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THE PRESIDENT'S FLAG DAY ADDRESS

WITH EVIDENCE OF
GERMANY'S PLANS



ISSUED BY
THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF WAR
THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
GEORGE CREEL

September 15, 1917

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THE PRESIDENT'S FLAG DAY ADDRESS*

WITH EVIDENCE OF
GERMANY'S PLANS.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the Nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battle field upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve

*Delivered June 14, 1917, in Washington. The annotations were prepared by Professors Wallace Notestein, Elmer Stoll, August C. Krey and William Anderson of the University of Minnesota, and Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska.

her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

GERMAN INTRIGUE AND AGGRESSION.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign Government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance; and some of those agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own Capital.¹

¹ As for espionage, König, the head of the Hamburg-American secret service, who was active in passport frauds, who induced Gustave Stahl to perjure himself and declare the *Lusitania* armed, and who plotted the destruction of the Welland Canal, has, in his work as a spy, passed under 13 aliases in this country and Canada. As for the corruption of public opinion, it has proceeded both openly and under cover. Dr. Dernburg was the official missionary, and he and others went up and down the land. Newspapers have been started with German money and others have received secret subsidies from the German Government. A check for \$5,000 was discovered which Count von Bernstorff had sent to Mr. Marcus Braun, editor of *Fair Play*. And a letter was discovered which Mr. George Sylvester Viereck, editor of the *Fatherland*, had sent to Privy Councilor Albert, the German agent, arranging for a monthly subsidy of \$1,750, to be delivered to him through the hands of intermediaries—women whose names he abbreviates “to prevent any possible inquiry.” There is a record of \$3,000 paid through the German Embassy to finance the lecture tour of Miss Ray Beveridge, an American artist, who was further to be supplied with German war pictures. Efforts were made by German sympathizers to get control of one at least of the great New York dailies, and about half a dozen weeklies have been devoted to German propaganda and little else. Most important of all, in a telegram, dated January 22, 1917, but just made public by the Secretary of State, Von Bernstorff asked his Government for authority to expend \$50,000 “in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of.”

As for conspiracy in our midst, it has taken various forms under the fostering and munificent hand of Capts. Boy-Ed, Von Papen, Von Rintelen,

They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce.² They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her; and that, not by indirection, but by direct sug-

Tauscher, and Von Igel, all directly connected with the German Government. There is now in the possession of the United States Government a check made out to König and signed by Von Papen, identified by number in a secret report of the German bureau of investigation as being used to procure \$150 for the payment of a bomb maker who was to plant explosives disguised as coal in the bunkers of the merchant vessels clearing from the port of New York. Tauscher, agent for Krupps, furnished supplies and equipment; Boy-Ed, Dr. Buenz, the German ex-minister to Mexico, the German consulate at San Francisco, and officials of the Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd steamship lines, evaded customs regulations and coaled and victualed German raiders at sea; Von Papen and Von Igel supervised the making of the incendiary bombs on the *Friedrich der Grosse*, then in New York Harbor, and stowed them away on outgoing ships; Von Rintelen financed Labor's National Peace Council, which tried to corrupt legislators and labor leaders. Through John Devoy, an old anti-British agitator in New York City, relations were maintained with the Irish revolutionaries and money paid to Sir Roger Casement, since executed in London for treason. This is shown by certain of the Von Igel papers. In others there is the implication that the German diplomatists in America were involved in the Separatist movement in the Province of Quebec. The German agents spent \$600,000 on Huerta's abortive attempt in this country to start a revolution in Mexico (1915). For the whole subject see files of *New York World* and *New York Times Index* under "German and Austro-Hungarian conspirators," "German plots, etc., for 1914-1917," and *Congressional Record*, April 5, 1917, pp. 192, 193.

² They have sought to destroy our industries by bringing about strikes and inducing men to quit work. Labor's National Peace Council attempted to bring about a strike among 23,000 longshoremen (Gompers's statement, *New York Times*, Sept. 14, 1915), and that was not the only attempt. Ambassador Dumba and Consul General von Nuber ran advertisements in various papers calling upon all loyal Austrians to quit work in munitions factories. German official documents, seized in Capt. von Igel's office, present as an argument against Austro-Hungary's cutting off the subsidy to a pretended employment bureau, which was in reality a branch of the German Secret Service, that this "Liebau Bureau" had been highly successful in fomenting strikes and disturbances at munition factories. (Cf. letter of Mar. 24, 1916, to Ambassador von Bernstorff.) Dumba's letter, reporting his plans to bring about disturbances in the Bethlehem Steel Works, was seized by the British among the belongings of Mr. Archibald, an American correspondent, and Dumba's recall was thereupon demanded by our Department of State.

The Germans have sought to arrest our commerce, not by submarines alone, but by blowing up ships in harbor and at sea. They have put

gestion from the foreign office in Berlin.³ They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe.⁴

And many of our own people were corrupted.⁵ Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and

bombs in coal bunkers and tied them to rudder posts. Models of Robert Fay's contrivances for this latter purpose were exhibited at his trial, and he spared passenger ships only because twin screws baffled him. By Fay's own confession and that of his partner the money for this combination of treachery and murder came from the German secret police. (For Von Papen and Von Igel's bomb making on the *Friedrich der Grosse* see above.) The extraordinary number of explosions in munition factories so far exceeds the normal number even in this dangerous industry as to justify suspicion and investigation.

³ The reference is to the note sent by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, foreign secretary, to Von Eckhart, German minister to Mexico, requesting him to seek an alliance against us with Mexico and Japan. Mexico was to have Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It was written January 19, on the eve of the Germans' unlimited submarine warfare, and while we were at peace with Germany. The minister was to act as soon as it was "certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States." The note was intercepted, and when in March its contents were made known it set popular feeling aflame and more than any other act of aggression on the part of Germany aroused the American public.

⁴ Possibly the most glaring instance of German official effrontery was the *permission* to regular American passenger steamers to continue their sailings undisturbed after February 1, 1917, if—

"(a) The port of destination is Falmouth.

"(b) Sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50° N. 20° W.

"(c) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes, 1 meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance, and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

"(d) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

"(e) The United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers."

The German ambassador to the Secretary of State, January 31, 1917.

⁵ Among these were David Lamar and Henry Martin, who, in the pay of Capt. von Rintelen, organized and managed Labor's National Peace Council, which sought to bring about strikes, an embargo on munitions, and a boycott of banks which subscribed to the Anglo-French loan. A

to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

IRRESPONSIBLE MILITARISM.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own.⁶

check for \$5,000 to J. F. J. Archibald for "propaganda work," and a receipt from Edwin Emerson, the war correspondent, for \$1,000 "traveling expenses" were among the documents found in Von Igel's possession. Many persons in places of influence and authority were approached.

Others likewise bearing English names have been persuaded to take leading places in similar organizations which concealed their origin and real purpose. The American Embargo Conference arose out of the ashes of Labor's Peace Council, and its president was American, though the funds were not. Still others tampered with were journalists who lent themselves to the German propaganda, and who went so far as to serve as couriers between the Teutonic embassies and Vienna and Berlin.

⁶ The German people had no chance to influence the policy of the Berlin Government during the critical days when that Government, sanctioning the purpose of Austria to have her will of Serbia, made European war inevitable. They had not even the chance to express opinion or to learn at the time what the Government was doing. Germany was declared "in danger of war" (*Kriegsgefahrzustand*) at noon, July 31, a step almost, if not altogether, equivalent to mobilization. The country was "in danger of war," but of a war made by its own militaristic rulers and not, as they pretended, by Russia. Early in the afternoon of this same day the Kaiser, in telegraphing to the Czar, made no mention of Russian mobilization. A little later in the afternoon, at about 4, he telegraphed to King George, and this time said that he had just heard from the chancellor that the Czar had "this evening" ordered mobilization of the Russian Army. The claim made afterwards by the German Government that the *Kriegsgefahrzustand* was in reply to the Russian mobilization is disproved by their own White Book. (See also *Le Mensonge du 3 Août*, Paris, 1917; *Nineteenth Century and After*, issue for June, 1917; Stephen Lausanne, *The Kaiser Contradicts Himself*, in *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 11, 1917.) At midnight July 31, an ultimatum was sent to Russia demanding demobili-

They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us.⁷

zation within 12 hours. At 5 p. m., Aug. 1, the German Army was formally mobilized, although there is much evidence that it had been mobilized for days, and at 7 p. m., war was declared against Russia. On Aug. 4 the Reichstag, the representative body of the German Nation, met, and for the first time learned officially what had been done. Between July 23 and August 4 the German Government had put itself in the posture of war against Russia, France, Great Britain, and Belgium, and had violated Luxemburg, and yet had asked no advice or consent of the German people. That is why it is proper to say that the German people did not begin the war, or the mass of the people originate it. Perhaps the most conclusive proof of this lies in the efforts made by the Government to convince the people that the war was strictly a defensive one. "Envious people everywhere are compelling us to our just defense," said the Kaiser on July 31; and again, "The sword is being forced into our hand." By such speeches and by the circulation of a report (since acknowledged by high German officials to be false) that France had already attacked Germany, the German people were aroused. Even the invasion of Belgium was represented to be a defensive measure, and it was declared by the Chancellor in the Reichstag and by everybody else in authority to have been due to certain knowledge that France herself was about to invade Belgium. Lieut. Gen. Freytag-Loringhoven, Chief of the Supplementary Staff, has recently made it clear that this was not true. He admits that the initial success of the German arms was largely owing to the French expecting the German advance elsewhere. (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 12, 1917.)

The French ambassador in Berlin writing a year before the war on the peace groups in Germany concludes despondently, "but they are only a sort of makeweight in political matters, with limited influence on public opinion, or they are silent social forces, passive and defenseless against the infection of a wave of warlike feeling." (*French Yellow Book*, No. 5.)

⁷ The present German Empire and its constitution was formed not by the people but by the 25 kings and princes of Germany, headed by the King of Prussia. Bismarck wrote the constitution and regarded it as adopted when the German princes and kings approved it. It was never submitted to a vote of the people. It is clear at once how perfect this constitution is. It is perfect from the standpoint of the kings and princes, especially of the Kaiser, who, as King of Prussia, controls two-thirds of the people and two-thirds of the land of Germany.

Bismarck did not choose to leave the people out entirely; thus the German constitution provides for an elected house, called the Reichstag. It is chosen by manhood suffrage of those over 25 years of age. The districts established in 1871 are unchanged to-day. This means that the large cities which have grown up since 1871 and contain the laboring vote are but partially represented, and the German Government dares not change

PLANS FOR POWER.

The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

these districts, because it would mean an increased vote for the laboring classes and the Socialist Party. It need not be so fearful, for, under the constitution, the popular house is merely a great debating club, which may talk and go through the forms of considering legislation, but is not a real factor in the German Government. It is little more than a convenient piece of political scene-painting, and the room where it meets has been well called by one of the members the "Hall of Echoes."

The real power in the German Parliament lies with the *Bundesrat*, a body of 61 members, which meets in secret. It is composed of diplomats appointed by the kings and princes of Germany, Prussia having the largest number. These ambassadors vote at the direction of their sovereigns, and as the King of Prussia is the most powerful and appoints the chancellor, who presides over the *Bundesrat*, he has enough votes to veto any measure. The *Bundesrat* is not only safe from democracy but it is the body through which the Emperor, as King of Prussia, can really control Germany. Here are originated almost all bills, and all legislation must be approved by the *Bundesrat*; this means, in other words, by Prussia and its King, the present Emperor William II. It is thus that Germany has been Prussianized in its government and filled with the political ambitions and military ideals of a State whose best models of a ruler are still, in the twentieth century, Frederick the Great and his brutal father.

It is the Emperor who declares war and makes peace, nominally with the approval of the *Bundesrat*. Even this body is not consulted if the war is defensive. Whether a war is defensive or offensive is a matter for William II to determine, and he so determined when he declared the present war and only officially informed the *Bundesrat* of the fact three days later. It is this Government, comprised of a group of kings and princes, led by the King of Prussia, that the pro-Germans praise as the most democratic in the world. What they mean is that for the sake of keeping the people quiet and submissive to their military aims the autocracy grants them old-age pensions and clean streets, and in return expects them to send their sons to any war and to commit any act for the sake of a State where irresponsible medieval-minded sovereigns still believe in this twentieth century that they rule by divine grace and are accountable only to God. But the god that they have in mind is a war god whom they have created in their own image.

This pictures but half of what we mean by autocracy, for it leaves out of account the government of the most powerful State in Germany, that of Prussia itself. When one knows that in Prussia the voters are divided into three classes according to their wealth, and one nobleman's or rich man's vote may be equal to that of 10,000 laborers, and that actually 4 per cent of the wealthy people count for as much as 82 per cent of the

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller States, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination.⁸ Their purpose has long been avowed. The

laboring and poor class, some may think that this is efficient government; but the only people they can get to agree with them are the Prussian nobles, landowners, and capitalists. This explains why the German people have no real power in Germany and why two-thirds of them in Prussia have the merest shadow of voting rights which they must exercise by word of mouth in the presence of their employer or landowner. See Hazen, *The German Government*, published and distributed by the Committee on Public Information.

The militaristic group which started the war without consulting the people's representatives have been equally contemptuous of public opinion in conducting it. In England there have been two sweeping changes in the cabinet in response to popular demand, and in France both cabinet ministers and army leaders have been changed; but in Germany even when, after three years of war, popular discontent led to the fall of Bethmann-Hollweg, the first secret conferences concerning his successor were evidently with the army generals and then with the crown council at which the Crown Prince was present. The new chancellor, Michaelis, was so far from being the choice of the people that even the most hostile groups in the Reichstag did not know what to make of him. How little the new chancellor was the choice of the people, how little he himself now intends that the people shall rule appears from the following speech since he took office (on July 19):

"I also consider it desirable that the relations of confidence between Parliament and the Government should be made closer by calling to the leading executive positions men, who, in addition to their conciliatory character, possess the confidence of the great parties in the popular representative body. *All this is, of course, possible only on the assumption that the other side recognizes that the constitutional right of the imperial administration to conduct our policy must not be narrowed. I am not willing to permit the conduct of affairs to be taken from my hands.*"

⁸ As this goes to press, the dispatches from Petrograd carry new evidence from the secret Russian archives of the Kaiser's intrigues against small states. In telegrams signed "Nicky" and "Willy," the Czar and the German Emperor are shown to have been arranging in 1905 for a secret alliance endangering Denmark. In case of war with England, Denmark

statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible,⁹ paid little attention; regarded what German pro-

was to be treated as Belgium has been in the present war, except that a preliminary effort was to be made to make the Danes see and accept the inevitable. The German Emperor telegraphed on August 2, 1905, from Copenhagen, where he had gone to break ground for the nefarious scheme:

"Considering great number of channels leading from Copenhagen to London and proverbial want of discretion of the Danish court, I was afraid to let anything be known about our alliance, as it would immediately have been communicated to London, a most impossible thing so long as treaty is to remain secret for the present.

"By long conversation with Isvolsky, however, I was able to gather that actual Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Raben, and a number of persons of influence have already come to the conviction that in case of war and impending attack on Baltic from foreign power Danes expect—their inability and helplessness to uphold even shadow of neutrality against invasion being evident—that **Russia and Germany will immediately take steps to safeguard their interests by laying hands on Denmark and occupying it during the war.**

"As this would at the same time guarantee territory and future existence of dynasty and country, the Danes are slowly resigning themselves to this alternative and making up their minds accordingly. **This being exactly what you wished and hoped for, I thought it better not to touch on the subject with Danes and refrained from making any allusions.**

"**It is better to let the idea develop and ripen in their heads and let them draw final conclusions themselves, so that they will of their own accord be moved to lean upon us and fail in line with our two countries. Tout vient a qui sait attendre.** ['All things come to him who waits.']

* * * * *

"WILLY."

⁹ Some of the German conceptions and plans are indicated in the quotations that follow. These quotations are necessarily brief, and for that reason they may seem somewhat sharp, but they are none the less typical of the spirit that is to be found in scores of German pamphlets and books, in a wide range of newspapers, and, indeed, in the conversation of a large number of intelligent Germans. It must not be supposed, of course, that all Germans knew the bitter logic of such notions. Probably a majority did not. But unfortunately a powerful and increasing minority, a clamorous minority, were in favor of the policy of military aggression. By 1908 they were able to criticize the Kaiser openly for the indiscretion of having talked better relations with Britain; by 1911 they were strong enough to voice widespread censure of the Government for its failure to fight on the issue of Morocco; by 1914 they found suitable occasion to rush the country into war. To-day (September, 1917) they are holding out for the policy of annexation and indemnities.

These quotations explain not only Mr. Wilson's words but why the world is in arms against the German menace.

fessors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather

“In the good old times it happened that a strong people thrust a weak one out of its ancestral abode by wars of extermination. To-day such deeds of violence no longer occur. To-day everything goes on peaceably on this wretched earth, and it is those who have profited who are for peace. The little peoples and the remnants of a people have invented a new word—that is, international law. In reality it is nothing else than their reckoning on our good-natured stupidity * * *.

“Room—they must make room. The western and southern Slavs—we. Since we are the stronger, the choice will not be difficult. We must quit our modest waiting at the door. Only by growth can a people save itself.” (Otto R. Tannenbergh, *Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts* (1911), pp. 74-75.)

“We are of the race of the Thunderer;
We will possess the earth.
That is the old right of the Germans—
To win land with the hammer.

“This right of the Germans arises, let it be said once more, out of German civilization, the best on earth. * * * Forward, then, into the fight for German aims, and ‘far as the hammer is hurled, let the earth be ours.’” (Bley, *Die Weltstellung des Deutschland*, 1897, pp. 27-29.)

“In order to live and to lead a healthy and joyous life we need a vast extent of fresh arable land. This is what imperialism must give us; at least there would be its chief justification. * * * No doubt such winnings of fresh soil can not be made without war. Was ever a world power founded without a bloody struggle? Nor are we afraid of going down in the fight; no, rather are we fearful that we should be open to the charge made by the Carthaginian cavalry general against Hannibal: ‘Victoria uti nescis’ (Thou knowest not how to profit by victory).” (Albrecht Wirth, *Volkstum und Weltmacht in der Geschichte*, 1901, p. 235.)

“Our fathers have left us much to do. The German people is so situated in Europe that it need only run and take whatever it requires. * * * To-day * * * it is for Germany to rise from a European to a world power. * * * Humanitarian dreams are imbecility. Diplomatic charity begins at home. Statesmanship is business. Right and wrong are notions indispensable in private life. The German people are right because they number 87,000,000 souls. Our fathers have left us much to do.” (O. R. Tannenbergh, *Gross-Deutschland: die Arbeit des 20ten Jahrhunderts*, 1911, pp. 230-31.)

“Since Bismarck retired there has been a complete change of public opinion. It is no longer proper to say ‘Germany is satisfied.’ Our historical development and our economic needs show that we are once more hungry for territory, and this situation compels Germany to follow paths unforeseen by Bismarck.” (Daniel Frymann, *Wenn Ich der Kaiser wäre*, 1911, 21 ed., 1914, p. 9. Frymann’s work has been widely read in Germany, much more widely indeed than Bernhardi.)

the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers.

"It is our sacred duty to sharpen the sword that has been put into our hands and to hold it ready for defense as well as for offense. We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. We must act with prudence so as not to arouse suspicion and to avoid the crises which might injure our economic existence. We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations the precipitation of war (*Losschlagen*) should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870." (Memorandum of the German Government on the strengthening of the German Army, Berlin, Mar. 19, 1913; *French Yellow Book*, Carnegie edition, 1915, I, p. 542).

"Do not let us forget the civilizing task which the decrees of Providence have assigned to us. Just as Prussia was destined to be the nucleus of Germany, so the regenerated Germany shall be the nucleus of a future empire of the west. And in order that no one shall be left in doubt, we proclaim from henceforth that our continental nation has a right to the sea, not only to the North Sea but to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Hence we intend to absorb one after another all the provinces which neighbor on Prussia. We will successively annex Denmark, Holland, Belgium, northern Switzerland, then Trieste and Venice, finally northern France, from the Sambre to the Loire. This programme we fearlessly pronounce. It is not the work of a madman. The empire we intend to found will be no Utopia. We have ready to hand the means of founding it and no coalition in the world can stop us." (Bronsart von Schellendorf, quoted by H. A. L. Fisher in *The War, its Causes and Issues*, 1914, p. 16.)

"The strongest Germanic State on the continent must take over the hegemony; the smaller ones must sacrifice as much of their independence and their language as is necessary to the permanent insurance of a new imperial unity. The question of whether military force would become requisite is secondary; but it is essential that the State which aspires to the hegemony should have at its disposal sufficient intellectual, economic, and military power to reach this end and hold it fast. Which State would it be? It can be only the German Empire, which is now in search of more territory * * *. The natural pressure of this new German Empire will be so great that, willy-nilly, the surrounding little Germanic States will have to attach themselves to it under conditions which we set." (Joseph L. Reimer, *Ein pangermanisches Deutschland*, 1905, pp. 119-120.)

"Now, people of Germany, ye shall be masters of Europe (*nun, deutsches Volk, wirst du Europa's Meister*)." (Conclusion of a poem, "Der Krieg bricht los," by the excellent German poet, Hermann Stehr, in the first number of the *Neue Rundschau* after the war broke out, 1914, p. 1186.)

GERMAN PENETRATION IN THE EAST.

But the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested,¹⁰ filling the thrones of Balkan

“Formerly German thought was shut up in her corner, but now the world shall have its coat cut according to German measure, and as far as our swords flash and German blood flows, the circle of the earth shall come under the tutelage of German activity.” (From a poem by Fritz Philipp entitled “World-Germany,” quoted by J. P. Bang, *Hurrah and Halle-lujah*, 1917, p. 47.)

¹⁰ In his published speeches the Kaiser never makes a downright assertion of a wish to conquer other peoples. But he is continually “sharpening” his “sword”, glorifying war and the military deeds of his ancestors, and urging his army to be ready for its great work. In much that he says this notion of aggression is implicit. The following excerpts show the dangerous drift of his mind, and that of his son and heir and of the ruler of the second kingdom in the Empire:

“The German people is of one mind with its princes and its Emperor in the feeling that in its powerful development it must set up a new boundary post and create a great fleet which will correspond to its needs.” (Kaiser’s speech, Berlin, Feb. 13, 1900. Christian Gauss, *The German Emperor as Shown by His Public Utterances*, 1913, p. 158.)

“I hope it [Germany] will be granted, through the harmonious cooperation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said ‘Civis romanus sum,’ hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, ‘I am a German citizen.’” (Kaiser’s speech of Oct. 11, 1900, Christian Gauss, p. 169.)

“At the declaration of war Russia followed France, and then the English also fell upon us. * * * I am glad of it, and I am glad because we can now have a reckoning with our enemies and because now at length * * * we can get a direct outlet from the Rhine to the sea. Ten months have gone by since that time. Much precious blood has been shed. It has not, however, been shed for nothing. A strengthening of the German Empire and an expansion outward beyond its boundaries as far as this is necessary—an expansion by which we shall be protected against further attacks—that will be the gain (*Frucht*) of this war.” Speech by the King of Bavaria, June 7, 1915, at the banquet of the Bavarian Canal Association. Quoted by Grumbach, *Das annexionistische Deutschland*, 1917, p. 5.

“It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which the world does not seem willing to accord us * * * till the world comes to an end, the ultimate decision must rest with the sword.” (Extract from the Crown Prince’s introduction to *Germany in Arms*, issued in 1913.)

The Crown Prince's utterance met with different receptions in different quarters. Pan-Germans hailed it with enthusiasm, and such papers as *Die Post* (Conservative) and *Die Tageszeitung* (Agrarian) acclaimed the "military ardor" of the heir apparent. Said the *Reichsbote* (Conservative). "Refreshing as a breeze, but only for a manful German breast that sees a better time dawning; as the Crown Prince, so, heaven be praised, thinks the whole youth of Germany." (*Literary Digest*, 1913, p. 1170.)

"The person addressed by the Emperor had thought up till then, as did all the world, that William II, whose personal influence had been exerted on many critical occasions in support of peace, was still in the same state of mind. He found him this time completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his [own] eyes the champion of peace against the warlike tendencies of certain parties in Germany. William II has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later. Naturally he believes in the crushing superiority of the German Army and in its certain success.

"Gen. von Moltke, chief of staff at the opening of the war, spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success, "For," he said to the King, "this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes." (Jules Cambon, French ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, minister for foreign affairs, Berlin, Nov. 22, 1913. *The French Yellow Book*, No. 6.)

"War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No; war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes Frederick the Great and Blücher, and all the men of action—the great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck—are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door, and 'old Fritz,' springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of young Germany." (*Jung Deutschland*, the official organ of the "Young German League," October, 1913. Quoted by J. P. Bang, *Hurrah and Hallelujah*, 1917, p. 212.)

The following is the testimony of Otfried Nippold, professor of church history at Jena. On his return from a residence of several years in Japan he was shocked to observe the extraordinary growth of jingoism in Germany. He gathered in most careful fashion a collection of statements advocating war and conquest, made in the years 1912-1913 by prominent men, by well-known associations, and by leading newspapers. At the end of his book of more than a hundred pages this German scholar made the following careful statement of the situation:

"The evidence submitted in this book amounts to an irrefutable proof that a systematic stimulation of the war spirit is going on, based on the one

hand on the wishes of the Pan-German League and on the other on the agitation of the Defense Association (*Wehrverein*). One cannot but feel deep regret in discovering that in Germany, as well as in other countries, ill-feeling against other States and Nations is being stirred up so unjustifiably and that people are being so unscrupulously incited to war. * * *

"But apart from these chauvinists of a more harmless kind, who indulge only occasionally in chauvinistic utterances, we have come across other speakers and writers—and they are decidedly in the majority, so far as the passages quoted in these pages are concerned—who deal with the matter in a different, that is to say, in a much more thoroughgoing, way. These men do not only occasionally incite people to war, but they systematically inculcate a desire for war in the minds of the German people. Not only in the sense that they ought to be prepared for war and ready for all eventualities, but in the much more far-reaching sense that they want war. War is represented not merely as a possibility that might arise, but as a necessity that must come about, and the sooner the better. In the opinion of these instigators, the German Nation needs a war; a long-continued peace seems regrettable to them just because it is a peace, no matter whether there is any reason for war or not, and therefore, in case of need, one must simply strive to bring it about. * * *

"From this dogma (that war must come) it is only a step to the next chauvinistic principle, so dear to the heart of our soldier politicians who are languishing for war—the fundamental principle of the aggressive or preventive war. If it be true that war is to come, then let it come at the moment which is most favorable to ourselves. In other words do not wait until there is a reason for war, but strike when it is most convenient. * * * And above all as soon as possible. * * *

"We have already described the motive forces—the nationalist press, organizations like the Pan-German League and the Defense Association, soldier politicians like Generals Keim, Liebert, Bernhardt, Eichhorn, Wrochem, etc., and politicians such as Maximilian Harden, Bassermann and their like. * * *

"The desire of the political visionaries in the Pan-German camp for the conquest of colonies suits the purpose of our warlike generals very well; but to them this is not an end, but only a means. War as such is what really matters to them. For if their theory holds good, Germany, even if she conquered ever so many colonies, would again be in need of war after a few decades, since otherwise the German Nation would again be in danger of moral degeneration. The truth is that, to them, war is quite a normal institution of international intercourse and not in any way a means of settling great international conflicts—not a means to be resorted to only in case of great necessity." (*Der deutsche Chauvinismus*, 1913, pp. 113–117.)

The following protest in the Reichstag against the jingoism manifested at the time of the Morocco crisis of 1911, when the war-like groups in Germany were incensed at the failure of the Government to get a slice of Morocco, was voiced by no less a man than the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Better evidence could not be asked for.

"For months past we have been living and are living now in an atmosphere of passion, such as we have never before experienced in Germany.

* * * To bring national passions to the boiling point for the sake of Utopian schemes of conquest and for party purposes—that, gentlemen, is to compromise patriotism and to squander precious treasure.” (Reichstag debates, Nov. 10, 1911.)

The powerful forces exciting the war mania were analyzed again and again by leading Social Democrats in the Reichstag. Their views confirm the following statement made by the French minister of foreign affairs in his report (July 30, 1913):

“Some want war because, in the present circumstances, they think it inevitable; and, as far as Germany is concerned, the sooner the better. Others regard war as necessary for economic reasons, based on overpopulation, overproduction, and the need for markets and outlets, and also for social reasons. * * * Others, uneasy for the safety of the Empire and believing that time is on the side of France, think that events should be brought to an immediate head. * * * Others are bellicose from ‘Bismarckism,’ as it may be termed. They feel themselves humiliated at having to enter into discussions with France. * * * Angry disappointment is the unifying force of the *Wehrvereine* and other associations of young Germany. * * * Others again want war from a mystic hatred of revolutionary France * * * [The writer goes on to say that the country squires, the aristocracy, which is military in character, the higher bourgeoisie, the manufacturers, big merchants, and bankers are in favor of war]. The universities, if we except a few distinguished spirits, develop a warlike philosophy. * * * Historians, philosophers, political pamphleteers, and other apologists of German Kultur, wish to impose upon the world a way of thinking and feeling specifically German. * * * We come finally to those whose support of the war policy is inspired by rancour and resentment. * * *” (*French Yellow Book*, Doc. No. 5. *Diplomatic Documents*, Carnegie edition, 1916, I, pp. 551-553.)

It will not escape the reader's attention that these three statements from widely differing sources were made from one to three years before Germany plunged the world into the war she wanted.

The opinion of Maximilian Harden, editor of the *Zukunft*, as to the causes of the war:

“Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. We wanted it; because we had to wish it and could wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe. * * * Germany strikes. If it conquers new realms for its genius, the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war. * * * We are waging this war not in order to punish those who have sinned, nor in order to free enslaved peoples, and thereafter to comfort ourselves with the unselfish and useless consciousness of our own righteousness. We wage it from the lofty point of view and with the conviction that Germany, as a result of her achievements, and in proportion to them, is justified in asking, and must obtain, wider room on earth for development and for working out the possibilities that are in her. The powers from whom she forced her ascendancy, in spite of themselves,

states with German princes,¹¹ putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies¹² and make interest with

still live, and some of them have recovered from the weakening she gave them. * * * Now strikes the hour for Germany's rising power." (Article by Harden translated in the *New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1914. Also in *New York Times Current History*, III, p. 130.)

Even now (September, 1917) the rulers of Germany can not abandon their schemes for annexation. Recently the Reichstag, impelled probably by the growing peril of Germany's situation, voted against annexations and indemnities. Alarmed by this vote, the Pan-Germans have been conducting a campaign of mass meetings and telegrams. They sent a wire to the new chancellor, Michaelis, urging that peace without indemnities and extensions of territory was impossible. To this the chancellor answered: "I am firmly confident that the splendid military situation will help us to a peace which will guarantee permanently the German Empire's condition of existence (*sic*) on the Continent and overseas." (*New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1917.) Michaelis's phrases are those commonly used by the Germans who wish extension of territory, but who express their wishes agreeably. He was indicating in a polite and guarded way that the Pan-Germans should understand that their plans of conquest had not been given up.

¹¹ In Roumania the house of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; in Bulgaria the house of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha; in Albania the inglorious house of Wied. What the late Queen of Greece, the Kaiser's sister, accomplished for the German cause is sufficiently known. In Montenegro the heir apparent is married to a German princess. Only the Serbian royal house is without German connections.

¹² Not long after the treaty of Berlin (1878) German officers, one of whom was General von der Goltz, set about reorganizing the Turkish Army. In 1888 German financiers, depending upon the Deutsche Bank, asked for a railway concession. In the next year the Kaiser, William II, visited Abdul Hamid. By 1891 German influence at Constantinople became evident. Germans in Turkey were directing the building of railways and Germans at home were urging the necessity of German railways to the Persian Gulf. In 1898 the Kaiser went to Constantinople and on to Palestine, where he declared himself the friend of 300,000,000 Moslems. In 1899 Dr. Siemens, a Berlin capitalist, signed the Bagdad Railway convention with Turkey. By 1900 the route was sketched, and in 1903 the Turkish decree was issued constituting the company. Although capitalists of other nations were allowed to share in financing the road, German interests maintained control over it. Since that time German officers have been going to Turkey in numbers, drilling the Turkish troops, teaching them modern warfare, equipping the army with the best new artillery, and thoroughly fortifying strategic points. Meanwhile German diplomats were studiously indifferent to Armenian atrocities perpetrated by the Turks. When the Young Turk movement culminated in the revolution of 1908 the Kaiser's government was quick to show favor to the new government. German officers assisted the Turks in their two Balkan wars,

her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia.¹³

1912-13. These different moves have all been part of a general plan. For two decades German policy has been to create in Turkey a strong but subordinated military ally and to bring her within the German economic system. Rich territories in Asia Minor and the Mesopotamian valley might thus be developed, an all-German route to the East assured, and Britain's routes to India and her position in Egypt brought within striking distance.

¹³ See the *French Yellow Book (Diplomatic Documents, Carnegie edition)*, for a secret German document bearing date of March 19, 1913, obtained from a reliable source and communicated to M. Jonnart, minister for foreign affairs, by M. Étienne, minister of war, April 2, 1913. The German writer discusses plans for increase of armament, and for war, particularly against France (pp. 542-3): "We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. The final result in Europe will settle their position. On the other hand, we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, *by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco*, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war. Of course, in case of war we would openly recognize these secret allies, and on the conclusion of peace we would secure to them the advantages which they had gained. These aims are capable of realization. The first attempt, which was made some years ago, opened up for us the desired relations. Unfortunately these relations were not sufficiently consolidated. Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication; they must have a controlling head to be found among the influential leaders, religious or political. The Egyptian school is particularly suited to this purpose; more and more it serves as a bond between the intellectuals of the Mohammedan world."

For the detailed story of the activity in Egypt after this and before see *Times* (London), *History of the War*, III (1917), pp. 292-295. Von Bernstorff was then consular agent, and after him Prince von Hatzfeldt, and they conducted themselves somewhat as both have done since in America.

On July 7, 1917, indictments were brought in the Federal court at San Francisco against 93 persons, including German consuls and consuls general. At the same time the following statement was made by the Federal district attorney, Mr. John W. Preston:

"For more than a year prior to the outbreak of the European war certain Hindus in San Francisco and certain Germans were preparing openly for war with England. At the outbreak of the war Hindu leaders, members of the German consulate here and attachés of the German Government, began to form plans to foment revolution in India for the purpose of freeing India and aiding Germans in their military operations.

"Hindus on the Pacific coast were canvassed and those willing to take part in the revolution were registered. Emissaries were financed by the

The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step¹⁴ in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia,

German agents here and immediately dispatched to Germany. Shortly thereafter what is known as the India committee, an adjunct of the German foreign office, was created in Berlin. This India committee had the personal attention of Alfred Zimmermann, German Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

"Thereafter the operations of the plotters in the United States were directed from Berlin. The conspiracy took the form of various military enterprises. Arms and ammunition in large quantities were purchased with German money. Men were recruited and sent to India."

¹⁴ On June 28, 1914, there took place at Serajevo, Bosnia (Austrian territory since 1909), the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife. Serbians undoubtedly aided and abetted the criminals. The Austrian Government asserts that it traced the source of the deed to Serbian territory, and even, it maintains, to government and court circles in Belgrade, the Serbian capital.

For nearly a month nothing occurred. Then, on July 23, almost without warning, Austria-Hungary made known her demands upon Serbia. Their main purpose seemed to be the complete extirpation of the Pan-Serbian movement and the punishment of all Serbians implicated in the crime at Serajevo. The demands involved a practical denial of the sovereignty of Serbia. A reply was, furthermore, demanded by 6 o'clock on July 25, or within exactly 48 hours.

Serbia made a reply covering every point in the demands. It yielded to most of the demands and showed an extremely conciliatory spirit. On the question of allowing Austrian officers to enter Serbian territory in order to take part in the inquiries or judicial proceedings concerning the Serajevo murders, the Serbian Government declared that it would "admit such collaboration as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations." It added finally that if the Austro-Hungarian Government were "not satisfied with this reply, the Serbian Government, considering that it is not to the common interest to take precipitate action in the solution of this question, is ready, as always, to accept a pacific understanding, either by referring this question to the decision of the international tribunal at the Hague, or to the Great Powers which took part in the drawing up of the declaration made by the Serbian Government on the 18/31 of March, 1909."

A number of the Powers pleaded the Serbian cause, asking at least an extension of the time limit or a delay in making war, but the Austrian Government would abate not a jot or tittle of its demands. Its unyielding attitude and brusqueness startled the world, and have justified the suspicion that Austria-Hungary did not desire a satisfactory reply.

As if to lend color to this suspicion it has since come to light that in August, 1913, Austria-Hungary had already formed the plan to attack Serbia. Italy, though at that time in alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, refused to support such an aggression. (Declaration of Signor Giolitti to the Italian Parliament, Dec. 5, 1914.)

from Berlin to Bagdad.¹⁵ They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

MIDDLE EUROPE.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else.¹⁶

Dr. Rohrbach, in his *Deutschland unter den Weltvölkern*, characterized the development of Germany toward Constantinople as "the greatest political end which the present or the next generation can desire." The *Alldeutsche Blätter*, the organ of the Pan-Germans, said on December 8, 1895, that the German interests demanded as a minimum that Asiatic Turkey should be placed under German suzerainty. The most advantageous way would be to connect Mesopotamia and Syria and place the whole of the Sultan's dominion under German protection. (Summarized by the author of the *Pan-Germanic Doctrine*, 1904, p. 216). "The Bagdad line," said the *Alldeutsche Blätter*, December 17, 1899, "can become of vast political importance" to Germany.

"The establishment of a sphere of economic influence from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf has been for nearly two decades the silent unspoken aim of German foreign policy. Our diplomacy in recent years * * * only becomes intelligible when regarded as part of a consistent Eastern design * * *. A secure future for Germany is to be reached along this line and no other." (Prof. Spiethoff, of the German University at Prague, as quoted in the *Round Table*, March, 1917.

¹⁵ Across the path of this railway to Bagdad lay Serbia—an independent country whose sovereign alone among those of southeastern Europe had no marriage connection with Berlin, a Serbia that looked toward Russia. That is why Europe was nearly driven into war in 1913; that is why Germany stood so determinedly behind Austria's demands in 1914 and forced war. She must have her "corridor" to the southeast; she must have political domination all along the route of the great economic empire she planned. She was unwilling to await the process of "peaceful penetration."

¹⁶ "Imagine a few firm, rigid, incorruptible officials at the head of a territory like Palestine, scouring the country on horseback with European promptitude. They would be as much abused as Satan, but as useful as

It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars,

angels. A sort of amicable dictatorship would be set up, which would often address Turkey as the bird of the proverb was addressed, 'Eat or die' * * *. Meanwhile Germans would be settling upon all the shores of the Mediterranean. Good luck to you, my brethren. Work hard. Bestir yourselves. This old sea will yet behold many things. You hold in your hands a morsel of Germany's future life. (Quoted by Ch. Andler, *Pan-Germanism*, pp. 41-42, from Friedrich Naumann, *Asia* (1889), pp. 145-148-162-163.)

"We must create a central Europe which will guarantee the peace of the entire continent from the moment when it shall have driven the Russians from the Black Sea and the Slavs from the south, and shall have conquered large tracts to the east of our frontiers for German colonization. We can not let loose *ex abrupto* the war which will create this central Europe. All we can do is to accustom our people to the thought that this war must come." (Quoted by Ch. Andler, pp. 21, 22, from Paul de Lagarde, *Deutsche Schriften*, 4th ed., 1903, p. 83.)

"It is necessary to strengthen the agricultural basis of our national economy; to secure room for the expansion of a great German agricultural settlement; to restore to our Empire the German peasants living in a foreign land, particularly in Russia, who are now actually without the protection of the law; finally, we must increase considerably the number of our fellow countrymen able to bear arms. All these matters require an important extension of the frontiers of the Empire and of Prussia toward the East through the annexation of at least some parts of the Baltic Provinces and of territories to the south of them, while keeping in view the necessity of a military defense of the eastern German frontier." (From the manifesto of the Six [German] Industrial Associations, May 20, 1915.)

The projected Middle Europe would, through its hold on Constantinople, close the chief outlet for the exports of the Russian Republic. It would, through the erection of a kingdom of Poland, united to Middle Europe, take away from Russia almost its entire manufacturing area. Such an Empire would do little less than bring the Russian Republic into economic dependence upon the Teutonic Powers. And this economic dependence could be used as a club to bring political dependence as well. The results of this for the future of Russia are easy to see.

"All Morocco in the hands of Germany; German cannon on the routes to Egypt and India; German troops on the Algerian frontier—this would be a goal worthy of great sacrifices * * *. When we can put 5,000,000 German soldiers into the field we shall be able to dictate to France the conditions upon which she may preserve the empire of Northern Africa, 'New France' * * *. We do not desire 'compensation' either in Suez or on the Congo. We have entered upon a struggle in which the stake is the power and future of the German Empire." (Maximilian Harden, *Die Zukunft*, July 29, 1911.)

Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East.¹⁷

These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution.¹⁸

¹⁷“I think that I have made it clear that he [Bismarck] laid the foundation of Mid-Europe. It rests with us to carry on the work. All the cares which perplexed him have been amply justified by the great war. Shall not his hopes also bear fruit?” (F. Naumann, *Central Europe*, 1916, p. 60.)

“And over all these; over the Germans, French, Danes, and Poles in the German Empire; over the Magyars, Germans, Roumanians, Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs in Hungary; over the Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and southern Slavs in Austria, let us imagine once again the controlling concept of Mid-Europe. Mid-Europe will have a German nucleus, will voluntarily use the German language, which is known all over the world and is already the language of intercourse within Central Europe, but must from the outset display toleration and flexibility in regard to all the neighboring languages that are associated with it.” (*Idem*, pp. 108-109.)

¹⁸ The German government of Alsace-Lorraine is typical of what may be expected if Germany annexes more territory as a result of this war. Belgium, Luxemburg, and Russian Poland have no more wish to be forcibly joined to Germany to-day than had Alsace-Lorraine in 1870; and if they suffer that fate only the threat of arms will keep them in submission. In the more than 40 years since its annexation by Germany, Alsace-Lorraine has been largely Germanized, yet in 1914 it was still bitterly opposed to a Prussianized Government.

Since 1911, the Alsatians have looked more than ever toward France. In that year public demonstrations against the Prussian rule became more pronounced and continued intermittently down to the beginning of the war in 1914. In 1912 the Emperor threatened the discontented Alsatians with complete suppression of their constitution unless they ceased their agitations. At the same time noticeable increases were made in the garrisons of the leading cities, and work upon the fortifications was rushed. In 1913 occurred the historic Zabern incident which showed the complete dominance of the military power over civilian government and rights. “Lieutenant von Forstner, of the garrison, one day remarked in the street that he would give ten marks to any soldier who would run his bayonet through an Alsatian blackguard. In spite of popular indignation he was upheld by his superiors, * * * but he was afraid to appear in the

But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but can not have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from

streets without a corporal's guard. He still further earned the hatred of the town by striking with his sword a lame shoemaker who had laughed at him." Among the unmilitaristic classes in Germany there was great indignation; but in the Reichstag, the ministry, by order of the Emperor, upheld the army, without compromise or apology.

Prussian Poland and North Schleswig fare little if any better. The three and a half million Poles in Prussia have been subjected in recent years to more severe persecutions than their compatriots in autocratic Russia. They have, of course, been deprived of their own laws since 1815. More recently, their religious liberty has been restricted, and the Polish language forbidden in education, in public business, and (with certain temporary exceptions) in public meetings, though the great majority of the Polish people understand no other language. As a supreme effort at assimilation the Prussian Government has been trying, partly by vast expenditure of money and partly by force, to compel the Poles to sell their lands and to introduce German colonists to take their places. This interference with the Polish laws, religion, language, and property was not provoked in the first instance by disloyalty, though the Poles have become disloyal in consequence of it. Nor have the 150,000 Danes in North Schleswig been saved by their inoffensive obscurity, their Lutheran religion, or even their Teutonic blood, from similar persecutions, with similar results. If left in German hands Belgium may expect to be another Schleswig, another Poland.

In Austria-Hungary the situation is even worse. The South Slavs and the Roumanians in Hungary have been deprived of the right to vote (although guaranteed to them in 1867); their educational institutions have been hampered or closed, their economic development interfered with. And this is the work of the Hungarian Government which has Germany's warmest approval in all such measures.

Berlin.¹⁹ From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept.²⁰

¹⁹ The German cruisers, the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, took refuge in the Dardanelles at the outbreak of the war. Instead of interning these fugitive ships in accordance with international law, the Turkish Government, already under German influence, pretended to buy them. In this manner the German Government became master of the situation and Turkey lost whatever independence it may still have had; for the German admiral and crews remained on board and a German element was introduced into the remainder of the Turkish fleet. It was this Turco-German fleet, under effective German control, that forced Turkey's reluctant entrance into the war. By order of the German admiral, it bombarded Russian Black Sea ports, without provocation, without warning, without previous authorization of the Ottoman Government, and contrary to the desires of a majority of its members. (*Diplomatic Documents*, Carnegie edition, part ii, pp. 1057-1205 and 1385-1437.)

²⁰ The Stockholm Congress after frequent postponements may meet in September. The German socialists have skillfully classified the delegates with a view to getting the men and groups desired by the German Government, and the present outlook is that of the 202 delegates they hoped to have present the pro-German group may count on controlling 155. The American labor unions, with a membership of 3,000,000, are given 4 members; the American socialist parties, with 100,000 members, 16. Kerensky's labor party group in Russia, although undeniably socialists and so recognized at other congresses, is excluded. Similar devices for packing the conference have been used in regard to the French and English delegations. In neutral countries where the control is in the hands of pro-German leaders the delegations are disproportionately large; where the socialist groups might be against Germany the representation is small. (See article by William English Walling in the daily papers Sept. 10, 1917, and by John Spargo in *New York Tribune*, Aug. 26, 1917. Both writers are well-known socialists.) The Stockholm Conference is closely connected with the governments of Germany and of her satellites. The Dutch pro-German socialist leader, Troelstra, who arranged the preliminary meeting at Stockholm, was granted an interview with Zimmermann, the German

That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable

secretary for foreign affairs; and the autocratic German Government, which has fought the socialists, gave its ready consent to the attendance of the German socialists. In Hungary the socialists were so sure of the eagerness of their Government to have them go that they threatened to stay away if the Government did not heed socialist demands for certain internal reforms. The prime minister of Bulgaria not only had a long interview with the leader of the socialist party bound for the first conference at Stockholm but saw the party off at the railway station.

Interest in this packed Stockholm conference is justified only because there are at present indications that the dominant military group is playing with the slogan, first used by the socialists, of "no annexations and no indemnities." For obvious reasons they omit the phrase added by the Russians, "the right of all nations to determine their own destiny." What is left, "no annexations and no indemnities," serves two purposes of German propaganda. At home it enables the military group to command socialist coöperation, direct the Stockholm conference, bolster up the self-defense theory of the war, and hold their shaken position until in time of peace they can again consolidate it. Abroad it gives socialist, pacifist, and pro-German groups an effective and seemingly guileless phrase with which to divide public sentiment and divert the unthinking. Such groups, often honest and well intentioned, think they are reaching out a hand to a real and powerful opposition within Germany. If accepted without any definition and without the Russian addition the program of "No annexations and no indemnities" *seemingly* restores the conditions before the war. Such conditions mean the German military group triumphant, Germany unliberalized, Belgium, Serbia, Poland, and Roumania ravished and as fast in the German net as are Turkey, Austria, and Bulgaria; France weakened; Italy threatened; Russia disorganized, and the theory and practice of German warfare unrebuked. So Germany would be free to organize central Europe and plot for another empire, beyond seas patrolled by her submarines in a world overawed for generations by the triumph of "frightfulness."

The Imperial Government will continue to manoeuver for peace, but, in its present spirit, for a peace to be arranged in conference at a "green table," with Germany holding as trumps the overrun territories now in her possession, and not for a peace guaranteed "by the major force of mankind." When the Reichstag voted for peace without annexations, the new chancellor, Michaelis, spoke vaguely at first, but then hastened to reassure the alarmed Pan-Germans. When the Pope's proposals were brought forward, the chancellor welcomed them, but remained hopelessly indefinite as to whether Germany would assent to the details. The German Government has not yet given up the hope of making a peace with plunder. The long cherished purposes of expansion are not easily relinquished. It will continue to offer baits for peace—a peace that means "rectification of frontiers" in her favor and "security for her future development," i. e., such extensions of territory as may afford her "room."

part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It can not go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.²¹

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they

²¹The rapid industrial development of Germany after the war of 1870, though due to economic causes, greatly enhanced the prestige of the military classes, who assumed the credit for it. Their present position on the war map is highly advantageous to them from an economic point of view, for they now control the chief centers of European industry outside Great Britain. They hold the greater part of Belgium, one of the most highly developed industrial centers of the world. They are exploiting the chief mining and manufacturing part of France, the oil and wheat fields of Roumania and one of the few important manufacturing districts of Russia. They have secured the Balkan corridor to the Near East, with its boundless possibilities of commercial exploitation and of further political aggression in the direction of Egypt and India. If they can retain these conquests they will be permanently enriched at the expense of their impoverished neighbors. If they can capitalize their present advantageous positions on the war map, whether by annexations or otherwise, this war also, like that of 1870, will appear in the light of a profitable business adventure. War itself will indeed have become one of the greatest of national industries, with the military caste necessarily in supreme political control. In such an atmosphere democracy cannot develop. Nor can the triumph of democracy be expected in Germany till the prestige of the military caste has been destroyed. The celebrated Prof. Hans Delbrück, of the University of Berlin, wrote early in 1914: "Anyone who has any familiarity at all with our officers and generals knows that it would take another Sedan. inflicted on us instead of by us, before they would acquiesce in the control of the army by the German Parliament."

promised to gain by it; an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.²²

Do you not now understand the new intrigue,²³ the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have

²² America no longer occupies a position of charmed isolation. In this war, navies have transported great armies thousands of miles. The wireless has kept Germany informed almost constantly of developments in the United States. German submarines have appeared in our ports and have sunk ships off our coasts. Already we are within the menace. Let disaster come to the British and American navies and the war may be brought within our borders.

To-day more than ever before we face the problem of defending with a real force or with adequate guaranties our traditional policy—the Monroe doctrine. The facilities of the entire Holy Alliance in 1823 for the violation of American territory were small as compared with the power of Germany alone to-day. If Germany emerges from this war victorious and unreformed, then we, like France, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland during the past decades, must prepare indeed for self-defense. We must shoulder a burden of military preparedness in time of peace such as America has never known.

²³ See note 20.

hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—Socialists,²⁴ the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or cooperation in western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom; and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of

²⁴ The terrifying bitterness of the struggle between the Imperial Government and the Social Democratic Party came to light in a speech by the Kaiser to the army recruits in 1891, in which he referred to his political opponents as "the internal foe," and said: "* * * It may come to pass that you will have to shoot down and stab your own relations and brothers." Upon another occasion he said: "* * * To me every Social Democrat is synonymous with an enemy of the realm and of the Fatherland."

At the outbreak of the war the Socialists abandoned their opposition to the Government and the Kaiser announced that there were no longer any parties in Germany. "In time of peace this or that party has attacked me; I forgive them now with all my heart." Nevertheless some Socialists who subsequently adopted an independent tone are now in jail. The majority seem content to be the cat's-paw of the military authorities in working upon the Russian Socialists for a separate peace. The hollowness of the reconciliation and the Government's insincerity in permitting the use of Socialist peace formulas (see note 20) may be inferred from a passage in Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech of July 7, 1917, in which he is reported to have said that it was impossible to accept the socialist propositions in behalf of peace "because they had proved unsuccessful in Russia."

the nations; and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.







