

to the cause of the Allies, and a gripping horror at the catastrophe to Europe. Both of these feelings have to some extent weakened. The intellectual classes are not now so much concerned over the military outcome as over the prospective terms of settlement. They hope that both sides will act with a measure of magnanimity and restraint which will give some basis for a permanent peace. By the common man, by the man in the street, the war is now regarded with indifference, indeed with boredom. Our vast American irreverence has asserted itself, even in the face of the most awful battle of history. In many places "war talk" is tabooed, considered bad form. The majority of Americans, probably, still hope to see the Allies win; but their interest is sentimental rather than vital. It is not the breathless solicitude of one who watches his champion do battle to save him; it is rather the enthusiasm of the baseball "fan" who cheers for the home team. At the beginning of the war the favorite American quip was: "I'm neutral; I don't care who beats Germany." At present Americans are so neutral they are reconciled to the prospect of seeing Germany win, if she can muster the strength. This growth of indifference may gall Englishmen, Frenchmen and American Tories. But it is, I submit, a patent fact.

THE ANGLOMANIACS.

There is a conspicuous element in America which has persistently refused to see this war through American eyes. When these persons look at contemporary history they look at it from the point of view of Englishmen and Frenchmen; when they urge action they urge it in the interest of the European coalition to which England and France belong. They are our pro-Ally fanatics, our Anglomaniacs, our American Tories. By whatever name they may be called, they have one distinguishing mark: they make mock of our neutrality.

August 18, 1914, before the war was a month old, President Wilson issued an appeal for restraint in discussing the conflict. The President said in part:

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire

among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in this momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility.

"I venture, therefore, my countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides.

"I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation which neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world."

From the beginning pro-Ally sympathizers have spit upon the President's words. They have passionately taken sides. They have put no bridle on their tongues; they have poured out the vilest vituperation on Germany. With asinine self-complacency they have "sat in judgment" on the nations at war, and delivered the "American verdict." Although finding themselves largely in control of the press, they have never tried to speak impartially, never attempted to allay passion. On the contrary, they have done their embittered best to lash America to intolerance and hysteria.

Since the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* this unneutral element has tried to rush us into war over our "rights." And this despite the fact that there never has been the slightest excuse for going to war over that issue. On the whole neither side has offered us direct offense. We have simply been caught between the firing lines. It is impossible to vindicate neutral rights by fighting one side, for both sides have infringed those rights. Should we war on Germany we should fight by the side of allies whose interpretation of sea law is no more acceptable to us than that of our foes. Indeed a sea monopolized and fortified by Great Britain may in the end prove more disturbing to us than the submarine indiscretions of Germany and Austria.

Of course pro-Ally sympathizers insist that Germany's invasions of neutral rights have cost American lives, whereas England's violations result in merely commercial and economic damage. The

distinction is hypocritical. The persons who work themselves into a rage over Germany's "slaughter of innocent women and children" are not in the least annoyed because German babies are going to die for lack of milk. England's violations of our rights have been less spectacular than Germany's; but they are far more insolent. And it is well to remember that the Fathers fought the Revolution over a stamp-tax. The present administration has vindicated the right of Americans to sail through war zones on ships of belligerent nations (although in Mexico it warned Americans to leave or remain at their own risk). But it has not vindicated the right of Americans to use the high seas for legitimate commerce. Senator Gore summed up the matter in a sentence: "It is quite as important to protect the right of Americans to ship innocent goods as it is to protect their right to risk involving this country in a carnival of slaughter."

The submarine controversy has dragged itself out month after month. At each halt in the negotiations our traitorous Anglo-maniacs have rejoiced. They have implored the President to stickle for every little point in international law. They have insisted on a policy designed, not to vindicate our rights, but to sever relations. They are insatiate; no concession satisfies them. Germany declares that she has no intention of molesting neutral ships and neutral commerce; then she yields unconditionally to the demand that unarmed merchantmen, under hostile flag, must not be torpedoed without warning and without adequate provision for the safety of passengers and crew. Does this impairment of the submarine weapon placate the Anglomaniacs? Not at all; they now insist that Germany and Austria must forbear to treat *armed* merchantmen as auxiliary cruisers. It is not enough that Americans may travel safely on American, Dutch and Scandinavian ships; not enough that they may travel without fear on unarmed British, French, Italian and Japanese ships. They must also be granted the right to travel without danger on belligerent vessels carrying armament hypocritically called "defensive." Sensible Americans, in and out of Congress, rightly urge that American citizens be warned to stay off armed belligerent vessels. But our frenzied Tories scream that American honor is at stake. Honor? Great Britain during the Russo-Japanese war, and Sweden during the present war, warned their citizens not to travel on armed belligerent ships save at their own risk. Did England and Sweden thereby lose their national honor? In her attitude toward so-called defensive armament Germany has the equity on her side, whatever the letter of the law may be. This is a trifling "right" for us to cherish, and to endanger

our peace for it would be childish. Its defense can seem important only to those whose minds hold a hinterland of anti-German hate.

In the name of honesty what more can these American Tories demand of the United States? Has our neutrality been interpreted in any way which has given aid or succor to the Teutonic Powers? Have we not by our huge shipments of arms virtually constituted ourselves an ally of the Entente? The unvarnished truth is this: the pro-Ally fanatics in this country are not thinking of American interests at all; they are thinking of British and French interests. They ask us to intervene in a European struggle because of their opinion of the European right and wrong of it. They want us to go to war despite the fact that our youth would be killed and our wealth destroyed in a quarrel which is no concern of the American people. They demand war notwithstanding that it would imperil our international relations for a century. They urge us to fight, knowing full well that in our opinions we are a divided people, and that war would blast our national unity and run a cleavage of rancor and hatred through our cosmopolitan population.

These Anglomaniacs usually disguise their intentions in a fog of fine words about American rights. Sometimes they are more candid. In New York City there is an organization denominating itself The American Rights Committee. This committee has issued a statement which reads:

"Seventeen months of the European war have passed. During this period events of profound significance have occurred and issues formerly obscure have become clearly defined. The brutal violation of Belgian neutrality has been followed by the bombardment of unfortified places, the deliberate killing of non-combatants, the murder of women and children on land and sea, the wholesale massacre of the Armenian people, the disclosure of gigantic purposes of world-conquest, and a general defense of these unspeakable deeds by the Teutonic peoples.

"Our eyes have been opened to facts which were not fully revealed when we adopted a policy of neutrality, and the situation which confronts us to-day is not that which confronted us in August, 1914. Then we were admonished to remain neutral toward the European crisis: to-day we are involved in a world-crisis. Then we followed the traditional American policy of non-interference in European political struggles: to-day we are called upon to champion the immutable and universal rights of man. Then we tried to maintain neutrality of thought as well as of word and deed: to-day the Teutonic Allies have forced upon us issues which render neutrality

not merely impossible but utterly repugnant to the moral conscience of the nation. Through our fuller knowledge of the events which precipitated the war, of the manner in which it has been prosecuted by the Teutonic Allies, and of the enormous schemes for Teutonic aggrandizement, we have come to understand that a theory and method of government which we abhor is being forced upon the world by military might, and that all those human liberties which our nation was founded to maintain are to-day imperiled by the possibility of a Teutonic triumph."

This bombast is followed by a "declaration of principles":

"1. We believe that there is a morality of nations which requires every government to observe its treaty-obligations and to order its conduct with a decent respect to the opinions of mankind.

"2. We believe that the Teutonic Powers have repudiated the obligations of civilized nations and have raised issues which lift the present struggle from the sphere of European political disputes to a crisis involving all humanity.

"3. We believe that in the face of such a world-crisis our people cannot remain neutral and our government should not remain silent.

"4. We condemn the aims of the Teutonic Powers, and we denounce as barbarous their methods of warfare.

"5. We believe that the Entente Allies are engaged in a struggle to prevent the domination of the world by armed force and are striving to guarantee to the smallest nation its rights to an independent and peaceful existence.

"6. We believe that the progress of civilization and the free development of the principles of democratic government depend upon the success of the Entente Allies.

"7. We believe that our duty to humanity and respect for our national honor demand that our government take appropriate action to place the nation on record as deeply in sympathy with the efforts of the Entente Allies to remove the menace of Prussian militarism."

It would be a waste of time to refute these statements. They obviously are inspired by prejudice and ill-will; they obviously treat the crassest assumptions as matters of fact; they obviously reveal a sophomoric conception of international politics. Nevertheless these agitators and their ilk constitute a menace to the peace and security of the United States. Preposterous as their utterances are, they foster malevolence, for in times of passion declamation passes for reason. These Anglomaniacs are turning their backs on America; they have their eyes fastened on England, Belgium and France. They do not heed American opinion; they listen to the advice of

Englishmen. They are our true hyphenates. They are the real traitors within our borders. They are the unloyal element that has introduced "corrupt distempers" into our national life.

For these American Tories there is only one adequate piece of advice: Let them get out! Let them enlist and take their places in the English trenches. Let them remember that the seas are open to them; Britannia rules the waves! Their hearts are in France and England; they are free to prove their sincerity by risking their lives there. We do not want them in America, fighting the war with their mouths, seeking to embroil the whole nation. I am aware that this advice cannot be followed by many of our most violent pro-Ally fanatics, because they are past military age. It is a remarkable fact that our bitterest defamers of Germany are old men. I shall not be invidious enough to mention names; but just recall to mind the leading American Tories! There is no more shameful spectacle in America than these malignant old men, waving their fists at the Kaiser, mouthing the garbage thrown to them from Fleet Street, hounding us on, shrilling for a sacrifice of American blood.

CONCLUSION.

Most thinking men and women agree that this is a time for America to keep her head and watch her step. Should the Teutonic armies continue their victories, and approach to a triumph, the efforts of hyphenated Anglo- and Franco-Americans to involve us will become more frantic. But that collective insanity we shall probably avoid, despite their fomentations. We shall do the world the negative service of standing aloof. But it seems doubtful that America will be able to accomplish anything positive for world peace, anything constructive for the future security of mankind.

And the reason?

Simply this: that bigotry cannot reform bigots; that prejudice and hatred and intolerance cannot heal a world gone mad with hatred and intolerance. America cannot effectively fight militarism so long as she thinks injustice to Germany. And let there be no mistake about that: American opinion is monstrously unjust. It is as unjust to Germany now as was British opinion to the North during our Civil War. America cannot suggest sensible remedies for war so long as she holds to the childish notion that the blood-guilt of this greatest of all wars is a personal guilt of the German military caste or of the German people.

Fundamentally, of course, none of the great governments at