

"German Baiting in America"

UNDER this title the "Frankfurter Zeitung" prints an editorial upon the anti-German movement in the United States, the principal part of which is here given in translation:

"War produces chauvinism in all countries. But in the New World—which was settled by the widest elements from the Old World, from whose pioneering activity a large measure of brutality and a disregard for all law have survived—unusually turbulent phenomena have grown out of the war psychosis. Whoever on our side tries to form a judgment about present conditions in the United States must further take into consideration the fact that, in this war against Germany, it was happily so egging-on of the people, no old hereditary enmity that stirred up those passions which, in the first years of the war, drove the English and French in several cases into the ugliest excesses. Neither the agitation of Roosevelt nor the preaching of Wilson has hitherto availed in America to make this war a people's war. Nevertheless, there has been no lack of the most turbulent occurrences.

"We have already described how the most respected leaders of the American nation—former members of the government, heads of the universities and ex-President Taft—have organized themselves for a systematic hunt and baiting of Germans. Mr. Roosevelt declared a short time ago in 'The Kansas City Star' that no people should be tolerated in the United States who are half-German and half-American; and it must be required of every American citizen that he be 100 per cent American. It should not be allowed to speak any other language than English; newspapers in any other language should be prohibited; and immigrants who fall in five years to speak English should be banished. What kind of effect must be produced upon the uneducated American mob by such words from the ex-President—which are only one example from a host of similar utterances—is obvious.

"In many regions, too, the people have been thrown into a highly nervous state by means of false and sensational reports, and this has led to the practice of lynch-justice. Lynching in forms not always ending with the murder of the victim appears to have degenerated into an epidemic. 'The New York Times' of April 14 prints eleven cases, one after the other, from the Western States in which it was reported that Americans, often through ridiculously trivial causes, had gained the reputation of being pro-German and were lynched. Preachers, teachers, laborers and women became victims of the senseless hatred of the people and were smeared with tar or yellow paint. Every expression of a wish for peace is persecuted as 'German propaganda.'

"In Illinois, it appears, an unusually large number of excesses have been committed; the lynching of the miser Prager was recently reported from there. It was reported then that the Governor of the state had called out the entire militia. Our suggestion, expressed in connection with this news, that it was not merely for holding the mob in check that the militia was called out, but to aid it in pursuing pacifists and other opponents of the national policy, is

unhappily confirmed in the American newspapers that have recently arrived. "The effects of the persecutions to which the German-Americans are subjected by the authorities and the mob are unfortunately becoming visible. The columns of the newspapers teem with letters in which American citizens with German names asseverate their loyalty. Especially do men in positions of responsibility appear to be under the necessity of doing such a step. The Associated Press, under date of April 27, reported such a case from Boston, where eighteen professors of German birth issued an appeal to all American citizens of German descent."

Real German Opinion

NOTWITHSTANDING the gains made by Germany in her spring offensive and the consequent optimism of all utterances from the German military leaders and their Pan-German claque at home a different tone among the German people themselves is beginning to be noted by German writers. An example of this is found in a recent article in the "Frankfurter Zeitung." The writer, setting out to review a new book by Rudolph Pannwitz, "The Crisis in European Kultur," begins with these introductory sentences:

"Our war literature has entered upon a new stage. It is no longer enthusiasm, accusation and justification that set the tone, but self-examination, pangs of conscience and serious anxiety about the future. There is a growing recognition of the fact that the war can no longer be looked upon as a purely political or purely national affair, but that the future of Europe as a whole and the entire civilization of European humanity are at stake in this war. Walter Rathenau's book 'About Coming Things,' and Leopold Ziegler's 'People, State and Personality' are such books of the present day; they are born of pangs of conscience, and in them serious minded men are struggling for a clear outline of the future. Self-examination and reflection constitute the pathos of these writers."

The book by Pannwitz is then mentioned by the reviewer as another example of such literature. That author appears to regard the war as a product of the "anarchy of Europe," and he admits that Germany contributed its own portion to this anarchy. Thus the reviewer of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" reproduces the views of Pannwitz:

"In sharp words he castigates the zigzag movement of our public life in every respect, the obscurity of our aims, our public policy dictated merely by business, the lack of any intellectual and spiritual power of attraction in the German character during the latter half of the nineteenth century—and all this he brought us into the frightful situation of this war against all countries, and in particular has created that atmosphere of distrust against us which prevents even our honest efforts from having any effectiveness."

Regarding that peace offensive—



This will never lead us anywhere.

—From Esquella, Barcelona

"Wilson as a War Baiter"

UNDER the above caption, the "Kölnische Zeitung," generally regarded as the foremost newspaper of Germany in matters of foreign politics, prints an editorial article which is worth reproducing here as a curious specimen of the misleading and malicious stuff now served out to the German public. The article is all the more significant in view of the fact that this paper is very often inspired by the German government in its discussions of foreign political subjects. It is as follows:

"A few days ago Stolypin's son-in-law, Herr von Bock, who up to the outbreak of the war was German attaché at Petrograd, declared at a social gathering that he had received trustworthy information to the effect that in March, 1917, England was ready to make peace, but that America put in a protest and insisted upon the continuance of the war in order not to lose the advances of money that America had made to the Entente. England has till now kept silence regarding Herr von Bock's statement; and America, too, has not been heard from. But even if a denial should be received from either side, there are reasons enough of an intrinsic character to warrant us in holding this information to be rather credible.

"At the end of 1916, and particularly at the beginning of 1917, England was in a very bad situation, and even before the unrestricted U-boat campaign threatened to cut the tap-roots of England's import trade it is probable that the knowledge dawned upon England that sooner or later it might be compelled to wind up its whole war undertaking, but under considerably harder conditions than at that time it still hoped to get. The business sense of the English saw that a bad business is not improved by a useless prolongation; and they knew well enough that the promised American help would no longer suffice to change the situation of things.

"But Wilson had taken such a life-and-death hold of the idea that 'Germany must not only be beaten but murdered' that he had to hold fast, merely for that reason, to his policy of the previous year and a half. His shameless wresting of the law and his notorious deviation from neutrality could find some sort of justification only in the halo of an overwhelming victory. For that reason the war had to be continued.

"At the same time he had allowed an enormous debt of the Entente Powers to be piled up on American soil, which would have become worthless if England's peace

will of that time had been realized. The American bondholders stood threateningly behind Wilson and demanded a guaranty for their holdings, which they had taken up with the approval and often at the command of the man in the White House. In order to save the endangered billions of the few Wilson had to mobilize the billions of the masses, had to have a war which, with its expenditure by billions, would satisfy the greed of a few fortune-hunters, while the people were not allowed to complain.

"Just as Wilson at the outbreak of the war permitted the transformation of the American business system into a war industry in order to save off, in this way, a threatening panic, he had now to force on the war itself in order again to save off the panic which was threatened at that time. Nevertheless, he was not able to conjure it away for good and all.

"The fact may be recalled on this occasion, too, that Mr. Wilson cut the life-nerve of the Stockholm labor conference because it did not fit into his war plans. He even brought unparalleled pressure to bear, at that time, upon the Swedish government by threatening to cut off all of Sweden's imports in case the Stockholm government should dare to permit the conference. He even refused passports to the American Socialists and other friends of peace, just as he had declared any efforts whatever toward peace to be high treason; and even in Congress it was not permitted to speak of peace. On the other hand, the Gompers men—who were brandishing the torch of war in Canada, just as they were doing a short while ago in England and France—continued as before to enjoy the special favor and the most far-reaching protection of the great 'prince of peace' on the Potomac, who was ostensibly devoting himself to making the world safe for democracy and liberating it from Prussian militarism.

"Mr. Wilson has again undertaken to carry into effect what the other robbers of the multiple alliance had begun gradually to drop as being unobtainable. He did this by brutally snuffing out the incipient peace-will of the others and by fanning anew into flame their waning strength, partly in order to gratify his personal ambitions and revenge, partly in order to save the threatened dollars which America recklessly invested at thousandfold interest in the European war.

"But the world is still being bored with the cry that America is fighting for an ideal. If one takes this ideal as the equivalent to the holy dollar, the cry is true enough."

America's Enemy Alien Problem Is a Formidable Hydra

THE enemy in our midst seems to be a complicated problem, with his press and his schools and his spies and his language. What are we going to do with him and all his works? In a survey of press opinion on the enemy alien it appears that almost every newspaper has its own little angle of attack, but that the problem in general looks too big and too widely ramified to handle.

To be sure, we all agree that there are too many of him, that his ways are obscure, and that something ought to be done. The Tribune is as drastic as any in its suggestions for handling enemy aliens. Intern them all, it urges, and gives cogent reasons:

"One German spy at liberty for an hour might cost us a transport and 10,000 troops.

"There are estimated to be 60,000 enemy aliens in greater New York. Most of them are registered and fingerprinted and enjoined to obey certain regulations. There is no way of telling how many are unregistered; there is no way of keeping others from entering New York unobserved; especially there is no way of watching the 50,000 or 55,000 who are registered."

Questions of handling the German language press, German music, the teaching of German in the schools, German propaganda through history teaching, enemy property, enemy aliens opposed to Germany, pro-German "conscientious" objectors, all these complicate the issue; and all these have been taken up in isolated editorials in isolated newspapers all over the country.

A small tempest of controversy has blown up over the question of teaching German. "The Mount Vernon Argus" says:

"Immediate elimination of the study of the German language in our schools should be possible. The defence of its continuance that it is essential to regents' counts or qualifications for entrance into college may be according to regulations, but we would like to think that any student would be deprived of his other just progress because the study of German had been stopped.

"When the Germans conquered some of the nations in the Balkans and took possession of that immediate vicinity, the German language was made official and that the native patois was discontinued without notice or discussion. We do not countenance the ruthlessness of the Germans by any means, but we do insist that we cannot combat German influences on the minds of our young people so long as we tolerate the study of the language.

"Eliminate German immediately from our schools. If the stopping of it precipitates a question, let us be pioneers and invite the test."

"The Minneapolis Journal" pleads the existence of a "spontaneous boycott" on the part of school children as an in-

dication of the proper American attitude toward the German language. "Since the war began," it says, "the number of pupils studying German in American high schools has fallen off one-half, and the other half persist chiefly because they wish to finish the course they had begun. Pupils are not beginning the study."

This attitude has not been unanimously accepted as the intelligent patriotic decision. "The Boston Post" insists that the "German language, rightly used, can be turned to our advantage," and that its exclusion from the schools would result in building an "intellectual spite fence" that will cripple us and hurt Germany not at all.

"The New York World" backs up this attitude, and pleads for the German language as a tool of Americanism. It says:

"For the moment the German tongue is in disfavor, and yet American soldiers in

France who are familiar with it are as useful in their contact with the enemy as are others having some acquaintance with French in their association with our gallant allies. If every American soldier spoke French and German as well as English our great army in Europe would be vastly more powerful than it is. In many regrettable instances the teaching of German in the United States has been too closely identified with race, politics and propaganda. Disinvested of those qualities and made educational for Americans instead of narrowly encouraging for Germany and Germans, it is needed now more than ever before."

The real danger in our schools, according to a more widespread belief, is a German influence that works through every branch of study. David Lawrence, writing in "The Saturday Evening Post," tells an appalling story of the activities of the National German-American Alliance in permeating our schools with German propaganda, so that, as Robert Thiem, an American of German descent, wrote in 1902, "the future lan-

guage spoken in America shall be German."

"The San Francisco Bulletin" has discovered this German influence to be at work particularly in the fruitful field of history.

"Perhaps," it says, "there could be no more subtle 'German propaganda' than the teaching of history in such a way as to make the student believe that whatever has been successful is right."

"If the crimes of yesterday are the responsibilities of to-day the crimes of to-morrow will be the responsibilities of to-morrow. If the writers of history confine themselves to a narration of facts and refuse to pass moral judgments they must in some cases leave their readers to infer that might is right. There has been a school of history writing, with its origin in Germany, that has done this, and its traces are to be found in books still in use in many American public schools."

As for the German propaganda outside the schools, "The San Antonio Ex-

press" warns us it is ever active, and often crops up in patriotic guises. The propagandist, says the "Express," "in many cases assumes to be loyal to the country which he calls his home, but is ready to stab it in the back whenever the opportunity offers. He will go as far as he thinks it safe to go in sneering at the national administration, at the accomplishments of the various war boards and the agencies that are employed against the Hun. His speech may not be absolutely disloyal, but it is constructively so, for the intent is to create dissatisfaction and discontent and to weaken the morale of those who may be affected by it."

But upon the whole German propaganda has been a costly failure, says "The Philadelphia Evening Telegraph": "The German press frankly admits defeat here in America. Thus the 'Kölnische Volkszeitung' complains: 'The German press is nearly crushed out of existence in America. The greater part of the German schools are closed. The German associations are required to strip themselves of all vestiges of Germany.'

"The newspaper goes on to tell of the failure of German propaganda in every direction. War preparations have not been stopped or seriously hampered. Much was expected of German agents in America, but their effort has proved, in the words of the 'Volkszeitung,' a complete débâcle."

Small defence of the German language press has appeared except from the German language press itself. "The Milwaukee Journal" comments on a recent article in the "Wausau Wochenblatt," which indicted the whole of the English language press of the country on the charge of printing "scandal, untrue news and sports." "German newspapers print only the truth," remarks "The Journal," ironically.

"They avoid scandal and prizefighting. They are journals of enlightenment, devoting their columns to science and art. Marvellous indeed are the ways of the German editorial mind!"

The most recent ruling of the government on the matter of "enemies within"

called for the registration of all enemy alien women over the age of fourteen. The registration proceeded with few hitches and almost no unpleasantness. A few protests were made in behalf of American women who, by marrying Germans, have lost their American citizenship. With the law as it is they were forced to register with the rest. "The New York World," commenting on the situation, says:

"Among the enemy alien women who, as German subjects, are required to register, it is inevitable that there should be some cases where the government's orders seem to operate unfairly. American women who have married German husbands and German mothers whose American sons are in the service are not uncommon, but in their favor no discrimination is possible. It is not even a question of loyalty or personal sympathies. The law knows only aliens and citizens, and for all who are German subjects an inflexible rule applies.

"If it were not for the offences of a few of their countrymen who have found shelter in the United States German women without distinction would not have been obliged to present themselves for registration. Even so, they are subjected to no hardship or even inconvenience. In effect, precautionary measures adopted by the government serve as a means of protection for them, and unless they fail to do their duty they need fear no unpleasant consequences."

Even German music is coming more generally under the ban, on the theory that music speaks a tongue and preaches a philosophy as well as words. "The Los Angeles Times" explains why the schools of that city have banned all song books containing any German music:

"Whatever there may be of good in the German music will not be lost; but certainly the present is no time to cultivate in the youth of America a taste for that music that has played its own part in bringing about the discord in the harmony of the world, nor to develop in our young people, through the medium of seductive, deceptive sounds, an unguarded and sickly sympathy for a nation that has shown neither sympathy nor honor in its dealings with the peoples of other nations. German music, as a whole, is dangerous in that it preaches the same philosophy, or rather sophistry, as most of the German literature. It is the music of conquest, the music of the storm, of disorder and devastation."

There is one problem connected with the enemy within our gates which is neither vexing nor difficult to solve. That is the problem of the German or Austrian subject who wants to fight Germany or Austria. Singly he is refusing exemption and joining the American army. In a body he intends to fight for freedom as a "Slavic Legion."

The Slavic Legion should prove a rallying-point for this valiant element of opposition to the Central Powers. The Tribune notes that it "enables the United States to avoid the impropriety of drafting enemy aliens for service against their own governments."

The Camp of the Conscientious Objector

THE man who refuses to fight has proven a double-headed problem for the government to solve.

There are two main classes of objectors to war termed themselves "conscientious." There are several sub-classes. Each has a different status under the law or in practice.

First of all there is the pro-German "conscientious" objector. He has, frankly, no status at all. Public opinion and the law are undivided in holding that the man who doesn't mind war as such, but objects only to war against Germany, should have short shrift at the hands of the government.

Several such young men have lately been given prison sentences, ranging from eighteen months to twenty years, by the military authorities. None of them even pretended to have any scruples against killing as such. Several who claimed to have relatives in enemy armies against whom they could not bring themselves to shoot admitted that they had never even met them. Their sentence was confirmed by Secretary Baker, who added:

"If, after this war is over, some process can be devised by which these entirely undesirable citizens can be returned to the countries of their preference it would be highly desirable from the point of view of the United States."

Quite different are the conscientious objectors who come under various religious classifications or who are Socialists. These men have a definite position in the law and not so dishonorable a po-

sition in public estimation. A man who is willing to go to prison or die if need be for his conscience has always claimed some respect from Anglo-Saxons.

Naturally, however, military resentment mounts high in the presence of men who will not bear their share in opposing the country's enemy. On June 10 forty-five conscientious objectors were given twenty-five-year terms—reduced from life sentences—by a military court martial at San Antonio, Tex. Most of the men were religious objectors, Mennonites, whose faith forbids them to bear arms or take any military orders.

On June 21 seven more conscientious objectors were sentenced in Brooklyn to twenty years' imprisonment. These men were Russellites, followers of the former Pastor Russell.

In addition, groups of objectors in various camps, some religious, some social, have been subjected to courts martial.

These cases which have already arisen, along with the cases of six hundred or more other objectors in different camps, will doubtless be reviewed by the special board appointed by the War Department for that purpose. Under the ruling of the department men found by the board to have honest scruples against warfare will have a chance to do agricultural work rather than any sort of military service.

Newspaper opinion is in accord as to the justice of Secretary Baker's verdict

in regard to the German objectors, and nearly every paper is careful to point out the difference in status between these men and the bona fide conscientious objector.

"The Cleveland Plain Dealer" sums it up by saying:

"Certainly not all 'conscientious objectors' are cowards. No less certainly the plea is often used merely as a cloak for cowardice. It would be a happy solution of the problem, so far as it relates to this particular class of objectors, if, as Secretary Baker suggests, they could be deported after the war and returned to the country which they now pretend to esteem so cordially. Meanwhile, bean soup, black coffee and dry bread served behind bars will be good for their debilitated courage."

The same opinion is urged by "The Savannah Morning News" and also by "The Charlotte Observer," which remarks:

"In approving sentences of imprisonment imposed upon a dozen privates who refused military service at Camps Upton and Gordon, Secretary Baker made it clear that men's 'consciences' are not to be allowed to select the nation against which they will fight. It seems that in the case of these young men they had no religious scruples against war in itself, they had no conscientious objections to fighting for the United States, if only America were at war with Mexico or Great Britain, but when it came to fighting against Germany, of which country some of their relatives are citizens or subjects, and probably soldiers, their consciences would not allow them to become American soldiers, least on the field of battle a bullet fired by them might find a mark in the body of a relative. Sacred consciences!"

"The New York World" discusses the

position of the conscientious objectors sentenced in Texas with a lack of passion that clearly marks the difference between them and the purely German objector:

"The forty-five men sentenced by a court martial in Texas to life imprisonment are a small part of the whole number who after being called for service have protested that their principles forbade them to bear arms. Where others submitted to military discipline they adopted an attitude of defiance and refused to perform the duties assigned to them. Even in their case the War Department gives assurance that punishment will be suspended until the sincerity of their motives has been thoroughly examined. If they persist they may be held as farm laborers."

"The Detroit Free Press," however, believes that these men were too harshly dealt with. It says:

"Unless there is something much more serious withheld from the public behind the cases of the forty-five conscientious objectors sentenced from Camp Travis, Texas, to twenty-five years in prison, the punishment meted out to these boys is a ridiculous travesty of justice and one that demands the immediate attention of the President. For apparently no less an authority than he has the power to interfere with the army procedure and prevent similar abuses throughout the country.

"In almost every one of the forty-five cases the men were members of a religious order of recognized standing long before the war and imposing upon its members as part of their faith an opposition to all participation in any recourse to physical force. That was the sole defence offered by the defendants.

"President Wilson himself, early in the war, defended the bona fide conscientious objector, and a general rule has been laid

down for the classification of such men as might offer such convictions as an excuse for refusal to participate in the war. It was said that men who, at the beginning of the war, were regular members of religious orders enjoining passive resistance upon their adherents would be protected in their faith "to have decided otherwise; at that time would have been nothing less than religious persecution. And to act now as if men in such faiths are not in an entirely different class from those who merely use the cloak of a new-found conscientious objection to evade service is totally to ignore the very basis of the religious freedom which cradled our country and upon which our Americanism is built."

There is one class of objector, neither enemy nor American, which so far has escaped even the need of declaring itself. This is the Allied subject of draft age who has failed to come forward and join either the American army or his own. "It is a manifest injustice," says "The Oswego Daily Times," "that hundreds of thousands of alien residents can now step into the jobs that our own young men have left to go to war. The aliens are practically Americans. They get all the benefits of American life. Yet if they retain citizenship in some other country they escape service in their native country, and they can't be drafted here."

But "the United States," says "The Portland Eastern Argus"—

"is closing in on the aliens of draft age who do not join the army of their native land or the army of the United States."