a submission which the Allies cannot enforce with the sword; it is America which the Yellow Peril will next attack; it is British “navalism” not German “militarism,” which threatens the world’s liberty; it is America which is prolonging Europe’s agony by selling guns, shells, rifles, aeroplanes, and motor-cars to England, France, and Russia. The German campaign, in other words, was organized to make Americans believe that it is in *their* holy interest, in the name of American freedom, ideals, and self-respect, that Kaiserdom is waging with all the forces and ingenuity of man and hell this fight for right,

justice, and liberty. It is always as "American citizens" that Germany's protagonists wage their agitation. It is always their disinterested naturalized patriotism which spurs them. It was that phase of the German crusade which impelled unhyphenated Americans bitterly to resent so clumsy an affront to their intelligence. Abraham Lincoln said: "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." Substitute "the Germans" for "you" in the Great Emancipator's historic epigram, and you come very near to the estimate of the Teutonic bedlam which perspicacious America soon placed upon it.

It was natural for Englishmen to ask whether the time had at length not come to abandon their traditional reserve in the face of such sinister provocation, and retaliate in kind against German machinations in the United States. England's best friends there strongly deprecated "reprisals" of any sort. Counter-agitation, one was assured, would have been certain to defeat its own purpose. The Americans, with sure intuitiveness, born in this case of their own "horse-sense," were convinced that the Germans would hang themselves if they were only given "rope enough."

Early failure—failure either to influence public opinion decisively or blackmail the Government—only incited the Germans to redouble their efforts. America elects a new President and another Congress in the autumn of 1916. Events of such magnitude cast their shadows long before. The Germans, therefore, determined ruthlessly to exploit the quadrennial opportunity of the national political situation for their own purposes. The "German vote" is the best-organized "foreign vote" in the country. It has always been considered

the only one which can be "delivered" *en bloc* to party managers, thanks to its compact organization. Teetotalism, now a big political issue in America, has solidified it still more. The market-value of the "German vote" will be heralded from the house-tops in stentorian tones between now and November a year hence. With their "professional Irish" allies the Germans claim to be 5,500,000 voters strong. That is one-third of the total presidential electorate. That Kaiserism expects to wield the balance of power in American politics during the next two years is amply evident from the remarkable resolutions adopted by the new German Party at its constituent assembly in Washington on January 30, of which I shall say more.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESIDENT

ON his return from the "nominating convention" of his party in the State of Minnesota, a Republican politician was once asked by a neighbour, "Well, whom have they nominated for Governor?"

"Ole Larson," was the reply.

"And for Lieutenant-Governor?"

"Karl Buchholz."

"Who was nominated for State Treasurer?"

"Patrick O'Donnell."

"And for State Auditor?"

"Ivan Orloffsky."

"Well, who got the nomination for State Geologist?"

"Thomas Jefferson Smith"

"Great Heavens! Why'd they put Smith on the ticket?"

"Oh," responded the man who knew, "they want to capture the American vote."

That is a classic story illustrating the ethnological eccentricities of United States politics. It puts the "foreign vote" problem in a nutshell. It is a phase which no European who desires to understand the attitude of America toward the present world crisis must overlook or underestimate. Englishmen are fond of saying, and they say it with justice, that the average American is constitutionally incapable of understanding the English character. Americans may

retort with equal justice that the average Britisher is hopelessly ignorant of the true inwardness of that strange phenomenon known as American politics.

The cardinal error of the Englishman who attempts to gauge American opinion toward the war is in thinking that England is still looked upon as America's "mother country." Until European immigration flooded the Republic with a hyphenated population (foreign born) which amounted at the last census (1910) to 13,500,000, there was some justification for calling Britain America's motherland. But England is not, for instance, the "mother country" of Mr. Roosevelt, though it happens to be of Mr. Wilson. It is not the "mother country" of United States Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, who was born in Norway, nor of Mr. Oscar Straus, ex-Ambassador and Cabinet Minister, who was born in Germany. Senator Robert Latham Owen of Oklahoma, who is proud of the Red Indian blood in his veins, would undoubtedly dispute the right of a political opponent to saddle an English "motherland" on him. And so it goes through the whole list of present-day American citizens, public men of national renown as well as humbler persons.

Look at the question from the "mother tongue" standpoint. The Census Bureau in December 1913 published a table showing the mother tongue of the foreign-born population and natives of foreign-born parents in the United States, according to the census of 1910. Together the two elements totalled 32,243,282 inhabitants. Those whose mother tongue was tabulated as English (including Irish, Scotch and Welsh) aggregated 10,037,420. But those whose mother tongue is either Germanic, Scandinavian, Latin, Greek, Slavic, Lettic, Yiddish, Finnish, Armenian, Magyar, Syrian, Arabic, Turkish or Albanian totalled 22,205,962.

The population of the United States at the last census was 91,972,266, so that the statistics above-quoted, comprehending only the first and second generations of "foreign-white stock," account for less than 25 per cent. of the grand total. But it is large enough, in the case of the 22,000,000 whose mother tongue is not English, to make the "English mother country" theory less tenable, to say the least, than it once was.

I tire readers with these figures merely for the purpose of clearing their minds, in a general sort of way, as to polyglot conditions in America. I would call them especially to the attention of Englishmen, of whom I met many in London before sailing for the United States, of whom I met dozens in the White Star liner which took me to those shores, of whom I found a generous sprinkling settled in the United States as residents, and who are inclined to scold America for her failure long ago to beat her undoubted sympathy for the Allies into something more tangible than platonic affection. I will not labour the point, except to remind Englishmen that President Wilson is not the chief magistrate of the United States of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Belgium, but of the United States of America. His position, in the midst of the crisis convulsing belligerent Europe and Asia, has never been an easy one. One did not need to be in Washington very long, or to study for very many days the counter-currents of race, section and special interests through which the United States ship of state must be steered by its skipper-in-chief, to realize that Mr. Wilson, like the piano-player in one of America's best "stories," has been "doing the best he can," and deserved to have as few "things" as possible "thrown at him." He not only merited this immunity in his own country,

but he was entitled to it in a very special degree at the hands of warring Europe.

For accurate information as to the quality of President Wilson's "neutrality," I went to his political opponents. I applied to his supporters, too. And I feel warranted in saying, as the consensus of the opinion gathered in both Administration and anti-Administration circles, that Mr. Wilson has contrived throughout the war to make a successful effort to observe neutrality not only in motive and act, but in spirit. It did not always seem possible that he would be able permanently to maintain his uncompromising attitude. That he has consistently desired to do so is generally believed. But it was acknowledged on all hands that the Democratic Administration—what is known in England as the "Government"—are in an extremely bad way. They have been facing for a year or more something approaching certain doom at the presidential elections of 1916. They are believed by keen political observers of unbiased judgment to have lost caste with the country on a scale and at a rate comparable only with the precipitate slide of Mr. Taft's Government down the political toboggan, a descent which led in 1912 to the most disastrous defeat ever suffered by an American president in quest of re-election. Mexico, injurious effects of the new tariff, and other causes have seriously undermined President Wilson's prestige. His firmness with Germany on the *Lusitania* case very considerably resuscitated it.

What to do to be saved was the paramount issue confronting the Democratic Party, and the German organization required no occult vision to realize that in Democracy's extremities lay hope. It said to itself: "Cannot mere anxiety as to the potential power of the German vote be turned into positive terror

and cause Democratic knees, now but quaking, to bend in craven servility? ” That was the question which Americans three months ago were asking themselves. Those of them who favoured the maintenance of strict American neutrality in the war, or at least no deviation from it which could conceivably accrue to German advantage, interrogated themselves with no little concern. The exigencies of the domestic political situation were full of menace.

I have said that Mr. Wilson was looked upon by his countrymen as wishing to remain neutral in the strictest possible interpretation of the word. In Washington one was assured he has hardly even talked about the war to a living soul outside of the members of his cabinet and his family circle. He soon came to realize, as most Americans did, that discussion of the crisis in their Cosmopolis from any standpoint meant acrimony. If he could, Mr. Wilson would probably have resorted to the practice in vogue in the home city of the Vice-President, Indianapolis, Indiana, where a placard is displayed in the tramcars, theatres, restaurants, shops and hotels, adjuring the populace to refrain from “ war conversation.” Mr. Wilson was, of course, much more successful in suppressing his own emotions than in repressing those of his countrymen ; for every American who is proud that he is one—and that means the entire population—had his opinion about the war from the beginning, and expressed it. The possibility of keeping the American public “ neutral ” was commensurate with human capacity to restrain the winds which sweep the Sahara.

I may not quote the President’s own views about the German attempt to overthrow American intelligence, of which details follow in subsequent chapters. But I believe that a certain Lutheran gentleman of

St. Louis, a fervid "German-American," could tell an interesting story of what the President thinks about Dernburgism. The gentleman had been arguing in favour of a Senate Bill proposing an embargo on the exportation of arms. He held forth eloquently before Senators on the "duties" of American citizenship, the "dictates" of American patriotism, and even dilated for their edification upon what George Washington would have done, had he been alive at this witching hour. Next day the leading German member of the United States Congress, Dr. Richard Bartholdt, took his Lutheran constituent to the White House. The lecture before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations was forthwith repeated for President Wilson's edification. Things leak out even from the most neutral precincts of the Executive Mansion, and Washington heard that what Mr. Wilson told Dr. Bartholdt's fellow-townsmen would not look well in a German propaganda pamphlet.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT

IF Washington is ever rebuilt, the architects ought to take a leaf from the blue-prints of the men who emblazoned *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* upon the public buildings of Paris and display a legend reading "Frankness in exchange for anonymity" over the portals of the Public Departments of America. For this is the principle on which the business of the world's greatest Republic is apparently conducted. At least that was the outstanding impression left on the mind of an itinerant observer bent, as I was, on soliciting the confidences of the Government's makers and leaders. Communicativeness as a return for preservation of confidence is Washingtonian law and custom. I lived beneath its enlightening shadow for a week. I found that all doors fly open to one who may be trusted to keep faith; from such a one Washington withholds no secrets. I went there to ascertain, if I could, the actual position of the United States Government toward the great issues raised in and for America by the war. For the reason already set forth I may not give chapter and verse, but I may assure readers of these reflections that they are authoritative and authentic. They will go further, at obvious points, than official exchanges of Notes between the American and British Governments have ever gone, or even verbal communications between their respective representatives in Washington or London. Washington is a confirmed believer in

presenting certain aspects of diplomatic questions in the broad daylight of the public prints. That is why the brilliant corps of Washington correspondents of domestic and foreign newspapers is unquestionably the "best informed" in the world.

At the risk of confirming the worst fears of the German Government and the most violent accusations of its naturalized American agents, I am impelled to pronounce Washington sentiment overwhelmingly pro-Ally. Everybody thereabouts has been elected or appointed to something and expects to be re-elected or re-appointed, so there is great circumspection in expressing views for domestic consumption, but my own attempts to probe sentiment only infrequently encountered caution and taciturnity. Turn where you would in that "city of magnificent distances." Investigate, as I did, at both ends of stately Pennsylvania Avenue—at the far Capitol end, where one of the most beautiful domes in all the world towers above the marble halls in which the Senate and the House of Representatives and the Supreme Court sit; or at the town end, where the White House and the Treasury and the State, Navy and War Departments are. You would have found, if you were fortunate enough to be the repository of such confidences as were mine, that Washington, though it is "officially neutral," is almost as pro-Ally at heart as London, Paris, Petrograd, Rome, or Brussels. There are exceptions, and I came in violent contact with them, but they were rare, lonely and traceable to special circumstances seldom detached from personal interest. Advance information led me to expect that atmosphere, but its universality and passionate intensity were a revelation. Presidential proclamations of neutrality unmistakably failed to still the hearts, even if they restrained the tongues, of the governing set of the Ameri-

can people, and their hearts have from the outset beat almost in unison for the cause for which Great Britain is fighting. Dernburgism has not moved them except to offend them. Belgium alone put Kaiserism beyond the American pale for ever. On that indictment Germany stands irreparably convicted in the United States. She has, indeed, hardly attempted to answer the charge. On all the "original issues" of the war, as a Senator who is considered "the master mind" of American politics describes them, public opinion is almost unanimously anti-German—by which I mean, always, that section of the population which does not confess to being "German-American." Men as divergent in point of view as Massachusetts and Mississippi utterly condemn German militarism in general, German responsibility for the war in particular, the burglarization of Belgium, and German war methods ashore and afloat. It is on *the international issues* raised during the war that American sentiment has to a certain extent fluctuated; it is those, with special regard to the position of the United States Government, that I shall now proceed to discuss.

In Washington I found undisguised satisfaction that Great Britain considered American diplomatic remonstrances on controversial questions "frank and friendly" in tone and motive. There is a studied effort at the White House and the State Department to give that hallmark to every communication to England which the American Government is constrained to make. The frame of mind in which the United States is inclined to approach negotiations with Great Britain and Germany, as reflected by the famous simultaneous Notes to those Powers in February, respectively, on the *Lusitania* flag episode and the "war zone," was branded by Dr. Bartholdt, the German congressional

mouthpiece, as "sycophantic to Great Britain and insulting to Germany." More correct was ex-Senator Chauncey M. Depew, who called both Notes "State documents which accord with the best traditions of American diplomacy"; but I have no quarrel with Dr. Bartholdt as to the *basic* difference in point of view which he excoriates. Englishmen may be absolutely certain that nothing but extraordinary circumstances or an overt act will at any time ever impel the United States Government to depart from the determination to deal with England in the spirit of old friends. Germany, which aims to disrupt that spirit, may derive such satisfaction or otherwise as she pleases from this state of affairs. Mr. Bryan's disappearance from the State Department will certainly not alter it. It exists and it will continue to prevail except *under duress*. It is that aspect of the situation to which attention needs to be, and cannot too strongly be, directed.

The United States Government has always felt, and feels now, that it is entitled to ask Great Britain to recall the former's inherent difficulties. Undismayed by certain deplorable British periodical and poetical charges that America hoisted the banner of protest in the world war only when its pocket was affected—that the eagle slept when Belgium was ravished and screamed when the Almighty Dollar was imperilled—Washington insists upon the duty of the American Government to intervene when America's vast material interests are jeopardized. The German propaganda, except, perhaps, in the single case of the submarines which Mr. Schwab was prevented from shipping to the Allies, has stormed the citadel of Neutral Washington in vain and raged in impotence. But Great Britain is urged by her best friends in America *not to feed and*

nourish the German propaganda by unnecessary, procrastinating, or arbitrary action. There is a conscientious conviction in sober-minded United States quarters, of whose partiality for the British cause there is no question, that England's conduct of the sea-law issues of the war has not been devoid at times of sheer arrogance. A jurist who is considered America's ablest legal mind, and who is one of the legion who regard British victory in the war a vital necessity for America, told me that England in more than one respect *insists upon an interpretation of contraband law which is sorely trying to American patience, and will not stand the test of unbiased judgment.*

The Washington Government points out that what England considers "necessary" in the interest of self-defence and British sea policy may not always appear "necessary" to Neutral America. Americans declare that while belligerents have necessities, neutrals have rights. England is asked to remember that the demands of a belligerent, however urgent for him, cannot command the meek assent of a neutral if the latter's common privileges are trampled upon, or his interests ruthlessly molested to the point of destruction. When the outbreak of war sent cotton down a cent a pound, the South was £16,000,000 poorer. When it sank another cent, Dixie's loss was £32,000,000. When British cruisers essayed to stop copper exports to Germany and Austria, vast American industries in Michigan and Minnesota and Montana were disastrously affected. When petroleum shipments to Hamburg and Bremen ceased, a trade worth £10,000,000 a year collapsed. Three million pounds' worth of American packing products are at this writing "held up" in British prize ports.

America does not expect to be immune in every respect from the ravages and demoralization which Armageddon has wreaked upon Europe. But she thinks the annoyance and the cost to her of *other people's troubles* ought to be reduced to the minimum consonant with the principles of international law. She does not think she is unreasonable in demanding more expeditious treatment of war claims—ship seizures and the like. She complains that controversies originating in October ought not to be dragging along unsettled in the succeeding June. England knows that America sincerely resented the use of the Stars and Stripes for the protection of British merchant shipping threatened by German submarines. It was made very manifest to me in Washington that that was an unfortunate blunder. Sentiment against Germany happened to be increasing at the moment the ill-starred *Lusitania* hoisted the American flag in connexion with the pirate war-zone proclamation. The incident was exactly one of those things which inevitably "feed" the German agitation. America has earnestly desired and intended to "keep out of the war." It is not disposed to view with favour any act which, in its consequences, might embroil the United States under circumstances for which the American people themselves could in no way be held responsible.

The topic of topics on which excitement in Washington was as good as non-existent was the prospective seizure of the *Dacia*.* I asked Cabinet Ministers, Senators, Representatives, and others in authority what would be the effect on public opinion of the "capture" of the late Hamburg-American liner. "None at all," was the almost universal response. A famous Alabama Democrat explained that the *Dacia*

* Later seized by a French cruiser.

affair had fortunately been the victim of "too much advance advertising" ever to hope to attain the dimensions of an explosive incident. People had had time fully to discount the inevitable fate of that ship of adventure. Americans, I was told, would await with composure the adjudication of the seizure by a prize court. They would await it, moreover, with confidence that the decision would be in strict accord with the recognized canons of international law. Only in the event that those are overridden roughshod (and past events conjured up such a possibility) did the affair suggest the likelihood of a serious conflict.

CHAPTER IV

HYPHENIZATION

WHAT are "German-Americans"? How many are there? What is the secret of their power?

These and kindred questions have been asked in England times innumerable since the war began. Only exceptionally does one encounter reliable information in reply. It is primarily, of course, on the hyphenated offspring of Germany that Kaiserism has depended for the execution of its plot to overthrow America's natural sympathy for the Allies' cause. Bernstorff and Dernburg only *commanded* the German-American forces. They were in being years before their war leaders arrived on the field. Before attempting to sketch German-Americanism in detail, let me answer tersely the three questions above put:

(1) "German-Americans," for the purposes of the war, are United States citizens *born* either in Germany, Austria, or Hungary.

(2) According to the last census (1910) there were 4,171,705 "German-Americans,"—2,501,181 Germans, 1,174,924 Austrians, and 495,600 Hungarians. The pro-German claim of "20,000,000 German-Americans" gratuitously includes the second, third, or fourth generations of *American-born* children of Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians. It is notoriously untrue that one-fifth of the present population of the United States is or considers itself "German-American." *Millions of Americans whose parents or*

grandparents were born in Germany or Austria-Hungary are ardently pro-Ally. A total of 10,000,000 pro-German sympathizers probably represents a more correct estimate of the "German-American" element in the war. *America is nine-tenths pro-Ally.*

(3) The secret of "German-American" power and influence is cohesive organization. Numerically it is much stronger than any other foreign-born element in the United States, as will be indicated by the following census statistics :

Born in :

Germany, Austria, and Hungary	4,171,705
Russia	1,602,752
Ireland	1,352,155
Italy	1,343,070
Scandinavian kingdoms	1,250,662
England, Scotland, and Wales	1,219,968
France	117,236

These figures show that the "allied nationalities" aggregate 5,635,181 as against the German-Austrian-Hungarian 4,171,705 ; but as the German contingent is an organized political force, and has been augmented during the war by thousands of irreconcilable Russians and Irish, it wields far greater influence than mere numerical superiority implies.

It has long been a commonplace to say that "German-American" citizens are among the best the United States has ever had. That is literally true, but the zeal with which many of the present generation have waved two flags and protested unblushingly two allegiances during the war will make the statement less axiomatic in future.

Germans, of course, had no such part in the founding of America as the English and the Dutch had. Yet

German participation in the establishment of the Republic was not insignificant. Generations of American schoolboys have been taught that Frederick the Great refused to allow England's hired Hessians to cross Prussia on their way to the rebel colonies across the ocean; and Baron von Steuben, an accomplished Prussian officer, was a valiant lieutenant of General George Washington in organizing victory against George III. Pennsylvania, the cradle of American liberty, for years was almost as German as British. One of its oldest and honoured names is Mühlenberg, of Revolutionary lineage. Philadelphia's most famous suburb is still called "Germantown." The German family of Pennypacker has been settled in Pennsylvania for generations and given able men to the community. The present Governor of the State is named Brumbaugh, and the mayor of Philadelphia is the German-born Blankenburg. Mr. Charles M. Schwab, the celebrated steel and iron king, who has just given splendid evidence of loyalty to the Allies' cause by refusing to transfer his vast armaments interests to German capitalists, is a descendant of "Pennsylvania German" stock which contributed so largely to the "Keystone State's" growth and prosperity.

In 1848, the year of Prussian revolution, tens of thousands of Germans went to the United States. The leading German-Americans of the day are the sons or grandsons of hardy "Forty-Eighters." A Prussian revolutionist who made a revered name for himself in American history is the late Carl Schurz, who became a Cabinet Minister. Go where you will in the United States, and you will encounter German names which hold high place in American estimation. In the greatest domestic crisis of American history, the War

of the Rebellion in 1861-65, naturalized Germans played a creditable role. Schurz was a general, and General Franz Sigel, with his German brigade, became one of the popular heroes on the Northern side. There were thousands of German soldiers in the Union army. Count Zeppelin served as Wuerttemberg's military attaché with General Grant, and made his first balloon ascent in a United States army observation-gasbag.

There is hardly a branch of public or private activity in America which has not been adorned by Germans, hardly a community which they have not helped to build up. Schurz, Freylinghausen, and Sigel in politics and war; Seligman, Hallgarten, and Villard in finance; Ottendorfer, Mayer, Pretorius, Rapp, and Helsing in journalism; Ruppert, Anheuser, Busch, Schlitz, Pabst, Seipp, Lemp, Uihlein in the brewing industry which Germans in the United States have traditionally monopolized; Straus and Uhl in diplomacy; Morris, Schwarzschild and Sulzberger in the great packing industry; Weyerhaeuser, the lumber king; Guggenheims, the copper magnates; Mandel and Altman, merchant princes; all of these are names which Americans—real Americans—honour as those of men who had much to do with the creation of the United States of to-day. The history of the commerce and industry of America's greatest cities—New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, to mention but a random quartette—is, to no inconsiderable extent, the history of German-Americans who carved their way to fame and fortune in their adopted country. Milwaukee could almost be stamped "Made by Germans."

For the most part the Germans who played conspicuous roles in the upbuilding of the United States

were European-born. Those of them still alive—they are a vanishing race—are, I suppose, without exception ardently pro-German in the war. In many cases their American-born sons—the so-called “second generation”—are pro-German, too. In less numerous cases, the children of the third and fourth generation also sympathize with the land of their ancestors. But during my recent trip to the United States I discovered that *for every pro-German among the American-born descendants of native Germans, there is at least one pro-Ally supporter.* Two of New York’s greatest newspapers, both pro-Ally, are owned by the sons of Germans. Another, also pro-Ally, is owned by the sons of a Hungarian. I know personally half a dozen prominent New York bankers whose fathers were German, but who are themselves enthusiastically pro-Ally Americans. I know the pro-Ally vice-presidents of two great American life-insurance companies, whose fathers were Germans. I know a brilliant New York rabbi, who, though born in Hungary, is pro-Ally to the core. East and West I know merchants, manufacturers, and professional men—university professors, surgeons, physicians, barristers, journalists—all of them the direct offspring of German fathers, yet as unreservedly pro-Ally in their full-hearted sympathies as Mr. Garvin or Lord Fisher. Ask these men, as I did, why they have not answered the call of the blood and come out for Hohenzollernism. They will tell you that they disavow the label of “German-American” for themselves and their children. They are Americans, born and bred, and nothing but that. Their fathers, they will explain, came to the United States in many cases either as babes in arms or as mere lads who fled from the oppressing and obnoxious influence of German militarism and autocracy. They

will tell you that they imbibed no love of anything German with their mother's milk. Their parents came to America in order to exchange bondage for liberty. In withholding support to-day from Germanism's cause, they are true, not recreant, to the memory of their progenitors. This is how millions of Americans wrongly considered "German-Americans" talk. I do not know exactly how large a force they represent numerically, but it is immense, and it bitterly resents inclusion in the throng which has been dancing to the crack of Bernstorff's and Dernburg's whips.

I have said that German-Americans are a power in the United States because they are organized. It is they who constitute the "German vote." It is a force in American politics which has more than once proved of decisive influence on State, county, and municipal elections. It can quite conceivably also be a "pivotal" influence on national, or Presidential elections. United States Presidents, as everybody knows, are not elected directly by the people, but by the "electoral college," or "electors" voted for by the citizens of the individual States. Thus it could easily happen that the "electoral vote" of States like Illinois, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Missouri (aggregating 84 out of a total of 435), where the German-American element is strongest, could be swung for this, that, or the other candidate by the hundreds of thousands of "German voters." It would only have taken, for example, the 37 "electoral" votes of New York State (37) to defeat Grover Cleveland for the Presidency in 1884. A couple of thousand Roman Catholic votes defeated Mr. Blaine on that occasion. Ten or fifteen thousand German votes might overthrow a candidate for the Presidency next year.

I must not leave the general subject of "German-Americanism" without a few words about the Jews of the United States. In England there is a disposition to classify that element sweepingly as part and parcel of the German millions in America. Nothing could be more inaccurate. There are 2,000,000 Jews in the United States. The best-known of them, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York, happens to be pro-German. His American-born son and partner, Mortimer H. Schiff, is pro-Ally. Dr. Hirsch, the gifted Chicago rabbi, whose native Luxemburg probably thinks differently, is also pro-German, and though no man knows better the humiliating position occupied by Jews in Germany, he is one of her most rabid advocates in the United States. But for every Schiff and Hirsch, I found hundreds of truly American Jews who are ardently pro-Ally. The country's most brilliant Jewish clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, declares that American Jewry is cruelly misrepresented by the allegation that it is "with Germany." He says that the Allies are fighting exactly for those ideals of liberty and civic righteousness which Judaism stands for.

American Jews know too well the story of brutal social ostracism to which members of their race are traditionally subjected in Germany to induce them now to espouse her cause. American Jews know that European anti-Semitism, born in Prussia under Bismarck and fomented by Treitschke, is still rife, even at this hour, for word has come that though army-officerships were conferred on a handful of Prussian Jews as a sop at the beginning of the war, *they are still almost social outcasts among their comrades*, who refuse to associate with them, even in the trenches, on terms of equality. The most outspoken friend of the Allies'

cause in the American Press is a New York newspaper owned by an American Jew of German descent. He sees no reason for supporting Kultur's cause. And like him, hundreds and thousands of other American Jews. The pro-German American Jews are, in nine cases out of ten, not anti-Ally, but anti-Russian. The German System has exploited Kishineff for the purpose of alienating sympathy from France and Britain. It started a Yiddish war paper in New York, *The Day*, for the express purpose of fomenting anti-Russianism in America. Yet not even all the Russian Jews in the United States are pro-German, no more than are the Jews of Whitechapel. They have heard that one-half of the Jews fighting for the Tsar are volunteers. If I had the ear of the Russian Government, I would venture a suggestion that their intention, as it is understood in America, really to emancipate the Jews after the war, should be forthwith given some categorical, binding form. I believe it would rally to the Allies' cause in the United States almost unanimously that minority of Jews who are now supporters of Germany, out of Russophobe motives. The Jews are a tremendous factor in the United States, and their sympathy and influence, moral and otherwise, ought not to be ignored.

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DR. BERNHARD DERNBURG

WHOSE MASTERLY EXPOSITION OF GERMANY'S JUST CAUSE HAS ANGERED THE AMERICAN TORIES

HOW TO SAFEGUARD AMERICAN LIVES AT SEA

[*The Fatherland* honours Dernburg for condoning the destruction of the *Lusitania*.]

CHAPTER V

ORGANIZATION

ROUGHLY speaking, Germanism has been organized within the United States in the form which reached its crescendo three months ago since the Spanish-American War, a period of seventeen years. The project to league into one concrete, compact, centralized whole the countless singing societies, bowling-clubs, rifle associations, veteran unions, editorial associations, Lutheran congregations, gymnastic clubs and all the other variegated *Vereine* in which German life in America found expression originated during the ambassadorship of the late Doctor Baron von Holleben. Hitherto "German-Americans" had been a negligible political quantity in the land of their adoption, as well as an element of contempt in the country of their birth. In the United States their political ideals never rose above a protest against "personal liberty," by which is meant unrestricted beer-drinking nights and Sundays. In Germany "German-Americans" were looked upon as hyphenated pariahs and renegades, and in many cases as cravens who in their tens of thousands had fled the Fatherland either in terror of or abhorrence of militarism. Many of them may never go back. The Emperor William II, in confidential moments, more than once during the first decade of his turbulent reign, excoriated "German-Americans" in terms which left no doubt of the obloquy in which he held them.

Ambassador von Holleben perceived an opportunity

to alter the status of his hybrid compatriots, both as a factor in the United States and a political asset for Germany. He ascertained that the "German vote," organized and labelled, could be made so valuable a feature of American politics that neither of the two great parties could afford to ignore it. Simultaneously he recognized that the "German vote" could be used as a perpetual weapon in Washington with which to intimidate, Damocles sword-like, any Administration which dared on occasion to adopt an "anti-German policy." The Spanish-American War had broken out. Continental Europe, notably Germany, was almost solidly arrayed against "Yankeeism." The officially-inspired Press of the Fatherland yelped and yawped at America's heels and German public opinion was forthwith lashed into cordial support of the project of the Kaiser's Government for European intervention on behalf of Spain. Great Britain foiled that scheme, just as Admiral Dewey and all Americans know that it was the attitude of Admiral Sir Edward Chichester at Manila, which prevented war between Germany and the United States, following the officious interference of Admiral von Diederichs in the American blockade of the Philippine Islands.

Von Holleben now saw the urgent necessity of leaguening Germans in the United States together for German political purposes at Washington. If American Governments were not predisposed in Germany's favour on the basis of Germany's "rights," they must be made to feel the lash which could be wielded by naturalized German citizens at the polls. The Ambassador knew the breed. He knew that their absorbing passion is craze for titles and decorations. He knew that half the life and energy of the average Teuton is spent in scheming for an Imperial smile in the shape

of a new handle for a name or a ribbon and a medal for a lapel. He knew that the sentimental loyalty of the naturalized German to the *Vaterland* could be exploited by the most insignificant token from the War Lord from whom allegiance had been forsworn. The German Embassy at Washington having obtained Berlin's Imperial sanction to the grandiose plan proceeded to carry it into effect. Renegade Germans suddenly found themselves *persona grata*. Formerly snubbed, they began to be "cultivated." The Ambassador's door, previously slammed in their faces, now stood wide open. Recognition at the hands of the Old Country, long withheld, became theirs for the asking. Did the *Veteranen-Bund* of Sioux City, Iowa, want a set of royal battle standards from the Kaiser? Nothing easier. Did the *Verband der Kegelervereine* want a Kaiser-prize for the national bowling championship? "Delighted," said von Holleben. Did the President of the Indianapolis *Saenger-Bund* want to give a concert at Potsdam, with the usual marks of royal recognition to follow? "*Jawohl!* Can be arranged without any trouble," wired the German Ambassador. "German-Americanism" had at last come into its hyphenated own.

The enthusiasms of the myriad of German *Vereine* throughout the States—Bismarck called the besetting sin of his people *Vereinsmeierei*, the cult of "joining" something or other—having now been successfully stirred, Baron von Holleben set himself the task of exploiting the American Press. Busch's memoirs had just appeared in an English translation and excited a profound sensation in the United States; but, unabashed by their revelations of German journalistic corruption, von Holleben proceeded to "work" the newspapers of the United States on Bismarckian lines.

For the purpose, by his own published confessions, a certain Emil Witte, who had recently arrived from Germany, was employed. Witte became Holleben's Busch. He was assigned the task, first of all, of creating a more favourable attitude toward the German Embassy on the part of three daily newspapers in Washington. The mission was partially accomplished. Then Witte was told off to curb the anti-German tone of a certain influential New York journal hitherto noted for its acerbity toward the War Lord and his works. In this direction, too, von Holleben's efforts were not fruitless. The vast German Press of the United States—comprising to-day about 140 daily and weekly periodicals spread over eighteen States, with an aggregate circulation running into the millions—was not difficult to "approach." American political managers have "approached" them for years. Newspapers printed in the language of Goethe in the United States are traditionally venal, not perhaps through inherent dishonesty, but because the struggle for business existence against "Anglo-American" rivals puts a premium on their corruptibility. Consular appointments abroad are among the politicians' favourite method of "influencing" German-American editors.

Presently von Holleben turned his attention to the centralization of all branches of organized German life in the United States. Town and city branches of this, that or the other *Verein*, clubs, veteran unions, church societies, rifle associations, must be turned into State organizations, and State organizations, again, into National leagues. *Vereinsmeierei* could be relied upon to promote the scheme, and soon the idea bore fruit. On April 16, 1899, the "German-American Central Alliance of Pennsylvania" was founded "to give impulse to the idea of the consolidation of the

German-American element." On June 19, 1900, there took place at Philadelphia, the cradle of the United States of America itself, a preliminary meeting of delegates from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, and Minnesota. On October 6, 1901 (October 6 is now known throughout America as "German Day"), there was held in the hall of the German Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia the first "convention," or constituent assembly, of the "National German-American Alliance of the United States." Represented at the convention were California, District of Columbia, Idaho, Indiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The first president was Dr. C. J. Hexamer, a prominent civil engineer, of Philadelphia, who is still in office. Dr. Hexamer is a native-born American of German parentage. The aims of the Alliance were set forth in a flamboyant set of "principles" as a desire to *"awaken and strengthen the sense of unity among the people of German origin in America with a view to promoting the useful and healthy development of the power inherent in them as a united body for the mutual energetic protection of such legitimate desires and interests as are not inconsistent with the common good of the country and the rights and duties of good citizens; to check nativistic encroachments; to maintain and safeguard the good and friendly relations existing between America and the old German Fatherland."* And thirteen other paragraphs, distinguished by equally long-winded, high-sounding sentences, were added for the purpose of proving that the Alliance had no other goal except to assure the German-Americans *"the shortest road to, and the surest guarantee of, the attainment of the aims set forth in this constitution."* Dr. Hexamer, in a pleasant half-hour interview accorded me while I was in Phila-

delphia, defined the broad, general object of his Alliance as "*the spread of German culture throughout the United States, particularly the German language, the German spirit and German manners.*"

As to the superiority of German "culture," Dr. Hexamer is, of course, in no doubt, for a *précis* of the Alliance's "principles and aims," which he handed me, begins with this frank, if not over-modest, manifesto :

"We stand and strive for the maintenance and assimilation of the best in German culture and in German idealism; *because it is that which is more advanced than any other*, and, as it is broad and liberal, it has assimilated that which is best in the culture of all times and nationalities. German culture has always recognized the achievements of other peoples and it has been able and willing to add that which is best in the cultural treasures of the universe in the interest of pure knowledge."

The Alliance celebrated its tenth anniversary by holding the most successful convention in its history at Washington in October, 1911. President Hexamer's annual report is summarized in the official record, as follows :

"*Excellent progress towards the aims of the Alliance. Excellent work being done by German-American element everywhere. Reports and proposals are impressive, anticipating success and upholding of German-American ideals; many important achievements are communicated from all the States of the Union. Public opinion takes approving interest in Alliance. The broad masses begin to understand the value of the German element in general and the aims and principles of the National German-American Alliance in particular. Monuments erected to commemorate memory of Steuben and Muehlenberg (German participants in American Revolution) . . . Establishment of Press Bureau recommended. Exchange of professors (originated by the Kaiser seven years previous), of teachers and scholars, visits by financial and industrial commissions, etc.,*

bring excellent results. Repeated urgent appeal to parents to help their offspring retain the German language. . . . Aim of the Alliance : to strive for and maintain the highest culture and ideals for the common good of our Nation."

Since then the Alliance's progress has steadily continued. To-day its membership is over 2,000,000, including German-born citizens of the United States and their American-born descendants. It is by far the most powerful, numerically, of all German-American national organizations, which now include the German War Veterans Society, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, the North American Gymnastic Association, the German Editorial Association, the German Roman Catholic Central Union, the German Historical Society, the German Singers League, the Academic League of Former German University Students, and the German Evangelical Synod of North America. These are the various national organizations of the thousand and one village, town, city, county and State organizations which are sleeplessly promoting *Deutschtum* under the guise of American citizenship and patriotism in their respective individual communities. They represent, according to a German-American boast which errs on the side of exaggeration, a round one-third of the voting strength of the United States in a presidential election. Dr. von Holleben, now gathered to his fathers, might well be proud of his pioneer labours in the closing hours of the preceding century.

It was in the winter of 1902 that Dr. von Holleben played his trump-card with German-Americans. For many months he had been systematically consorting with them on terms of unwonted intimacy. A Cincinnati *Saengerfest*, which never aspired to anything in the way of a celebrity above the rank of the Governor

of Ohio, now found it easy to secure the presence of the Kaiser's Imperial Ambassador in Washington. It was not too much even for an humble Illinois *Schutzverein* to hope to have its annual shoot graced by his attendance. But something far more effulgent and inspiring than an Ambassador was soon to be dangled before the German-Americans; they were to be brought face to face with a prince of the Prussian blood royal—the Kaiser's sailor-brother, Admiral Prince Henry. Nobody invited Prince Henry to honour the United States with a visit. He just came. Whatever Washington's emotions may have been when Baron von Holleben confronted the Government with the glad tidings, German-Americans were transported to the seventh heaven of delight. Mr. Herman Ridder, proprietor of the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, arranged a monster banquet for the Prince at the Waldorf-Astoria, which was attended by all the prominent advertisers of New York City. Ostensibly the Kaiser had dispatched his brother to launch an American-built racing-yacht. Few Americans realized the underlying purpose of Prince Henry's visitation at the time, but events meantime have amply convinced them that he was sent to cement the *internal* German-American structure reared by Von Holleben; to apply the royal touch which the German who understands his own people's frailties knows is positively designed to fire their devotion; to demonstrate that the seal of the approval of the War Lord at home was now set upon the great scheme to build up a German State within the "adopted" American State; to show, as far as lay in his power, that William II saw only good for the Fatherland in any movement which promised to turn *war between Germany and the United States into an American civil war.*

Thus Germany, even in far-off 1902, when Prince

Henry of Prussia arrived in America, was preparing for "The Day"—this day. The part German-American leaders were expected to play was doubtless assigned them in the course of the Prince's spectacular junket across the continent. It will be my task, in the succeeding chapter, to describe how Germany proceeded to capitalize her investment of twelve years previous.

CHAPTER VI

MOBILIZATION

AUGUST, 1914, found the American field, it was confidently believed in Berlin, well and truly planted for Germany's purposes. Teuton organizations throughout the States had thirteen years of centralized activity behind them. Dr. Münsterberg and Professor Kuno Francke were installed at Harvard, Jastrow at the University of Pennsylvania, and a host of minor professorial fry was strategically distributed at Columbia, Yale, Cornell, Chicago, Madison, Ann Arbor and other centres of American academic life. The Kaiser's "exchange professorship," initiated ten years previous between Harvard and Berlin Universities, had now a dozen or more offspring in the shape of "exchange" chairs at as many other German and American universities. Mr. James Speyer's "Roosevelt Professorship," exchanging an American scholar annually for a German *savant*, had been in operation nearly as long. There were at this time at least fifteen American university leaders of the stamp of President Hadley of Yale, Dr. Peabody of Harvard, Dean Burgess of Columbia (who delighted the Kaiser by publicly attacking the Monroe Doctrine in Berlin), Professor Paul Shorey of Chicago, Dr. Coolidge of Harvard, Professor Alphonso Smith of Virginia, President Wheeler of California, and Drs. Sloane and Adler of Columbia, who had each in his turn had six months of Imperial adulation and academic veneration at Berlin, Leipsic,

Munich and other founts of *Kultur*, and who were looked upon in Potsdam as grateful apologists for the German cause in the United States in any emergency which might arise. Potsdam has "guessed" wrongly in most of these cases.

Two popular Ambassadors of the Kaiser since von Holleben had valiantly perpetuated the latter's policy of courting the once despised "German-American," while at the same time assiduously currying favour with the unhyphenated citizenry of the Republic. Baron Speck von Sternburg in his day was quite the most captivating figure in Washington diplomatic society and probably the most generally liked in the country at large. He rode and played tennis with President Roosevelt, they called each other, respectively, "Specky" and "Teddy," and von Sternburg was in incessant demand as a public speaker at dinners and University commencements. He died in the midst of an admittedly successful career. Then came Count von Bernstorff, like his predecessor the husband of an American woman and a fluent speaker of the "American" language. He never quite contrived to worm himself into American confidence as effectually as von Sternburg, yet until a few months ago Washington would unquestionably have voted him the most genial and congenial foreigner at the Capitol.

The Kaiser had not left his "American policy" entirely in the hands of professorial and diplomatic coadjutors. He had been playing the game strenuously all these years himself. Americans by the score came back from Germany gratitude and effusiveness personified, as a result of honours showered upon them and their womanfolk at the exclusive Court of Berlin. Many came burdened with Red Eagles, Crowns of Prussia, and other marks of royal esteem which only the exceptionally democratic American citizen has the

fortitude to resist. Prussian orders and decorations were not strewn about indiscriminately upon Americans, whom aristocratic Germany privately considers a race of vulgar money-grubbers. Each one bestowed had a purpose. The head of a powerful American news-gathering and news-distributing agency, for example, was one of the selected few. The most eminent University president in the country was another. A great New York newspaper proprietor was still another, and when the late Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan presented Emperor William with a priceless original Luther document, the Kaiser retaliated by decorating the financier with the highest order attainable by a non-Prussian.

Kiel Week, the German Cowes, was now almost as much of an American as a German festival. "American Millionaires and their Private Yachts Specially Welcome" became the trade-mark of the *Woche*. A millionaire New York yachtsman-archæologist, a gentleman of particularly engaging personal qualities, was allowed to be described in both the German and American Press as the Kaiser's "best American friend." Harvard's Germanic Museum was filled with valuable gifts presented by the War Lord. Washington received a bronze statue of Frederick the Great. The German-Americans, practising the eye-for-an-eye theory, gave the Emperor in return a statue of General Baron von Steuben, George Washington's lieutenant, exercising pressure enough on Congress to cause the gift to be made in the name of the people of the United States.

Colonel Roosevelt had been to Berlin, received the unprecedented honour—for a civilian and a private citizen of a foreign country—of holding a review of German troops at the side of the Kaiser, and only narrowly escaped being the guest of his Majesty under the latter's

own roof, Court mourning over the death of King Edward precluding the extension of royal hospitality to the distinguished stranger from the United States. Mr. Carnegie, bleating eternal peace, had been American Special Ambassador to the Kaiser's Silver Jubilee in June, 1913. All which German thoroughness, far-sightedness and obsequiousness could do to create in the United States a favourable American setting for "The Day" had been done.

Then came the Great War. Von Bernstorff, snatched from the midst of his summer vacation in Bavaria, hurried to New York; in his train Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, graduate of Wall Street's frenzied school of finance in youthful days, glib talker of "United States English," the only successful political campaigner, as campaigning is carried on in democratic countries, which Germany had ever produced. The twain arrived in New York on August 24. They set up their headquarters at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, in New York.

Four important counsellors, domiciled in America, were called into conference—Mr. James Speyer, brother of Sir Edgar Speyer, Bt., the New York partner of the London—Frankfort-on-the-Main banking-firm of his name; Dr. Münsterberg of Harvard, and Herr Julius P. Mayer, resident American director of the Hamburg-American Line. Each of this trinity had his role to play in the impending mobilization of Germany's fighting forces in the field of American public opinion. Mr. Speyer's expert advice on the finances of what was to be the most comprehensive "campaign of education" on record was of indispensable value; Dr. Münsterberg, who had for twelve or thirteen years been credited with devoting as much of his time to underground German propaganda in the United States as to teaching psychology at Harvard,

was ready with intimate knowledge of the ways and means for spreading German culture broadcast ; Herr Mayer tendered the vast agency system of the Hamburg-American Line, extending to every county in the United States, as a ready-made organization for disseminating German gospel to American unbelievers ; and last, but not least, there was Mr. Herman Ridder, native of New York and proprietor of the leading German daily newspaper of the nation, who knew all about how German editors throughout the United States could be "approached." I met persons in America who were unkind enough to suggest that Mr. Ridder was himself "approached" early in the war from the direction of Berlin.

For many days and nights after their arrival in New York on August 24, Bernstorff and Dernburg saw much of Speyer, Münsterberg, Mayer, and Ridder. It was recognized that American public opinion, already unanimously incensed over Belgium, must be "educated" forthwith if it was not to run amuck. The great newspapers of New York, almost without a single exception, were anti-German. The unfeeling British Navy had cut the German-American cable and there was nothing but the inadequate Nauen-Sayville wireless by means of which to get even a glimmer of the "truth about Germany" to American readers. George Sylvester Viereck, long-haired boy-poet and erotic littérateur by trade, the American-born son of a German father, was thereupon asked to undertake the editorship of *The Fatherland*, a new weekly launched for the purpose of securing "Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary." *The Vital Issue* was also started. It was hoping for miracles to expect shrapnel like Mr Ridder's *New-Yorker Staatszeitung* and Mr. Viereck's *Fatherland* to make headway against the 42-centimetre high-

explosive fired at Germany from day to day in the editorial columns of the great American Press ; but, nothing daunted, Ridder and Viereck took their orders and went valiantly to work. Their subsequent excesses will live as proof of America's toleration of sedition in its midst, for both of them produced on numerous occasions diatribes against the United States Government and insults to the American people without parallel even in a Democracy.

While a hundred subsidized pens and typewriters now set themselves to the task of grinding out German propaganda literature, with which the country was presently to be drenched from Maine to California, Count Bernstorff talked. He talked by day and by night, and always too much. New York newspaper reporters came and went from his quarters in the Ritz-Carlton as they are accustomed to stream in and out of an American presidential candidate's hotel "headquarters" in a convention city. Interviews with the German Ambassador could be had for the asking. If they were not asked for, they were volunteered.

It was not many weeks before the German campaign was in full swing. I speak now of mid-September, 1914. But Bernstorff's interviews terminated suddenly after he had talked incessantly for three weeks. He contrived in that brief period not only to lecture the American people in the most unseemly manner, but to arrogate to himself the right of speaking of and to the United States Government in terms which could easily have justified his expulsion from the country. Americans "read" him at first in a spirit of genuine anxiety to "give Germany a square deal." Gradually his press-agent chatter was recognized as that of a man who doth protest too much. Then American intelligence began to be offended. Bernstorff had over-

done the thing. It soon became apparent that he had dug his own grave. Within a month he had proved himself, as a distinguished New England Senator described it, "a positive godsend to the Allies."

Dernburg's General Staff was now summoned for a hurried council of war at the Ritz-Carlton. Up to that hour Dernburg had posed successfully as a philanthropic gentleman who had come to America to solicit funds for the German Red Cross. All his correspondence was written on noteheads bearing the touching legend of "German Red Cross Delegate." It was decided that the hour had come for him to enact on American soil the role in which he had achieved meteoric fame at home. He must take the stump for the Fatherland's dishevelled cause. He must accept invitations to speak at universities and colleges, at specially arranged German meetings, before Chambers of Commerce and on every other occasion when an audience could be drummed up. If he were not invited to speak, he must do as Prince Henry of Prussia had done—invite himself. The General Staff, doubtless on the professional advice of Mr. Ridder, evolved the idea of "syndicating Dernburg stuff"—American journalese for distributing to a vast number of newspapers for simultaneous publication on a given day some attractive special news or editorial feature. Ridder also "syndicated" an English leading article printed daily in his own German newspaper. It was about this time that Ridder offered a couple of million of "somebody's" dollars for immediate possession of a certain New York daily—which he did not get. Dernburg prepared a series of page-wide articles setting forth "Germany's Case." Important newspapers throughout the country at first accepted them on their merits as good "copy." Then, impatient for more results, Dern-

burg articles were offered in profusion, just as Bernstorff's interviews had been, but they began to prove less and less desirable, and "Germany's Case," except in the columns of Mr. Ridder's *Staatszeitung*, was obliged to content itself with constantly decreasing space. Dernburg, like Bernstorff, was soon a drug on the glutted market.

He now took to the lecture platform, where he was destined to play a more imposing and a longer-lived role. At first he drew big audiences. Germans and German-Americans comprised the vast bulk of those who went to hear him, but newspapers in the various cities he toured were accustomed to report his speeches at some length, and they created an undoubted effect. Americans are a business race, and the spectacle of a big, bluff, broad-shouldered German business-man arguing his country's case in passionately convincing fashion, appealed even to those portions of the American public which were predisposed in the Allies' favour. Germany was winning incessant land victories in those days, pushing her way deeper and deeper into Russian Poland, accomplishing the conquest of Belgium and sinking British warships by daring submarine attacks. Great Britain, in the relentless pursuit of her naval policy of strangling German commerce and shutting off the Fatherland's food-supply, was compelled to seize American cargoes and send them to British Prize Courts as contraband. Dernburg, whose platform manner combines that of an imperturbable company chairman warding off attacks by heckling shareholders, with that of a crafty solicitor ready to take instant advantage of the opposition's errors, was not slow to exploit the day-by-day events of the war. Having argued "Germany's Case" threadbare and quoted only the third or the half of international

treaties, when quotation of the whole might have been embarrassing, and having dodged the Belgian issue altogether, except to harp on the "secret document" found at Brussels, Dernburg now turned his guns on England. He dwelt in lachrymose accents on the piratical methods of war to which Britain was resorting not only against belligerent Germany, but neutral America. His "exposure" of British "navalism" made a deep impression.

Scores of German campaigners, minor Dernburgs, were now at large in the United States. All took their cue from the propagandist-chieftain. Each arriving Dutch, Scandinavian or Italian, steamer brought new ones, women as well as men. They were mostly of the "intellectual" type and came armed with entreating letters of introduction from German *savants* to the American colleagues on whose affections Germany and the Kaiser had so long been working. To a couple of American exchange professors William II sent autographed letters of gratitude for zeal in his cause. By Christmas time it was estimated that not less than one hundred German speakers were "spell-binding" (speechifying) in the United States. They travelled hither and thither, up hill and down dale. Meantime the United States mails were freighted with tons of German literature such as that with which the country is familiar during presidential elections. Experienced American campaigners, men who know the dollars and cents of such crusades, estimated that the campaign was costing Germany £50,000 a week.

CHAPTER VII

TERRORIZATION

“ WE shall simply obliterate the Democratic Party in the North at the presidential and congressional elections of 1916, unless President Wilson’s administration maintains stricter American neutrality in the war.”

Thus was the real aim of the “ American Independence Union,” the newly formed German-Austrian-Irish political party, epitomized for me by one of its progenitors and late spokesmen in the United States Congress, the Honourable Henry Vollmer, member of the House of Representatives for the second district of the populous and prosperous Middle-Western State of Iowa.

There is nothing subtle, subterranean or mysterious about the object of the “ epochal ” organization called into being for the purpose of terrorizing the American Government into action deliberately designed to promote Germany’s cause as a belligerent. For by “ American neutrality ” Mr. Vollmer’s associates mean “ American *un*neutrality.” They do not call it that, but that is exactly what they want. They clothe it in language which conceals its actual nature, just as many of them are suspected of being agents of Germany masquerading in the garb of “ neutral American citizens.” Let Mr. Vollmer talk. He talks well, and his voice is the voice of his millions of fellow German-Americans. When he paid me the courtesy of an interview in the lobby of

the House, he created the impression—whatever the motives firing his soul—of being genuinely sincere.

As the American-born son of a German, he began by saying that he did not feel called upon to apologise for his frank pro-German sentiments.

“There are in the United States, roughly speaking,” said Mr. Vollmer, “30,000,000 German-Americans; 10,000,000 Austro-Hungarian-Americans, and 15,000,000 Irish-Americans.* That makes a total of considerably more than half the present population of the Republic. These people are not all natives of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ireland. They include first, second and third generations. American politicians are accustomed to calculate that one in every five of the population is a voter, so that we may estimate that the foreign element under discussion represents a voting strength in a presidential election of 5,500,000. This is one-third of the probable aggregate vote which will be cast at the next election in 1916. It constitutes, therefore, a decisive balance of electoral power.

“Consider the circumstances, for example, under which President Wilson was elected in 1912. He is what we know as a ‘plurality,’ or ‘minority’ president; that is to say, he failed to receive a majority of all the votes cast, having only 6,292,670 out of a total of 15,039,300, or 1,226,981 less than a majority. You will gather from these figures that even if my calculation of 5,500,000 as the German-Austrian-Irish vote were scaled, for the sake of conversatism, by 1,500,000, it would still be a ‘balance of power’ sufficient easily to sway the National election in whichever direction it pleased.

“For the purpose of organizing this great political influence into a compact and cohesive force my con-

* These figures are gross exaggerations.

gressional colleague from Missouri, Dr. Richard Bartholdt (unlike myself, he is a native of Germany) invited fifty-eight American citizens to meet in Washington on January 30 and form a great new party. The object of the association, as announced in the call, is to promote, during the present war, a policy of uncompromising neutrality on the part of the United States, and to initiate a national movement for the protection of American commerce. At this meeting there were represented not only all leading German-American, Austro-Hungarian-American and Irish-American organizations, but several universities of strictly Anglo-Saxon tinge.

“ Five members of the House of Representatives were among the delegates, who also included such well-known men as the Rev. Dr. Thomas C. Hall of the Union Theological Seminary of New York and Professor William R. Shepherd of Columbia University. The majority of the delegates, however, consisted of officials of organizations like the National German-American Alliance, the German War Veterans Society, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, the German Roman Catholic Central Union, and the German Gymnastic Society of North America. Mr. John Devoy, editor of the *Gaelic American*, represented the Irish element, and a dozen men were present as delegates of the German Press of the United States.

“ The principal object of the ‘ constituent assembly ’ at Washington was to adopt the following ‘ platform ’ for the new organization :

“ *Whereas* : The spirit of absolute neutrality toward foreign nations at war with one another is a basic tradition of the American people, which in justice to all it is not only a privilege but a duty to uphold, and

“ *Whereas* : In the course of recent events it has become evident that this cherished attitude has been endangered

through a foreign control of our news service and of our communication by sea, and

“Whereas : Our commerce and our citizens have been compelled to endure violations of the principles of international law, and

“Whereas : The ships of our country in common with those of other neutral nations, having on board the property of citizens of the United States, have been arrested on the high seas by a belligerent Power, conveyed into its ports and there subjected to a process of search involving delays and losses, and

“Whereas : Citizens of the United States, and of nations friendly to us, have been forcibly taken off of our ships, in defiance of the protection accorded them by the American flag, and put into prisons or detention camps, and

“Whereas : Articles hitherto considered absolutely free in international traffic have been arbitrarily made contraband, and

“Whereas : The rules of international law governing neutral commerce have been altered or disregarded in the special interest of one set of belligerents, to the manifest injury of the United States as an independent nation with rights to be respected and with citizens to protect, and

“Whereas : The shipment of arms, ammunition and munitions of war under conditions now prevailing is unfair, unneutral and in violation of America's ethical ideals, tends to prolong the war and is irreconcilable with our prayers for peace, and

“Whereas : This condition of affairs is intolerable to all American citizens who believe in the principles of neutrality, fairness and friendship applied to all nations alike, and in the noble mission of this country as a promoter of peace and a champion of justice and humanity,

“Therefore, in order to re-establish genuine American neutrality and to uphold it free from commercial, financial and political subservience to foreign Powers, be it

“Resolved, That we, citizens of the United States, agree to effect a national organization the objects and purposes of which may be stated as follows :

“(1) In order to assume the possession of an independent news service we favour an American cable, controlled by the Government of the United States.

“(2) We demand a free and open sea for the commerce of

the United States, and unrestricted traffic in non-contraband goods as defined by international law.

“(3) We favour as a strictly American policy the immediate enactment of legislation prohibiting the export of arms, ammunition and munitions of war.

“(4) We favour the establishment of an American merchant marine, and

“(5) *We pledge ourselves individually and collectively to support only such candidates for public office, irrespective of party, who will place American interests above those of any other country and who will aid in eliminating all undue foreign influences from American life.*

“This ‘platform’ (continued Mr. Vollmer) was drawn up by Dr. Hall and Professor Shepherd—so much for the charge that our project is a ‘German scheme’—with the exception of the ‘plank’ dealing with an embargo on arms, for which I am responsible. The framing of this clause devolved upon me as the author of the Bill introduced into the House of Representatives, ‘*to prohibit individuals, partnerships or corporations in the United States from selling arms, ammunition, artillery and explosives of any kind for exportation during the existence of war except upon proof that said arms, ammunition, artillery and explosives are not to be used in said war against a country with which the United States is at peace.*’

“*I freely admit that an embargo on exportation of arms to Germany’s and Austria-Hungary’s foes is the desideratum at which all German-Americans fervently aim at the moment.* It is not a comforting thought for us that American machine-guns, shrapnel, naval artillery, high-explosives, rifles and cartridges should be killing in Europe thousands of men of our own flesh and blood. I have a constituent in Iowa, a veteran of the American Civil War on the Union side, who has seventeen nephews fighting in the German army. That old man fought, bled, and nearly died to save this Republic. Is he not

entitled to ask that this country desist from action which is contributing directly to the slaughter of his kith and kin on the other side of the Atlantic? And there are hundreds of thousands of good American citizens, of 'anti-Ally' ancestry, who cherish exactly the same susceptibilities for the very same reason. They are inspired by ties of blood in calling for an embargo on munition shipments to Germany's foes. But the American spirit of fair play, apart from racial prejudices, calls for an embargo, too. If Germany had an equal chance to import the sinews of war from the United States, we should not seek to deprive the Allies from getting them. That is just the point. The chances are *not* equal. The situation, thanks to British command of the sea, is unfair. Until it is equalized, we believe the dictates of American sportsmanship and impartiality—qualities of which the Anglo-Saxon is accustomed to proclaim a monopoly—demand that the Allies should be prohibited from enjoying advantages beyond the reach of Germany. President Wilson's 'neutrality proclamation' set forth that 'the United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name, and must put a curb on any transaction which might give a preference to one party to the struggle over another.' I submit that our 'platform' interprets in letter and spirit that particular portion of the President's proclamation."

I interrupted Mr. Vollmer to ask him if he, as a native-born American, did not object to so palpable an introduction of alienism into purely American politics; I told him I had been assured on all hands that this latest, and boldest, phase of the extensive German propaganda in the United States (the formation of an out-and-out German party) was considered offensive and reprehensible in the highest degree.

“ Our activities are not offensive,” he replied. “ They are only misrepresented as such by the pro-British Press and publicists. You must not forget that England, in the existence of the common language, has a ‘ pro-Ally ’ agency at work in this country, compared to which any other propaganda, no matter how systematic or vehement, is insignificant. It is necessary for friends of Germany to resort to heroic measures and unusual tactics to resist so all-powerful an anti-German factor as the English language. The United States has been the playground of English ‘ propaganda ’ or agitation, or whatever else you care to call it, for years. England has long had Dernburgs and Münsterbergs of her own at work here. They are working now. The only difference between their propaganda and the German is that the English agitation has been subtle and less vocal, but correspondingly more effective. Take our popular English fiction. I employ my summer vacation, as a rule, reading this particular kind of literature. In recent years I have become accustomed to two stock figures—the German villain and the intriguing German diplomat. That sort of thing has its effect on the imaginative and receptive American mind. It has helped enormously to raise up and propagate the bogey of German ‘ militarism.’ It has laid the foundations for the distorted view which the average American holds in regard to the war.

“ I am a Democrat, and supporter of President Wilson. But I am persuaded that the Administration, yielding to the pressure of our British-influenced Press, has unfairly discriminated against Germany and interpreted the laws of neutrality in a way designed distinctly to favour her enemies. If the Administration cannot be brought back to a position of genuine impartiality and observation of neutrality, which is neither

pro-Ally nor pro-German, but simply pro-American, we shall not hesitate to use our voting power relentlessly on behalf of what we believe to be not Germany's interests, but the real interests of America. In the South the Democratic Party is so invulnerable, and the foreign element among its electorate so insignificant, that it is impervious to the attack we purpose making. But in the great Northern States of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, and generally throughout the East, Middle-West, North-West and West, where the German and Irish vote combined, or even in some cases by themselves, can easily sway elections for congress and for president, we can, and intend to, make our strength felt. The concluding ' plank ' of our ' platform ' means exactly what it says in that respect—that we shall oppose tooth and nail any candidate for public office, regardless of his party label, who declines to view the questions raised by the World War from a purely American standpoint. We resent the groundless aspersion that our new organization is conceived in Germany's interest. That is a pro-Ally fabrication."

On February 20 the American Independence Union perfected its organization and elected the following officers :

Honorary President, Herman Ridder, of New York.

President, Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri.

First Vice-President, Dr. Thomas C. Hall, of New York.

Mr. Ridder's identity is well known. Mr. Bartholdt, for years one of the representatives in Congress of the great German-American community of St. Louis, Missouri, has been the genial German-born spokesman of German interests in the Lower House. He will not be

a member of the next congress, having reputedly withdrawn in order to devote himself to the management of the new German political party. Dr. Hall, a native of Co. Armagh, Ireland, is a well-known theologian. His enthusiasms for Germany, apart from Celtic irreconcilability, are probably not entirely disconnected with the fact that several weeks before the outbreak of the war he was designated as "Roosevelt Exchange Professor" at the University of Berlin for the year 1915-16, and will enter upon the office during the coming autumn. He is in Germany now. Dr. Hall's estimable wife is a Göttingen (Germany) woman.

The "American Independence Union" promulgated the following resolution on the occasion of "perfecting its organization":

The American Independence Union has been organized upon the declaration of principles adopted at a conference of representative American citizens (*sic*), held in the city of Washington on January 30, 1915. Its membership will be confined exclusively to American citizens, irrespective of their descent, but of unquestionable loyalty to the Government of the United States; a loyalty which would remain absolutely unshaken and undiminished in case of war between the United States and any other country on the face of the globe. *We hold, however, that loyalty to the Government neither deprives a citizen—of whatever lineage or descent—of his right to scrutinize the action of public officials—no matter how high their station—nor does it absolve him of his duty to do so, and to discuss with his fellows the affairs of State and nation.*

The Union is not, and will not be, a segregation, politically, of one or more elements of our people from the other. Our work will be confined to a peaceful but determined effort to educate public opinion in the United States in favour of the liberation of our country from all undue foreign influences, and to bring all lawful pressure to bear upon our public servants so as to cause them to conduct our international affairs in a spirit of real and not mere paper neutrality in times of war between friendly Powers and of complete independence of foreign influences in times of peace. Our country must, in its international relations and in its public spirit and public opinion, be American only.

CHAPTER VIII

DEMORALIZATION

“ If I were President of the United States, I would instruct the Federal law officers to deport Richard Bartholdt and his brother German-Americans on the ground that they obtained naturalization under false pretences ; for, though they own allegiance to the United States, they are practising allegiance to the German Emperor.”

Thus spoke a distinguished American politician, who may be the next President of the United States, when I sought his opinion of the methods adopted by Germany to blackmail the American people into sympathizing with “ Kultur’s ” cause. I have not quoted his terse commentary because of its radical language or on account of the importance of the man who used it, but because it epitomises what the vast majority of intelligent and self-respecting Americans have thought and said about Dernburgism. Six weeks in the United States, in constant contact with men of affairs of all sorts—statesmen, bankers, editors, merchants, manufacturers, university presidents and lawyers—left on my mind the indelible impression that the German propaganda has had but one tangible, definite result. It has, in consequence of its vehement impudence, outraged the feelings of five-sixths of the people of the country who are not of German extraction or “ pro-German ” for reasons of self-interest.

For six months following the outbreak of the war,

roughly up to February 1, the Germans waged "a whirlwind campaign" throughout the country at an expense believed to have been not less than £200,000 a month. That represents for the period named a total outlay of £1,200,000, which is equal to the greatest "slush fund" ever raised for national political purposes in the United States, during the celebrated McKinley "gold standard" campaign conducted by the late Senator Mark Hanna against Mr. Bryan in 1896. Mr. Roosevelt's campaign in 1912 cost only £160,000, and, with the new requirement to publish campaign contributions, it is doubtful whether more than £400,000 or £600,000 will ever again be spent on the election of a United States President. The Germans, in their six months of lavish crusading, have therefore broken the "campaign" record in America.

But their colossal effort to stampede American opinion, launched like a thunderbolt with a view to sharp and decisive results, just as the German General Staff planned to storm Paris in six breathless weeks, failed. Their hard-working henchmen, from Dr. Dernburg all the way to Prof. Kuno Meyer, ex-professor of Celtic literature at Liverpool, talked, wrote, misquoted, slandered and cajoled in vain. Business men, scholars, clubmen, householders, everybody with an address accessible by mail, had been bombarded incessantly from August to February with free copies of the *Fatherland*, *The Vital Issue*, "The Truth about Germany," the facsimile proofs of Belgium's "secret plottings" with France and England, with private and stereotyped communications from personal and business friends in Germany, with marked copies of "truthful" German newspapers, with the *German Information Service* (the daily news-sheet issued by the United States branch of the Imperial German Press

Bureau, conducted since the war by Herr Claussen, late advertising manager in New York for the Hamburg-American Line ; with shoals of documents, booklets, press-cuttings, speeches—everything, in short, in the shape of the persuasive word which printing-presses can turn out or the United States mails will transport.

Broadcast circulation was given to the statement addressed by Professors Haeckel and Eucken of the University of Jena to the Universities of America. In the beginning Americans listened to the German speech-makers and perused the German campaign literature with interest and with the patience born of their inherent love of fair-play. The German point that the cutting of the Emden cable to the United States had deprived them of the floor seemed well made ; it was true that war news and views were coming almost exclusively from the capitals of the Allies. " Give the Germans a chance " was the spirit in which Americans at first received the German case. But Americans are people of canny perception as well as of rugged fair-mindedness. It was not long before it dawned upon them that Germany's case was not *argument*, but defence, whine and explanation. The vociferousness with which it was advocated suggested first of all a bad conscience, and, when to mere noise and volume were added insolence and effrontery, when Dernburgism, in other words, took America by the hand like a child and sought to stuff the German case down her throat, America recoiled. It refused absolutely to tolerate any extenuation of the crime against Belgium. Presently the Belgian " argument " was dropped. Americans' minds were irrevocably made up ; they had had time to weigh the evidence, and Germany was found guilty on the two gleaming, essential things of the war—responsibility for the Austrian Note to Serbia, which

directly ignited the world conflagration, and the ravishing of Belgium. German attempts to undermine American conviction on these points have been continued only at the cost of offending American intelligence and exhausting American patience to the point of exasperation.

I asked almost every American of importance whom I met why, in view of the impertinence of the German propaganda, its menace to internal peace and its almost treasonable manifestations, responsible authorities took no steps to stamp it out. I went carefully into that phase in authoritative quarters at Washington. It was admitted that Count Bernstorff conducted himself, in the loquacious weeks after his arrival from Germany last summer, in a manner which would easily have justified such action as President Cleveland took in connexion with a certain British Ambassador years ago for reasons far less grave. It was conceded that Count Bernstorff violated flagrantly the fundamental duty of a foreign ambassador, viz., the obligation to support, at least passively, the declared domestic policy of the Government to which he is accredited—in America's case, a policy of strict neutrality in the war. Bartholdtism and Ridderism, it was acknowledged, had indulged in excesses which would have excused Government interference even in the sublimated Hyde Park which is the United States. But Washington was convinced, and astutely so, as events have proved, that the German agitation was eradicating itself; that Bernstorff had effectually "talked himself to death"; and that the same inevitable process of self-destruction was going on in what remained of the German propaganda. Thus, Washington explained, it was simple expediency which preserved the Bernstorffs, the Dernburgs, the Münsterbergs and their hyphenated satellites

like Bartholdt and Hall from being forcibly suppressed.

But just as the Kaiser's forces have not withdrawn from France and Flanders in spite of their inability to make further progress, so his legions in the United States now entrenched themselves in the United States for a campaign along fresh lines. Political terrorization became the new strategy of the American von Klucks. But the Bartholdt-Ridder-Hall "American Independence Union," with its insolent threat of reprisals against candidates for office who refuse to support the German conception of American "neutrality," is, unless all signs deceive, the straw which will break the German camel's back in the United States beyond all possibility of repair. There was once an "American Protective Association." "A.P.A." was its popular title. Under the cloak of "true Americanism" it combated acrimoniously, especially at the polls, everybody associated, by membership or sympathy, with the Roman Catholic Church. For a while it prospered. Then its name became a byword; its support of candidates for public office was something to be shunned, not sought. To be tagged with its label meant alienation of sympathy and solidification of opposition. That, in the judgment of the sanest observers, is the certain fate toward which the impudently named "American Independence Union" is headed. If it survives even during the sixteen months which will intervene between this summer and the presidential election of November 1916, it will surprise many men whose knowledge of American political psychology is expert. It has been eloquently inactive thus far.

There was danger, three months ago, in the new German campaign—the campaign of domestic political terrorization in the United States. But events have

marched fast since then; the *Lusitania* worked wonders in America, as it happily did in England itself, in the direction of aggravating public temper and stiffening the Government's back. Some of Mr. Wilson's political opponents had been openly expressing the fear that his political exigencies would drive him into a bargain with the "German vote" which might be disastrous to the Allies' cause. One of his most distinguished foes went so far as to declare that the President had even made certain overtures to the "German-Americans." You would hear, in such quarters, that "the President did not protest against the seizure of American copper shipments by British cruisers until Germany began to feel the pinch"; that the copper industry in America is in the hands of German-Americans; that the secreting of cargo manifestoes for thirty days by Mr. Wilson's son-in-law and Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McAdoo, was done with a view to placating German-American susceptibilities; that "Mr. Charles M. Schwab was prevented from selling submarines to England because Mr. Herman Ridder and the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* foamed at the mouth over that project." These are the things, I say, which were said to one when one visited the camp of the President's political antagonists. Yet even there you are told, as I was, that stubbornness is and has always been Mr. Wilson's chief source of strength. He was a stubborn university president at Princeton. Democratic politicians who elected him Governor of New Jersey found him the most unpliant chief magistrate the State had ever had. The nation has found him stubborn. His stubbornness with Congress wore down opposition in the Panama Tolls fight. It has won to date all the congressional battles he has ever initiated

except the Ship Purchase Bill ; and his friends insist he will win that before he is through. Having, therefore, set his stubborn Scotch Presbyterian heart upon maintaining American rights inviolably, one may be assured that he *will* do so. Germany will have a convincing taste of tenacity before she is through with the present Squire of the White House. Let the Wilhelmstrasse cherish no illusions on that score.

CHAPTER IX

LOYAL IRISH-AMERICA

GERMAN attempts to capture the sympathy of Americans in general have completely failed to ensnare the Irish-Americans in particular. Reckoning the native-born Irish and their American-born children at, roughly, 10,000,000, as is done by competent authorities, it is declared that probably not more than 100,000 of them, or 1 per cent., have yielded to irreconcilable anti-British prejudices and aligned themselves with the German war cause. Dr. Dernburg was once the guest of a distinguished Irish-American jurist of New York, who interrogated the Kaiser's agent as to his opinion of Irish sentiment in America in the light of seven or eight months' personal experience. Germany's protagonist acknowledged, in disheartened accents, that it appeared to be almost unanimously in favour of the Allies.

So much for the boastful claims of Dr. Bartholdt, the president of the "American Independence Union," and Dr. Hexamer, the president of the sister German organization, the National German-American Alliance, that "the Irish are with us, almost to a man." Allegation to that effect is clearly one of the most preposterous of Dernburgism's pretences. German designs on Irish-American support were more subtle than their asphyxiating-gas methods of propaganda in the United States at large, but they proved not a whit less abortive.

Irish agitators' anti-British campaign in the United States happened to be in merry swing in the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war. The Ulster fight was being fought there as well as in the Emerald Isle. "Jim" Larkin was at large on hospitable American soil, and that other eminent patriot, Sir Roger Casement, had toured the country in behalf of his "Irish Volunteer movement" and succeeded in raising considerable funds for it. As a matter of passing interest, I was informed that the £5000 worth of German arms and ammunition with the aid of which blood was spilled in Dublin on the Sunday preceding war between England and Germany was supplied by one of Sir Roger Casement's plutocratic New York sympathizers. Up to the hour of war, Casement's talk in the United States had been exclusively of "oppressed Ireland." When the Kaiser challenged Europe, Casement suddenly became a fiery advocate of "oppressed Germany." He dropped the theme of Britain's tyrannical yoke round Erin's neck, and flamed forth about Germany's right to enjoy "the freedom of the sea" and about "the iron ring" with which the English Navy essayed to strangle German political and economic development. His swan song in New York, before proceeding to Berlin, where he is now an honoured guest of the German Government, was a pamphlet dated September 1 and entitled "The Crime Against Ireland and How the War May Right It." The pamphlet has since been issued officially in Berlin. It ends like this:

"Let Irishmen in America get ready. The day a German sea victory tolls the death knell of British tyranny at sea, it tolls the death knell of British rule in Ireland.

"Let Irishmen in America stand ready, armed, keen, and alert. The German guns that sound the

sinking of the British Dreadnoughts will be the call of Ireland to her scattered sons.

“The fight may be fought on the seas, but the fate will be settled on an island. The crippling of the British fleet will mean a joint German-Irish invasion of Ireland and every Irishman able to join that army of deliverance must get ready to-day.”

Then came Mr. John Redmond's historic and clarion call for Irish loyalty to the British cause. Practically every Irish-American who for decades supported Home Rule and contributed so many dollars to Mr. Redmond's constitutional programme for its attainment rallied unquestioningly round his leadership on the crucial issues raised by the war. They rallied, they admit, after recovering from the electric shock Redmond had given them. There were exceptions, like the younger Messrs. Ford, sons of the late Patrick Ford of the *Irish World*, who inherited their father's uncompromising antipathy to the ancient foe, but they were conspicuously few. Another was a highly-respected Irish-American member of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, Mr. Justice Cohalan. But the anti-Ally violence and vehemence vomited by Casement were shared, for the most part, only by the “dynamite” Clan-na-Gael organization and the clique headed by Mr. John Devoy, the editor of the *Gaelic American*. The most prominent Irish-American association, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, lent the Casement plea for Germany no countenance.

Dr. Dernburg was now on the scene. Doubtless having studied carefully, *en route* to America, General von Bernhardt's strictures on the military value to Germany of anti-British sentiment among the Irish both at home and in the United States, the commander-in-chief of the German propagandist army lost no time in

getting in touch with the hoped-for ally on American soil. Before his lecture and interview season set in, Dernburg often practised that other favourite method of German propaganda—what is known in Berlin as “dinner diplomacy.” Friendly personages in New York made it possible for him to meet leaders of all classes of opinion at private dinners, either in homes or in clubs ; and some of the most effective “log-rolling” accomplished by Dernburg during his entire stay in the long-suffering United States was in the course of these prandial evenings. He made many converts in those days, partially because he was at first somewhat deferential and his special pleading was less offensive ; also because Germany’s case had not yet been thoroughly undermined by events of the war itself. Dernburg contrived to come in contact with many Irish-American leaders in this confidential way ; they listened, patiently and smilingly, in the manner of their best-natured of races, but, as far as I could learn by penetrating inquiry, few of them were induced by his Berlin blarney to turn their backs on the attitude recommended to Irishmen by Mr. Redmond. Once they had recovered from the astonishment with which his pronunciamiento first filled Irish-America, their loyalty to the Allies’ cause became firm and impregnable. It has remained impervious to attack ever since.

Meantime another German agent, Professor Kuno Meyer, deposed from the chair of Celtic Languages at Liverpool University, arrived. The advocacy of the German cause by this long-time resident of England and expert in Celtic lore was expected by his superiors in Berlin to be immensely potent among the Celts in the United States. It was arranged that Meyer should make his *début* among the American Irish at a great public dinner in his honour, at which he would have the

opportunity of presenting Germany's claims to a distinguished and influential assemblage. The Gaelic League, an organization which aspires to revive the Gaelic language for what Professor Münsterberg would call "cultural" purposes, was prevailed upon to stand sponsor for the Meyer function. But when one Irish-American of prominence after another declined to join the organizing committee or attend the dinner, if organized, the project was ignominiously dropped.

Professor Kuno Meyer was thenceforth compelled to rely exclusively on the minority known as the "professional Irish," the disappearing Fenian element represented by the Clan-na-Gaels. Such "Irish" meetings as the late Liverpool scholar has addressed in the United States have been attended only by adherents of the irreconcilable class, which has never supported Mr. Redmond in the past, owing to his disinclination to substitute force for constitutionalism in the fight for Home Rule, and which remains the one Irish section of Irish-Americanism now opposing him. Perhaps it was his fiasco at the hands of the American Irish which have led Professor Kuno Meyer, in the course of his talk tour of the country, to identify himself with one of the most persistent German-American campaign lies, viz., that the *New York Times*, America's most prominent and influential newspaper, is one of the most pro-Ally organs in America because it is "owned and controlled" by the proprietors of the *Times* of London. The most categorical assertion of this sort was made at a "war symposium" in Buffalo by Dr. Edmund von Mach, a minor Münsterberg, operating, like the latter, from the precincts of Harvard University. Von Mach is evidently a disciple of thoroughness, which eschews generalities, for he even knows the exact size and character of the *Times'* hold on the *New York Times*.

Until the latter, he said, had paid off an obligation of £400,000 to the owners of the *Times*, its pro-British attitude would be resolutely maintained. When pinned down, which is a heartlessly cruel procedure against a German propagandist, Von Mach probably took refuge in some irrelevant and inconsequential circumstances which proved nothing but his own mendacity. The entire story is sheer fabrication.

Sweeping allegations that the great daily and periodical Press of the United States is so overwhelmingly pro-Ally because it is "British-owned" or "British-controlled" are favourite German-American "arguments." Of course, anybody with a scintilla of imagination, which does not, naturally, mean a Teuton, knows that nothing of the sort is true. A "British-owned" or "British-controlled" American newspaper is the last word in practical impossibility. Twisting the lion's tail has long since ceased to be a potent political dodge in the United States, and to be Anglophile no longer subjects Americans to the censure of their fellow-citizens; but it will be many Fourths of July before an American newspaper will consider it meet to surrender to "British control." The Germans and German-Americans know that perfectly well. The vast bulk of the American Press is pro-British, pro-Ally and anti-German because it does its own thinking. Also because it is pro-American. It always has a mind of its own and it was made up in regard to the war with such staggering rapidity and finality that there was nothing left for Dernburgism to do but to abuse it and lie about it.

It is necessary, in considering the Irish-American attitude toward the war, to draw a distinction between the Irish and the Roman Catholics in the United States. The latter include several million Germans and Aus-

trians. The attitude of the Church of Rome, as far as manifested in the United States either publicly or privately by its ecclesiastical representatives, is generally neutral. The Pope's interview with my old-time Berlin colleague, Mr. Karl Heinrich von Wiegand, who has reaped so many journalistic honours during the war, suggested that His Holiness himself may not be adamant to German influence. Thousands of American priests, filled with sentimental memories of student days in Louvain, cherish views about Germany which do not accord strictly with the provisions of President Wilson's neutrality proclamation. Germany's dragooning of Cardinal Mercier intensified their resentment, and the oppression under which the Catholic Poles have always suffered in Prussia is not forgotten. But the Roman Catholic world in America has not altogether forgiven France, I gathered, for the expulsion of the Orders; and I encountered some animosity in connexion with the alleged compulsion of 30,000 French priests to take up arms as common soldiers in the Republic's army.

As far as the Irish in the United States are concerned, however, the Allies' cause is safe. "They have not in any respect separated themselves from the rest of Americans," is the pungent manner in which Mr. W. Bourke Cockran, a great New York Irish lawyer, whose silver tongue is famous throughout his adopted country, summarizes the situation.

"And what about the German Government's 'pledge' to Sir Roger Casement to give Ireland 'independence' when Britain is crushed?" I asked.

"That," he said, "is the one amusing feature of this giant tragedy."

CHAPTER X

“ THE SYSTEM ”

WHEN Mr. Thomas W. Lawson, crusader against “ Frenzied Finance ” in America, began pulling the props from beneath mismanaged life-insurance companies, illicit industrial organizations and buccaneering banks, he assailed them all and sundry as part and parcel of “ The System.” Varied as were their activities, divergent as their nominal purposes, the Boston matador tilted at them conjointly as agencies working in one unswerving direction, to one resolute, common end—aggrandisement of the Money Power. Whether they insured men’s lives, or monopolized the country’s oil supply, or “ reorganized ” railway corporations, they belonged to, and had, but one master—“ The System.” Everywhere one looked were “ The System’s ” minions—quoth Lawson. The thriving city in a New England State with municipal bonds to float ; the local “ national bank ” in a Middle-Western region, without whose aid the county’s crop could not be “ moved ” ; the street-railway corporation in that growing town in the South ; those oil-fields in Oklahoma, those copper-mines in Northern Michigan, those lumber-camps in Wisconsin, those sugar-cane plantations in Louisiana, those blossoming cotton-fields everywhere in “ Dixie,” those shafts up which silver and lead were hoisted in Colorado and Montana, those golden acres of wheat and corn in Iowa, Minnesota and the Dakotas—all these, “ divided like billows, yet one as

the sea,” were flesh and blood, bone and sinew, of “ The System.”

So it is with the German organization in the United States. You must not look for it in the Hamburg-American Line’s forlorn New York offices in Lower Broadway, nor in another part of that seething highway where Dr. Dernburg, Naval Attaché Captain Boy-Ed, the Imperial German Consulate-General, the German Literary Defence League and the Chamber of German-American Commerce have had their headquarters ; nor should you trace your steps to the sanctum of Mr. Herman Ridder at the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, or to the editorial rooms of the *Fatherland*, or even to the United States branch of the German Government’s official Press Bureau at 30 West 42nd Street. You would seek in vain, too, if you went to Luechow’s, or Herr Muschenhein’s Hotel Astor, or the Kaiserhof, or the Hofbräu, or any of the other official German eating and drinking places of the metropolis. The organization’s base is not in the marble offices of German banking houses near Wall Street, the laboratory of psychology at Harvard University presided over by Professor Münsterberg, or in the congressional committee-room of Dr. Bartholdt at the Capitol in Washington. The palatial clubhouse of the Deutscher Verein in New York contains it not. “ The System ” of Germany is not to be located in any of these places, any more than the thing of far-flung tentacles, of all-embracing activities, which Mr. Lawson assailed, could be found in some particular counting-house in New York’s “ City.” To seek the Kaiser’s “ System ” in America one has to go octopus-hunting.

Somebody once said that the three mightiest examples of organization the world had yet seen were the Church of Rome, the Standard Oil Company and the German

army. I venture to add a fourth—the men, women and children of German birth and millions of others of German blood in the United States. *Not all Americans of German blood are pro-German by any means.* Vast numbers, especially among the great Jewish class, are aggressively pro-Ally. But, speaking broadly, where to look for the headquarters of *Deutschtum's* "System" in America is in the hearts of these myriads of emigrated, naturalized, but never fully expatriated Germans. The boast of the organizers of the "American Independence Union," the new German political party, that the Germans in the United States "are as united as the Germans at home," is, with the reservations above emphasized, fully justified. I never anywhere encountered such amazing, single-minded, blind unanimity. It is a quality which I fancy the Germans themselves never until this war believed they possessed. It infects all classes. Let me cite a few examples, all characteristic.

In Washington lives a lady, who, now that President Wilson is a widower, is, in a way, the "first lady of the land." She, like many thousands of American women, spends spare time knitting for the Red Cross. Not long ago she suggested that her German maid, too, might occupy herself in leisure moments with the needle. Bertha, who hails from fair Westphalia, was willing—on terms. "Madame must promise me it is not for the hated English I sew," was her astonishing rejoinder. That is the German "System" at work.

I was breakfasting with a United States Senator at Washington's most famous club. Looking up from our coffee and rolls, we observed the waiter—a German, of course—standing at the window five or six feet away, ostensibly concerned in nothing but the morning sun streaming brilliantly across H Street. The Senator,

talking low—the war, of course, was our theme—remarked: "That's a strange thing. Waiters in this club never stand about after serving one." My host gradually became irritated at the menial's impertinence, and presently ordered him to be off. That episode ended, another ensued. To the table next to ours presently came a gentleman, who sat with back turned toward us, but close enough to follow conversation. As we left the breakfast-room the Senator whispered to me: "That's still funnier! I breakfast in this club daily, and, as I am irreligious enough to be here by eight o'clock, I have not in months had a companion in the room. We must find out who the fellow is." "Herr Haniel von Haimhausen, counsellor of the German Embassy," imparted the obliging head waiter. *That* was the German "System" at work, too.

There is a place in New York to which society folk who give large dinner-parties are accustomed to go when they need extra waiters. Last winter a strange phenomenon was observed—the establishment supplied only German waiters whose conversational knowledge of English is perfect. Something else was noted by careful observers. These waiter-spies had a habit of hovering ceremoniously round the host, hostess, and chief guests, and a distinguished New Yorker vows that there have been few important dinners during the war at which German waiters, attentive in other than the usual sense, have not passed the soup for the Fatherland. *That* is the "System" in operation. Undoubtedly it is the primary task of German waiters in the United States just now to listen, but some of them are not above a bit of terrorization too. A Fifth Avenue hostess who hired four extra serving-men was waited upon by them at the end of the dinner and informed that if her next party was marked by

such violently "anti-German" conversation at table, they would create a scene by deserting the dinner in the middle; they would, indeed, not come to the house again unless guaranteed in advance immunity from such affronts to their patriotic sensibilities!

St. Louis, Missouri, is a great German community. The late Carl Schurz, the most famous of German-Americans, lived there, and it is the seat of the world's biggest brewery. A year or two ago a hitherto prosperous dry-goods establishment, one of the oldest and largest in the city, failed for some mysterious reason. It came out that the Germans, who are a very influential element of the retail purchasing-power of St. Louis, heard that the firm had given £200 to a temperance party's campaign-fund. A boycott was forthwith decreed against a house which was obviously a foe of "personal liberty," German synonym in the United States for freedom from laws restricting beer-drinking. The boycott proved so deadly that the sinning firm was eventually forced to the wall. It was a victim of the "System."

Instances of the "System's" methods and successes can be multiplied almost at will. Stegler, whom Captain Boy-Ed, the Naval Attaché of the German Embassy in Washington, is said to have engaged to do spying work in England under the protection of an illicit American passport, told the New York law authorities that he belonged to a "secret German organization in New York, whose duty it was to watch and report upon every departing cargo." It must have been the dockers enlisted in this organization who obtained such an upper hand at the wharves and warehouses of the great "Bush Terminal" in Brooklyn, that non-German workmen entered a formal protest to the management against the "almost ex-

clusive employment" of Germans for shiploading purposes. That may also explain some of the strange revelations which have come to light during the war with regard to clandestine shipments of contraband from America to "neutral" destinations, such as munitions hidden in cotton. It is the ubiquitous Boy-Ed who is strongly suspected by the American Secret-Service of holding perjured proofs that the *Lusitania* was "armed." Perhaps, too, he knows something of the plot to promote emigration of malcontent Irishmen to America, so that they may not enlist. Fomenting of strikes in American munition works, and blowing up of Canadian-American bridges may also be in Boy-Ed's department. He is a *very* able seaman, besides being an agreeable and courteous gentleman.

The activities of the "System" in respect of American passports have been carried on with almost brazen openness. This scandal finally reached proportions to which the long-suffering United States Government could no longer close its eyes—a scandal in which, I was assured at Washington, the German Embassy and its naval and military attachés were implicated "up to their chins." In New York details were obtained as to how the "System" works this particular branch of its nefariousness. United States passports are wanted by the German authorities for two reasons—to facilitate the transfer of reservists back to the Kaiser's army and navy, and to promote the operations of spies in England, France, and Russia. Karl Hans Lody, the German naval spy who was convicted and shot in London, practised his profession in England as an American citizen duly armed with a United States passport stolen for him by his superiors in Germany. Kuepferle, the other German spy who was trapped in England and

committed suicide on the eve of his conviction, was also the possessor of an American passport. English passports are not despised, though American are preferred. Agents of the "System" have actually been seen operating brazenly outside the very doors of the British Consulate-General and the Cunard Line in New York, in quest of British sailors, impoverished or intoxicated, who might be induced, by hook or by crook, to part with their citizenship papers. Passport agents are also on constant duty outside the Sailors' Home, on the look out for men whose papers might be useful in eluding the vigilance of the United States secret-service men at the water's edge.

When these illicitly-obtained passports are acquired, they are distributed among selected German reservists, whose English or American appearance and fluent command of the English (or "American") language will subject them to little or no suspicion.

There is, of course, no ruse too low for the "System" where damage to the Allies, ashore or afloat, is possible. I understood in New York that the Cunard Line's agents were solemnly warned from a friendly quarter never to coal outgoing vessels at night or in dark weather, lest explosives might be smuggled into the bunkers. I can imagine nothing to which the "System" would not stoop to bring the *Lusitania* to grief on the high seas.*

It is as cynically callous towards such a fiendish notion as it has been toward the certainty that hundreds of innocent American lives would have been destroyed if certain incendiary plots in American works making munitions for the Allies had not been frustrated. A prominent New York pro-Ally sympathizer declared, after the discovery of the pro-German plot to explode

* Written in March.

the French steamer *Rochambeau* on the eve of her departure for New Orleans, that the need of the hour was not a counter anti-German propaganda in the United States to meet German mendacity, but a " League to Abolish Criminal Abuse of American Hospitality." He said such an organization's most important department ought to be a detective bureau to run down the German " System's " openly felonious practices.

In New York I was assured over and over again that I would get no real idea of the " System's " magnificent comprehensiveness and relentless thoroughness till I crossed the Alleghanies and reached the Valley of the Mississippi. I was told that there were leading newspapers in the great cities of the Middle-West " afraid to call their souls their own," lest the power of the German advertiser and the German reader be hurled against them and strike them down.

On reaching Chicago a fortnight later I was destined to find that I, myself, had apparently fallen a victim to the German terrorization " System " in that throbbing " German-American " metropolis. For five or six months previous I had acted as London editor of a certain prominent Chicago daily newspaper. The journal in question, ever since the war began, had subjected itself, so Chicagoans said, to the suspicion that it cherished pro-German sympathies.

This paper published numerous letters from readers directly charging it with German leanings. When I arrived on the scene I found waiting for me notice of the termination of my contract. It set up what I have always regarded a quibbling technicality as justification for tearing up that scrap of paper.

In a very " frank and friendly " conversation, the chief proprietor at any rate left no doubt that

my marked pro-British sympathies incurred the paper's displeasure, and it was that, in my judgment, which precipitated my dismissal. The "System," it looked to me, had demanded my head on a charger—and got it.

It was about this time, too, that the Democratic Party in Chicago yielded to German pressure by refusing re-nomination to Mayor Carter H. Harrison, who had served the city for more successive terms than any of his predecessors in office. Instead of Mr. Harrison, a "German-American" named Sweitzer was nominated. Sweitzer's candidacy was hailed by the *Fatherland*, the notorious German organ, as "the first successful fruit of the organization of the American Independence Union," but when the votes were counted six weeks later, it was discovered that unhyphenated Americanism in Chicago had risen in its outraged might and elected Herr Sweitzer's Republican opponent, Mr. William Hale Thompson, by the most overwhelming majority ever received by a successful Mayoralty Candidate—139,000. Sweitzer's managers made brazen use of the German war-cry in their campaign, and deluged the voters with petitions bearing the German and Austrian Emperors' pictures. The Chicago municipal election, I fancy, has given the leaders of the American Independence Union furiously to think. It indicates in no uncertain way that the temper of real Americans in the very heart of the German-American region has been aroused by the arrogance and effrontery of the Kaiser's agents in the United States, and that, far from being terrified by Teuton "frightfulness," they are determined to throttle it.

The "System's" campaign of intimidation against Americans in public office has been going on ever since the hour the German legions violated Belgium's neutral soil. Orders went forth, for example, that a regular

scheme of protests by petition was to be inaugurated in all parts of the country, with a view to bringing pressure to bear upon congressmen, in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. On every possible occasion—whenever a ship would be seized by British cruisers, whenever the newspapers would announce that this, that or the other American manufacturer of war supplies or food-stuffs had received an order from one of the Allies, or whenever anything of even remotely controversial character cropped up—the mails would be freighted with enormous rolls of signatures, asking Representative Smith of Texas or Senator Jones of Pennsylvania to "protest" at the White House or the State Department against the latest "breach of American neutrality." Petitions are long-recognized features of America's highly representative form of government, and the German "System" has "played it for all it is worth," in the picturesque language of one of its victims in the Senate.

Petitions of protest to newspapers are another favourite practice of the "System." A leading New York journal, which has the temerity fearlessly to espouse the Allies' cause, gets yards of this intimidatory autographed literature daily. It bears the signatures of "constant readers," who will no longer take in the paper, if its tone toward Germany is not changed, etc. In smaller towns there are cases on record of merchants who advertise, and who have gone to newspaper proprietors and confessed that their "German customers" threaten ruinous reprisals if the merchants do not cease advertising in "anti-German" newspapers. Thoroughness, the leave-no-stone-unturned idea, is the "System's" *Leitmotif*.

I hope Englishmen will not mind my saying that there are features of Germany's "System" in the United

States well worth emulation. I do not recommend that America be turned by the Allies, as Germany has turned it, into a wholesale base for military and naval operations—for spying, for passport frauds, for incendiarism, for coaling of and provisioning of privateers, or for other acts which violate American laws and offend American susceptibilities. But one could wish that the great heart of England were pulsating in the United States as the great German heart is beating in the breasts of all the Fatherland's exiled sons and daughters there. It is there, in their patriotic bosoms, that the "System" has its roots. I cannot conceive greater unity or more ardent and concentrated practical love of country than exists among the listening German waiters and barbers, the eavesdropping German housemaids and bar-tenders, the contributing German merchants, bankers, editors, professors and brewers domiciled in America. *They are the "System."* Their knavish tricks are now pretty well confounded and their politics effectually frustrated, but I hold up their one-heartedness, their unconquerable loyalty to their old country, and their eagerness to serve it to the fullest extent of their individual powers as something which deserves more of admiration than contempt.

CHAPTER XI

PROFESSORS OF KULTUR

HARVARD is America's oldest university. It will celebrate its 300th birthday in 1936. It has 700 professors and instructors, 25,000 alumni, an endowment of £5,000,000 and the largest university library in the world. To the United States it has given three Presidents, one of whom, the redoubtable Mr. Roosevelt, is still alive. Ask Americans who is their first citizen, and nine out of ten will name Harvard's President Emeritus, Dr. Charles W. Eliot. He is the Allies' most eloquent and most fervid advocate in the United States—a fact symptomatic not only of the sentiment of Harvard and of New England, of which it is the intellectual capital, but of the intellectual aristocracy of the nation. Of that, too, Harvard is the citadel.

When the Emperor William, following the inauguration of his "American policy" fourteen or fifteen years ago, was in quest of a "cultural" base of operations, it was natural that his eagle eye should fix upon the great institution named after John Harvard of Stratford-on-Avon. William II was not daunted by the fact that Cambridge is across the river from Boston, which, as one of the rock-ribbed centres of genuine Anglo-Saxonism, seasoned with a hardy sprinkling of Irish, has probably less in common with Teutonism than any other single community in the United States. Harvard is the Nestor of American colleges; for the

Kaiser, that was enough. So it was beneath its historic elms that he decided to plant the seeds of *Kultur* on transatlantic shores.

Intensive spade work had been in progress for seven or eight years previous. Psychology had become a new theme of scientific research, thanks to the pioneer efforts of America's own gifted William James. Hearing that a young professor named Hugo Münsterberg was doing original experimental work in the new field at the little German university of Freiburg-in-Breisgau, James extended him a call to Harvard and made him the first director of its "laboratory of psychology." That was in 1892, when Münsterberg was twenty-nine years old. He has been at Harvard ever since, so that in 1917 he will be able to celebrate the festival dear to the heart of a German, his silver jubilee.

Presently there came another German to Harvard, Professor Kuno Francke, a distinguished *savant* whose specialty was Germanics. Under his able administration there sprang into being a Germanic Museum which to-day has no rival outside of the Fatherland itself. The Kaiser bestowed his quite special favour on this newest emblem of *Deutschtum* at Harvard, and, later, when Mr. Adolphus S. Busch, the lately deceased multimillionaire German-American brewer of St. Louis, who had a castle on the Rhine and sons-in-law in the German army, endowed the university with opulent funds for the museum, William II filled it with an elaborate gift collection of Germanic trophies. He has replenished it generously from time to time, and, with the exception of the great German National Museum in Nuremberg, I suppose there is no more representative display of Germanics anywhere in the world than Harvard now has.

A third German prop at Harvard was a graduate of

the university itself, a certain Edmund Robert Otto von Mach, native of Pomerania, who after receiving a Ph.D. degree at the graduate school became an instructor in the history of art in the university and, later, an instructor in the history of sculpture at Wellesley, a prominent Massachusetts college for women. He married an American woman in 1903 and now assists her in the conduct of "Mrs. von Mach's School for Girls" in Boston.

When Admiral Prince Henry of Prussia came to the United States in 1902, he visited Harvard, was the guest of Dr. Münsterberg, and was able to take back with him to the Fatherland glowing accounts of the apparently successful inauguration of the "German spirit" at the "hub" of American culture. It was not long after Prince Henry's return to Germany that the Kaiser announced the foundation of the "Exchange Professorship" scheme, whereby distinguished men from the faculties of Harvard and Berlin universities were to lecture annually in each other's country. I may mention, in passing, that the war and the animosities it has engendered in the United States have probably wrecked the Exchange Professorship, at least as far as Harvard is concerned. The scholar designated to be Harvard professor in Berlin during 1915-16 has declined the appointment, and it is probable that there will never be another *Austauschprofessor* in Berlin from the university of which Charles W. Eliot is President Emeritus.

Though Münsterberg has never been the only German professor at Harvard, he has been the most advertised and the most advertising one. He speedily made a name for himself as an interesting lecturer on experimental psychology. He presented the novel subject with rare attractiveness and his classes soon became—

and still are, I believe—among the best-attended in the whole university. Of Münsterberg's professional ability no one has ever said a disparaging word. By 1902, within ten years of his arrival in the country—though at the time he could hardly speak English—he had acquired a national reputation, thanks to the many opportunities offered him to bask in the seductive lime-light of American publicity. His was a familiar name in the newspapers, in the magazines and among after-dinner speakers at public banquets. He developed that inestimable quality known in United States politics as "mixing"—the capacity for making oneself agreeable in all sorts of society. Roosevelt, for example, is a capital "mixer." Münsterberg's fondness for moving among influential people with no visible interest in either psychology or Harvard induced many people to think that £1000 a year, his salary at Cambridge, ought not to be the only source of income enjoyed by a man of such restless and multifarious activities. Unfeeling souls even suggested that if he were not a paid agent of Germany in the United States, he at least deserved to be. Certainly the Kaiser's cause, when it needed pleading before the American public, never had a more earnest supporter than the Director of Harvard's psychological laboratory. Whether it was Samoa, Manila, Venezuela, or any of the other issues which periodically clouded the German-American horizon, Münsterberg was always in the forefront of the fray with arguments in behalf of his native land. He was listened to, too, for he is a persuasive man, and the voice of a Harvard professor is never raised in vain.

Münsterberg is an inveterate letter-writer. Newspapers and reviews could always count on an interesting contribution from his controversial pen when

dispute was in the air. He made a speciality of "cultivating" the acquaintance of influential politicians of all parties and all sections. He made frequent trips to Washington, and the White House door was always open to him. Not always to the gratification of Germany's accredited diplomatic representatives at the capital, Münsterberg was fond of posing as an unofficial ambassador of good relations — "cultural relations" is his favourite euphemism— between Germany and the United States. His activities in that direction gradually became so pernicious and so pronounced that, whether he deserved it or not, many people thrust upon him the reputation of being a professional German lobbyist in America. He has been known to boast that succeeding Administrations at Washington were accustomed to "consult" him on German-American topics, and on one occasion to my personal knowledge, he took something very like credit to himself for the appointment of United States Ambassadors to the German Court.

With such an officious past, it was, of course, morally certain that the Great War would provide Münsterberg opportunities for unprecedented labour in the Kaiser's vineyard. Harvard is jealously proud of its reputation for free expression of opinion, and its professor of psychology knew he was on safe ground in airing freely his biased views on the subject of Armageddon, despite President Wilson's neutrality proclamation. Münsterberg's first outburst was a book called "The War and America" in which, with characteristic dogmatism, he essayed to lay down the lines of thought which should guide Americans into support of Germany's cause. It became one of the German organization's principal propaganda weapons, the author's national reputation helping to give it wide-

spread circulation. Then Münsterberg inaugurated his underground propaganda work. He began visiting and writing prominent newspaper editors in Boston and New York, remonstrating vigorously with journals which espoused the anti-German cause, and exhibiting no discouragement in the face of constant rebuff and failure. He made almost regular visits, often accompanied, I am told, by Dr. von Mach, to the German official headquarters at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in New York, for consultation with Ambassador Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg. A few months ago Münsterberg even had the temerity to write a letter to the President of the United States, complaining that Germany's interests were not being fairly considered by the Government from the standpoint of strict neutrality. Münsterberg set forth his grievances in the name of "German-Americans," whom he represented as being greatly embittered over the Administration's attitude toward various questions raised by the war. President Wilson sent a courteous reply, asking Münsterberg to submit a bill of specifications, which the professor did. The President acknowledged receipt of his letter, and there the incident ended. A story was in circulation to the effect that the President sent a distinguished Democratic politician and Administration supporter to Münsterberg, to ask wherein the Government's attitude was displeasing to German-Americans—ostensibly with a view to amending it in their favour—but I believe the version above given is the accurate one.

It was about this time that the American newspapers had a fresh Münsterberg sensation—he has provided them with a great many during his twenty-three years in the country. Published statements announced that a certain Harvard alumnus, of the class of 1900, had threatened to "disinherit" Har-

vard University to the extent of a £2,000,000 endowment if it did not forthwith dismiss Münsterberg as punishment for his pernicious activities in Germany's behalf. Although the said alumnus was well known in student days on what Harvard calls the "Gold Coast," a part of the campus famed for luxurious entertainment by undergraduates of wealth, nobody at the university ever heard that his post-graduate activities had been crowned by such success as to permit him to bequeath his Alma Mater £2,000,000. I ascertained a strange fact about this episode. Although Harvard University has never, to this hour, received official information of the alleged bequest and the terms on which it might be withdrawn, Dr. Münsterberg, acting entirely on newspaper mention of the circumstances, precipitately tendered his resignation to the faculty. The only announcement made by the university authorities was to the effect that, at their instance, Münsterberg's resignation was withdrawn, "and that the university cannot tolerate any suggestion that it would be willing to accept money to abridge free speech, to remove a professor, or to accept his resignation." Dr. Münsterberg, I believe, came to the faculty meeting at which the incident was discussed, prepared to instigate a full-dress debate and secure a spectacular "vindication" for himself. He did divest himself of a grandiloquent plea of self-defence, but, if my information is correct, it was followed immediately by the heartless announcement from the President: "Gentlemen, we shall now proceed to the next business."

Münsterberg makes no secret of the fact that he has been carrying on what he calls "political work" in the United States for twenty years. He claims the goal of his ambition was to effect an *Entente Cordiale*

between Germany, America and England, though his references to the English in his war book lend poor support to the contention. Münsterberg brags, without hem or haw, that he has enjoyed the most "confidential" relations with American politicians, and, when one challenges the assertion, he is fond of referring to mysterious "deskfuls" of correspondence in his possession, which would, if he cared to reveal their contents, verify beyond doubt the intimate character of his "relations" with men of affairs in the United States.

Early this year there was a meeting at Cambridge of the overseers of Harvard University. Mr. Roosevelt is one of them. Hearing that he was coming to the meeting, Münsterberg decided to organize a luncheon in his honour. Mr. Roosevelt accepted the invitation. At Dr. Münsterberg's charming residence in Ware Street, whose walls, no doubt, could many a tale unfold, the ex-President found a distinguished company of Harvard intellectuals awaiting him, among them Professor Kuno Francke and Dr. von Mach. There were some pro-Ally representatives present, too. Mr. Roosevelt evidently "smelt a rat," or perhaps recalled Münsterberg's notorious meddling propensities in the realm of high politics. At any rate, as he was about to be presented to his fellow-guests, the colonel burst forth, in his typically breezy way, all his pearly teeth aflash, and said :

"Münsterberg, I'm delighted to be here ; *delighted*. And I appreciate the courtesy of your invitation all the more, because my attitude toward the war must be perfectly well-known to you from my writings on the subject."

I understand the luncheon conversation was devoted almost exclusively to burning topics like the moth-eaten elms on Harvard campus. Dr. Münsterberg, asked later by reporters to discuss the luncheon,

remarked that it "was quite without political significance."

While on the subject of Mr. Roosevelt and the war, I cannot refrain from repeating what he is quoted as having said to a friend who assured him that his defection from the Kaiser's cause was to Germans a matter of particular poignancy.

"Well," exclaimed Mr. Roosevelt, "what did they expect? Did they think that just because I was once the recipient of courtesy at the hands of their Emperor, I would be governed, in a crisis like this, by considerations of snobbishness?" That is a Rooseveltian pronunciamento. His attitude on the war has not diminished "T.R.'s" popularity among Americans, of whom, when all is said and done, he remains the arch-type.

Münsterbergism, let me say in conclusion, is not the spirit or sentiment of Harvard on the war. Harvard is, like the rest of the United States, officially neutral, but its great heart is pro-Ally. I suppose a census of its faculty and students would reveal 99 per cent. of anti-German sentiment. Harvard men are fighting in Ally trenches, and Harvard ambulances are at work in France and Flanders. There, in classic Cambridge, within gunshot of Bunker Hill, is no place to look for sympathy with the cause of Kaiserism and *Macht-politik*. I believe only two of Harvard's American professors are pro-German. One of them was the first Exchange Professor at Berlin and fell easy victim to Imperial blandishments. What is true of Harvard is probably true of nine-tenths of American universities. A private poll has indeed been made of them, and if I were permitted to detail the result, it would verify, broadly, the assertion I have just made. A man who stands almost on the level of Dr. Eliot in academic America, Dr. Andrew D. White, an ex-

Ambassador to Germany, is against her. Profoundly fond of almost everything German, the violation of Belgium drove him into the enemy's camp. Only five of the fifteen or twenty American exchange professors who have been to Berlin are pro-German. The rest are heartily pro-Ally. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia, another giant of the American university world, is pro-Ally. Dr. John Grier Hibben, who succeeded Mr. Wilson in the presidency of Princeton, is pro-Ally. So are President Hadley of Yale (himself an ex-exchange professor at Berlin), Dr. David Starr Jordan, the chancellor of Leland Stanford Junior University in California, Brander Matthews of Columbia, Albion W. Small of Chicago, and J. William White of Pennsylvania. Look down the whole long list of American *savants*, and of eminent Americans in general—Choate, Root, Lodge, Morgan, Beck, Armour, Carnegie, Wickersham, Whitridge, Johnson, Williams, Hillis, *ad libitum*—and the names of outspoken German sympathizers, though some of them are wearing the cloak of neutrality, loom prominent only because they are conspicuous exceptions. University presidents and professors do not wield the same sway in America as in Germany, but they are leaders of thought and public opinion. They have been the target of incessant persuasion at the hands of famous German colleagues like Eucken and Haeckel. The persuasion has taken the form of endearing and entreating personal letters. But it speaks volumes for these American scholars' belief in the invulnerable righteousness of the Allies' cause that they have rebuffed, almost to a man, the attempts of Germans once their revered masters in German universities, and are lending the whole weight of their influence to the cause of civil liberty and genuine *Freiheit* for which Great Britain and her Allies are fighting.

CHAPTER XII

CHICAGO, THE GERMAN STRONGHOLD

IF the great Teutonic ideal of a German State within the United States were ever to be realized, Chicago would be its capital city. At the last Federal census (1910) Chicago's population of foreign birth or parentage was 1,693,918 out of a total population of 2,185,283. The German element in this vast alien leavening numbered 501,832 inhabitants, or 29.6 per cent. of the aggregate; the Austrians totaled 227,958 (13.5 per cent.), and the Hungarians 37,990 (2.2 per cent.), making altogether 767,780 Germans and Austrian-Hungarians, or 45.3 of the total foreign element in the second largest and altogether most cosmopolitan city in the United States.

In no community in the country, with the solitary exception of Milwaukee, which has only 375,000 inhabitants, are the Germans in such overwhelming evidence as in the throbbing polyglot Western metropolis. Chicago has three German daily newspapers and five weekly periodicals. The defeated Democratic candidate for mayor in the recent elections was named Robert M. Sweitzer. The late Chicago City Council included aldermen named Lindheimer, Richert, Block, Klaus, Kerner, Kunz, Franz, Fick, Geiger, Krause, Schaeffer, Bauler, Krumholz, Haderlein, Lipps, Pretzel, and Trebind. In the affairs of Cook County, which is dominated by the 191 windy square miles which are Chicago, the influence of the Ger-

man element is even more pronounced. The chief county official (the President of the Board of Commissioners) is named Reinberg; the county clerk is the late mayoralty candidate, Mr. Sweitzer; the county treasurer is Mr. Henry Stuckart; the superintendent of public service is Mr. Henry Zender; the president of the jury commission is Mr. William A. Amberg; the board of assessors includes Messrs. Weber, Pfaelzer, and Wolf; and on the board of tax review sits Mr. F. W. Blocki. The county architect is Mr. Richard E. Schmidt, the county agent is Mr. William H. Ehemann, the coroner's name is Peter M. Hoffman, and the sheriff, a far more important functionary in the United States than the title implies in England, is Mr. John E. Traeger. On the bench of Cook County the German-Austrian element is represented by Messrs. Justices Theodore Brentano, Hugo Pam, Henry Horner, Charles M. Foell, and George Kersten. I know many of these men personally, and they are "good Americans" and excellent citizens.

Walk down Chicago's State Street, one of the finest shopping thoroughfares in all the world, and you will find that some of the greatest stores are owned by persons named Lehmann, Mandel, Siegel, Spiegel, Netcher, Hartman, Hillman, and Rothschild. Many of the eminent names at the Chicago Bar are lawyers of German birth or direct German descent. On the Board of Trade, which regulates the world's grain market, one of the most important firms bears the name of Rosenbaum. Two of the four or five great houses which control the famous Stock Yards and the meat-packing industry of the world are owned by the sons of German immigrants. In the American clothing trade, of which Chicago is the centre, German names prevail exclusively. Chicago breweries

are, of course, practically all German. In the world of finance, art, letters, science, music—in every avenue of civic activity without exception the Germans of Chicago are either predominant or in the front rank of those who lead.

It will be manifest from these figures and facts why pro-Ally supporters in such centres as Washington, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston warned me that I should strike "the enemy's country" when I landed on the breeze-swept shores of Lake Michigan. In the sense that I found more Germans in Chicago than in any of the other cities named and, therefore, a stronger German or pro-German sentiment, numerically considered, my friends in the sympathetic east were right. But if they believed, as many of them did, that because the Teutonic element in Chicago is 45.3 per cent. of the city's total foreign population that great and most typically American of United States cities is "pro-German," they were mistaken. It is nothing of the sort. Sympathy with Germany is confined with almost invisible exceptions to German-born inhabitants and their children; and not all of them, for I discovered a great many American-born Chicagoans, German only to the extent of having parents who happened to be born in Germany or Austria, who themselves are as whole-heartedly pro-Ally as any descendant of "Mayflower stock" in the country. In the east I found this to be almost invariably the case. Similar conditions undoubtedly exist throughout the country.

An observer fresh from England might have expected to find Chicago a maelstrom of unreasoning anti-Ally prejudice not only because of the omnipresence of Germans, but because Chicago is principally associated in the world's mind with cold and calculating business

Its foreign commerce is vast. Its export trade in food-stuffs runs into the tens of millions per annum. Its leading manufactures, such as agricultural implements, are sold all over the earth. The American cargo ships which have been intercepted by British cruisers have carried, in a great number of instances, wheat, oats and maize consigned by Chicago grain shippers, or meat products dispatched by Chicago packing-houses. Those are circumstances which led me to believe that if anywhere in the U.S.A., I should encounter anti-Ally sentiment, based on "arrogant British interference with America's neutral trading rights," it would be in the Chicago region.

The Chicago business man is not only one of the shrewdest in all the world, but also one of the most practical and reasonable. He prides himself justly on being "broad-gauged"; and I found him an idealist, too. He claims, and with truth, to be infected with the breath of the bounding Western prairies, and with a range of vision correspondingly broader than that of his confrère accustomed to look upon life from the narrower area of the New Yorker who dwells on Manhattan Island. Chicago pretends, in other words, to be more really American, more redolent of true Americanism, than the Atlantic sea-board. Being that, Chicago takes a liberal view of the effect on American commerce of the British Navy's conduct of the war. "This is an extraordinary war," says your typical, hard-headed, Chicago man of affairs, "and it must be fought with extraordinary methods. England's necessities have proved to be of abnormal nature. She is justified in resorting to abnormal measures to meet them. That's our way of looking at the thing. Some of us are very hard hit by it. But when we sit down to think it over, we seldom fail to come to the conclusion

that, when all is said and done, we would do pretty much the same thing ourselves. But all that doesn't excuse shabby treatment of our just claims."

Chicago, an American commercial city *par excellence*, is an ideal vantage-point from which to examine the suggestion so strongly emphasized in President Wilson's Note to Great Britain on December 29, 1914, to the effect that the war played havoc with United States business. The President's "frank and friendly remonstrance" was written before the country's trade returns for January, 1915, were available. They show that America's credit balance on its foreign commerce, \$145,536,103, was the biggest ever known. American merchants and manufacturers sold war-mad Europe the tidy sum of \$267,801,370 worth of goods during the first month of this year of travail, while Europe is so immersed in man-killing that she could sell to America only \$122,265,267 of wares. I had an opportunity to ask a banker, who is looked upon as Chicago's leading financier, what the business interests of the Great West, as representative of America at large, thought of the war from the standpoint of its effect on American commerce and trade. I reproduce his reply herewith:

"It is hardly going too far to say that the war saved the United States from grave economic depression. It has not prevented depression, for times cannot be described as good, but it undoubtedly staved off what would have proved extremely dangerous conditions. I refer, of course, to the swollen business derived from Europe's war necessities by the American manufacturer and farmer. If agriculture, as we are fond of saying, is really the backbone of American prosperity, then the war has been a positive boon. Our farmers never experienced such bountiful days.

Before the war wheat sold at 75 to 80 cents a bushel. It was worth \$1.50 a bushel this week. The war found us in possession of the largest wheat crop we had ever produced—with a round 1,000,000,000 bushels on our hands instead of the 650,000,000 we customarily harvest. Instead of becoming a drug on the market, war raised wheat to the level of a luxury. Conditions in our manufacturing industry were also such that the huge orders which producers of all sorts of war munitions received proved to be absolutely life-saving in their effect. The country was suffering from over-production due to excessive extension of 'plant.' The new Democratic tariff had proved injurious to many of our staple trades. Taking one consideration with another, America was unquestionably on the brink of calamitous economic conditions when Europe's war came. That we have averted catastrophe I think can safely be put down to the war's credit. It did more than that. It provided our banking institutions, in the cities and in the country districts, with a first-class pretext for 'putting on the brakes' all along the line. It enabled us to slow down the ambitious and aggressive factory owner who was 'spreading' beyond his capacities, and it permitted country bankers to demand that farmers should quit buying new land and pay up old obligations incurred for purchases in the past. So there was a general house-cleaning process. I do not mean that the war has enabled America to put its financial house in order. The situation is by no means ideal. Unemployment in a great many lines, especially industries dependent on regular export business to Europe, is extremely large. But on the whole the war has done us incalculably more good than harm. We should not be understood as wishing for its prolongation on that account. Real American business interests all lie in the direction of a speedy and permanent peace."

CHAPTER XIII

“SAFETY FIRST”

EVERYWHERE in the United States nowadays one encounters the slogan “Safety First!” It has become a national motto. Its intent is to popularize the notion that speed at any price is not the highest ideal worth striving for. In 1913, 10,964 persons were killed and 200,308 injured in American railway accidents. The statistics with regard to motor-cars are not available. At any rate, by inculcating the “Safety First!” principle, the United States hopes to curb the obsessing passion of her people for haste at the cost of an annual casualty list which dwarfs American losses in the war with Spain into utter insignificance.

“Safety First!” has a meaning all its own in Middle Western cities like Chicago just now. It has no reference to railway accidents or motor-smashes. It concerns the war exclusively. It has been formally adopted as the guiding principle of every man, woman, and child of the 1,800,000 non-German inhabitants of the Chicago community of 2,500,000 souls. Though they constitute the vast majority of the population, they realize that they are confronted by an organized phalanx of 700,000 odd Germans and Austrian-Hungarians, who possess not only the power, but apparently are determined to punish, unhesitatingly and effectively, any person, business-house, corporation or political party which espouses the anti-German cause. So the vast non-Teutonic element of Chicago, including

such numerically important factors as the 231,346 Poles and the 146,560 Irish, are engaged in a more or less successful effort to suppress their emotions and their sympathies, lest the vengeance of the German "System" be visited upon them to their economic ruin or political annihilation. "Safety First!"

All this explains why a stranger, dropping into Chicago in quest of Chicago's point of view about the war, fails to obtain it from a perusal of the city's most excellent daily press. In many respects the newspapers of Chicago are the best in the United States. They are a typographical delight. Their leading articles radiate the breeze of Lake Michigan and the spirit of the daring West. They are owned without exception (I am referring to the seven published in the English language) by men who are "real Americans," and of whose aggressive patriotism and civic courage there is no manner of doubt. Yet an impression is abroad in Chicago—unless the statements of men of affairs, who ought to know, are wrong—that there is hardly a journal in that vast community which dares, openly, frankly and fearlessly—as unafraid, for example, as great dailies in New York—to preach in its editorial columns what it feels in its heart. When an American politician is perched ungracefully on the horns of a dilemma, torn by the conflicting emotions of doubt and despair, he takes refuge in mental gymnastics known as "straddling." That is to say, he espouses both sides of the controversy, while apparently identifying himself with neither. In German politics they call this "egg-dancing"—treading lightly lest one be broken. That is undoubtedly the position of the Chicago Press on the war. Like the rest of the city, the newspapers believe in "Safety First!" The "conservatism" and "impartiality" of some, of

course, go further than others. The majority, under cover of President Wilson's neutrality proclamation, pretend to do nothing but remain in the middle of the road. One or two of them, at least, reveal now and then the courage to give the pro-Ally case something more than its half-and-half share. Another, greatly daring in the opposite direction, is under suspicion that, while eloquently protesting merely “ pro-Americanism,” it is actually pro-German. I believe its German circulation-manager acknowledges that the great increase in the number of its readers since last August is directly due to the large space it gives to pro-German matter. It was this same omniscient gentleman who “ staked his reputation ” last August, on returning from Berlin, that the Germans would be in Paris on a certain date in September !

The Germans watch the Chicago papers like hawks. Let me cite a case in point. If one of them has the temerity to give space to one or two pro-Ally communications in the column of “ Letters to the Editor,” the latter is forthwith deluged with pro-German letters—at the ratio of about seventy-five to one, I am told—most of them couched in terms more abusive and dictatorial than pleading. The German letter-to-the-editor scheme is regulated. Lutheran pastors seem to be told off to specialize in that department. Hitherto famed merely for long-windedness in the pulpit, they have developed epistolary vituperativeness during the war as one of their noteworthy accomplishments. It was a committee of German clergymen who once asked a certain United States Senator to vote against a bill to restrict immigration ; their petition was written on official letter-paper of the local offices of a German steamship line.

It was my privilege, during a fortnight in Chicago, to come in contact with the city's most eminent men of affairs. They have a remarkable grasp of the situation produced by the war, in its international, national and purely local aspects. I would be inviting trouble for more than one bank-president, railway-manager, corporation-lawyer, merchant-prince and manufacturer if I gave name, chapter, and verse with regard to the confidences in which they had the courtesy and frankness to indulge with me. But I hope I am committing no breach of faith when I summarize their views in composite, and that is that they, too—almost every one of them—feel themselves compelled to yield to the same dictates of self-restraint as the newspapers and politicians of Chicago. They fear the retribution of "The System" if they come out into the open. Their sympathies are where British friends will be glad to know they are. *But they are voicing them in Chicago in whispers.* "Safety First!"

There is no "organized" effort in the strictly technical meaning of the word to terrorize Chicago newspapers, politicians, and businessmen into pro-Germanism. There is no *Gesellschaft für Bekämpfung von deutschfeindlichen Strömungen* (Society for Combating Anti-German Tendencies) in the sense of official headquarters, with noteheads, managers, and telephone numbers. That is not "The System's" way. But the pressure is being exercised just the same, and mercilessly. Sometimes it is subtle, like a leading article in *Das Wochenblatt*, a German weekly, "recommending" firms which, by their advertising in German newspapers, indicate that they are inspired by "friendliness" to the German cause. Sometimes pressure is direct and frontal, like German military attacks. A great merchandizing-house may be connected by re-

lationship, no matter how remote or indirect, with admirals or generals fighting against Germany in Europe ; or some of the younger members of the family which founded the house may have once attended school in England. That is enough for " The System's " purposes. Word goes forth from some mysterious central headquarters that John Smith and Co. are no longer worthy of the patronage of " German-American " customers. Or a great meat-packing firm, which has hitherto done a large business with German butchers (a vast percentage of butchers in the United States is German) may have given expression, as far away as its London offices, to pro-Ally sentiments. " The System " clears for action. " No German-American is henceforth to buy meat from Jones and Co., or will he patronize any butcher who derives his supply from them." One of my journalistic colleagues in Chicago, lately the editor of a great daily newspaper, publishes a monthly magazine devoted to politics. The call of the blood impelled him from the start of the war to align himself unreservedly with the Allies' cause. He told me that his circulation and advertising dropped 50 per cent. since August 4, 1914. He says " The System " is responsible.

On February 7, a mass-meeting was held in Chicago under the auspices of the so-called " American Neutrality League." It was made up of a crowd of howling Germans, Austrian-Hungarians, and Fenian-Irish—four-fifths of the Irish of Chicago are anti-German—who turned the meeting into Bedlam. Called as a demonstration on behalf of " true Americanism," the gathering at the Coliseum was converted, before it was ten minutes old, into an orgy of pro-Germanism, pure and simple. One of Chicago's most prominent clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and a

Swedish politician, Dr. August Schvan, who had been invited to speak, deserted the meeting in disgust, protesting against its unblushingly partisan character, its violence and its insulting attitude toward the American flag and the American Government. The name of Secretary of State Bryan was hissed. When the meeting was over, the stamp of its real character was placed upon it by a procession of several thousand members of German societies, who went marching through the principal streets, singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles," and "Die Wacht am Rhein." Chicagoans of experience said there had not been such a violent demonstration of public feeling in their community since the Civil War. The Coliseum meeting was characteristic of the unbridled extremes to which the German sympathizers in Chicago go on every possible occasion. Their chief organs, the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung* and *Abend-Post*, often read as if they were published in Hamburg instead of Chicago.

But in the heart of the Great West, even in the citadel of German-Americanism, as in other parts of the United States, "The System" undoubtedly overplayed its hand. It has caused an unmistakable revulsion of feeling against its adherents. Chicagoans, who are always typically and representatively American, say "this cannot go on." They call it offensive. A well-known publicist who is at the moment carrying on a certain reform crusade, for the purposes of which he originally chose a German model, had had to abandon that illustration, and talk about the success of the same system in Switzerland, Sweden and Holland. People gave him to understand that they had no patience left for made-in-Germany institutions. One of the leading clubs of Chicago recently elected a new president. A native-born American of great popularity, but with a

German name, was a candidate. He was defeated by the votes of men who had nothing against him or his origin except that German agitation in Chicago has taken an obnoxious form.

Chicago is the seat of a great university, as well as of the world's pork-packing industry. German professors have campaigned with special zeal, to the end of securing the support and sympathy of the University of Chicago. It contains two or three scholars who have been “ exchange professors ” at Berlin, or enjoyed other intimate academic relationships with the Fatherland. I thought one of these men summed up, with characteristic Chicago terseness, the American “ intellectual's ” point of view about “ Kultur's ” designs on American sentiment in the war. He had shown me some correspondence with a German professor, overflowing with the sophistry whereby Eucken, Haeckel, and the rest have sought to cajole their “ honoured colleagues ” of the United States. “ This is a sample,” he said, “ of the predigested baby-food which the Germans are trying to stuff down the throats of Americans who had their milk-teeth at least fifty years ago ! ”

It would be a mistake to leave the great subject of Chicago without a word as to the position of her Irish and Polish elements in the war. They are overwhelmingly pro-Ally. They are cautious of public expression, for reasons already given, but they are solidly anti-German at heart. The Sinn-Feiners, the Clan-na-Gaels, and the Irreconcilable Irish generally, as a previous chapter records, are anti-British. They are nothing but a very noisy minority in Chicago. It is only their clamour which leads the public to believe that they are really numerous and to trust the German claim that “ Britain's Irish enemies are with us.” I

have the authority of the first Chicago Irishmen for the statement that the sons of Erin in the Great West, like their confrères in the East, are behind Mr. John Redmond's attitude toward the war to the extent of an overwhelming majority. In Chicago it is estimated that only 20 per cent. of the Irish are "with the Germans."

So it is with the Poles, who are a strong factor in the community. One of their trusted spokesmen, the late City Attorney, Mr. N. L. Piotrowski, said that although Russia, Germany, and Austria are all "our traditional foes," they look upon Prussia as the arch-enemy, whose oppression of the Poles has been the most brutal and intolerable of all, and they want Prussia-Germany crushed. Ninety per cent. of the Poles of the United States, I am assured, cherish that wish and hope.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AMERICAN MUNICH

“HAVE you ever been in Germany before?” inquired the Kaiser of a United States general who was attending the Imperial manœuvres in Silesia. “Only in Milwaukee, Cincinnati and St. Louis,” was the American’s reply.

Milwaukee is on the western shore of Lake Michigan, and is the chief city of Wisconsin. Cincinnati is one of the principal cities of Ohio, and St. Louis is the metropolis of Missouri, but in no other communities in the world outside of the Fatherland itself is German so *über alles* as in these three great Middle-Western centres of the United States. Chicago has more Germans than Milwaukee, Cincinnati and St. Louis combined, but in the three latter cities they are immensely more prominent because their proportion of the total population is probably larger. I have selected Milwaukee to describe in detail, because though the conditions in Cincinnati and St. Louis are identical, they find their vividest expression in the “Cream City.”

At least half of Milwaukee’s 400,000 inhabitants are German by birth or direct descent. Many will tell you that the proportion is nearer two-thirds than fifty per cent. Whatever it is, it is ubiquitous and dominating. During the war it has been almost domineering, because Germanism in the States is noisiest and boldest where its battalions are strongest. It was Teutonic influence which impelled the Wisconsin legislature the

other day to defeat a resolution expressing the confidence of the people of the State in the integrity of President Wilson's efforts to preserve neutrality. The legislature of Iowa, where there is a strong German farming element, took similar action.

Milwaukee nomenclature and ordinary life almost make one think one is in Munich. The best hotel is the Pfister. The leading bank was founded by a brewer named Pabst and is still "controlled" by his family. The biggest shop is Gimbel's, the leading confectioner's is Weber's, the city's parks are named after their donors, Schlitz and Pabst. If I required to be taken in charge, it would undoubtedly have been by a policeman who speaks better German than English, and I should have been tried under municipal laws administered by the following city officials :

Mayor, Dr. Gerhard Bading.

City Engineer, Stadl.

Secretary of Park Board, Shumacher.

Tax Commissioner, Arnold.

Health Commissioner, Ruhland.

Superintendent of Sewage, Leidel.

Smoke Inspector, Poetchke.

Supt. of Fire and Police Alarms, Kleinsteuber.

Supt. of Water-works, Bowman.

Chief of Child Welfare Dept., Lobedan.

The political jobs which Uncle Sam has to confer in Milwaukee are, of course, mostly in the hands of Germans. The judge of the Federal district court is named Geiger, the collector of customs is Schultz, and the postmaster's name is Schutz. Even in death the Germans are with you, for the registrar of probate is Schelein. I asked a non-German Milwaukeean to scribble at random a list of the principal citizens. He

might have torn it from the Berlin telephone directory, for it reads like this ; Uihlein, Nunnemacher, Vogel, Pabst, Blatz, Schlitz, Pfister, Trostel, Brunder, Freschl, Gallun, Falk, Adler, Schlesinger, Goll, Lange, Pritzlaff, and Schoenleber. There are other prominent "burghers," too—names like Quarles, Spence, Sivyver, Markham, Allis, which were not made in Germany—but they do not leap so quickly to memory.

In a community where you pay your fare to a German tramway conductor, receive your morning letters from a German postman, and can shop as easily in German as in English, you are likely to be circumspection itself in ventilating views about the war if they happen to be pro-Ally in tinge. The Germans of Milwaukee are at present almost more Teutonic than the Teutons. They have absorbed all the cocksureness, hates, unreasonableness and intolerance of the Germans who have not left home. They are as impatient with any one who dares to oppose their cause as if they were in Düsseldorf, and stand ready to visit vengeance on men and institutions not in agreement with them on questions of the war. That there have been no general or violent manifestations of this spirit is due solely to the fact that the non-German element in Milwaukee has emblazoned "Safety First" on its banner, just like the people of Chicago. Certainly "The System" has no votaries anywhere more determinedly devoted than the Germans of the city which (so runs the advertisement) was "made famous" by Schlitz's beer.

It would not be possible in many places in America, I imagine, for a prominent citizen to revile the Stars and Stripes in the midst of a vituperative pro-German war argument, yet that is what happened not long ago at the Fox Point Country Club, Milwaukee's smartest social organization. The episode is noteworthy, not so

much on account of its intrinsic merits as because of the light it throws on the audacity of the German in his strongholds in the Middle-West. If Milwaukee may fairly be considered a criterion, German-Americans are German first, and American afterwards, if at all. If Germany and the United States go to war, they *say* they will be "for America."

An ordinary day in Milwaukee suffices to show how the "System" works wherever it feels itself strong. A man walked angrily out of a haberdasher's shop because when he asked for a pair of motor-gloves a salesman exhibited a pair made in England. A butcher wanted an insurance policy, and he rejected it when it turns out to be issued by the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company. A Silesian "slavey," who has worked in a Milwaukee family ever since she arrived in the country twelve years ago, withdrew her money from the bank and sent it to the German Historical Society in New York in return for an "iron cross" worth sixpence, and her sister, who had no savings, sent earrings, rings, a watch or other trumpery "gems," to be melted into gold for Germany's diminishing war-chest, just as the Prussian women of Queen Louise's day gave their jewels in exchange for iron rings. These are little things which are happening every day not only in Milwaukee, Cincinnati and St. Louis, but throughout the districts in the States where Teutonism is rampant. They show us, such unconsidered trifles, that the Allies are not only fighting all the Germans in Europe, but millions of them in the United States as well.

It is significant that these "German-Americans" accept meekly the domination of the Kaiser's authorized officials in the United States. It is under the ægis of the German Consul in Cincinnati that the local

Teutonic organ, the *Volksblatt*, conducted a campaign to oust Dr. Dabney from the presidency of the University of Cincinnati for the crime of holding pro-Ally views like the vast majority of American academic leaders. It was the same Consul who, early in the war, made himself so obnoxious in Cincinnati newspaper-offices, with his imperious demands for more favourable treatment of the German cause, that representations to the German Embassy at Washington became necessary, in order to curb his pernicious activities. It was the German Consul in Chicago who had the effrontery to rebuke one of the city's prominent business leaders for "daring" to give public expression to pro-Ally sympathies.

In St. Louis, the stamping-ground of Dr. Bartholdt, president of the new German political party, pro-German impudence is on all fours with the pretences set up in Chicago, Milwaukee and Cincinnati. I am reliably informed that Dr. Bartholdt himself found the courage to caution Representative George E. Foss, a famous Illinois congressman and advocate of a strong American naval policy, "*not to talk too much about a big navy*," at St. Louis in the course of an address on Lincoln's birthday. "They are not ripe down there yet for big navy talk," said Bartholdt.

Although the German propaganda in America has failed lamentably and conspicuously to influence the country at large, it has efficiently *instructed* the anti-Ally German-Americans. They have learnt the sophistry of Bernstorff, Münsterberg, Dernburg, Kuno Meyer and Mach with parrot-like faithfulness. Judging by the line of "reasoning" which came to my ears in Milwaukee, the Kaiser's supporters in the United States have adopted as their catechism a weird preachment called "The British Black Book—by an Ameri-

can." This is the table of contents [textually reproduced] :

The Giant Octopus.

England, a Destroyer of Nations.

Germany's Wonderful Rise and Success, the Real Cause for England's Present War.

The Unholiest Conspiracy in History.

Honi soit qui mal y pense.

The Tentacles and Ink-sac of the Giant Octopus and how it Uses them.

The German Emperor, Lord of War, or Prince of Peace ?

German Atrocities—Made in England.

German Militarism or British Navalism—

Which is the Menace ?

Does America Need a Third War for Independence ?

It was my pleasure while in Milwaukee to hold "heart-to-heart" confab with a typical German-American. He is a native-born citizen of Wisconsin and the bearer of a name honoured throughout the State. For more than an hour he pleaded Germany's cause in terms of which the above table of contents gives an almost literal idea. There was much emphasis on the "spirit of jealousy of German competition" which inspired King Edward to "encircle" Germany and thus directly instigate the war. Belgium, I was assured, was the pretext for, not the cause of, England's stabbing Germany in the back. Hate is not a German trait. It is born in this war of resentment of the monstrous stain put on German honour by attributing to the race the characteristics of the Hun. Germans must campaign for American sympathy systematically because England controls the cable, has the priceless advantage of the common tongue, and

“ dominates ” the American Press. President Wilson is “ unneutral ” because he insists on censoring German wireless and letting off English cable scot-free. The United States Government is neutral in name only, because it permits the Allies to get arms and food from America, which Germany can buy but not ship. Thus, the German of Milwaukee, *ad libitum et nauseam*. And like him, of course, the Germans in the U.S.A., everywhere. They repeat it hour by hour to all who will listen, and, I doubt not, at intervals to themselves as well, for the catechism has been mastered to a degree of perfection attainable only by sleepless practice.

CHAPTER XV

A RETROSPECT

DURING a period of roughly six weeks I traversed that part of the United States lying between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, a region accounting easily for sixty-five to seventy per cent. of the population of the entire country. On the basis of painstaking inquiry I proclaim confidently that the cause of the Allies in America is invulnerably safe.

Against it the German campaign of cant, bluster, intrigue, and intimidation has roared and stormed as impotently as the onslaughts of the Kaiser's Guards at the iron lines of Joffre and French. Sanctified at the start by almost universal sympathy with the ideals for which the Allies went to war, their case has meantime withstood the greatest possible and only real shock to which it could have been subjected—the danger of violent interference with American commerce through enforcement of the belligerents' vital requirements at sea. There are controversial commercial questions still unsettled. Procrastination and interdepartmental muddle in England have created no little ill-feeling among the interested American claimants—and they are an influential group—but I do not believe they or anything else either would or could undermine the United States' great and idealistic faith in the Allies' cause.

Let me summarize the ramifications of the German campaign, in order that the full import of its failure

may be visualized. German designs to destroy American sympathy for the Allies were entrusted to an organization subdivided, roughly, into three main branches as follows :

Diplomatic and Secret Service. Executive director, Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador. Chief assistants, Captain Boy-Ed, naval attaché, and Captain von Papien, military attaché. Subordinate assistants, German Consuls throughout the country, officials of German shipping lines, and 20,000 German army and navy officers and reservists unable to leave America for active service in Europe. Principal duties of this branch are to explain and apologize for Germany in the Press on given occasions and to agitate public opinion wherever possible against the Allies in general and England in particular ; to facilitate the procuring of American passports for German spies and reservists ; to obtain false declarations for ships carrying German supplies ; to spy vigilantly on all activities of the Allied Governments and their agents, and on all American citizens known to hold, or suspected of holding, pro-Ally sympathies ; to evolve ways and means for promoting the German cause in America by hook or crook, regardless of American neutrality or susceptibilities.

Propaganda and Publicity. Executive director, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, ex-German Colonial Secretary, who was charged with the same sort of co-ordinate official mission to the United States as Prince Bülow attempted to carry out in Italy. Chief assistants, Professors Münsterberg and Von Mach of Harvard ; Professor Kuno Meyer, late of Liverpool ; Herman Ridder, proprietor of the *New-Yorker Staatszeitung*, in charge of the Department of the East, and Horace L. Brand, proprietor of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, Chicago, in charge of

the Department of the West ; George Viereck, editor of the *Fatherland*, and Dr. Hexamer, president of the National German-American Alliance. Subordinate assistants, editors of the 140 German newspapers and periodicals in the United States, German professors and tutors at American universities and colleges, and presidents of local German societies of all sorts throughout the country. Chief duties of propaganda and publicity division are to maintain a sleepless crusade on behalf of Germany by both the printed and spoken word, and to foment feeling against newspapers, politicians, private citizens, and business houses which oppose the German cause.

Political Terrorization. Executive director, Dr. Richard Bartholdt, ex-member of the House of Representatives for St. Louis, Missouri, long-time German spokesman in Congress, and president of the "American Independent Union," the new political organization formed by "5,000,000 German voters" for the purpose of "obliterating" President Wilson and the Democratic Party in 1916. The "union" aspires to defeat any and all candidates for public office who exhibit antipathy to the German cause. Chief assistants, Herman Ridder and Professor Thomas C. Hall, of Columbia University, native of Ireland, forthcoming "exchange professor" at Berlin, and husband of a Göttingen lady.

For a while during last winter American public opinion seemed on the verge of veering rather considerably in Germany's favour. The British Orders in Council did not immediately make clear the "reality" of the blockade they contemplated in effect. Their failure to grant what Americans held to be legitimate and indispensable concessions to neutral commerce produced an undeniably unfavour-

able impression. Even in the always friendly East, and still more markedly in the more pro-German Middle-West, I detected an atmosphere which, while in no sense hostile, was visibly less cordial than that which I had encountered on my arrival in those respective districts some weeks earlier. The papers were filled with the texts of the Notes exchanged by the State Department with the British and German Governments, and many people were inclined to read into Berlin's answers a spirit of conciliation which could not be discovered, they said, in Sir Edward Grey's courteous but unyielding replies. The country's anti-German prejudices had been fanned afresh by the piratical destruction of America's finest sailing ship, the *William P. Frye*, by the *Eitel Friedrich*, yet that incident, to the intense satisfaction of the German organization, appeared almost "blanketed" by the apparent menace to American commerce offered by the British Orders in Council.

Mr. Hearst's newspapers in New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, with their circulation of 3,000,000 and their 15,000,000 "readers," were shrieking in a simultaneous page-wide editorial about "repetition of the conditions" which provoked the war of 1812. Even the Anglophile *New York World* talked gravely about "Rights We Must Maintain," and in more than one ardently pro-Ally quarter, as I had personal occasion to observe in opinion-moulding centres like Chicago and New York, Americans were saying to England: "You have crowded us to the edge of the pavement and we have not 'kicked' very strenuously. But be careful now not to push us into the gutter."

America wants the Allies to win—to win soon and decisively. I did not gather that she desires to see

Germany crushed in the accepted sense of the term, though the *Lusitania* massacre has since occurred and filled Americans with violent indignation. There is everywhere in the United States, despite all, an undercurrent of admiration for the skilful struggle the German war-machine is waging. America wants to trade with Germany again some day, and will need a Germany able to buy goods and pay for them. She does want Prussian militarism shorn for ever of the power again to plunge the world in blood, fire, and tears. Yet America desires the perpetuation of a Germany virile enough to confer those features of genuine *Kultur* which have admittedly contributed their share to the progress of modern mankind. America wants Belgium richly compensated. No settlement extorted from Germany to that end will be considered too fabulous. And finally, and positively, America wants Germany to emerge from her adventure chastised to the point of impotence so far as her hungering designs on South America and against the Monroe Doctrine are concerned. Thinking America knows that a Germany triumphant over Europe and Asia will inevitably seek her next field of aggression and conquest in the Western world. There are records at Washington to testify that Germany has already negotiated behind America's back for a foothold in the Galapagos Islands off Ecuador and that German merchants in Nicaragua, seeking compensation for claims of more or less legitimacy, have suggested that territorial concessions to their Fatherland would be the most agreeable form of adjudication.

Americans know that the German menace caused Great Britain to lavish £40,000,000 a year on the upkeep of a supreme Navy. They have no desire that the spectre of the goose-step should some day compel them

to saddle themselves with the burdens of a gigantic Army and Navy as the price of security. They believe that this war, resolved into bed-rock essentials, is as meaningful for posterity as Charles Martel's defeat of the Saracen hordes on the plains of Tours eleven hundred years ago. That decided whether Mohammedanism or Christianity was to prevail in Europe. To-day, in American estimation, men are bleeding to death across the Atlantic in order to determine whether mediæval militarism or civil liberty shall be the ideal of the human race for the next thousand years. On no single point of the war is American vision clearer than on this. The man in the street is not all-lucid about it, but the leadership of American thought is eminently so.

Englishmen will ask, in the light of all this and in the name of common consistency, why America is not on the firing line instead of the merely sympathizing line. If Mr. Roosevelt were President, America would undoubtedly have been in the war months ago. Dr. Eliot, of Harvard, represents an element less belligerent by nature than Mr. Roosevelt, which would also probably welcome active American intervention. But America is participating in the war, I submit, to a degree which only the thoughtless can fail to grasp. For the Allies are fighting the Germans not only in France, Flanders, Russia, Austria and Turkey, but in every State of the American Republic as well.

In Europe Germany is bombarding forts and trenches. In the United States she is assailing public favour, to the definite end of alienating it from the Allies. In rolling back the attacks of Field-Marshal Dernburg and his lieutenants, Americans are fighting for the Allies, I feel, in a way more directly beneficial than the

participation of the Army which America has not got or her ships which the Allies do not need. For what is the great outstanding thing at which the whole German Plot in the United States aims? Nothing but the coercion of the American Government into action designed to neutralize the Allies' command of the sea: to bring about an embargo on arms, ammunition, provisions, and all the other variegated sinews of war which the Allies are drawing in such unceasing measure from this side. "How long," asks Uncle Sam, "could the Allies fight without our grain, our meat-stuffs, our shot and shell, our motor-lorries, our cotton, our petroleum, our copper, and our general good-will?"

It will not do for Englishmen to retort that self-interest is behind this sort of American "participation" in the war. America, it is true, is reaping rich material profit from the war, but doing so in the face of stupendous opposition, intimidation, political terrorization, and private blackmail on the part of the German organization. President Wilson—the man of burdens, as the *Chicago Herald* calls him—has walked the floor at night more than once since August 4, racked to distraction by the impudent and menacing demands of the German clique in the United States. So, it seems to me, Americans *are* doing their full share to make the Allies' victory speedy and certain. To no one who has not seen the German system at work can the full value of American "moral support"—call it commercialism, if you will—be apparent.

It is the duty of Englishmen, I think, to bear in mind the ethnological exigencies of America and eschew religiously sentiments calculated to cast aspersion on the American "commercial spirit." That happens to be a spirit of which Americans have never been ashamed.

They even think history may perhaps finally diagnose this war as essentially a conflict between militarism and commercialism.

If I may be so bold as to suggest a pungent British programme for the preservation of American sympathy in its present almost unalloyed form I would put it thus :

(1) A cessation of imperious verse by British poets.

(2) No more truculent admonitions to "sordid America" by British weekly periodicals mistakenly looked upon in the United States as responsible organs of British popular opinion.

(3) A saner and more liberal Press censorship, with particular regard to the legitimate demands of the American Press. Increased facilities to representative American journalists (including the London Correspondents of the great United States newspapers) for reporting the war at first hand and popularizing the Allies' side of it among American readers. Germany's generous facilities to American pressmen has done more than ten Dernburgs in creating sympathy for her in the U.S.A.

(4) A constant striving by the British Government to construe sea law in a manner which sins on the side of liberality, with due regard to the vital necessities of the Allies' cause.

(5) The adoption of a tone in diplomatic communications to the United States Government which does not confine concessions to philological pleasantries, and a policy of imaginativeness instead of bureaucracy. Punctilious politeness from Downing Street unaccompanied by what Americans call "the goods"—tangible concessions—is without effect.

If there is adherence to this simple set of guiding principles it is my conviction that Commander-in-Chief Bernstorff can hoist the white flag of distress over the crumbling ramparts of the German campaign in America and keep it flying.

Their doom will then be sealed.



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