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American partiality in World War One during 1914-1917 as reflected through a critical study of editorial cartoons appearing in selected American, British and German publications

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AMERICAN PARTIALITY IN WORLD WAR ONE DURING 1914--1917 AS
REFLECTED THROUGH A CRITICAL STUDY OF EDITORIAL
CARTOONS APPEARING IN SELECTED
AMERICAN, BRITISH
AND GERMAN
PUBLICATIONS

A Thesis 556

Presented to the
Department of History
and the
Graduate College of the University
of Nebraska at Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Leonard J. Zajicek

August 1968

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Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College of
the University of Nebraska at Omaha, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

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PREFACE

This study is a dialogue between the world of history and that of the "editorial cartoon." It is easy to see value in such a study. It is not easy to see the best method of gleaning it. The method finally utilized relies initially on the editors of national publications of more than half a century ago who selected certain cartoons on the basis of their own editorial needs. This still left thousands of cartoons from which to choose. It had seemed at one time that the cartoons to be used in this study should be drawn from representative cities in the United States. The theory did not work because of two major reasons: first, too many newspapers were running too many editorial cartoons (The three relatively small Omaha, Nebraska, dailies, for instance, were publishing more than one thousand cartoons a year fifty years ago.); second, many editorial cartoons being published were not drawn in local news rooms at all--they were syndicated. On the other hand, a particular local cartoon had a rather good chance of being picked up and distributed nationally, if it had some kind of significance to the national scene. This happened frequently, as this study will show.

There have been few published books about editorial cartoons. Very few of these can be classified as histories, nor should they be. Most of the books about cartoons are collections of art, drawn and compiled by the artists themselves. Occasionally, these books have considerable merit. A case in point is Low's, an autobiography of the world famous cartoonist David Low (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957). David Low, of course, uses only David Low cartoons in his autobiography, or for that matter in the other half dozen books that have been published bearing his name. Such books are mutually exclusive--that is, they concentrate on the artist or his work at the expense of other endeavors and disciplines. The repetition can and often does become monotonous.

With these things in mind, the author of this study has attempted to replace parochialism with a montage of representative cartoons of the 1914-1917 era, and taken from national publications of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

The aim is to combine the enthusiasm of the cartoon with the more restrained vigor of history. There are beneficial strengths in both disciplines. Too often, historians have squandered their supply of cartoons, using them like postage stamps by pasting them here and there with more enthusiasm than intellect.

This, then is an attempt to preserve the power of the cartoon without reducing its effectiveness as a tool for the understanding of history. Unhappily, the attempt has fallen short for a number of reasons- -certain important facets, for instance, remain obscure or hidden. The signatures of the cartoonist are easily lost, or just the last name is used. When the author could not satisfactorily document the entire name, the identification of the artist was not attempted, and was in fact dropped altogether in the captions. There were many other similar problems, caused in large part by the fact that no similar work is available to serve as a guide. A start should be made somewhere and perhaps this is reason enough for this study.

Much of the material used in this study comes from the Omaha Public Library and the writer wishes to express special thanks to the Director of its Reference Department, Dale Portschy. The State Historical Society of Nebraska also was especially helpful. The rare Cartoons Magazines (monthly collections of editorial cartoons which were sold mostly through newsstands) came from the files of Ray Whiting. The rest is drawn from the author's collection, which includes all issues of Punch and Kladderadatsch during the period of this study. Help in the German translations was given by Lothar Luken and William F. Templin.

The writer owes most, however, to three men of vision in the History Department of the University of Nebraska at Omaha. There is the Chairman, Professor A. Stanley Trickett, whose confident counsel and ready encouragement made it possible to do graduate work in the first place. Special thanks, too, to Professors Frederick Adrian and Harl Adams Dalstrom for their constructive criticism and timely advice. Professor Dalstrom's voluminous review-notes were as impressive as they were helpful.

This acknowledgment is not intended to imply that these gentlemen approved of everything the writer has written. The blunders and meanderings are the writer's own contributions--were this not so, but it is, it is.

INTRODUCTION

One of the more fascinating studies of history is to trace the changes in national moods during a period of crisis. The World War One period is suited to such a study, especially during 1914 and 1917 when profound adjustments were being forced upon belligerent and neutral nations alike. A valuable aid in the study of this period is the "editorial cartoon."¹ It lends itself admirably to the World War One era, not only because the political drawing had extreme popular appeal at that time,² but also, because the editorial cartoon often reflected, sometimes preceded, what is generally described as public opinion. Great care, however, must be exercised in using this powerful art form. It has both internal and external limitations, indicating the cartoon must be constantly supplemented by conventional source material to avoid misinterpretation.

¹Scott Long, chief cartoonist of the Minneapolis [Minnesota] Tribune referred to his work as "signed editorials." The Masthead XIII, 1961, p. 16. Daniel R. Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis Post Dispatch preferred to be called an "editorial cartoonist" because he did not confine himself to political subjects. Lawrence Lariar, Careers in Cartooning (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1949), p. 145.

²Henry Ladd Smith, "The Rise and Fall of the Political Cartoon" in the Saturday Review, May 29, 1954, pp. 7-9.

There is the case of the Omaha [Nebraska] Daily Bee, one of the very few newspapers in the United States, perhaps in the world, which believed the assassinations at Sarajevo would be the spark that set off a new European war. Two days after the murders, the Bee published an editorial cartoon on its front page. The artist was Doane Powell.³ He drew a cartoon that predicted the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (See Fig. 1, p. 3). Other war cartoons were forthcoming in July of 1914. Two of them foretold the belligerents (See Figs 2-3, p. 4). Nor had Powell gone off on a tangent, for his cartoons were being supported by many column-inches of news space, devoted to the Balkan crisis. The Bee, for example, prophesied editorially on July 31 of 1914 that all of Europe "and probably Japan [were plunging] into what threatens to be the most devastating war of history."⁴ This new European war came as no shock, at least not for the Omaha Daily Bee.⁵

³While a student at the University of Nebraska, Doane Powell showed great promise as a budding cartoonist. The Sombbrero: The Book of the Class of 1904 (Lincoln, Nebr.: Jacob North and Co., 1903), pp. 4-5, 286.

⁴Omaha [Nebraska] Daily Bee, July 31, 1914.

⁵A contemporary historian, for instance, notes that to say the outbreak of war "came as a shock to the American people would be to make an understatement of heroic proportions." Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper and Row Torchbook, 1963), p. 145.

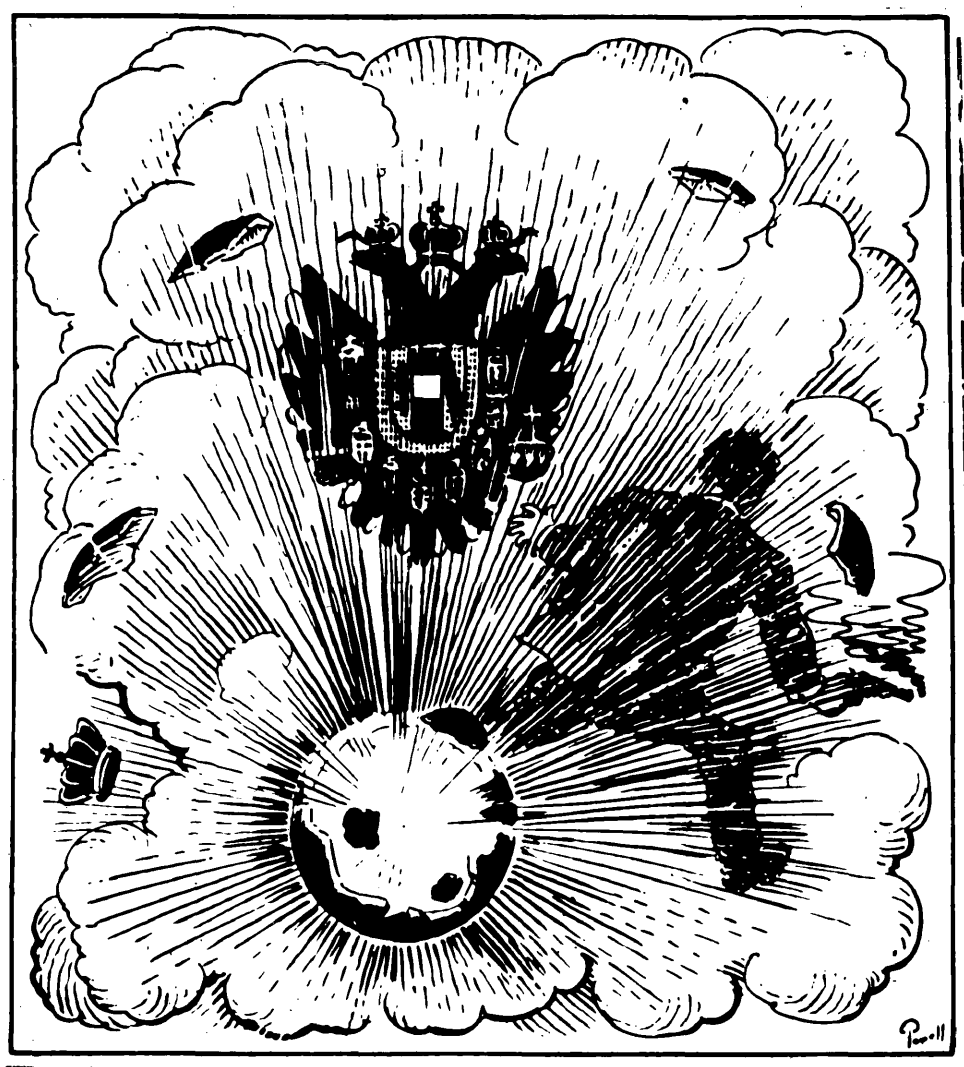


FIG. 1 "Assassination." This is one of those rare editorial cartoons that predicts what is to come. "Wolf" had been cried many times before during other Balkan crises. Somehow, the Omaha daily newspaper had decided that the killings at Sarajevo were different. (Omaha [Nebraska] Daily Bee, June 30, 1914.)



FIGS. 2-3
 War Cartoons of a
 Nebraska Newspaper.
 On the left, "Those
 Dogs Are Loose
 Again." And lower
 drawing, "Knocking
 Over the Blocks."
 Both were the work
 of Doane Powell, and
 both were published
 before the actual
 outbreak of war.
 (Omaha [Nebraska]
 Daily Bee, July 28,
 30, 1914.)



A European war had been feared all along but the calm assurance that Sarajevo would set it off was lacking for the simple reason that previous Balkan crises had not led to a general war.⁶ Earlier that summer, Colonel Edward M. House, on a "peace mission" to Europe, had described the situation in Germany as "militarism run stark mad. . . . There is some day to be an awful cataclysm."⁷ In other words, there was a vagueness about when the war would come, but not in whether it would come. The Omaha Daily Bee simply had called the turn earlier than most.⁸ It was not until mid-July of 1914 that larger and more important publications began to take seriously the threat of a general war.⁹

⁶The Baltimore [Maryland] American had observed in 1901: "That great European war that is to start in the Balkans is again to the front, threatening as ever, but with its edges slightly frayed." Literary Digest, June 8, 1901, p. 692.

⁷Colonel House to President Wilson, May 29, 1914. Charles Seymour, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House (4 vols.; Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926-1928), I, 235.

⁸The emphasis on war news may have been an attempt to build circulation. The Bee in July of 1914 was a very poor third in a three-newspaper-market. Harl Adams Dalstrom "The Midwestern Press and American Neutrality: A Study of the Editorial Attitudes of Three Omaha Newspapers Toward the European War, 1914-1917" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of History, University of Omaha, 1959), p. 7.

⁹Will Irwin, The Making of a Reporter (New York: G. P. Putnam's and sons, 1942), p. 204.

The example of the Omaha Bee is cited specifically to illustrate the pitfalls and promises in the use of newspapers and editorial cartoons as tools for the historian. Their use requires the constant conventional source documentation available to the student of history, however, and the resulting "blend" should make for a truer and more accurate picture of the past.

There are other problems, especially with regard to the editorial cartoon. The political drawing can be accepted only with the knowledge that it tends to exaggerate particular situations for specific purposes.¹⁰ Another major problem is the determination of standards for cartoons. Fortunately, there has been considerable scholarly work in this area.¹¹ And there is general agreement among these scholars that good cartoons reveal a philosophy; contain truth and moral purpose; frequently they are humorous; and the unique ones predict the future. It is also important to remember that cartoonists blend fantasy with fact. David Low, the famous cartoonist, explained that this blending was necessary "to the chronicling of life in a madhouse."¹²

¹⁰Lucy Maynard Salmon, The Newspaper and the Historian (New York: Oxford University Press, 1923), pp. 386-387.

¹¹Isabel Simeral Johnson, "Cartoons," Public Opinion Quarterly CXII, July, 1937, pp. 21-44; Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, A Century of Political Cartoons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), pp. 9-10.

¹²David Low, Low's War [World War Two] Cartoons (London: Morrison and Gibb, 1941), p. 2.

More difficult than definition was the problem of determining where the source material should be drawn. It did not take much study to see that many cartoons were being reprinted, providing they carried a message that was common or easily recognized in other geographical areas. Something close to a national consensus had emerged and it seemed worthwhile to take advantage of the situation. Such was the plan followed in this study. The occasional inclusion of strictly local cartoons was for sake of a particular point, which the writer trusts will be self-evident.

Conversely, the national moods and viewpoints of Great Britain and Germany were drawn from two outstanding humor-satire magazines, Punch and Kladderadatsch, which have a long and honorable record of being remarkable "sounding boards" for popular opinion and governmental policies in those two countries.¹³

¹³The first issue of Punch came out on July 17 of 1841. Punch has been continuously published since that time. In the first year of publication, circulation climbed from 6,000 to 90,000. Marvin Rosenberg and William Cole, The Best Cartoons From Punch (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), last page entitled "Punchiana." During World War One, Punch "supported the war and opposed a negotiated peace." Politically, it was British "Conservative." Armin Rappaport, The British Press and Wilsonian Neutrality (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), p. 155. As the Punch cartoons in this study reveal, the publication was distinctly pro-United States, although it distrusted the motives of President Wilson and blamed him personally for the frictions

which developed from time to time between Great Britain and the United States. Punch is often credited with inventing the cartoon, a recent example being J. Chal Vinson's Thomas Nast, Political Cartoonist (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1967), p. 2. An earlier authority notes that crediting Punch with the invention is probably an error. William A. Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), II, 3. It seems to this writer that the confusion arises from the word itself. Punch did not necessarily invent the word "cartoon," but it did convert the word to what the magazine meant when referring to a type of caricature associated with the pages of Punch. To this day in Great Britain, "all forms of graphic satire are still commonly called caricature." Isabel Simeral Johnson, "Cartoons," Public Opinion Quarterly CXII, July, 1937, p. 21. Caricature dates from the sixteenth century in both Great Britain and Germany. Thomas Wright, A History of Caricature and Grotesque (London: Virtue Brothers and Co., 1865), p. vii, 310-311. Kladderadatsch was established in 1841. Prince von Bülow, German Chancellor from 1900 to 1909, had a complete collection, because he enjoyed its "German joviality and the keen, satiric spirit of Berlin" the magazine reflected. Prince von Bülow Memoirs, 1909-1919, trans. Geoffrey Dunlop (London: Putnams and Sons, 1932), p. 197. Like Punch, Kladderadatsch has been generally a political conservative, and always a "downright organ of German Nationalism." H. R. Westwood, Modern Caricaturists (London: Lovat Dickson, 1932), pp. 89-90. And as in Punch, criticism of internal affairs was very circumspect in Kladderadatsch. Members of the Royal Families were rarely drawn and then only in a favorable light. Even this tender treatment did not keep Kladderadatsch editors from going to jail periodically because some German bureaucrat believed they had violated Section 95 of the Imperial German Criminal code which said it was criminally wrong to insult the state and its rulers. Robert C. Brooks, "Lèse Majeste in Germany," the Bookman magazine XL, September, 1914, pp. 68-76. Kladderadatsch has been basically a magazine devoted mostly to politics; whereas, its closest competitor, Simplicissimus, has emphasized social and literary activities. George P. Gooch, Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), p. 108. For a thorough study of the pre-war German press, see E. Malcolm Carroll, Germany and the Great Powers, 1866-1914 (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1938).



FIG. 4 "At Durazzo-Super-Mare." "Moppet to Europa: 'I don't feel at all comfortable here. Isn't it about time you took me out of this?'" This was Punch's first carefully guarded comment on the Balkan crisis. Compare this cartoon to the first one in this study (fig. 1, p. 3). (Punch, July 22, 1914.)

CHAPTER II

THEY HAVE SOWN THE WIND. . . .

Hosea viii. 7.

The German battle plan of 1914 was deceptively simple and inordinately round about. This was the "Schlieffen Plan" and it contemplated the conquest of Russia by way of Belgium and France. Reduced to a basic premise, the attack depended on flanking the enemy, breaking through, followed by encirclement of the main force. A huge German army would move swiftly through Belgium, punching through and crushing the French army on the right, then wheeling left around Paris to catch the main French forces from the rear. It was a desperate bid to avoid fighting a war on two fronts at the same time. The battle plan gambled on Russia's slower mobilization. It counted on the French launching a major invasion of Alsace-Lorraine. Implicit in all this was the ability of the German army to mount a lightning war and to sustain it long enough to crush the French, and still have enough momentum left to move east and destroy the invading Russian armies.¹

¹Cyril Falls, The Great War, 1914-1918 (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), pp. 41-51, 82-83; Gordon A. Craig, The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640-1945 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 294-295, 299-307; Walter Goerlitz, History of the German General Staff, 1657-1945, trans. Brian Battershaw (New York: Praeger, 1953), pp. 157-169.

The "Schlieffen Plan's" test under battle conditions began when elements of the First and Second German field armies crossed the Belgian frontier during the night of August 4, 1914.² By the 20th, the First was entering Brussels. Various strategies within the "Plan" were being reached and the over-all goals still appeared to be attainable. As foreseen, the French had attacked in force. They were contained. And they were retreating. But they had not lost their military integrity--they were to demonstrate this again and again in the grim months ahead.³ French military valor was beginning to flaw the German master plan.

Still, there was no real cause for German pessimism at this time. The First German Army on the outermost wheel continued to move rapidly, making as many as thirty miles on some days.⁴

²Dates and sequence of events were taken from William L. Langer, An Encyclopedia of World History (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1963).

³Chief of the German General Staff, General Helmuth J. L. Count von Moltke, on September 4 of 1914 neatly summed up the military situation by observing: "Don't let's deceive ourselves. We've had a few successes, but we have not won the war. Winning a war means destroying the enemy's power of resistance. When armies of millions stand facing one another, the victor has prisoners. Where are our prisoners?" Goerlitz, History of the German General Staff, p. 161

⁴Falls, The Great War, p. 42.

In fact, the whole German advance had been so rapid that its very speed was creating military situations which could not be long tolerated with impunity. Communications had become the major problem. Troop-control was part of the difficulty. So was deployment, whether in the theater or at General Headquarters. The most critical, no doubt, was that of supplying the armies in the field. Troops had to fight the enemy, hunger, and physical exhaustion.⁵ These difficulties made for bad omens.

The British Expeditionary Force went into action with a bitter engagement at Mons on August 23 of 1914. The B. E. F. was then obliged to fall back with the French. On September 5 of 1914, the Allies were able to rally. They wheeled and launched a general counter-offensive. Had there been more troops, it is conceivable that the Allies might have won the war right there, or at least a negotiated peace. This was not to be. Neither side could quite bring off the decisive victory it sought. The result was a stalemate on the western front.⁶

⁵B. H. Liddell Hart, The Real War, 1914-1918 (Boston, Mass.: Brown and Co., 1930, reprinted 1964), pp. 58-64.

⁶Barbara Tuchman, The Guns of August (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 484-489; John W. Wheeler-Bennet, Wooden Titan, Hindenburg in Twenty Years of German History, 1914-1934 (New York: William Morrow, 1963), pp. 34-37. The contrast between this campaign and that of 1870 is striking. The elder Moltke (an uncle of

The foregoing is clear, of course, because of its hindsight and represents the labors of forty years on the part of scholars and commentators. It was quite different when the battles were being fought. Typically, no one, military or civilian, knew what was going on. What they thought they knew was whatever affected them in one way or another. Newspaper reports compounded the confusion. They were full of unwarranted optimism, misguided zeal, naiveté, and wartime idealism.⁷ Furthermore, immediate censorship had been imposed on troop and ship movements, and on all war-activity in general. But the censorship was not even-handed; it created confusion and doubt because no one was certain how much the public should be informed about the progress of the war.⁸ This confusion of purpose is clearly revealed in the editorial cartoons in August and September of 1914 (See Figs. 5-7, pp. 14-15). Regardless of distance from the struggle, the cartoons are topical generalizations--nothing more.

the unfortunate Moltke of 1914) said the 1870 campaign moved with "undisturbed precision. There was nothing to be changed in the directions originally given." Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke, The Franco-German War of 1870-1871, trans. Clara Bell and Henry W. Fischer (New York: Harper, 1892), p. 7.

⁷ Joseph J. Mathews, Reporting the Wars (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), pp. 155-173.

⁸ Ibid., p. 158.



FIGS. 5-6 "To the Victor Belongs the Spoils," on the left. Below, an "Up and At 'Em" sports strip. The cartoonist was Robert Ripley, whose work was syndicated widely throughout the United States. He was trying to say something at a time when neither he nor anybody else really knew what was going on. In later years, Ripley was to gain even more fame with his "Believe It or Not" strip. (Sunday World-Herald [Omaha], August 23, 1914; below Morning World-Herald [Omaha], September 5, 1914.)

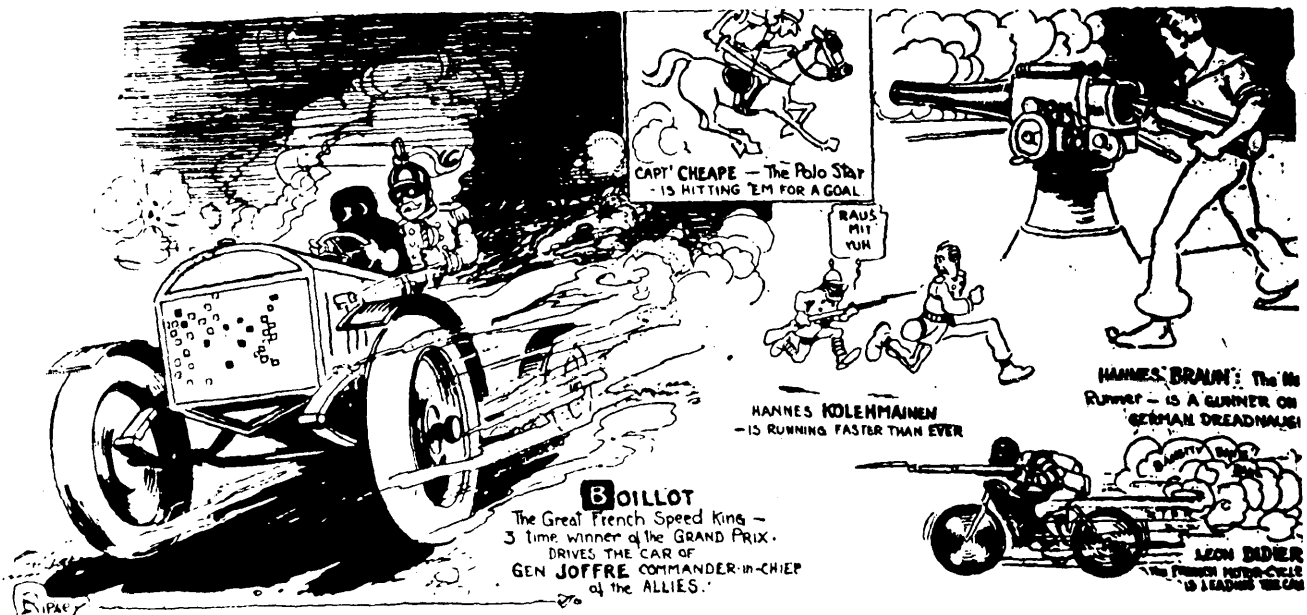




FIG. 7 "The Reapers." This is another one of Robert Ripley's cartoon-comments, saying in effect that there are no winners on the battlefield for the betterment of mankind. "The Reapers" was taken from the New York Globe (See Figs. 8-11, next page for somewhat similar reactions from other cartoonists). (Literary Digest, September 12, 1914.)



FIG. 8 Near-Sighted Austria. Nashville Tennessean. (Literary Digest, August 8, 1914.)



FIG. 9 "Brave Little Japan." Ding Darling in the Register and Leader (Iowa). (Literary Digest, September 5, 1914.)



FIG. 10 "Plenty of Work in Sight." Winson McCay, New York American. (Literary Digest, September 5, 1914.)



FIG. 11 "The Pity of It." Robert Carter, New York Evening Sun. (Literary Digest, August 15, 1914.)

Germany Has Formally Declared War on Russia

THE OMAHA SUNDAY BEE

PART ONE
NEWS SECTION
PAGE ONE TO TEN

THE WEATHER
Generally Fair

SINGLE COPY FIVE CENTS

OMAHA, SUNDAY MORNING, AUGUST 2, 1914. FIVE SECTIONS, THIRTY SIX PAGES.

The Somber Shadow of Europe's Call to Arms



ROADS' DEMANDS FOR RATE RAISE IS PARTLY GRANTED
Five Per Cent Increase Between Buffalo and Brooklyn and Mississippi Allowed.

I. C. C. GIVES OUT DECISION
Rate East of Buffalo and Pittsburgh on Freight Charges is Reduced.

WILL HEAR GENERAL ADVANCE
All Class Rates in Central Freight Association Territory May be Raised.

ATTEMPT TO RECALL PUBLIC
Commissioner's Efforts Made to Recall Public from the Front.

FREE SERVICE SHOULD BE
Head of the Commission in Transportation Secretary Ordered by Railway.

VILLA NOT ASKED TO SHARE TRIUMPH
Chairman Not Expected to Take Part in Entry to Capital City.

CAROTHERS BACK FROM FRONT
Information that Villa is Not Expected to Submit to Conference at Caranama is Strengthened.

WILL VISIT AUSTRIA
German Ambassador Will Leave Paris This Evening.

HERZOG WILL TAKE CHARGE
United States Probably Will Look After Interests of Germany in All European Capitals.

ENROLLING RESERVES IN RUSSIA
Enlisted Reservists Have Opened in St. Petersburg.

WAR IS QUESTION OF HOURS
Believe that the war will continue for some time.

KAISER THROWS DOWN GAGE TO CZAR
AMBASSADOR OF GERMAN KAISER DECLARES WAR ON FRANCE AS WELL AS ON RUSSIA

FRANCE SEES LITTLE HOPE
German Ambassador Sees French Premier and Will Leave Paris This Evening.

GERMAN ARMY WILL BEGIN MOBILIZATION SUNDAY AFTERNOON
PARIS Aug 1. An official decree orders a general mobilization.

EMPEROR IN MAN
Imperial German Emperor Will Leave Berlin This Evening.

GERMAN ARMY
General Movement Forces Ordered to Leave Russian Territory as well as Home.

DISPATCHED AT
Entire Staff of German War Department.

ENGLAND MAKES FINAL EFFORT TO AVERT OUTBREAK
Late News of Crisis in Europe

FIG. 12 "The Somber Shadow of Europe's Call to Arms." Cartoonist Doane Powell saw war as marching men, including one who was out of step. Art was more instantly available than news photographs which often took days, even weeks, to deliver to the news rooms.

(Omaha Nebraska) Sunday Bee, August 2, 1914.

EMPEROR IN MAN
Imperial German Emperor Will Leave Berlin This Evening.

GERMAN ARMY
General Movement Forces Ordered to Leave Russian Territory as well as Home.

DISPATCHED AT
Entire Staff of German War Department.



FIG. 13 "Bravo Belgium." This was Punch's first cartoon-comment directly concerned with a specific incident of the war. (See fig. 4, p. 9, for first general comment on the crisis.) (Punch, August 12, 1914.)



GERMAN KAISER. "Donnerwetter! No wonder I've missed my appointment. The silly idiots have given me an 1870 time-table."

FIG. 14 The Wrong War Plan. A prophecy (or hope) which will shortly come true. (*Punch*, August 19, 1914.)

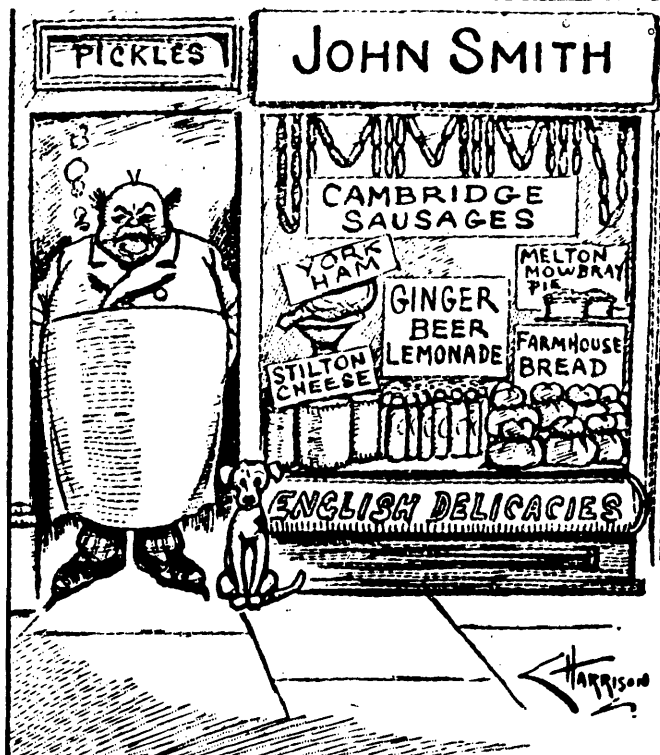
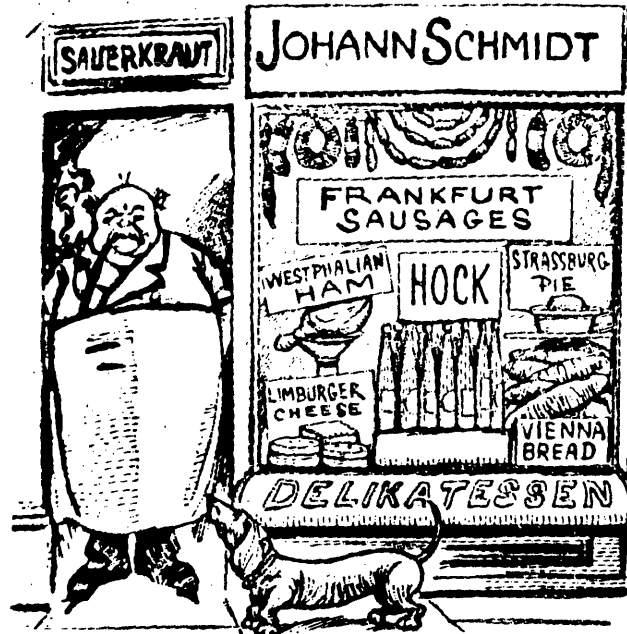


FIG. 15-16 "A Quick Change of Front." There is humor as well as pathos in these two drawings, taking note of the changes on the British home front. Similar changes were to take place in the United States when it went to war in 1917. (*Punch*, August 19, 1914.)

Just a few months before the war broke out, German military strategists had been hopefully predicting that victory was possible within a matter of months--one and one-half months to conquer France; and six more months to destroy the Russians.⁹ In September of 1914, there was a bare possibility that the grand plan would still work, providing it could be reversed with regard to timetables. The "Schlieffen Plan," however, was based on a war of mobility. But it was a stalemate that had developed on the western front--a war of limited mobility and defensive position. The hallmark was the trench where troops would have the maximum of protection while commanders would decide on the minimum of deployment. This kind of war demanded that personnel and materiel should be supplied by bulk transfusions, rather than the elite injections heretofore associated with armies on the move. These were the new facts of war. There was no question that the "Schlieffen Plan" had to be discarded. And this was the decision of the new Chief of the German General Staff, General Erich von Falkenhayn.¹⁰

⁹Conrad-Moltke talks on May 12 of 1914. Luigi Albertini, The Origins of the War of 1914, trans. Isabella M. Massey (3 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), I, 561-562.

¹⁰Meantime, the first German "peace-feelers" were being circulated. They were rejected because the Allies thought they were fraudulent. A. J. P. Taylor, The Struggle for the Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 535.



FIG. 17 "German Kaiser: 'We are not satisfied with our moustache; it seems to need support on the Eastern side.'" This is about as thorough a misreading of the actual situation as possible. The Germans had just won the battle of Tannenberg, generally considered to be one of their most brilliant victories of the war. (Punch, September 2, 1914.)



O DEAR, what can the matter be?
O dear, what can the matter be?
O dear, what can the matter be?
WILLIE is out of the fair.

He promised to bring me a ribbon from Paris,
A ribbon, a tricolor ribbon, from Paris,
He promised to bring me a ribbon from Paris,
But somehow he never got there.

FIG. 18 A Ribbon From Paris. It was generally recognized that the stalemate which had developed on the western front was a major victory for the Allies. (Punch's Almanack for 1915, December, 1914.)

CHAPTER III

INTERVAL OF CONFUSION

The reopening of the New York Stock Exchange on December 15 of 1914¹ was an unusually important milestone to the American economy. The country had been in a mild recession and the outbreak of war had only deepened the downward curve. European investors had spurred a panic on Wall Street when they began dumping securities in exchange for gold.² The stock exchanges were ordered closed to stop this gold drain. It was a prudent policy, but the net result was one more burden for an already sagging economy.³ The Wilson Administration tried to build a cushion to keep the economy from sagging further by having issued millions in "emergency currency."⁴

¹New York Times, December 15, 1914. The stock markets had been closed since July 31, 1914.

²John Maurice Clark, The Costs of the World War to the American People (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1931), p. 22.

³It was estimated that fifty million dollars in gold had left the United States when war appeared imminent, and there was genuine fear that with actual declaration of war the sell-off would be accelerated. New York Times, July 31, 1914.

⁴Some \$256,170,000 in emergency currency had been issued by September 10 of 1914. This had been done under authority of the Aldrich-Vreeland Act. Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1963), p. 149.

The infusion of newly minted bills did little to ease the financial crisis. Steel production continued along at one-half of its capacity.⁵ Unemployment became even more widespread.⁶ Overproduction had glutted the cotton market and since ninety-five per cent of that fiber traditionally had been destined for domestic consumption, it seemed a good time for expansion into foreign markets.⁷ Great Britain dominated in the international cotton-textile trade and it soon became readily apparent that country was not about to surrender any advantages, especially during time of war. There was a great deal of brave talk about the revival of prosperity when the cotton markets were allowed to reopen,⁸ although it was perfectly obvious that growers of cotton faced ruin because of low prices. The one bright spot in the economy was the "feed and grain" sector (a fact which becomes clearly evident when looking through the popular press of 1914). Since early summer, the nation had been posted constantly on the bumper wheat crop and harvest in the Midwest.⁹ (See figs. 19-21, p. 25.)

⁵Clark, Costs of the World War, p. 24. ⁶Ibid.

⁷David Cohn, The Life and Times of King Cotton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 218, 234.

⁸Literary Digest, November 28, 1914, pp. 1050-1051.

⁹Ibid., June 27, 1914, pp. 1530-1532; August 8, 1914, pp. 278-279. The price of wheat jumped six and seven cents a bushel with the official declaration of war. Ibid.

In any event, the reopening of the exchanges signaled the "green go" lights had come back on and the way was clear once more to travel the street of commerce. What was little appreciated, however, was the ability to get to market places at the other end of the line. There was to be marked difficulty in this because Great Britain owned practically all the carriers.¹⁰

Difficult enough to deal with in peacetime, the British Empire was impossible in wartime. Other nations either accepted this commercial overlordship or they struck out on their own. The Wilson Administration decided on the course of free enterprise. It secured changes in the ship registry law, making it easier for foreign ships to operate under the American flag.¹¹ The changes brought few additional merchantmen to the American registry--and most of those that converted were American-owned anyway.¹²

¹⁰Without counting the Dominions, almost one-half of the total world shipping was under British registry. Total Allied shipping came to 58.8 per cent. The Central Powers accounted for only 14.7 per cent, while neutral powers with 26.5 per cent possessed the rest of the world shipping. Marion C. Siney, The Allied Blockade of Germany (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 259. The British Empire also was building and launching more ships in 1914 than all the rest of the world put together. The British built and launched 714 ships that year. Excluding Austria and Germany, the rest of the world in 1914 built and launched 483 ships. J. A. Salter, Allied Shipping (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), p. 361.

¹¹Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 150.

¹²Ibid.



FIG. 19
 "Welcome, Little Sunbeam!"
 Robert Sykes in the
Philadelphia
[Pennsylvania]
Public Ledger.
(Literary Digest,
June 27, 1914.)



FIG. 20 "Get off the Track!"
 New York World. (Literary
Digest, July 18, 1914.)



FIG. 21 "A Helping Hand."
 The Spokane-
Review (Spokane,
 Washington). (Literary
Digest, July 25, 1915.)

In spite of relaxation of laws, those sixty-six ships owned by the Central Powers that were stranded in American harbors remained under foreign registry. The reason was simple enough. These ships had sought refuge in American ports to escape destruction.¹³ The Germans, with reason, did not believe that running under an American flag would be of much protection.

The Administration next turned to outright purchase.¹⁴ Congress balked and was encouraged in this refusal by the generally negative comment from the popular press.¹⁵ (See figs. 22-26, pp. 27-28.)

While these fumbling enterprises were under way, the British Royal Navy had been busy sweeping the sea lanes free of ships from the Central Powers.¹⁶ The continuation of British surface-military control was by no means certain. German submarines already had caused the destruction of four British battleships.¹⁷ No one knew what would happen should the Germans decide to concentrate on submarine war.

¹³William G. McAdoo, Crowded Years (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931), p. 323; Literary Digest, February 20, 1915, p. 404.

¹⁴Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, pp. 152-153.

¹⁵Literary Digest, February 20, 1915, p. 404.

¹⁶Falls, The Great War, pp. 152, 84-92.

¹⁷The Hogue, Cressy, and Aboukir were torpedoed on the same day, on September 22 of 1914. The Hawke was torpedoed on October 15 of 1914. Langer, Encyclopedia of World History, p. 917.



FIG. 22 "Look Out, Uncle Sam- -Y-You'll Burn Your Fingers." New York Herald (Literary Digest, September 19, 1914.)

ALLIES POWDER MAGAZINE



FIG. 23 "Go Easy, Young Feller." Philadelphia Pennsylvania Inquirer. (Literary Digest, February 13, 1915.)

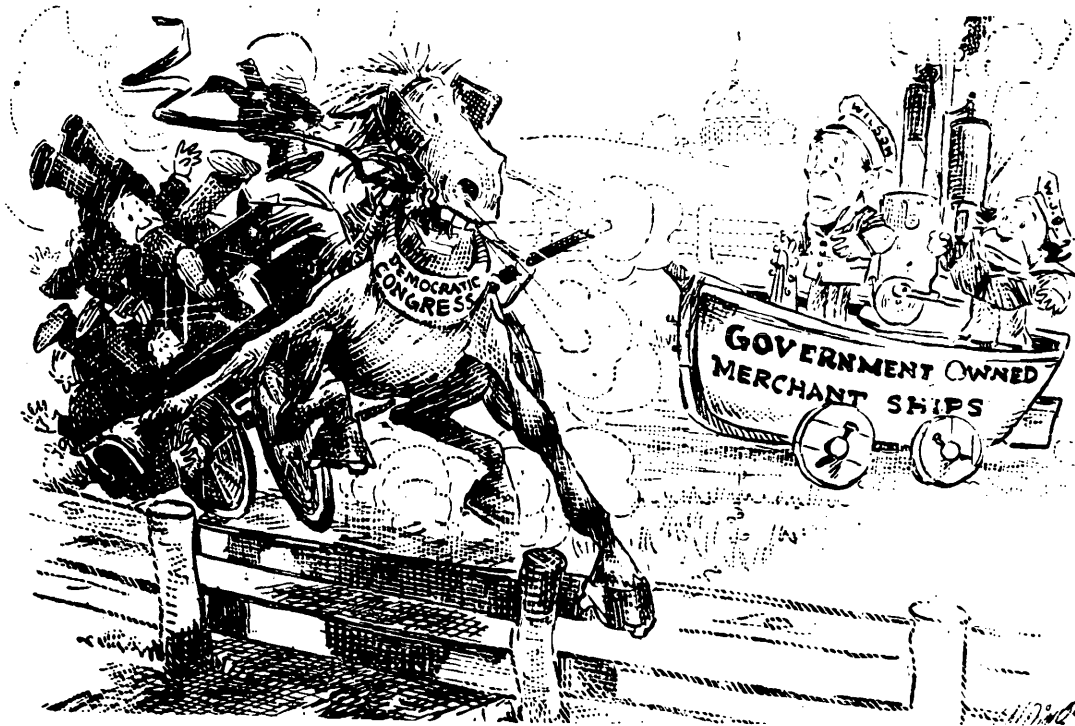


FIG. 24 "Old Dobbin Never Saw One Before." Ding Darling in the Register and Leader (Iowa). (Literary Digest, February 27, 1915.)



FIG. 26 "Clear the Way." New York American (Literary Digest, February 27, 1915.)



FIG. 25 "The Stowaway." The Chicago News. (Literary Digest, February 13, 1915.)

The loss of four British battleships spurred talk of the submarine making them obsolete.¹⁸ (See fig. 27, p. 30.) Between this kind of speculation and the daily reports that came from the fighting fronts, it was no wonder the war news continued to dominate in the news columns. Presentation was extensive and generally dispassionate (See figs. 28-30, p. 31). Most American newspaper editors said they were neutral.¹⁹ Their counterparts in the German-American press, however, were ardently defending the Central Powers (See fig. 31, p. 32). And occasionally, propaganda stories and cartoons would appear in publications that sought to be fair (See fig. 32, p. 33). On the other hand, American news syndicates were circulating hundreds of anti-war editorial cartoons (See fig. 34, p. 34). Being anti-war was, of course, a safe way to avoid criticism. It was possible also that these anti-war cartoons were true reflections of American neutrality in 1914.

¹⁸American newspapers had reprinted an article from The Times (London) by a retired admiral who predicted that the battleship would be driven from the seas by submarines. Literary Digest, July 4, 1914, pp. 9-10. The speculation was renewed with the torpedoing of British battleships. Ibid., October 3, 1914, pp. 613-614.

¹⁹A press poll showed that 242 American newspaper editors considered themselves to be neutral; 20 said they favored Germany; 105 said they were for the Allies. Ibid., November 14, 1914, p. 939.



FIG. 27 "The Mailed Fist." Taken from the New York Evening Sun. The Hogue, Cressy, and Aboukir were torpedoed by a German submarine on September 22, 1914. It is interesting to note that shortly after this cartoon was reprinted, a fourth British battleship, the Hawke, was torpedoed and sunk. (Literary Digest, October 3, 1914.)



FIG. 28 "Uncle Sam's Quandary." The Leader (Cleveland, Ohio). (Literary Digest, September 26, 1914.)



FIG. 30 "An Endurance Test." John McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune. (Literary Digest, November 28, 1914.)

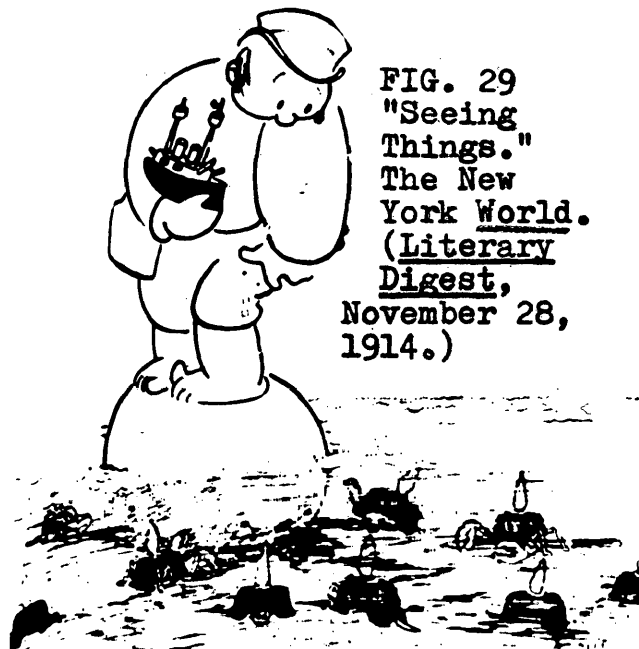


FIG. 29 "Seeing Things." The New York World. (Literary Digest, November 28, 1914.)



FIG. 31 "The Barbarian Host." The name on this cartoon is Helmholtz Junker, which could indicate that it was Americanized or that the name itself was fictionalized. This cartoon first appeared in the Fatherland (New York), one of the leading German-American journals in the United States. (Literary Digest, October 3, 1914.)



FIG. 32 "Their First Success." This cartoon was first published in Le Figaro (Paris). The French caption was placed entirely in quotes by the Literary Digest. The rest of the caption continues: "At Morfontaine, near Longwy, the Germans shot two fifteen-year-old children who had warned the French gendarmes of the enemy's arrival." (Literary Digest, September 5, 1914.)



FIG. 33 "Do You Want Me to Wear These Things All the Times?" The News (Indianapolis). (Literary Digest, December 26, 1914.)



FIG. 34 "There Is Nothing to Report." This cartoon by Hal Coffin was distributed by the Central Press Association, one of the half dozen syndicates in existence in 1914. This particular reprint came from the Great Divide, a weekly newspaper published in Denver, Colorado, that drew its circulation from Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and Wyoming. (Great Divide [Denver, Colorado], October 26, 1914.)

CHAPTER IV

SALES FOR ALL: DELIVERIES FOR NONE. . . .
Indianapolis [Ind.] Star¹

President Woodrow Wilson intended the American involvement with the European war to be limited strictly to the service functions of merchandising and mediation.² The President had issued a sincere and curiously cliché appeal for neutrality when war broke out. "The United States," he had said, "must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls."³ Neutrality Proclamations were issued routinely as each nation entered the war.⁴ They were about as effective and served the same purpose, no doubt, as the "Prayers for Peace" Sunday proclaimed on October 4, 1914.⁵

¹"In discussing sales of munitions it should be borne in mind that Uncle Sam's shop is open to all comers but he maintains no delivery service." Literary Digest, May 29, 1915, p. 1265.

²Address to Congress on December 8, 1914. Ray S. Baker and William E. Dodd, eds., The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson (6 vols.; New York: Harper Brothers, 1925-1927), I, 224, 226.

³U. S. 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Doc. 566.

⁴James Brown Scott, A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), p. 45.

⁵U. S. 63rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Doc. 576.

The Wilson Administration also began using diplomatic channels, seeking answers on whether belligerents intended to observe the "rights of neutrals" as codified by the Declaration of London in 1909.⁶ Germany indicated that it would, providing Great Britain would do the same.⁷ The British said they might go along, if some changes were made in the Declaration.⁸ They wanted food placed on the list of contraband. The proposal drew an angry retort from the United States Department of State in a note in which the British were reminded they had always been against making food contraband before 1914.⁹ British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey answered immediately and suggested official talks on the matter.¹⁰ The talks were held. Some were bitter. All were futile. The American Ambassador in London was no help. Walter H. Page believed the talks to be "academic" and anti-British.¹¹ Discussion on the Declaration was suspended on October 22, 1914.¹²

⁶Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1914-1917 (6 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1928-1929, 1931-1932), 1914 Supplement, 42. Hereinafter cited as FR.

⁷Ibid., August 22, 1914, p. 218.

⁸Ibid., August 26, 1914, pp. 218-220.

⁹Ibid., September 28, 1914, pp. 232-233.

¹⁰Ibid., September 29, 1914, p. 233.

¹¹Page to Wilson, October 15, 1914. The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, ed. Burton J. Hendrick (3 vols.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1923-1926), I, 370-372.

¹²FR, 1914 Supplement, pp. 257-258.

Americans were left with their traditional doctrine of the seas-- "free ships make free goods."¹³ The concept was legitimate as well as legal by virtue of its long history.¹⁴ The doctrine, however, had caused trouble over the years with Great Britain and its leaders were no more convinced of its merits in 1914 than they had been in 1812. No one was more aware of the parallel in those two dates than President Wilson, who had written about the British seizure of "free ships" in his five volume history.¹⁵ The President, unfortunately, did not seem to be aware, that regardless of the parallel, the United States had changed from a gadfly among nations to that of a giant in a world of pigmies.

¹³The American sea doctrine held that even enemy goods were safe in neutral ships; in other words, "free ships make free goods." This doctrine was restated in a 1914 Department of State Circular. Digest of International Law, Green Hackworth, ed. (7 vols.; Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), VII, 1-2.

¹⁴For instance, the Earl of Clarendon writing to Viscount Palmerston on April 6, 1856, was contemptuous of the American proposals placed before the Peace Conference of Paris which called for protection of neutral shipping in time of war. British Documents on the Origin of the War, 1898-1914, G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, eds. (11 vols.; London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926-1936), VIII, 204.

¹⁵Woodrow Wilson, A History of the American People (5 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902), III, 210.

The United States in 1914 was in fact a superstate. It had an industrial plant which rivaled all of Europe's put together.¹⁶ The United States had the third biggest navy in the world, a defense budget ranking fourth among the Powers,¹⁷ and a population of 100,000,000.¹⁸

The convenient caricatures of the United States as "Sam Slick" or "Brother Jonathan"¹⁹ no longer served in either foreign or domestic publications, except when "Uncle Sam"--the successor symbol for the new United States--was being made the butt of something or other. (The changing caricature of America is shown in figs. 35-37, p. 39.)

President Wilson was unwilling to use "Uncle Sam," although he was being pressed right and left by business and commercial interests to use the country's obvious power to smash the latest "Orders in Council."

¹⁶ Ernest R. May, The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 3.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ The United States Census Bureau said the nation reached 100,000,000 on April 2, 1915. Literary Digest, April 17, 1915, p. 932.

¹⁹ "Sam Slick" was the Yankee hero of the world-famous novels of Thomas Chandler Haliburton; The Clockmaker, the Attaché, or Sam Slick in England (1843-1844.) The Reader's Encyclopedia, William Rose Benet, ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1948), p. 1039. "Brother Jonathan" was a shrewd Yankee in Royall Tyler's stage play, The Contrast, produced in 1787, and the character in it was supposed to have originated with George Washington, who



FIGS. 35-36 Two convenient caricatures of the United States which were popular in the 1800's. "Sam Slick," on the left, was in vogue after 1843. (The Bookman XLII, April, 1915.) Punch's 1867 caricature of the United States, by contrast, was most unkind. The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature, Arthur B. Maurice and Frederic T. Cooper (New York: Dodd, Meade and Co., 1904), p. 104.



FIG. 37 "Uncle Sam. . . . Personification of Our Nation." The transition from "Sam Slick" to "Uncle Sam" was now complete. (Collier's, June 19, 1915.)

The United States late in December of 1914 lodged an extremely stiff protest against the newest "Order in Council" list. Ordinary diplomatic courtesy dictated that such a note would be studied by the offending government before the contents were released to the public. This did not happen. The American "Shipping Protest" was released almost immediately to the public.²⁰

Although the premature publication stirred protocol-conscious diplomats,²¹ British editors said nothing about diplomatic courtesy, confining their efforts to copying the story out of American newspapers for the benefit of the British reading public. And when they received the official version from the British Foreign Office, they spoke of the American "Shipping Protest" as a friendly reminder which merited careful consideration.²²

often had relied on Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut during the Revolutionary War and when so doing, would say: "we must consult with Brother Jonathan on this." Ibid., p. 147.

²⁰The American "Shipping Protest" was sent on December 26, 1914. FR, 1914 Supplement, pp. 372-375. The protest was published under a December 28 date line in the New York Times, December 29, 1914. In Great Britain, The Times (London) confirmed the protest on January 1, 1915 with an official text furnished by the British Foreign Office.

²¹The British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, for one, became extremely angry. Charles Seymour, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House (4 vols.; Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926-1928), I, 315.

²²The Times (London), January 1, 1915.

Reaction to the American protest was different in Germany. There, the popular press was saying that President Wilson had actually taken a stand which, if held, could be a turning point in the war.²³ (Characteristically, both Kladderadatsch and Punch reflected their countries' differing viewpoints on the protest. See figs. 38-39, pp. 42-43.)

The French popular press, like its British counterpart, was conciliatory.²⁴ Italians were sympathetic because their ships were also being detained.²⁵ However, Scandinavian newspapers were keeping silent, even though more of their shipping was being interfered with than any other national grouping.²⁶

At home, the German-American press was more interested in bringing to a stop the war-materiel trade. German-American editors were devoting a great deal of space to the support of Senators Gilbert M. Hitchcock of Nebraska and John D. Works of California and their efforts in Congress to secure legislation that would severely limit the burgeoning trade in war supplies.²⁷

²³Kolnische Zeitung suggested America send war materials to the Central Powers "under protection of American warships." The Frankfurter Zeitung said the stopping of American munitions shipments would bring Great Britain to its knees. Literary Digest, January 2, 1915.

²⁴Ibid., January 16, 1915, p. 91 ²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid. ²⁷Ibid., January 2, 1915, p. 3.



FIG. 38 "Taking a Stand at Last." The German magazine predicts "John Bull" will lose a few teeth now that America has at last decided to do something about enforcing its "free ships" doctrine. (Kladderadatsch, January 17, 1915.)



FIG. 39 "As Between Friends. British Lion: 'Please don't look at me like that, Sam. You're not the eagle I'm up against.'" The cartoon was drawn by Bernard Partridge. (Punch, January 6, 1915.)

The war trade, of course, continued to boom in spite of the efforts of individuals like Hitchcock and Works. Both Congress and the Administration were reluctant to interfere with something that could hamper the nation's rebounding prosperity. A kind of "do nothing" policy was evident in both branches of the national government.²⁸ Nor was popular support lacking--a national press poll showed that most newspaper editors were unwilling to prohibit the export of munitions to the Allies.²⁹ And it was this apathy that was driving not only the German-American press into a frenzy, but the German popular press as well (See fig. 40, p. 45).

This was the time when the motives of certain groups and individuals were being increasingly questioned. The Literary Digest was one of those publications that brought the subject out in the open. The magazine had taken the munitions poll cited above, and it had noted that newspapers published in areas of large German populations tended to be severe in condemnation of the war trade.³⁰

²⁸Charles Callan Tansill, "War Profits and Unneutrality," America's Entry into World War I, anthology of divergent authorities (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 48, 50-52. Alice M. Morrissey, The American Defense of Neutral Rights, 1914-1917 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. v, 198.

²⁹One thousand American editors were polled. There were 440 replies: 244 said "no" to prohibiting the export of arms; 167 said "yes." There were twenty-nine that made no comment. Literary Digest, February 6, 1915, p. 225.

³⁰Ibid.



FIG. 40 The suggestion was made that the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor should be exchanged for one more fitting- -the "Goddess of Weapons-Trading."
(Kladderadatsch, January 24, 1915.)

The Digest cited the Morning World-Herald (Omaha, Nebraska) as an example of the editorial criticism being directed at the United States for its "reaping a blood-money profit" from the sales of munitions.³¹ The owner of the World-Herald was Senator Hitchcock, and it was true that his newspaper had embarked on a crusade, not only to stop munitions trade, but also to preserve such traditional American rights as "Freedom of the Seas."³² (See figs. 41-42, p. 47.)

The citations must have given the Digest some satisfaction. It had been searching for three months for some evidence of "American sympathy in the European War."³³ Instead of sympathy, the magazine might have made a better case for a new resurgence of patriotism. There was as much evidence for one as the other (See figs. 43-44, pp. 48-49). The bias against Germany and for Great Britain had existed for some time, before the Venezuela crisis and beyond.³⁴

³¹Ibid.

³²Dalstrom, "The Midwest Press and American Neutrality," unpublished Master's dissertation, pp. 27-40.

³³Literary Digest, November 14, 1914, p. 939.

³⁴American public opinion rose "hotly against Germany" for the shelling of Fort San Carlo. Die Gross Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914: Sammlung de Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes (40 vols.; Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik, 1922-1927), XVII, 274.



FIG. 41
 "Britannia
 Rules the
 Waves."
 Senator
 Hitchcock's
 newspaper
 believed
 "Freedom of
 the Seas"
 was worth
 preserving
 but even
 this early
 in the war
 some said
 this stand
 was not
 inspired by
 American
 patriotism.
 (Morning
 World-Herald
Omaha,
 December 30,
 1914.)

FIG. 42 "Getting on Thin
 Ice." (Morning World-Herald
Omaha, December 31,
 1914.)

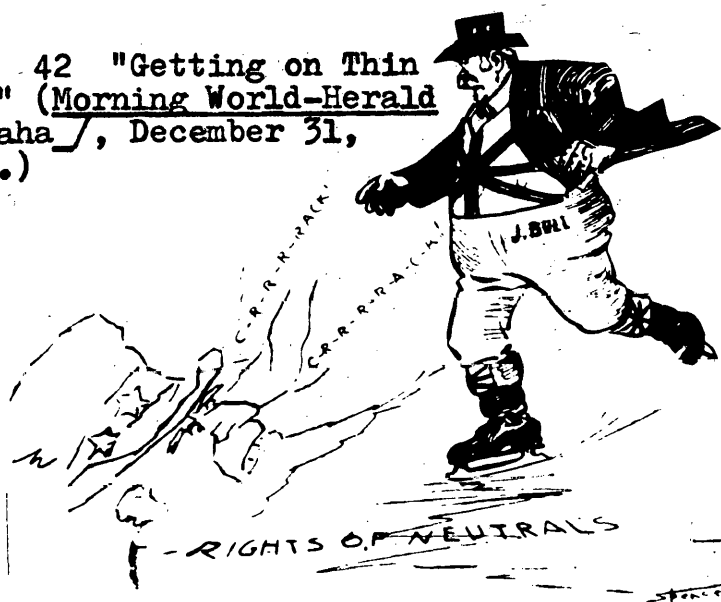




FIG. 43 "More Homework Indicated."
The bias here is for greater patriotism,
and the implication is that the youngster
will pay attention to "professor" Wilson.
(New York Times, February 14, 1915.)



FIG. 44 "Crossing the Delaware." Patriotism is the key, with President Wilson following in the wake of George Washington in the month of Abraham Lincoln. (New York Times, February 21, 1915.)



FIG. 45 "Obstructing Traffic, Your Honor." The feeling against the British for interfering with American shipping was not confined to the Midwest and its large population of German-Americans, as this cartoon graphically reveals. It was drawn by Rollin Kirby of the New York World. (Literary Digest, January 9, 1915.)

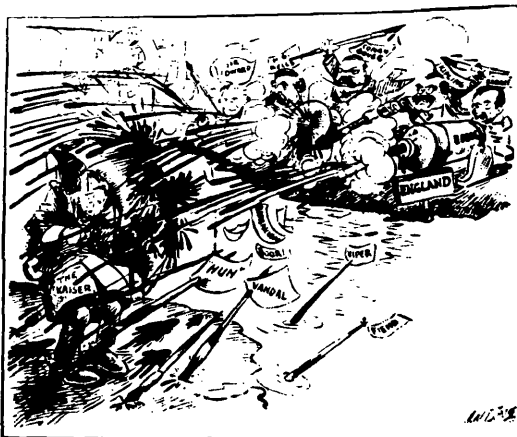
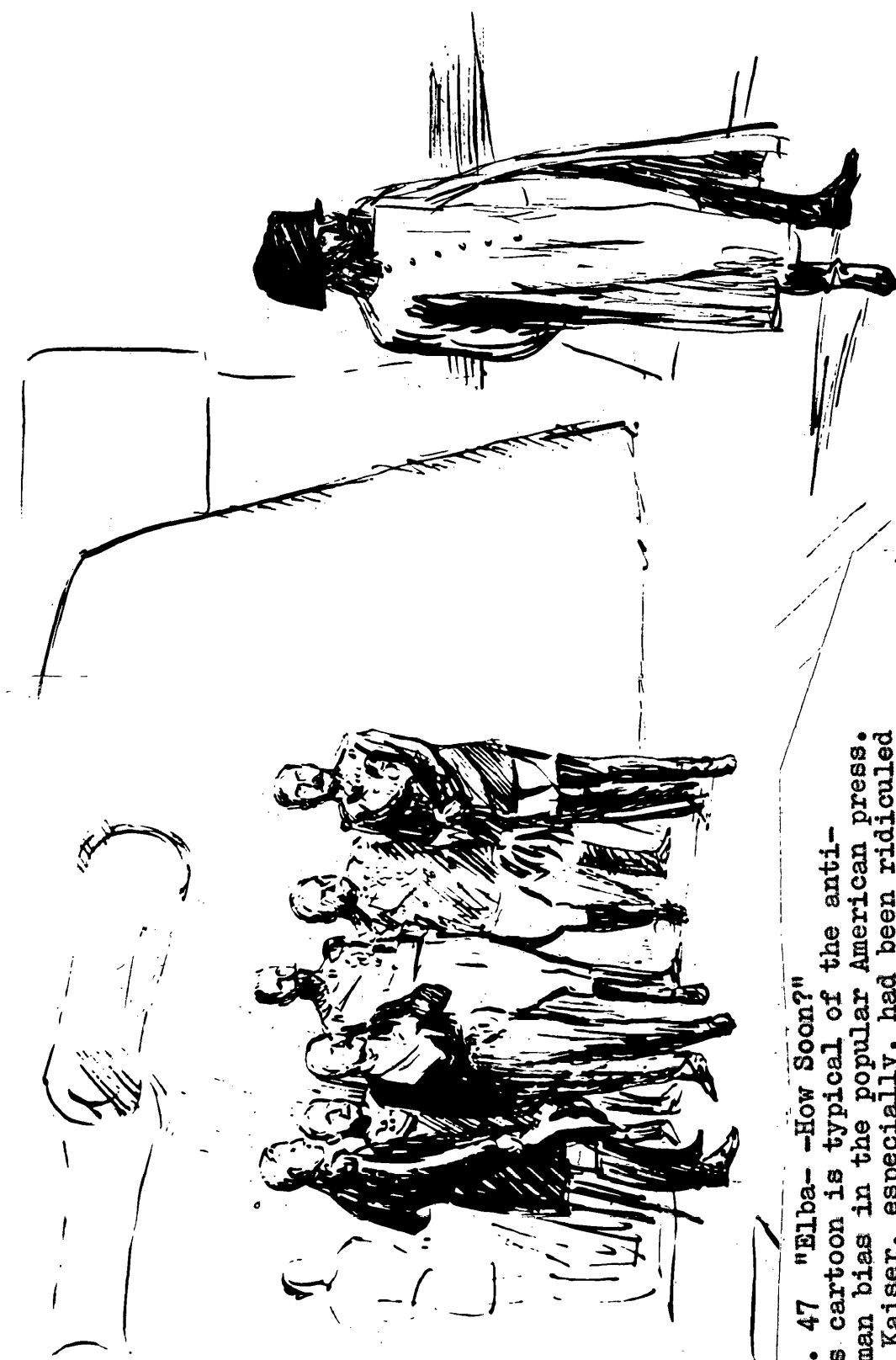


FIG. 46 "Famous British Authors Attack the Kaiser." Ding Darling showed some sympathy, not support, for the German leader. Outright support for Germany was rare in the United States through the 1914-1917 era. This cartoon appeared first in the Register and Leader (Des Moines), then in the New York Tribune. (Literary Digest, February 6, 1915.)



Richard D. Webb
1890's - 1915

FIG. 47 "Elba- -How Soon?"
This cartoon is typical of the anti-
German bias in the popular American press.
The Kaiser, especially, had been ridiculed
since the 1890's. (Harper's Weekly, January 9, 1915.)

CHAPTER V

WHO THINKS ABOUT THE FUTURE

MUST LIVE IN FEAR AND TERROR

Albert Einstein.¹

On the first day of the new year 1915, the British battleship Formidable was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine operating in the English Channel.² There was the usual period of uncertainty as to the cause of the sinking--whether the vessel had been sent to the "deep six" by a torpedo or an exploding mine. Hours later, an urgent message was being relayed to the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force in France.³ The message was from the British Admiralty. It said the German submarine base at Zeebrugge must be destroyed at once. Otherwise, the message added grimly, the B. E. F. ran the risk of being cut off from its home base in England. The fear at the Admiralty was a mixture of the known and the unknown. The submarine was known to be destructive but there was no known defense against it--hence the Admiralty resolved to destroy a submarine nest, striking an obviously vulnerable spot.

¹Quoted from a time-capsule message from the 1939 World's Fair. Albert Einstein, Ideas and Opinions (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1954), p. 18.

²New York Times, January 2, 1915.

³Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, The World Crisis (6 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951 and 1923), II, 46.

Heretofore, German submarines generally had steered clear of the Channel. Their renewed appearance gave the British Admiralty added incentive for the destruction of the U-boat base in northwest Belgium. France, however, could not be interested in the project. The French military was giving its whole attention to a massive frontal assault on German lines in the spring.⁴ The British continued to press for the Zeebrugge operation. They were anxious about their supply lines but not anxious enough to risk attempting the strike alone.⁵

Farther to the north, the British Admiralty also had encountered failure in its attempts to close the North Sea by sowing it with mines. The job could not be done-- the weather was too bad, and the area too big.⁶ This did not keep the British from charging the Germans with successfully doing what they could not. The British proclaimed the North Sea a military area on November 3 of 1914 because of alleged German mine-laying.⁷

⁴Ibid., pp. 12, 39.

⁵Ibid., pp. 54-60. Zeebrugge was shelved for the ill-starred "Dardanelles Operation." Ibid.

⁶When the United States entered the war, another attempt was made to mine the North Sea. This attempt also ended in failure. A. A. Hoehling, The Great War at Sea: A History of Naval Action, 1914-1918 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1965), pp. 247-267.

⁷Thomas A. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964), pp. 571, 576.

The British now insisted that Admiralty pilots go aboard all neutral ships, ostensibly to steer the vessels through mine fields but in actuality it was a subterfuge to curtail shipping bound for Scandinavian and German ports.⁸ The United States did not protest, although officials knew the truth of the matter.⁹

In reprisal, Germany proclaimed a submarine blockade of the British Isles. It was to take effect in two weeks, on February 18, 1915.¹⁰ The proclamation was followed up by a significant warning from the American Ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard. He cabled that the Germans had advised him that "it may not always be possible to save crew and passengers" during a submarine attack.¹¹

This sparked an official reply, the United States lodging an angry protest against "unrestricted submarine warfare."¹² At the same time, a milder note was sent to London, protesting the use of neutral flags on vessels operated by belligerents.¹³

⁸Ernest R. May, The World War and American Isolation (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 25.

⁹Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁰FR, 1915 Supplement, p. 94.

¹¹Ibid. American newspapers carried the German submarine proclamation, using almost the same phraseology as that of the official note. New York Times, February 5, 1915.

¹²FR, 1915 Supplement, pp. 98-99.

¹³Ibid., p. 119. The Lusitania was among those vessels that hoisted the American flag when entering the Irish Sea. New York Times, February 7, 8, 10, 1915.

Editorial comment in the American press overwhelmingly endorsed the protest notes, and most editors seemed to feel that the onus for the latest crisis lay more with Germany than with Great Britain.¹⁴ On the other hand, the German-American press was unanimous in the belief that the notes revealed "a pro-English bias on the part of President Wilson and his cabinet."¹⁵

In this connection, it is interesting to note the lack of editorial cartoons on the situation. Thousands had been published in February of 1915 but very few anywhere dealt with the first submarine crisis. Among the few editorial cartoons on the subject were two -- one from Punch, showing a German bull running amok in a neutral china shop (fig. 48, p. 56), and one from Kladderadatsch, showing John Bull cowering under an American flag (fig. 49, p. 57).

The majority of the press in Germany was irritated as well as amused by American threats.¹⁶ The Berliner Montag Zeitung said the United States had to be bluffing because it had no army and its navy could approach no closer to Germany's shores than the British navy.¹⁷

¹⁴Literary Digest, February 27, 1915, p. 409.

¹⁵Ibid., March 6, 1915, p. 465.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.



FIG. 48 "Running Amok. German Bull: 'I Know I'm Making a Rotten Exhibition of Myself; But I Shall Tell Everybody I was Goaded into It.'" (*Punch*, February 14, 1915), and reprinted in *Mr. Punch's History of the Great War* (London: Cassell and Co., eleventh edition, 1921), p. 25.



FIG. 49 John Bull
"Covers Up."
(Kladderadatsch,
February 21, 1915.)

The tittering Germans might not have been so amused had they realized the limitations they saw in other navies was more characteristic of their own vaunted sea forces, especially with regard to the submarine flotilla. This was the weapon that was to force Great Britain to sue for an early peace (See fig. 50, p. 59). The flotilla was on battle station the first day of the unrestricted submarine war--both U-boats.¹⁸ German naval chieftains managed to raise the battle patrol to eight by the end of the month. It would take another year, however, to increase those eight to a thoroughly respectable patrol of eighteen U-boats.¹⁹ This small force did cause fearful damage to Allied shipping (not to mention German foreign policy). But the damage was not decisive. Great Britain was not forced from the war. There were not enough U-boats in the right place at the right time to do the job.²⁰

¹⁸ Marion C. Siney, The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-1916 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1957), pp. 63-65.

¹⁹ Ibid. It should be emphasized that "patrol" is a key word. A flotilla could send only about one-third of its force on patrol. The rest was either going on or off battle station, or being serviced in port. Hence, eighteen would indicate a flotilla of about 54 U-boats. Michael Balfour, The Kaiser and His Times (London: The Cresset Press, 1964), pp. 366-371; Virginia Cowles, The Kaiser (London: Collins Co., 1963), p. 364.

²⁰ Erich von Falkenhayn, General Headquarters, 1914-1916, And Its Critical Decisions (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1919), p. 156.



FIG. 50 "The Beginning of Underwater War, February 18, 1915." The interesting thing about this cartoon is that more submarines, "twenty-four," are attacking than Germany actually was able to send out during any single period in 1915. (Kladderadatsch, February 28, 1915.)

Winston Churchill as First Lord of the British Admiralty had decided that full and prompt publication of shipping losses was the best policy in the submarine war. This, as it turned out, was a rather good policy but one can only speculate how long it would have lasted if more than two German U-boats had been on battle station. Prompt publication had the obvious advantage of keeping both officialdom and the general public informed that the situation, while serious, was far from hopeless. The policy also furnished the press with new "war stories" almost daily.²¹ Whenever an American was involved, the particular "war story of the day" became just that much more important to American editors and the reading public. Leon C. Thrasher was a case in point. He was drowned when the British steamer Falaba was sunk by a German submarine on March 28, 1915. New York newspapers had the story the next day.²² They gave the Falaba more than the usual space for the "war story of the day." Cartoonists also were allotted more space. They responded with stinging indictments of Germany, among the most notable were two that were published in the Brooklyn Eagle (See figs. 51-52, p. 61).

²¹ Churchill, World Crisis, II, 299-301. One British merchantman was sunk by a submarine on February 18, 1915; by the end of the month, eleven additional ships had been attacked by U-boats but only seven of these were sunk. Ibid.

²² New York Times, March 29, 1915.



FIGS. 51-52 "The Coroner's Verdict." "Non-Combatants." The above cartoons were syndicated and published widely in the United States. The Cartoonist was Nelson Harding who worked for the Brooklyn Eagle [New York]. (Cartoons Magazine VII, June, 1915.)

The Falaba was the first passenger ship sunk by German submarine action.²³ In the words of the Literary Digest

No previous incident of the war has stirred the American press to such vigorous condemnation as the torpedoing of the British steamer Falaba with its sacrifice of more than one hundred unoffending non-combatants, among them an American citizen.²⁴

Two things can be drawn from the above statement: prompt publication enhanced sympathy for the Allies; and the phrase "unoffending non-combatants" was an indication that German U-boats were losing the "war for men's minds." These trends were strengthened by the coming of other events that "stirred the American press," and not all German by any means.²⁵ The Allies were busy, too, but with a difference. Ships such as the Dacia, the Wilhelmina, and others, were captured rather than destroyed. The "unoffending non-combatants" and the "innocent bystander" were not physically harmed, and as time went on this made an increasing difference in American attitudes. (See fig. 53, p. 63.)

²³The distinction between passenger ship and merchantman is not as clear as the names suggest. Passenger ships handled both people and cargo; whereas, merchantmen were bulk carriers, that also carried passengers who could not or would not pay the higher price for first class travel.

²⁴Literary Digest, April 10, 1915, p. 789.

²⁵Mark Sullivan, Our Times (6 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926-1936), V, 104.



FIG. 53 "Innocent Bystander." Even before the sinking of the Falaba, a number of national publications had taken editorial stands against unrestricted submarine war. (Harper's Weekly, March 13, 1915.)

There was grim comedy involved in the U-boat attack on the American ship Gulflight on May 1, 1915.²⁶ The captain died of "heart failure," a cook was scalded, two sailors jumped overboard and were drowned.²⁷ The ship did not sink and it was towed into port.²⁸ The Gulflight, owned by the American Oil Company, had been running under the flag of the United States when it was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands.²⁹ There had been no warning,³⁰ and none should have been expected since the tanker was in the war zone and the antics of the crew indicate clearly the attack may have been unexpected but not un-anticipated. To Theodore Roosevelt, however, and to others of his temperament, the torpedoing of the Gulflight was "an act of piracy, pure and simple."³¹ Nor was the Gulflight an isolated incident. Even as it was being towed to port, three Norwegian and two Swedish merchantmen were attacked and sunk.³²

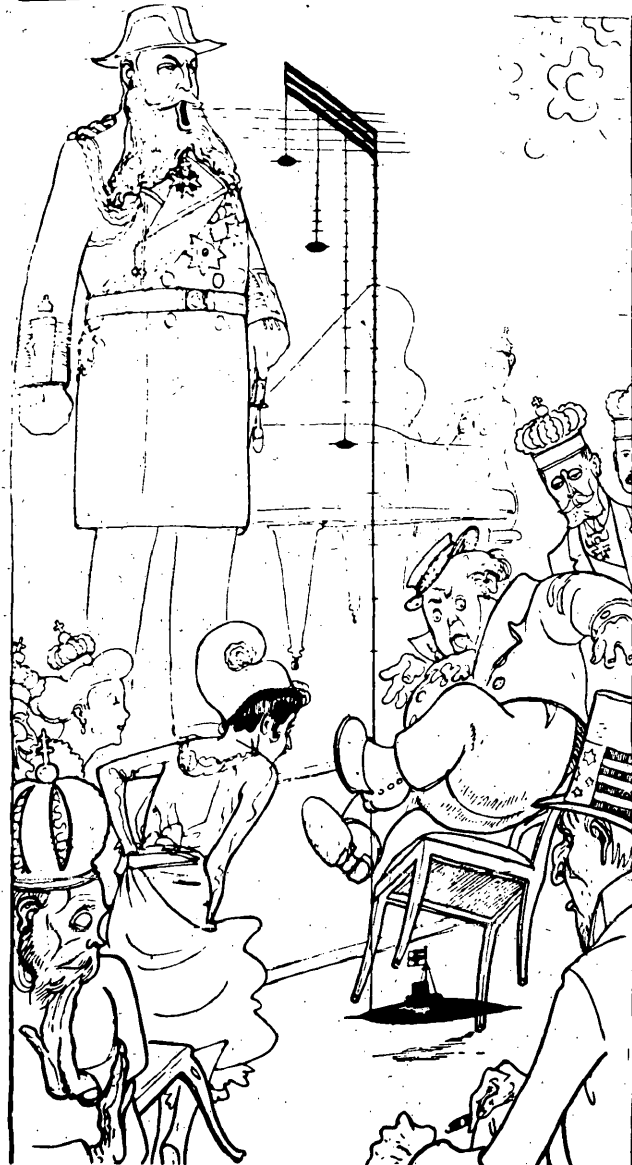
The Wilson Administration, meantime, had not reached any agreement on what the official position of the United States should be with regard to unrestricted submarine war. This was, however, a time for uncertainty. Nobody was certain about the outcome of the submarine war, except the Germans and as it turned out they were certainly wrong.

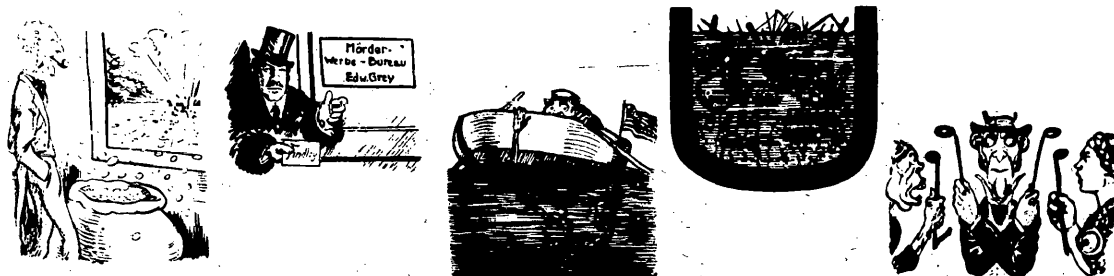
²⁶New York Times, May 2, 1915. ²⁷Ibid. ²⁸Ibid.
²⁹Ibid. ³⁰Ibid., May 3, 4, 1915.
³¹Ibid., May 5, 1915. ³²Ibid., May 4, 1915.



FIG. 54 "Wilson: 'What's Keeping the Plumber?'" Many believed the appointment of Bryan a mistake. His performance in office did little to dispell the original doubts. (New York Times, March 7, 1915.)

FIG. 55 "A Deep Note" from the "Father of the German Navy." Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, here cast in the role of Enrico Caruso, was a hero-figure in Germany. (Kladderadatsch, March 7, 1915.)





FIGS. 56-60 German View of the Submarine War. From the left: "Brother Jonathan (U. S.) War-Profiteer." "Introducing the Maker of Killers (Sir Edward Grey)." "Death at Sea." "The 'U' Stands for Vessels Underwater." Uncle Sam "Exchanges Notes" with Germany and Great Britain. (Kladderadatsch, April 4, 1915.)



FIG. 61 "Edward Grey: 'These Everlasting Notes. They've Filled the Basket, Again. It Must Be Emptied!'" (Kladderadatsch, April 11, 1915.)



FIG. 62 "The Spirit of Neutrality. 'Mr. Bryan, I protest against the misuse of the high and pure principles of true neutrality, which you are subverting to justify the dirty weapons haggle.'" This cartoon is an excellent example of the incredible gap in German understanding the American political picture. (Kladderadatsch, May 2, 1915.)



FIG. 63 "The Dove: 'I should worry!'" This is a not so subtle reminder that a strong nation has a good chance of being let alone. The American mood was becoming more militant even before the sinking of the Lusitania (Collier's The National Weekly, May 1, 1915.)

CHAPTER VI

MEN ARE GOVERNED BY THE

WEAKNESS OF THEIR IMAGINATIONS

Walter Bagehot¹

In 1915, there was only one basic bridge between a tragedy and the general public's first knowledge of it. This was the written word. Often, the words set in print came as a sudden, brutal shock. Seldom was there any time to prepare for the tragedy beforehand.² The sinking of the Lusitania was just such a tragedy.

The average American reading his Saturday morning newspaper on May 8, 1915 experienced mixed feelings of disgust and disgrace for a humanity which perpetrated the wanton murder of hundreds of men, women, and children.³ Many recalled that the common reaction was to go out and pick a fight with the first German encountered.⁴

¹Walter Bagehot, The English Constitution and Other Political Essays (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1882), p. 101.

²Electronic communications now serve as a "buffer" or "cushion" for tragedies that grip the nation. The shock remains but it is not nearly as acute as it was when newspapers served as the common medium for communications. It is not easy to say why this is so. The authority of the printed or written word may be a factor.

³Sullivan, Our Times, V, 120.

⁴Ibid.

The sinking of the Lusitania temporarily created a rare show of unanimity among American newspapers. Editorial condemnation was almost unanimous. Just two "English-language" newspapers dared to defend the destruction of the mighty liner.⁵ The tone of the condemnation was harshly severe and limited only by the social pruderies of language.⁶ Hate and anger were especially noticeable in the editorial cartoons (figs. 64-69, pp. 70-74). The striving for neutrality was lost in the passion of the moment--but only a moment--as the hours became days and the days months, a more balanced objectivity crept back into the editorial cartoons. Gone forever, on the other hand, was the "innocent bystander."⁷

In Germany, the sinking of the Lusitania met with universal approval.⁸ Nor was any great sorrow expressed about the loss of lives. The passengers, after all, had been warned.⁹ (See figs. 70-73, p. 75.)

⁵The only two American "English-language" newspapers defending the sinking were the St. Louis Times and the Milwaukee Free Press. Literary Digest, May 22, 1915, p. 1197.

⁶Ibid., May 15, 1915, pp. 1134-1135.

⁷Many groups, civic leaders, and newspapers who heretofore had professed neutrality now swung into the Allied camp. Edwin Emery, The Press and America (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 585.

⁸FR, 1915 Supplement, p. 44.

⁹The German Embassy in Washington caused to be published a warning to Americans traveling on Allied ships. New York Times, May 1, 1915.



FIG. 64 "May 7, 1915." The contrast between this cartoon and the "Innocent Bystander" (fig. 53, p. 63) is very marked and indicates the revulsion against Germany that swept the country after the sinking of the Lusitania. (Harper's Weekly, May 29, 1915.)



FIG. 65 "Removing the Hyphen." The cartoonist is saying in effect that "German" was no longer suited for anything "American." (Education was no longer the answer as it was in fig. 43, p. 48.) (New York Times, May 16, 1915.)



FIG. 66 "The Announcer." This was one of the most striking editorial cartoons that was concerned with the Lusitania. W. A. Rogers combined the paid newspaper warning advertisement with the man who was responsible for placing it in New York papers, Johann von Bernstorff. The cartoon was reprinted in many other publications. (Brooklyn Eagle, May 8, 1915.)

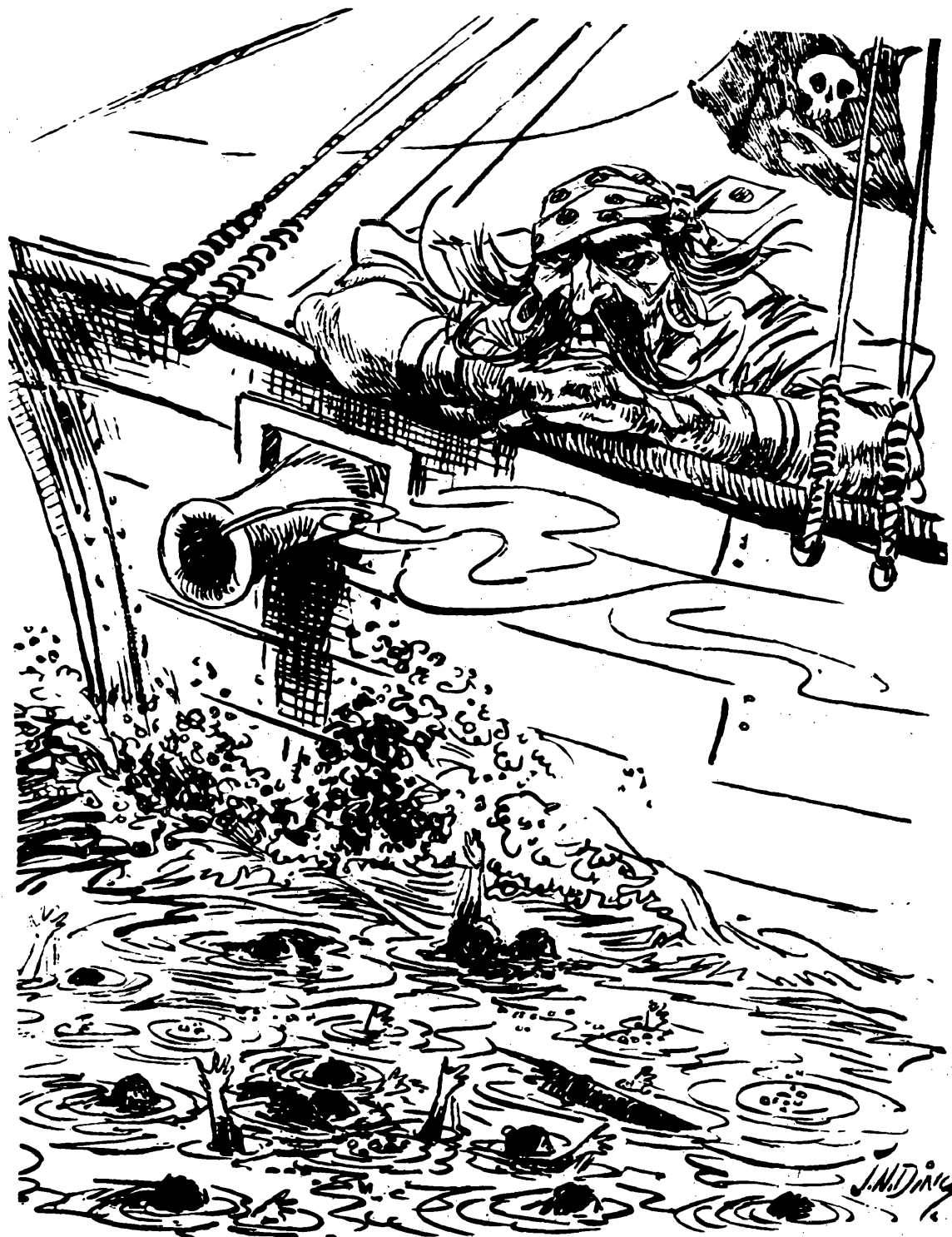


FIG. 67 "The High Seas in the Year of Our Lord, 1915." Ding Darling no longer sympathized about the Kaiser's problems (fig. 46, p. 50). This cartoon was reprinted by many other newspapers. (Des Moines Register and Leader, May 9, 1915.)



FIG. 68 "Mother's Day." The Philadelphia North American. (Cartoons Magazine VII, June, 1915.)



FIG. 69 "What Have You Done With Your Brother Abel?" The Sun (New York). (New York Times Current History of the European War II, June, 1915.)

Die Lusitania und Uncle Sam



FIGS. 70-73 "The Lusitania and Uncle Sam." Starting from upper left: "Don't go here, man. It's too rough." "Ha, you make me laugh. I'm not afraid. Why should I be when I have my pistols along?" The last cartoon: "Cursed Fellow. Of what interest is your fight to an innocent." (Kladderadatsch, May 23, 1915.)



FIG. 74 "Just as John Bull said the U-boat was a mere prick of a needle, the Lusitania sank before his eyes." (Kladderadatsch, July 4, 1915.)

Many of the prominent passengers, boarding the Lusitania on May 2, 1915, already had been warned in a variety of ways that the great ocean liner was making her last trip. There were strangers at the pier who warned them to stay ashore.¹⁰ Others had received telegrams, signed by fictitious names, stating the Lusitania was going to be torpedoed.¹¹ The German Embassy, as noted earlier, had run its warning advertisement (fig. 63, p. 72). Reporters were waiting at the gangway and they had asked whether anyone was taking the threats seriously. Cunard officials had already told the press that the advertisement had caused no cancellations.¹² This was a lie. There had been cancellations. Actress Ellen Terry would not go aboard; neither would the Isador Duncan Troupe of Dancers.¹³ Alfred Gwynn Vanderbilt, who inexplicably had cancelled his passage on the maiden voyage of the ill-starred Titanic three years before, had no intention of doing anything similar on the Lusitania because of the various warnings he had received, which included one from an anonymous telephone caller.¹⁴ The playwright, Justus Miles Forman, also professed to be not worried, saying he had "no time" for such trifles.¹⁵

¹⁰Literary Digest, May 15, 1915, pp. 1133-1134.

¹¹Ibid. Also New York Times, May 2, 1915. ¹²Ibid.

¹³A. A. Hoehling and Mary Hoehling, The Last Voyage of the Lusitania (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956), p. 39.

¹⁴Ibid., 37-40.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 35.

The manager of a London whiskey distillery, Alexander Campbell, told reporters that there was no cause to worry because the Luistania could run away "from any submarine the Germans have got."¹⁶ Captain William Thomas Turner agreed, and he suggested the warnings were nothing more than jokes of rather bad taste.¹⁷

Among the 1924 passengers were Canadian soldiers, some in uniform.¹⁸ In the hold, there were supplies to feed and provision a small city for many months.¹⁹ The hold, no doubt, contained things not listed on the manifest. The inspection team assigned, the so-called "Neutral Squad," had been known to overlook questionable items on other ships.²⁰ These were minor sins, however, in the face of world public opinion that condemned the sinking of the Lusitania,²¹ as minor as Captain Turner's failure to zigzag his ship in the war zone,²² or whether the liner had been deliberately selected as a target by the Germans.

¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Ibid. Turner's next command was a mule-ship. Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 36.

¹⁹ Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920 (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939-1940), I, 385-386, 434-436.

²⁰ Charles Tansill, America Goes to War (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Co., 1938), p. 282.

²¹ Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 578.

²² Churchill, World Crisis, II, 348.

The wave of anger which swept the country began to cool in the days that followed the sinking of the Lusitania. The inclination was to let the President take the lead in defending American rights and lives (fig. 76, p. 79). Most people applauded the President's speech in Philadelphia on May 10, 1915 when he declared that there was such a thing "as being too proud to fight."²³

Just the day before, the Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, had written the President that the Germans had the right to stop shipments of contraband, if they could.²⁴ Bryan went on to say that "a ship carrying contraband should not rely upon passengers to protect her from attack--it would be like putting women and children in front of an army."²⁵

The German-American press, now frankly worried,²⁶ had been saying much the same thing for many months. The German-American editors, however, emphasized that the passengers had been amply warned (fig. 78, p. 80). Agreeing was the official German Government Representative, Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, who added that American passengers were "being used as a cloak for England's war shipments."²⁷

²³ New York Times, May 11, 1915.

²⁴ Paxton Hibben, The Peerless Leader: William Jennings Bryan (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1929), p. 343.

²⁵ Ibid. ²⁶ Literary Digest, May 15, 1915, p. 1135.

²⁷ New York Times, May 9, 1915.



FIG. 75 "Britannia to America on the Sinking of the Lusitania: 'In silence you have looked on felon blows, On butcher's work of which the waste lands reek; Now, in God's name, from Whom your greatness flows, Sister, will you not speak?'" (Punch, May 12, 1915.)



FIG. 76 "Whither Thou Goest I Go, Mr. President." This cartoon is indicative of the support Wilson was getting from all parts of the country, regardless of how many German-Americans happened to be among the various local populations. The Artist is Guy Spencer, who would not be compared with Punch's F. H. Townsend (above). Spencer, however, was able to turn out a cartoon-a-day for some twenty years. (Morning World-Herald [Omaha], May 11, 1915.)

FIG. 77
"Made in
Germany."
(Collier's
The National
Weekly, June 5,
1915.)

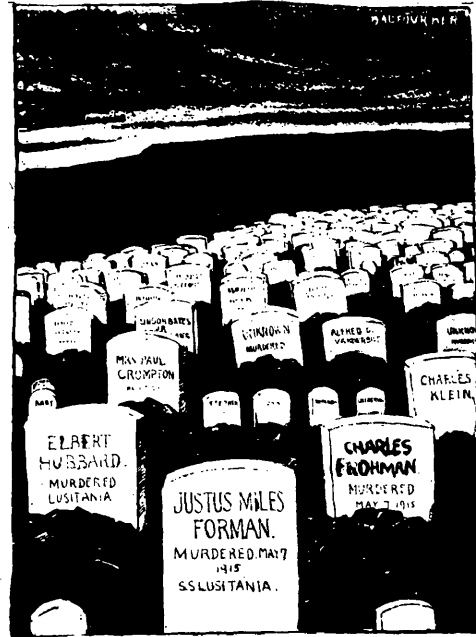


FIG. 78
"Vell, Ve
Varned
Em'."
(New York
Herald,
May 8,
1915.)

The first Lusitania note, sent on May 13, 1915, was a straight forward reassertion of American claims that its citizens had the "indisputable" right to go where they pleased, when they pleased. The note demanded reparation for the loss of American life and property on the Lusitania, and a disavowal of further "unrestricted" submarine war.²⁸

When the German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs read the Lusitania note, he laughed. "Right of free travel on the seas," he said, "why not right of free travel on land in war territory" as well.²⁹ Gottlieb von Jagow was certain Germany would never give up any part of the submarine war.³⁰ And he seemed to echo the feelings of the German public at the time.³¹ Jagow's reply, as might be expected under such circumstances, was vague and the most positive thing about it was the suggestion for more talks on the Lusitania.³² (See fig. 79, p. 82.)

²⁸FR, 1915 Supplement, pp. 393-396.

²⁹Joseph C. Grew, Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), p. 195.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹The Kolnische Volkszeitung said "the sinking of the Lusitania is a success for our submarines which must be placed beside the greatest achievement of the naval war." Literary Digest, May 22, 1915, p. 1206.

³²Ambassador Gerard to Colonel House, June 1, 1915, Seymour, Intimate Papers, I, 454-455.



FIG. 79 "English Commerce Dreadnought, Churchill-Type, for Munitions, Passengers, and Transport." The sign on the left says "Attention: Do Not Shoot. Neutrals Aboard." The other, "Take Care. Do Not Torpedo. American on Board." (Kladderadatsch, May 23, 1915.)

Bryan wanted to add a "face-savings" postscript to the first Lusitania note but he was overruled.³³ The second American note was even sterner than the first and Bryan was appalled. He was certain it would "trigger war" with Germany, if the language was not softened the second time. It was not softened and Bryan resigned as Secretary of State.³⁴ He had become convinced that the United States had one set of rules for Germany and another, easier, set for Great Britain.³⁵ To some people, especially in the east, Bryan's "leaving the ship" at a critical hour was only a little short of treason.³⁶ To other people, Bryan was simply following his conscience.³⁷ The nation, however, was inclined to stand with the President rather than the Commoner.³⁸ (See figs. 80-86, pp. 84-86.)

³³McAdoo, Crowded Years, pp. 332-336; Josephus Daniels, The Wilson Era: Years of Peace, 1910-1917 (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 429-432; David F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet, 1913-1920 (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926), pp. 136-139.

³⁴Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 579.

³⁵Harry Elmer Barnes, World Politics in Modern Civilization (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930), pp. 358-359.

³⁶Literary Digest, June 26, 1915, p. 1517.

³⁷George Creel, "The Commoner" Harper's Weekly, June 26, 1915, pp. 604-606.

³⁸Literary Digest, June 26, 1915, p. 1517; Ibid., June 19, 1915, p. 1448.



ROBERT LANSING

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

FIGS. 80-81
Bryan and
Lansing
are given
equal
treatment
on the
front page,
in contrast
to the
editorial
page
(below).
(New York
Times,
June 9,
1915.)

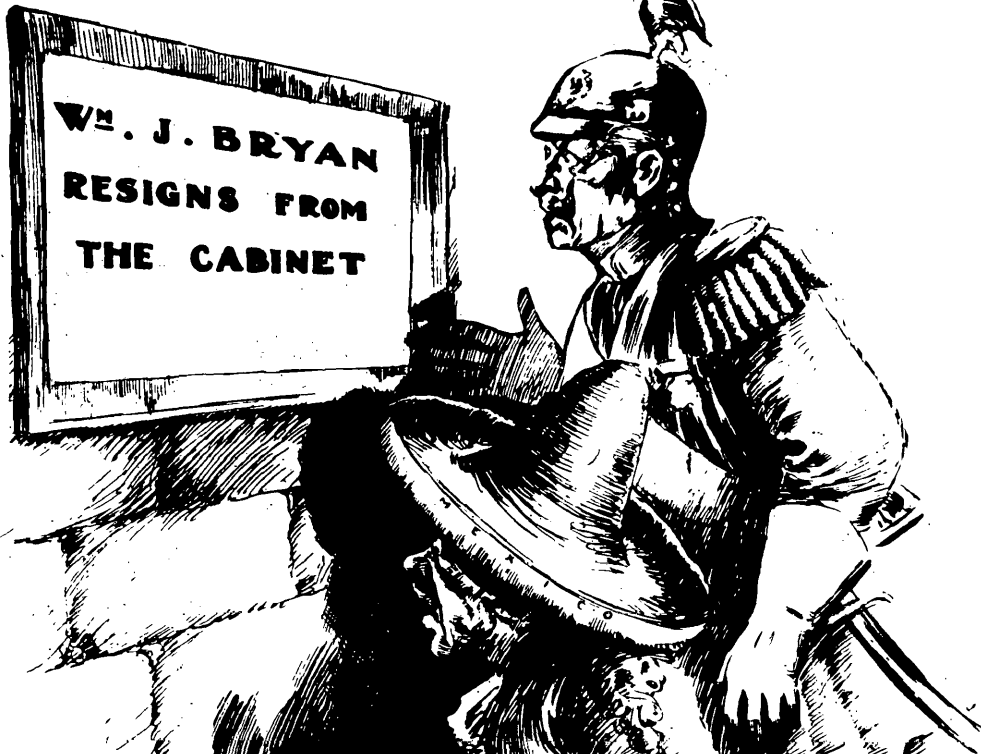


FIG. 82 "Bad News." The suggestion was that Bryan was friendly to Germany and Mexico at a time when the United States had strained relations with both of those nations. (New York Times, June 9, 1915.)



FIGS. 83-84 "Both for Peace, But by Different Routes," above. The cartoon was drawn by John T. McCutcheon of the Chicago Tribune. (American Review LII, July, 1915.) On the left, Bryan following "His Conscience." From the Evening Ledger (Philadelphia). (American Review LII, July, 1915.)





FIG. 85
 "A Parthian
 Brick,"
 from the
 New York
 World
World
 (Cartoons
 Magazine VII,
 June, 1915.)

FIG. 86
 "The
 Benevolent
 Assassin,"
 from the
 New York
 Sun.
 (Cartoons
 Magazine VII,
 June, 1915.)



CHAPTER VII

A LION IS IN THE STREETS

Proverbs xxiii. 5.

While it is true that the resignation of William Jennings Bryan may have created the impression of a divided government,¹ the practical political benefits which accrued as a result dictated just the opposite to be the case. Henceforth, the emphasis of the Administration would be on a singleness of policy.² (One is tempted to use the word confusion rather than policy, however.) Woodrow Wilson took full charge of the helm and he was in no mood to brook further interference from ship's officers and crew (figs. 87-89, p. 88). The move to a unified authority came during a period of diplomatic crisis, and at a time when the other side, Germany, was still being subjected to much the same kind of division the Wilson Administration had just undergone.³ And there seemed to be some justice in the fact that the divided German leadership had thoroughly misinterpreted Bryan's position prior to his resignation.

¹Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 580

²Marion C. Siney, The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-1916 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 127.

³German military leaders took undisputed control of Germany in August, 1916. A. J. P. Taylor, The Course of German History (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), p. 171.



FIG. 87 "The President at the Helm." From the Star (Washington, D. C.). The Star believed that with Bryan's resignation, Wilson would now become his own Secretary of State. (American Review LII, July, 1915.)

SHIP OF STATE



FIG. 88 "Our Ambidextrous Diplomat Dealing with Germany and Mexico at the Same Time." From the Sun (Baltimore). (American Review LII, July, 1915.)

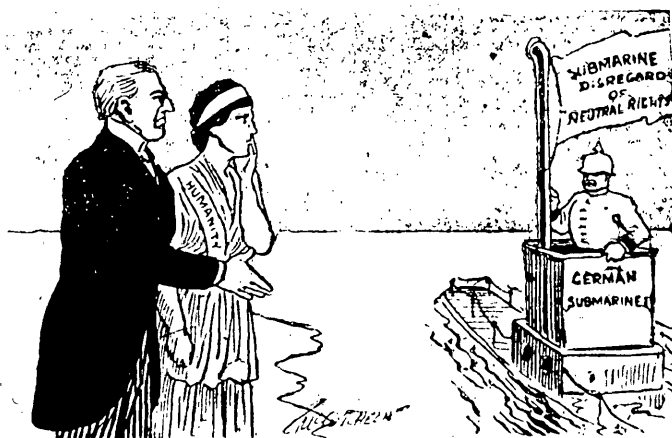


FIG. 89 "Spokesman for Humanity." John T. McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune (American Review LII, July, 1915.)

The Germans had held Bryan personally responsible for the trade in war munitions.⁴ (See fig. 62, p. 67.). Bryan's resignation left them sorely puzzled and they generally resolved the matter by deciding that the Commoner would run for president in 1916 and his leaving the cabinet was to give him freedom to begin campaigning (fig. 90, p. 90).

In any event, the second Lusitania note was sent the day after Bryan's resignation, on June 9, 1915.⁵ (See fig. 91, p. 91.) A third note followed in July, with the United States warning that a repetition of more ruthless sinkings would be regarded as "deliberately unfriendly."⁶ The German Ambassador to Washington, Count von Bernstorff, had been insisting all along that another Lusitania incident would mean war with the United States.⁷

It was about this time that the "Government-by-Committee" in Berlin had concluded that victory might still be extracted on the battlefield. A change in policy with regard to America seemed definitely indicated.

⁴Literary Digest, June 26, 1915, p. 1527.

⁵Baker, Public Papers, I, 343-350.

⁶Lansing to Gerard, July 21, 1915, FR, 1915 Supplement, pp. 480-482.

⁷Johann von Bernstorff, My Three Years in America (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1920), pp. 30-31.



FIG. 90 "The American Peace Sapling." "The method differs with each. The goal, however, is the same--namely, the future presidency." (Kladderadatsch, June 27, 1915.)



FIG. 91 "Lest He Forget." "Uncle Sam: 'You'd better read that part of my note over again.'" (New York Times, June 6, 1915.)

The war was going well for the Germans. The Russian retreat had become a rout by August, 1915.⁸ Allied armies were being defeated or repulsed from the Dardanelles to the western front.⁹ Moreover, it was evident that Allied diplomacy was failing in the Balkans.¹⁰

The U-boat war was progressing, too. An incredible number of ships had been destroyed, most of which had been under British registry.¹¹ But as General Falkenhayn had observed, unrestricted submarine war had not forced Great Britain to yield, and there were no signs to indicate there would be any yielding in the future.¹²

Such was the background for the German decision to issue private orders to U-boat commanders. Henceforth, German submarines were ordered to spare enemy passenger liners whenever possible.¹³ Those private orders were violated on August 19, 1915 when the British passenger liner Arabic was torpedoed and sunk without warning.¹⁴

⁸A. J. P. Taylor, The Struggle for Mastery of Europe, 1848-1918 (London: Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 566-567.

⁹Raymond James Sontag, European Diplomatic History, 1871-1932 (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933), pp. 225-228.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Shipping losses in 1915 came to 1,312,216 gross tons, of which 885,471 tons were British. J. A. Salter, Allied Shipping Control (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), p. 356.

¹²See page 58.

¹³Foster Rhea Dulles, America's Rise to World Power, 1898-1954 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1963), pp. 93-94.

¹⁴New York Times, August 20, 1915.

To most Americans (figs. 92-94, p. 94), the sinking of the passenger liner Arabic was nothing less than a "deliberately unfriendly" act, about which Germany had been specifically warned. Once again, popular tensions began to rise in the United States, just as they had following the sinking of the Lusitania (figs. 95-96, p. 95). Fearing that this newest incident might pave the way to war, Count Bernstorff took it on his own to pledge that passenger liners would not again be attacked without warning.¹⁵

Bernstorff was sharply reprimanded by his superiors for his unauthorized pledge and for revealing those secret instructions to submarine commanders.¹⁶ The German Government, however, did disavow the sinking of the Arabic, and said that an indemnity would be paid.¹⁷ The giving in to the United States was limited generosity at best--only passenger liners were involved which were unarmed and unresisting. The status of merchantmen and armed vessels remained uncertain.¹⁸ Nor was the appeasement faction willing to meet the demands raised by Americans in the Lusitania case.¹⁹

¹⁵Bernstorff to Lansing, September 1, 1915, Seymour, Intimate Papers of Colonel House, p. 37

¹⁶Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 169.

¹⁷Gerard to Lansing, September 20, 1915, FR, 1915 Supplement, pp. 551-552.

¹⁸Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 169.

¹⁹Ibid.

FIGS. 92-94 "Support for Wilson." In reprinting these cartoons on one page, the American Review said they were "among the least harsh and offensive of the hundreds that appeared in American newspapers last month, dealing with the United States and Germany. A great many were in the same taunting and bitter spirit shown by the irate cartoonists of Germany. Our American brethren of the pencil should employ better methods and show kindlier manners." Upper left, "A Reply, But Not an Answer," the Leader (Cleveland). Lower left, "Make No Mistake About Who Signed It!" From the Times Dispatch (Richmond). Below, "The Guiding Spirit," which was distributed about the country by the Central Press Syndicate. (American Review LII, July, 1915.)





FIG. 95 "Neutral Rights."
(Harper's Weekly, August 21,
1915.)



FIG. 96
"Another
Victory- -
Ha! Ha! Ha!"
(Collier's The
National Weekly,
August 23, 1915.)

As the talks continued between Germany and the United States, the Allies became increasingly bitter and sullen. Many had expected the United States to go to war with the sinking of the Lusitania. The resignation of Bryan seemed only to confirm these hopes. They had never liked Bryan and his kind of pacifism. The Allies and their populations had believed that Bryan's abrupt departure meant that Wilson was through talking and was about to serve an ultimatum. When this did not turn out to be the case, anger, coupled with fear that a deal might be made, began to mount in the camps of the Allies (figs. 97-102, pp. 97-102). The sinking of the Arabic was convincing proof to the Allies--the United States could not or would not fight.²⁰

²⁰Most British journals by this time were "clearly contemptuous" of nearly everything and everybody in the Wilson Administration. Armin Rappaport, The British Press and Wilson Neutrality (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), pp. 44-46. The dislike of Bryan and his motives by Europeans is amply illustrated in the pages of the Literary Digest throughout this period, especially in the issue of June 26, 1915, p. 1527.



FIG. 97 "Hamlet U. S. A." "Scene: Ramparts of the White House. President Wilson: 'The time is out of joint. O cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right.' Voice of Col. Roosevelt (off). 'That's so.'" (Punch, May 19, 1915.)



FIG. 98 "The Word Lord." "Kaiser to Uncle Sam: 'Everything can be explained. I can put the whole thing in a nutshell, if you'll only listen to me for three years, or the duration of the war.'" (Punch, June 9, 1915.)

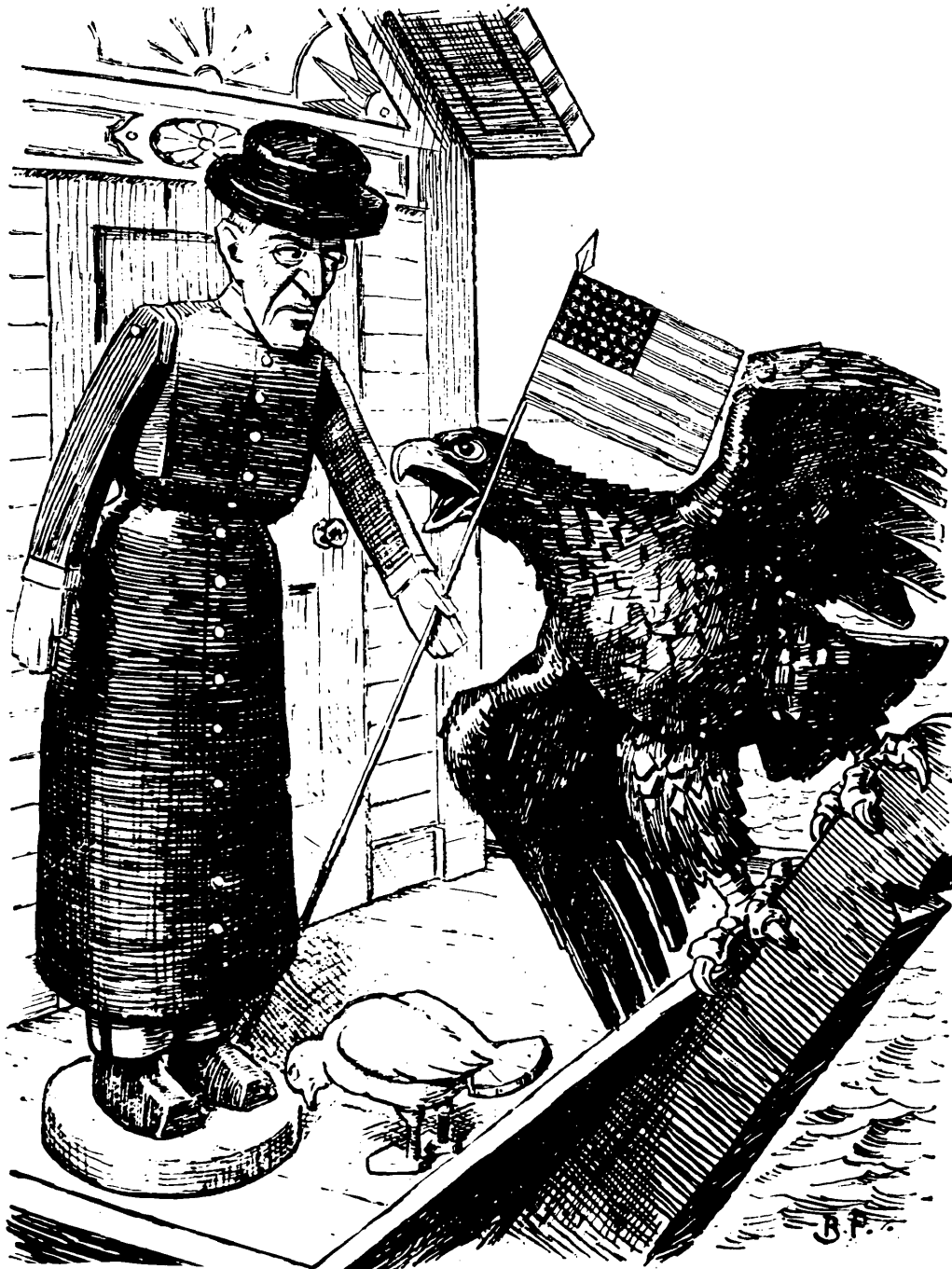


FIG. 99 "Some Bird." "The returning dove to President Woodrow Noah: 'Nothing doing.' The eagle: 'Say, boss, what's the matter with trying me?'" (Punch, June 16, 1915.)

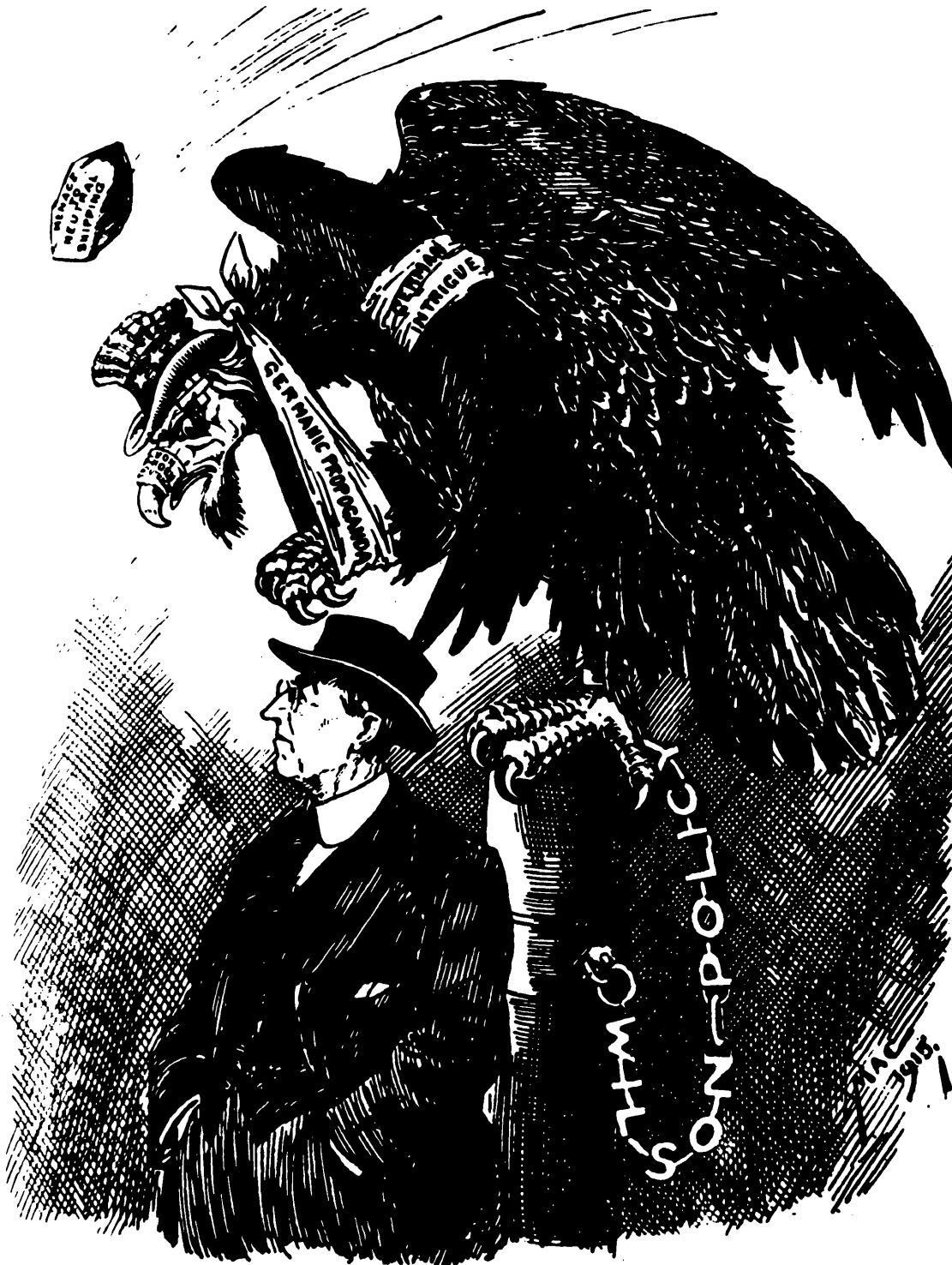


FIG. 100 "Wilson Policy." "Eagle (ducking): 'Look here, Mr. President, this has got to stop. I'm beginning to look ridiculous.'" Cape Times (Cape Town, South Africa). (Cartoons Magazine VII, June, 1915.)

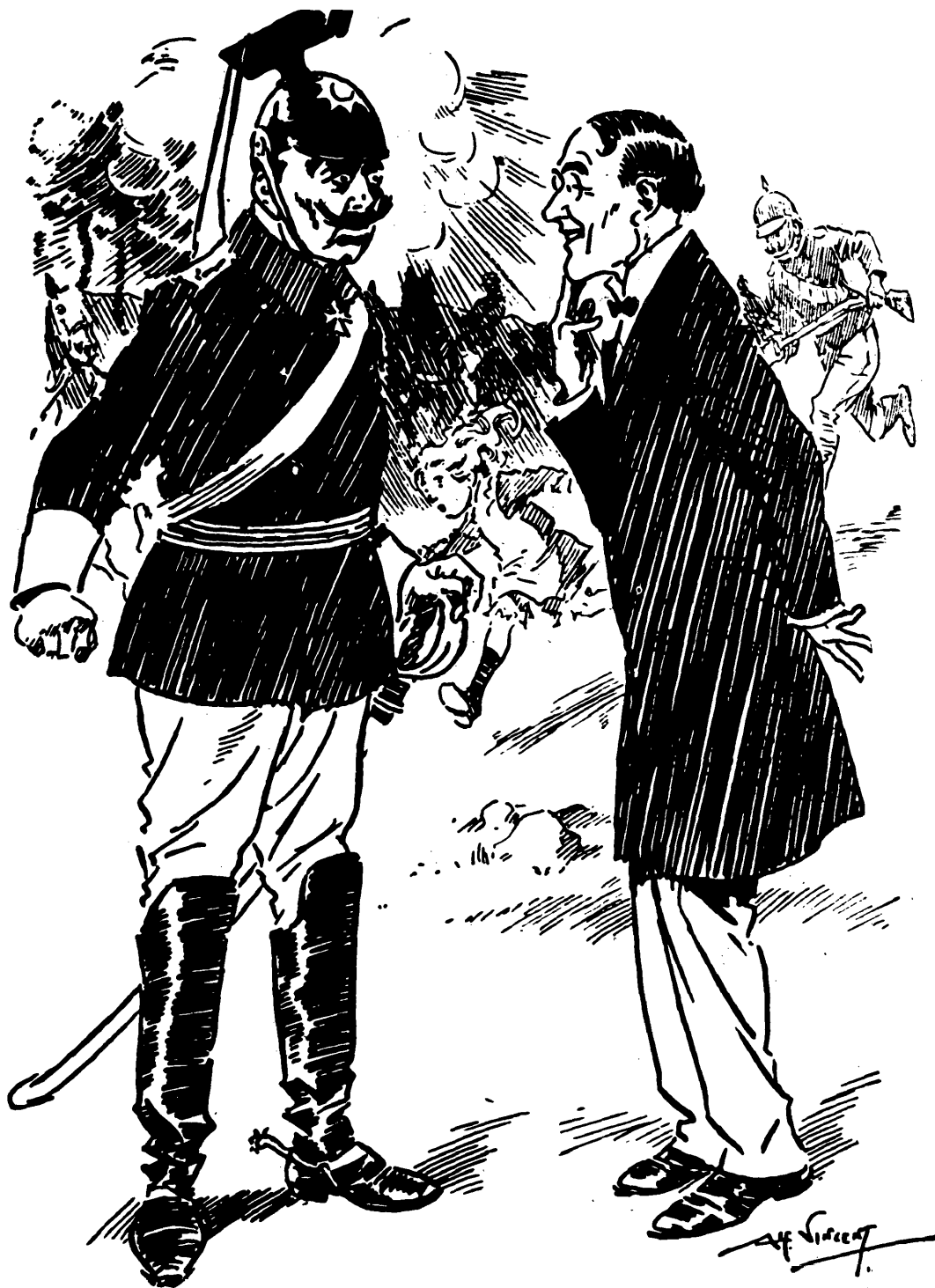


FIG. 101 "Warning From the United States." "Wood-not-row Wilson: 'If you sink too many of my ships, I'll- -' 'Wilhelm: 'Vell, vat vill you do?' 'Gif me a hiding?' 'No, but I'll become very distant in my manner, and won't remember your next birthday.'" The Sydney Bulletin (Australia). (Cartoons Magazine VII, June, 1915.)



FIG. 102 "The American-German Conflict." "A war of marionettes-- without shedding of blood." This Italian cartoon was reprinted from L'Asino (Rome). (New York Times Current History of the European War X, December, 1915.)

CHAPTER VIII

PEACE AND PROSPERITY

The last quarter of 1915 for the United States was a time of feverish prosperity. This was a sharp contrast to the year just before, when the country had been in a mild recession. A vigorous business resurgence had replaced the cyclical depression that had stricken the national economy in 1914. While it was true that some of this resurgence late in 1915 could be traced to increased internal demand, there was no denying that the sudden mushrooming of war trade with Europe became so important to the economy that its interruption could easily have been disastrous.¹ This war commerce, unfortunately, had become one-sided. Exports to the Allies were trebling at a time when trade with Central Europe was dwindling to almost nothing.² (The Germans bitterly resented this war trade and it continued to be a factor in diplomatic relations between the Central Powers and the United States. See figs. 103-107, pp. 104-105.)

¹Special Senate Committee. Hearings Before the Special Committee Investigating the Munitions Industry, 74th Cong., 2nd Sess. (40 parts; Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1937), V, Senate Report 944.

²American exports to the Allies rose between 1914 and 1916 from \$824,869,000 to \$3,214,000,000. Foster Rhea Dulles, America's Rise to World Power, 1898-1954 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1963), p. 95.

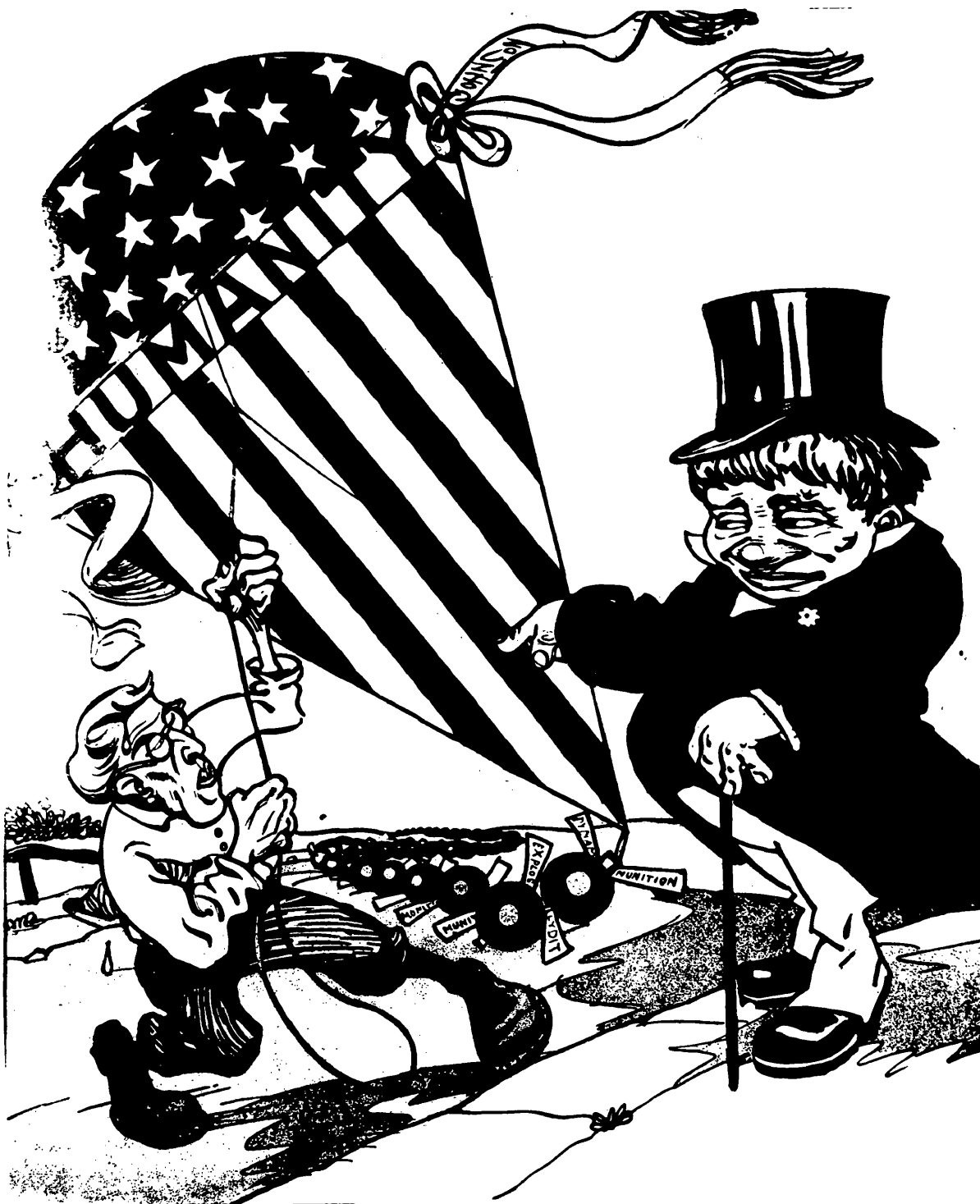


FIG. 103 "Futile Labor of Love." ["A nice Kite, Wilsonken, but with that bomb tail, you will never get it up." The figure on the right is a representation of "Mr. Kladderadatsch." (Kladderadatsch, August 29, 1915.)

Nr. 51
Erstes Beiblatt

Kladderadatsch

Berlin,
den 19. Dezember 1915

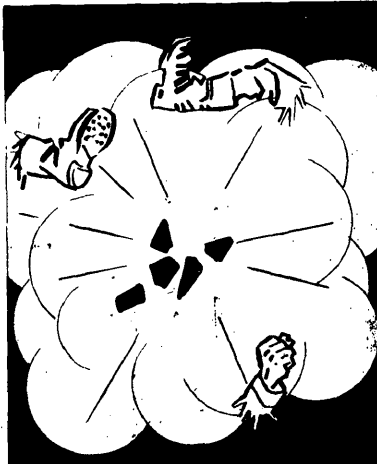
Aus Wilsons Rede am amerikanischen „Dankfesttage“
(Mit inhaltlichen Illustrationen)



„Dieses Jahr ist ein Jahr besonderer Segnungen gewesen.“



Wir sind zu der Erkenntnis der Rolle gekommen,
die wir unter den Völkern zu spielen haben.



und unsere Fühlbarkeit, allen zu dienen, die in der
Karte waren, unsere Dienste in Anspruch zu nehmen.



ist durch eine gütige Vorliebe durch
immer reichere Kassen belohnt worden.

FIGS. 104-107 "Wilson's Thanksgiving speech of 1915 served as the basis of an angry German denouncement of American policies. Upper left, "This was a year of special blessing." Upper right, "We became aware of our role for serving the people." Lower left, "And we were in a position of letting the people take advantage of our services." Lower right, "All this has paid. We have prospered. Hallelujah!" (Kladderadatsch, December 19, 1915.)

The times were both good and changing in the United States. Americans were just beginning to appreciate the values associated with automobiles and Henry Ford was about to put a whole generation "in the driver's seat" by installing assembly lines in his plants to turn out modestly priced cars on a mass-production basis.³ It was indicative of the time that Ford was paying his production workers what was then the unheard of wage of five dollars a day.⁴ Soon the street urchin's cry of "Get a Horse!" would be replaced by words and music of "In My Merry Oldsmobile."⁵

Popular music also was heralding another change. The pacifism of 1914, as typified by "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," was giving way in 1915 to more militant tunes such as "I'd Be Proud to Be the Mother of a Soldier."⁶ This incipient militancy was being shaped by an increasing desire for security. There was, as yet, no inclination to consider war a logical extension to a particular national policy (figs. 108-110, p. 107).

³John B. Rae, The American Automobile: A Brief History (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 61-63, 67.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ernest R. Dupuy, Five Days to War: April 2-6, 1917 (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Co., 1967), p. 17.

⁶Variety Music Cavalcade, 1620-1950 ed. Julius Mattfeld (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), pp. viii, 327-331, 335-340. Jack Burton, The Blue Book of Tin Pan Alley (Watkins Glen, N. Y.: Century House, 1951), pp. 147-150.



FIG. 108
 "The Harvest
 Moon in Europe."
 The Denver
 Post.
 (Literary Digest,
 October 3, 1915.)



FIG. 109 "Bringing Up
 Re-enforcements."
 The New York Sun. (Literary
 Digest, October 10, 1915.)



FIG. 110 "Samson." The
 Daily Eagle (Brooklyn).
 (Literary Digest, October
 10, 1915.)

A great deal of concern was felt about the suspected activities of spies and saboteurs.⁷ Those suspicions of German sabotage were sensationally confirmed with newspaper publication of the documents of a key espionage agent, Dr. Heinrich Albert. Absent-mindedly, Dr. Albert had left his brief case on a New York elevated train. An alert Secret Service agent had simply tucked the brief case under his own arm and walked out before Dr. Albert could return.⁸ The incident was but one of many which implicated Germans in undercover activity. On the other hand, there was very little suspicion directed at Allied agents because it seemed obvious that industrial sabotage would be harmful to their own cause.

The British Government, as a matter of fact, was doing what it could to keep the United States agreeable to existing conditions.⁹ The mistakes of the Napoleonic Wars were not to be repeated, even if maritime conditions were somewhat similar.¹⁰ The official Allied line was to "jolly" the United States along without giving up any real advantage, short of outright extortion.

⁷Sontag, European Diplomatic History, p. 230.

⁸McAdoo, Crowded Years, pp. 323-328.

⁹The British, for example, bought enough cotton to stabilize the market. Prices began to rise almost at once. Meantime, the United States had made it possible for the Allies to float war loans. Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, pp. 169-173.

¹⁰George Macaulay Trevelyan, History of England (3rd ed.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 724.

Official concern for continued good relations was one thing. The non-governmental concern was something else. The British Ambassador to the United States, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, writing to his superior, expressed the hope that "the British press and especially Punch" would stop criticizing President Wilson.¹¹ He added that the press attacks were "unjust and impolitic."¹² (For verification of the British Ambassador's opinion, see figs. 111-114. Note especially fig. 111, p. 110. America is praised, and not Wilson. Punch invariably blamed Wilson for difficulties that arose from time to time between Great Britain and the United States. Hence, it was Wilson that was criticized in figs. 112-114, pp. 110-111.)

While British editors railed against Wilson, their American counterparts were commending the President for his patience.¹³ (See fig. 115, p. 112, for a typical cartoon in support of Wilson's policies.) Colonel House noted in his diary late in 1915 that it seemed as if the only bellicose people left in the United States were "old men, and sometimes the women."¹⁴

¹¹Spring-Rice to Edward Grey, October 7, 1915. Stephen Gwynn, The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice (2 vols.; Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), II, 282.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Seymour, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, II, 48.

¹⁴Ibid.



FIG. 111 "By Way of a Change." It was suggested that the Lusitania talks be ended in typical yankee fashion. (Punch, August 4, 1915.)

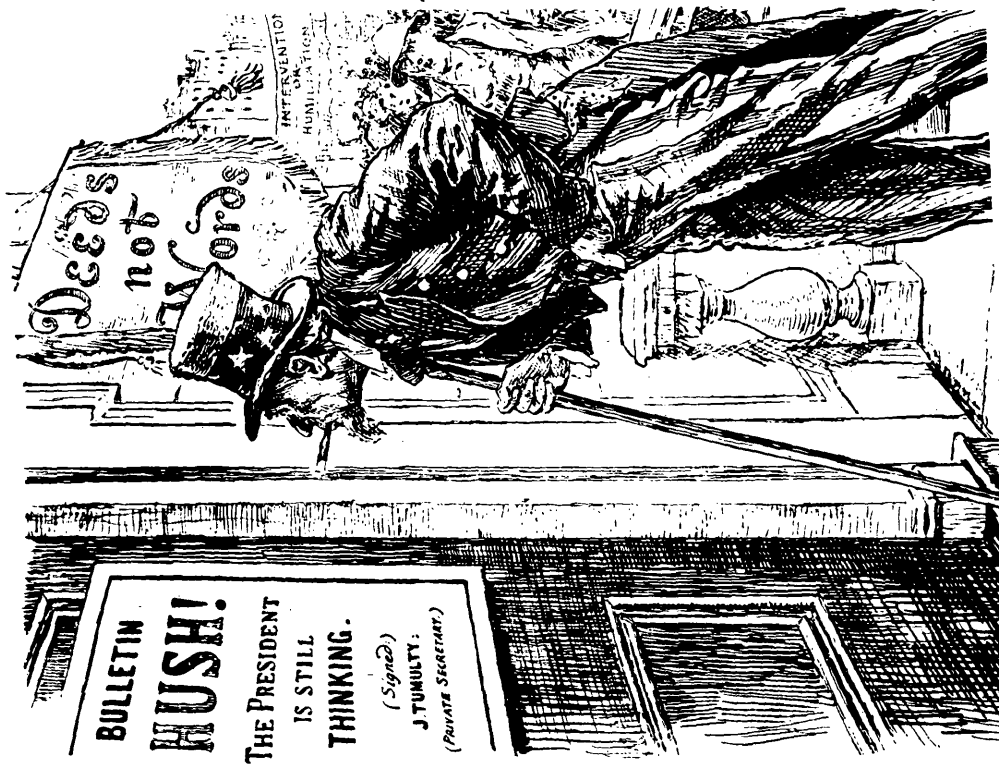


FIG. 112 "Le Grand Penseur." "The President Is Still Thinking." (Punch, September 1, 1915.)

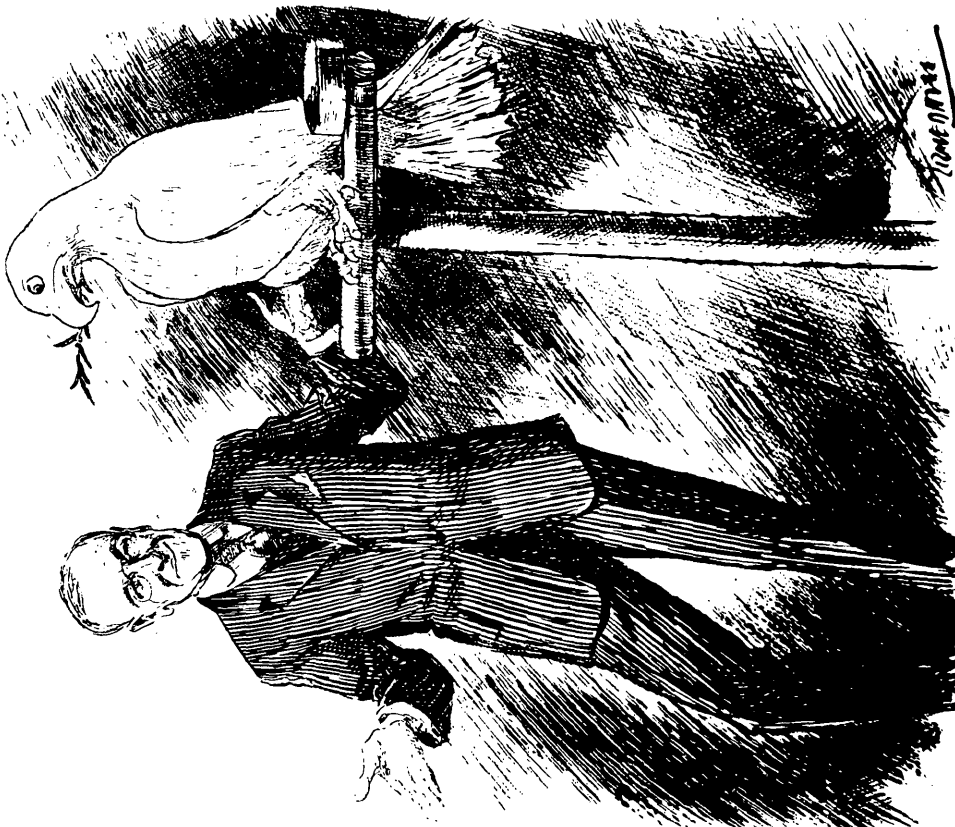


FIG. 113 To many British editors, it appeared Wilson's dove of peace was more of a big, fat parrot that talked a lot. (Punch, September 8, 1915.)

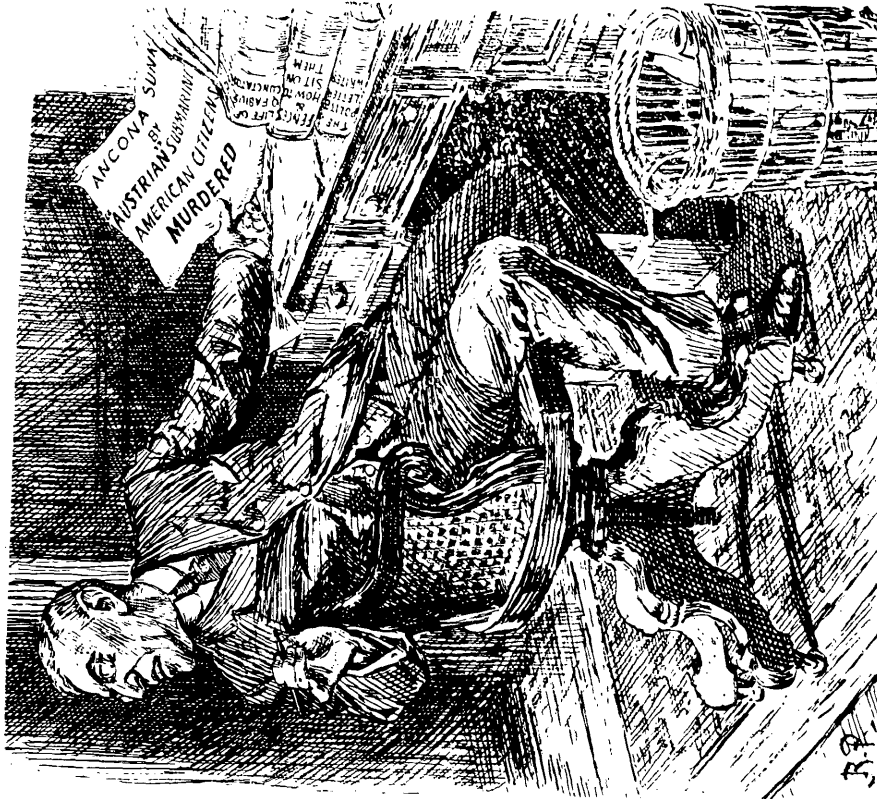


FIG. 114 Wilson is calling for the "Number One Note" of the "Humanity Series." Many British editors believed Wilson was treating the Ancona sinking as a routine matter. (Punch, November 17, 1915.)



FIG. 115 "Professor Wilson's School of International Law." Except for a Republican newspapers, the majority of the American press had endorsed the President's foreign policy. Reprinted from the News (Detroit). (American Review LIV, September, 1915.)

Various pacifist groups, meantime, were clamoring for the United States to lead a peace movement of neutral nations. They got nowhere with the President, who remained convinced that the direct approach to peace was not nearly as hopeful as the indirect method. Wilson once again entrusted Colonel House to initiate these new efforts at mediation.¹⁵ As it turned out, Colonel House was laboring under a great delusion. He was firmly convinced that the Allies really wanted the President to mediate a negotiated peace.¹⁶ It was a profound miscalculation of attitudes, and one of the consequences was that House created an impression among the Allies that the United States would eventually enter the war, perhaps in 1916, and on the side of the Allies.¹⁷ This was not Wilson's idea at all. The President desired some kind of postwar security system based on "a universal dominion of peace through law."¹⁸ And Wilson had come to believe that military preparedness of a limited sort would add to America's influence in a negotiated peace and in a postwar settlement.¹⁹

¹⁵Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters (8 vols.; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1927-1939), VI, 124.

¹⁶Arthur S. Link, Woodrow Wilson, Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916 (4 vols.; Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1956-1964), IV, 101-141.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 106

¹⁹Ibid., p. 15

These military plans stunned Bryan.²⁰ The Great Commoner, since resigning as Secretary of State, had been devoting much of his time to a crusade for peace.²¹ Writing in the Commoner, Bryan said that "this nation does not need burglars' tools unless it intends to make burglary its business; it should not be a pistol-toting nation unless it is going to adopt pistol-toters' ideas."²² (The American press had not, however, forgiven Bryan. See figs. 116-120, pp. 115-117. Significantly, three of those cartoons represent Midwest newspapers.)

President Wilson would not be swayed by the pacifists in the Democratic party, or outside it. Once decided, Wilson was not the kind of man to change directions just because people or things became difficult.

The newly convened Congress in December, 1915 did not believe the nation's security was in any danger, and it simply ignored Wilson's call for limited military preparedness legislation.²³ The President resolved to take his case to the people. Wilson's subsequent speaking-tour was an unqualified success in this respect.²⁴

²⁰Ibid., p. 31 ²¹Ibid., p. 30

²²W. J. Bryan in the Commoner XV, October, 1915.

²³Link, Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916, pp. 37-42.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 46-48.



FIG. 116 "The International Chautauqua." Bryan's crusade for peace drew angry retorts from a majority of cartoonist's, including the New York World's Rollin Kirby, who was born and raised in Nebraska and who had known Bryan all his life. (New York Times Current History of the European War IX, September, 1915.)



FIG. 117 "Fire Eater!" To cartoonist Robert Carter, Bryan's anti-preparedness speaking tour of the South was the work of a "medicine man." On the other hand, Wilson's speaking tour through the Midwest was considered the "Grand Tour for Defense." Reprinted from the New York Evening Sun. (Cartoons Magazine IX, March, 1916.)

CARTER, in New York Evening Sun
"Fire eater!"

FIG. 118
 "One Form of
 Preparedness He
 Does Approve of."
 Reprinted from the
Cincinnati [Ohio]
Times-Star.
 (Cartoons Magazine
 IX, March, 1916.)

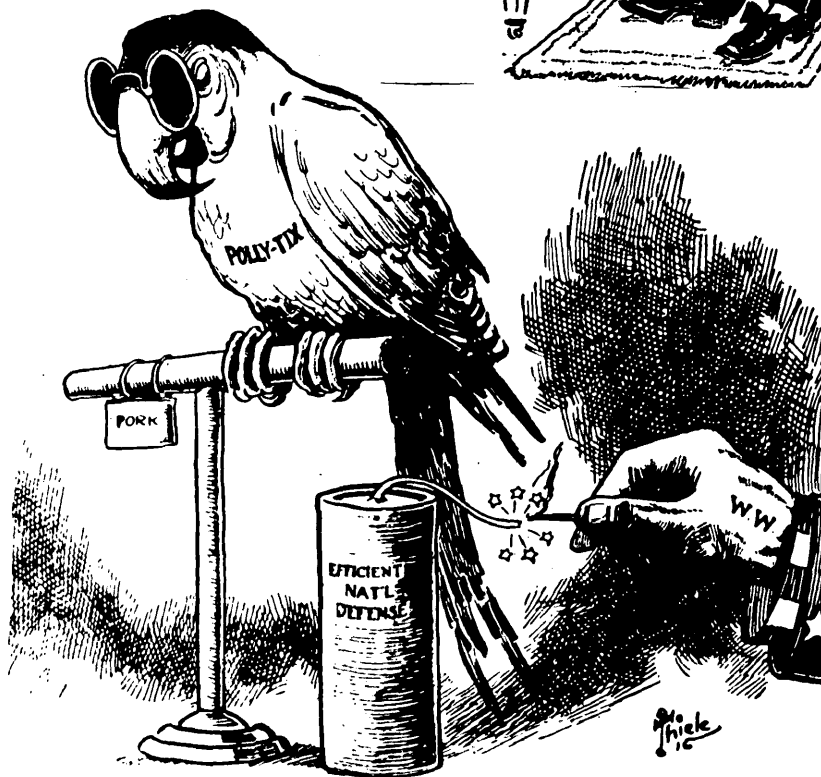


FIG. 119
 "A Cracker
 For Polly."
 Leo Thiele
 in the Sioux
City [Iowa]
Tribune.
 (Cartoons
 Magazine IX,
 March, 1916.)



FIG. 120
"On the Trail
of President Wilson."
Ding Darling in the
Register and Leader (Des Moines),
(Cartoons Magazine IX,
March, 1916.)

Crowds greeted the President and the new Mrs. Wilson wherever they went.²⁵ They were nearly overwhelmed in Milwaukee, center of German-American sentiment.²⁶ In St. Louis, Wilson even managed to shock his strongest supporters when he declared the United States should have the biggest navy in the world.²⁷

Wilson, moreover, was receiving the support of the important preparedness movement, a group that had been formed for one year. The preparedness movement was given leadership by Theodore Roosevelt and his editorial organ, the Outlook.²⁸ Roosevelt's support, however, was the same kind given by a teacher to a slow student when he had stumbled upon the right answer.²⁹ The support of the Outlook was equally unenthusiastic, confined to counseling patience with the Wilson Administration on various matters from time to time,³⁰ plus occasional publication of editorial cartoons supporting the national defense program (fig. 121, p. 119).

²⁵New York Times, February 1, 1916. ²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Link, Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916, p. 48.

²⁸Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 177.

²⁹Writing to John Carter Rose on November 12, 1915, Roosevelt noted that "Wilson is now following afar off in the paths of preparedness and of Americanization, which I blazed for him over a year ago." Letters of Theodore Roosevelt ed. Elting E. Morison (8 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), VIII, 978.

³⁰"Patience, of course, must be exercised toward our government in its efforts to bring to a satisfactory

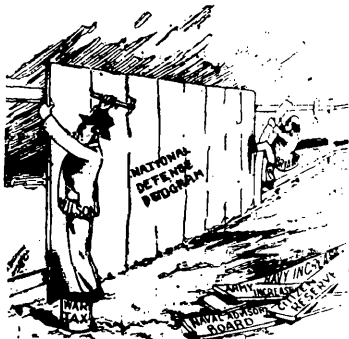


FIG. 121 "New Style Team Work." This cartoon first appeared in the Washington [D. C.] Herald. It was later reprinted in one of the leading journals of the preparedness movement. The cartoon is significant because it shows Wilson in a favorable light and Bryan in a bad one. (Outlook, December 1, 1915.)



FIG. 122 "Lesson." This is a more typical cartoon. It was reprinted from the New York Sun. Uncle Sam is saying to his Alma Mater: "Why not train them for me as well as they fight for you?" (Outlook, December 1, 1915.)



FIG. 123 "No News on the Western Front." The Outlook was concerned with internal security and espionage, as much as it was concerned with preparedness. This cartoon was taken from the Philadelphia Record. (Outlook, December 1, 1915.)

Although it was perfectly obvious that Wilson again had correctly forecast the prevailing consensus (fig. 124, p. 121), his conversion to preparedness brought no particular demoralization to the ranks of the pacifists. The Woman's Peace Party was very active during this period, promoting a neutral peace congress in Europe.³¹ The party's campaign reached a high point of sorts when Henry Ford decided to charter the Scandinavian-American liner Oscar II to carry its delegates and other pacifists to Europe.³²

conclusion the prosecutions and investigations under way relating to the plotting of fires and explosions in munitions plants and ships. That these plots should be exposed and punished is one of the most important national matters now pending. Making all allowance for sensationalism and falsehood, there is absolutely no question that there has been a vast conspiracy, financed with immense sums of money." The Outlook, December 1, 1915.

³¹Link, Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916, p. 107.

³²Burnet Hershey, The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship (New York: Taplinger Co., 1967), pp. 1-31. Ford's later assessment of pacifists in view of his active support in 1916 is interesting. Ford in 1926 wrote: "War will never be stopped by the pacifists, and peace will never be won by war makers. . . . Pacifism is an excellent doctrine if preached to those parts of the world where the war-making mind is rampant. To arm the bandits of the world and disarm its law-abiding citizens is not the way to stop international hold-ups." Henry Ford in collaboration with Samuel Crowther, Today and Tomorrow (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926), pp. 252-253. There is, by the way, no mention in the book of the Peace Ship episode.



FIG. 124
 "Getting in Shape."
 "President Wilson and Uncle Sam seem to be much interested in their training, and propose to be ready for emergencies." From the Post-Intelligencer (Seattle). (American Review LIV, September, 1915.)

Thurlay

FIG. 125
 "Terrible Teddy!"
 Drawn by E. G. Cooper.
 (Colliers The National Weekly, October 23, 1915.)

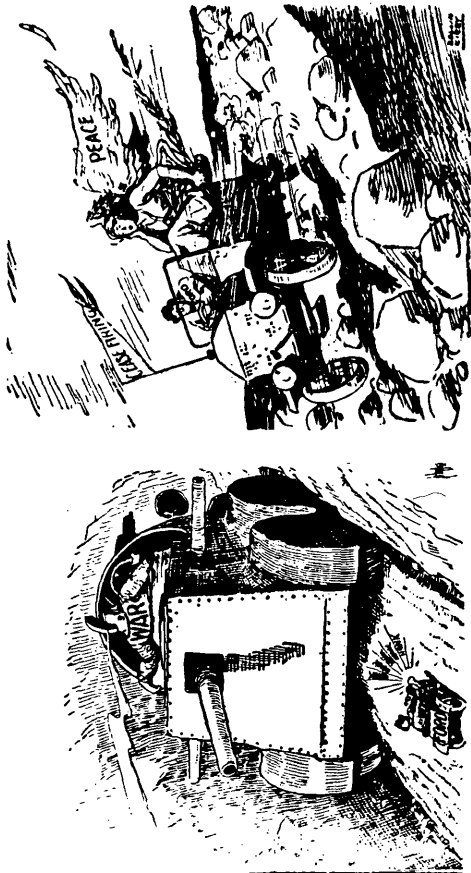


Ford grandly told the New York press that his group was going to "get the boys out of their trenches and back to their homes by Christmas."³³ To most Americans, the whole project appeared a great deal more laughable than practical (figs. 126-128, p. 123). Ford deserted his ship in Norway. He was back in New York on January 2, 1916, now saying that the people most responsible for the war were the ones getting killed in it.³⁴ Ford was no longer convinced that the war was caused by "bankers, militarists, and munitions manufacturers."³⁵

In a sense, the Ford Peace Ship episode was a capsule history of both pacificism and neutralism through the period of 1914 to 1916. Both philosophies were plagued by events over which they had no control. When they sought to change the situations to shape coming events, they found they did not have the power or the force to convince others-- leaders and their people-- to do their bidding. President Wilson's answer to this dilemma was "to prepare for the worst, and hope for the best,"-- that is, to prepare militarily and diplomatically for waging either war or peace.

³³New York Times, November 25, 1915.

³⁴Ibid., January 3, 1916. ³⁵Ibid.



FIGS. 126-128 "The Ford Peacemaker." On the left, "Modern David as Ford Sees It." (New York Times Magazine, December 5, 1915.) Above, center, "Road Hog," reprinted from the Sunday Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio). Upper right, "Joy-Riding," reprinted from the New York World. (Outlook, December 15, 1915.)



FIG. 129 "The Tug of Peace." Henry Ford had chartered a ship for transporting various pacifist leaders to Europe to end the war. The "peace" ship left New York on December 4, 1915. As the above cartoon suggests, the peace group was not taken seriously in Great Britain. (Punch, December 15, 1915.)

CHAPTER IX

ADDED NOTES FOR OLD SCORES

War and politics dominated the domestic scene of the United States in 1916. Americans were never able to get far from either. Newspapers carried long and detailed reports from the fighting fronts of both. There was much speculation, for instance, of the political fortunes of Theodore Roosevelt and Charles Evans Hughes. There was also much speculation about the war in Europe. The chief worry seemed to be about Germany reverting to submarine war without rules. (See fig. 130.) The concern of becoming involved, which had characterized the 1914-1915 period, had been replaced by the general feeling that no matter how much America or its President struggled, the United States soon would be forced into the conflict.¹

Plagued by these same anxieties, the President simply added to them with his demands that the country's military posture had to be strengthened on both land and sea.² His reference to patriotism in his address to Congress on December 6, 1915 stirred the growing resentment against the "plotters," seeking to shape American interests along those of foreign powers. (See fig. 131.)

¹Ray Stannard Baker, Life and Letters VI, 155.

²Baker and Dodd, The Public Papers, The New Democracy I, 412-415.



FIG. 130 "Running Up a New Flag." The fact that no American shipping was destroyed by submarine in October, November, and December of 1915 was viewed by many persons, such as Rollin Kirby of the New York World, as compliance with International Law rather than what it actually was, appeasement on the part of the Germans. (Literary Digest, January 22, 1916.)



FIG. 131 "Misunderstood." "Dog: "I was only going to play with those nice little chickens!" This cartoon, typical of the period, reflects the rural environment characteristic of the average American in 1915. (New York Times Magazine, December 13, 1915.)

Instead of following the President's lead, Congress attempted to strike out on its own. Many resolutions were introduced, some asking for investigations; others, demanding certain types of legislation--control of armament makers, embargoes on munitions, and later, the forbidding of Americans to travel on belligerent ships.³

It was at this time that Robert Lansing suggested it might be a good idea to treat armed merchant ships as warships.⁴ The practical effect of such a doctrine would be to free submarines to attack without warning. And the Germans had been maintaining all along that armed British merchantmen were under orders to hunt, attack, and destroy all submarines.⁵ Lansing's modus vivendi could have been used as an excuse to "extend" the U-boat war, and doing so with the blessing of the American government.⁶ New German orders were issued: enemy merchantmen carrying guns would be considered warships and subject to attack without warning.⁷ The war on armed merchantmen was to begin on February 29, 1916.⁸ (Popular opinion in Germany had long felt there was injustice in U-boat treatment, figs. 132-134, pp. 130-131.)

³Baker, Life and Letters VI, 156-157.

⁴Link, Confusions and Crises, pp. 142-154, 158-164.

⁵Ibid., 155-156, 158-159, 166. ⁶Ibid., pp. 145-146.

⁷Ibid., pp. 158-159. ⁸New York Times, February 11, 1916.

American editorial opinion was divided on the modus vivendi.⁹ In Great Britain, the Ministry was already in trouble for being too lenient,¹⁰ and it was just barely able to stave off a House attempt to make the Admiralty responsible for blockade, not the Foreign Office.¹¹ The Ministry told Wilson the modus would in fact legalize piracy.¹² The President agreed and reclassification of merchant ships was not sought.¹³

On March 24, 1916, the Channel Steamer Sussex was torpedoed without warning.¹⁴ Some eighty persons were killed, and among the injured were four Americans. The torpedoing was a clear violation of the Arabic pledge.¹⁵ Close advisers to the President urged either ultimatum or severance of diplomatic relations.¹⁶ After much deliberation, Wilson issued a note that was just short of being an ultimatum.¹⁷

⁹Link, Confusions and Crises, p. 159.

¹⁰The Autobiography of Margot Asquith, ed. by Mark Bonham Carter (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 306-312.

¹¹New York Times, January 16, 1916.

¹²Link, Confusions and Crises, pp. 151-154.

¹³Ibid., pp. 161-166. ¹⁴New York Times, March 25, 1916.

¹⁵Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 584.

¹⁶Link, Confusions and Crises, pp. 229-233, 236-255.

¹⁷Ibid. Foster Rhea Dulles, America's Rise to World Power, 1898-1954 (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1963), p. 95.

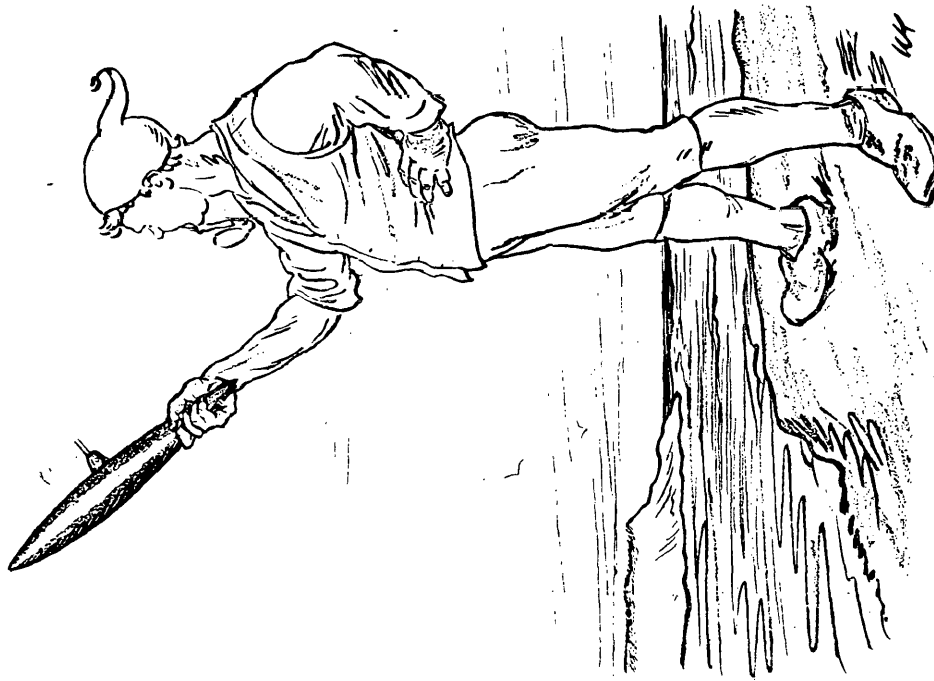


FIG. 133 "German Michel: "No, no. I'll never drop this cudgel." The Literary Digest reprinted this cartoon June 3, 1916. (Kladderadatsch, February 27, 1916.)



FIG. 132 "The German Gretchen to an American Traveler: 'I have done so much for you that nothing remains for me to do.'" (Kladderadatsch, July 25, 1915.)



FIG. 134 "Poor John To Rich Jonathan: 'Now I know, at least, where my stomach has gone.'" Many Germans believed the United States was growing wealthy because Germany allowed America to indulge in lucrative war-trade with Great Britain. (Kladderadatsch, February 20, 1916.)

The note said that if the German submarines persisted in attacking passenger and freight-carrying vessels without warning, then the United States would have no other choice than to sever diplomatic relations.¹⁸ The Germans yielded. And they did so in the face of German public opinion, angry and disturbed that the United States sought to deny Germany a successful weapon at a time America would do nothing to restrict its war trade with the Allies, or the lack of it with the Central Powers (figs. 135-137, pp. 133-135).

In yielding, the German Government insisted, however, that Washington demand that the Allied food blockade of the Central Powers be given up.¹⁹ Wilson rejected this condition, saying Germany must respect American rights regardless of what a third party might or might not be doing.²⁰

The American press, meantime, had been giving Wilson almost solid support in his foreign policies throughout the neutrality period and there was no let up during the Sussex crisis (figs. 138-148, pp. 136-141).

¹⁸FR, 1916 Supplement, p. 234.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 259-260. Link, Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916, pp. 275-278. Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, pp. 584-585.

²⁰New York Times, May 9, 1916.



FIG. 135 "The Rescuer in U-Boat Danger. 'Woodrow, Woodrow, don't leave me.'" Even before the Sussex crisis, it seemed to many Germans that Wilson was attempting to save Great Britain from submarines. (Kladderadatsch, March 19, 1916.)

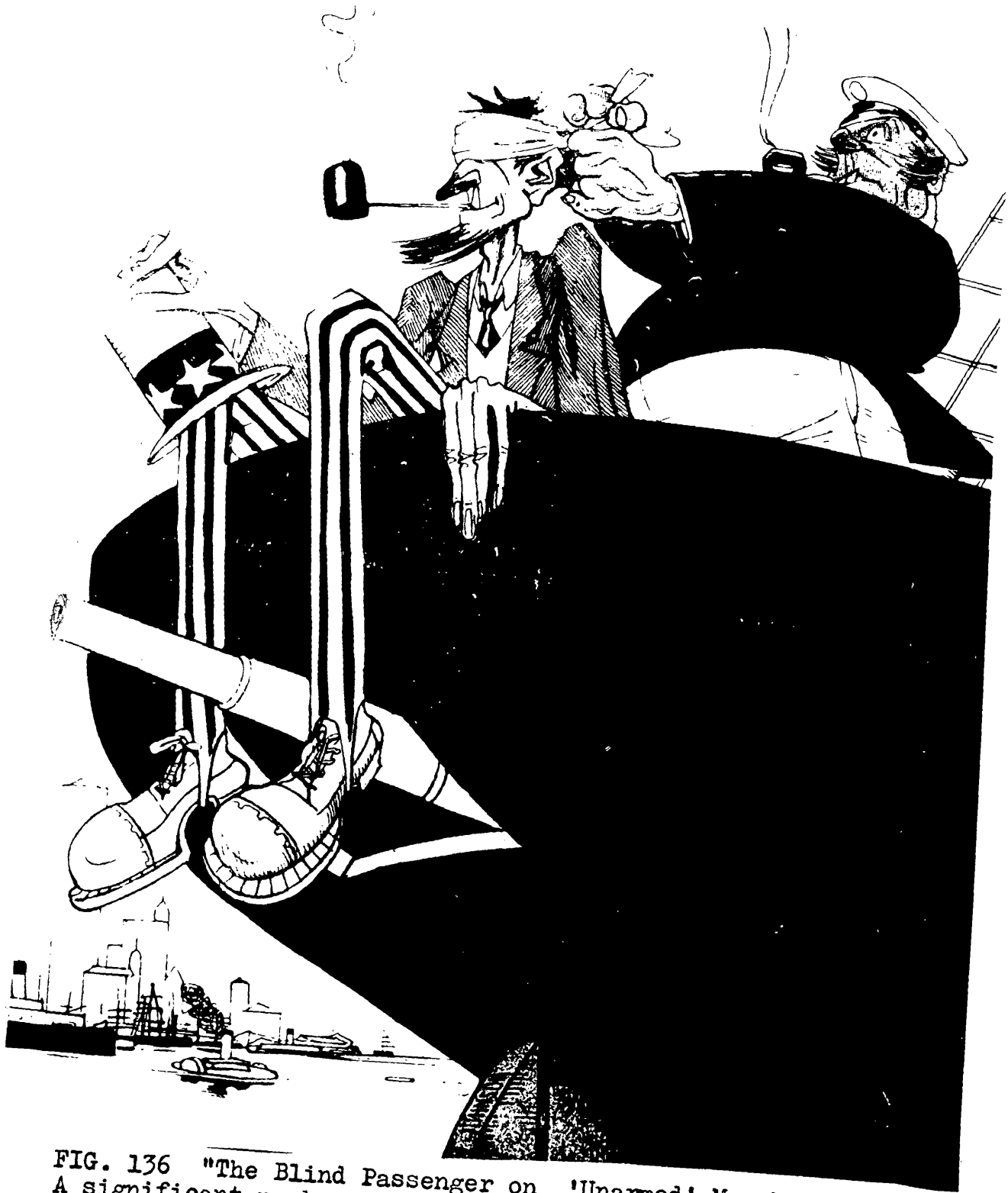
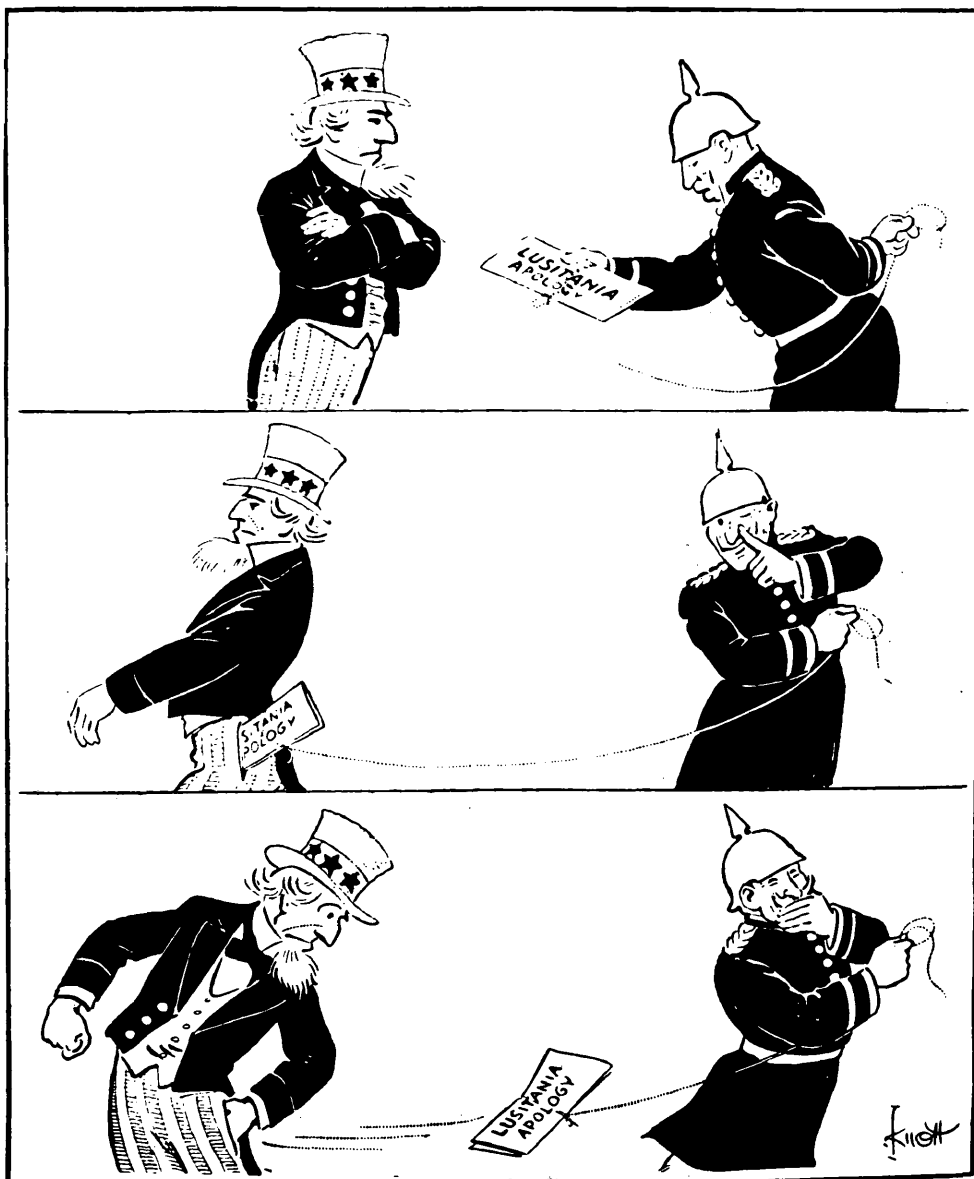


FIG. 136 "The Blind Passenger on 'Unarmed' Merchantmen."
A significant number of American Congressmen and Senators
also agreed that Americans had no business traveling on
belligerent ships. (Kladderadatsch, March 26, 1916.)



FIG. 137 "On a High Horse. 'Beat on the other kettle for once- --maybe it sounds better.'" (Kladderadatsch, May 21, 1916.)



FIGS. 138-140 "An Old Trick." Kenneth Knott in the News (Dallas) with a reminder that the Lusitania question had not been settled. He suggested the reason there had been no settlement was because Germany had never intended that there be one. (Literary Digest, March 4, 1916.)



FIG. 141 "Humanity Demands a Stronger Net."
 Strong language from an interior newspaper,
 the Leader (Cleveland), and before the sinking
 of the Sussex, too. (Literary Digest,
 March 4, 1916.)



FIG. 142
 "Sending Him Out
 to Fight Submarines."
 Like the Cleveland
 newspaper above, the
Register and Leader (Iowa),
 another interior publication,
 also questions the protection
 afforded by "Ancient
 International Law." The artist
 was Ding Darling. (Literary
 Digest, March 4, 1916.)



FIG. 143 "Riddle: Why Is March Like the Wilson Administration?" Ding Darling of the Register and Leader (Iowa) told the story of Wilson's diplomacy. Wilson was a "lamb" when it came to Mexico, Belgian "outrages," and the Lusitania. He was a "lion" when it came to Germany, Congress, and the United States. The Darling treatment of Mexico and the United States can be questioned. The rest of the picture has remained intact inasmuch as most authorities are concerned. (Literary Digest, March 18, 1916.)



FIG. 144 "Of Course I Didn't Do It- --Didn't I Promise I Wouldn't?" Rollin Kirby spoke for many Americans with regard to the sinking of the Sussex. It should be noted that propoganda rather than editorial comment is the basis of this cartoon. This trend was to become pronounced during the last part of 1916. The cartoon was reprinted from the New York World. (Literary Digest, April 22, 1916.)



FIG. 145 "The Crowning Achievement." Robert Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Ledger says that it was American "patience" that was sunk when the Sussex was attacked. (Literary Digest, May 13, 1916.)

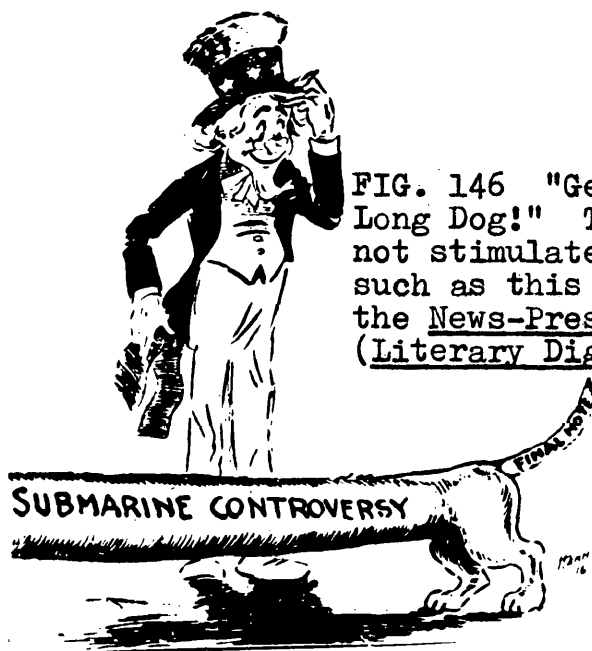


FIG. 146 "Gee! But That Was a Long Dog!" The Sussex pledge did not stimulate many genial cartoons, such as this one published in the News-Press (St. Joseph). (Literary Digest, May 27, 1916.)



FIG. 147 "Scant Room for Postscripts." The News (Newark). (American Review LIII, May, 1916.)

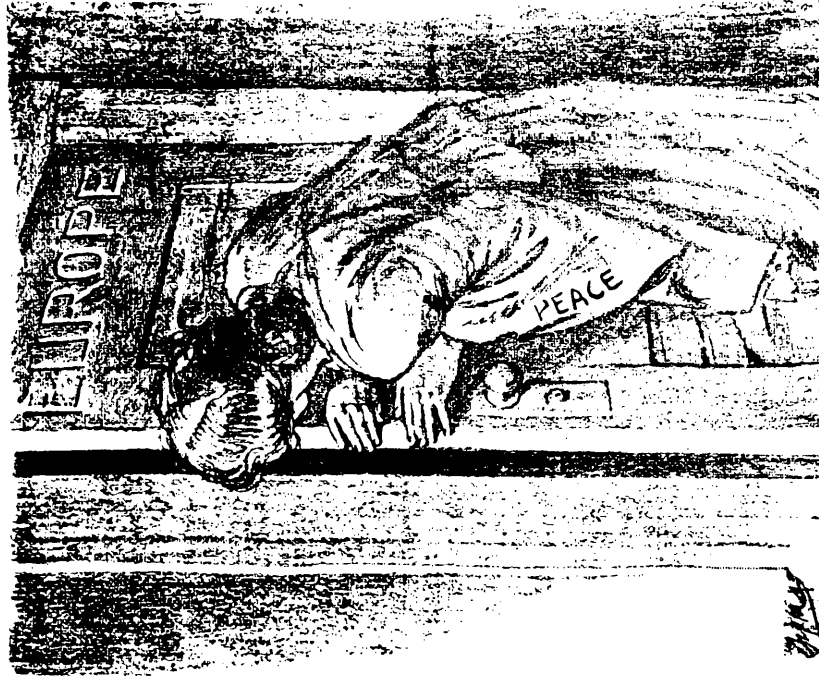


FIG. 148 "Growing Bolder." Reprinted from the Leader (Milwaukee). (Literary Digest, June 10, 1916.)

CHAPTER X

. . . THEY SHALL REAP THE WHIRLWIND

Hosea viii. 7.

With the Germans agreeing to put their submarines under restrictions once again, the time had come to press on to other matters which irked Americans and nettled their policy makers. The war, of course, was the biggest of these matters but nothing could be done about that.¹ Something could be done, however, about preparing for the peace. Woodrow Wilson believed it was his duty to help prevent the outbreak of wars in the future. And so it was that he made his great commitment on May 27, 1916 in a speech to some two thousand persons attending a Washington conference of the League to Enforce Peace.² The President pledged that the United States would support a postwar League of Nations that would enforce peace by virtual guarantee of all international boundaries.³ American press response was favorable, although some newspapers had reservations about "entangling alliances."⁴

¹After Verdun, the Allies were confident of victory and they were in no mood to share its fruits. Sir Edward Grey made this very plain in a telegram to Colonel House on May 12, 1916. Seymour, The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, pp. 282-283.

²Baker, Life and Letters VI, 220-222.

³Ibid.

⁴New York Times, May 29, 1916.

While European neutrals hailed the proposed league and German editors were expressing caution, the only sympathetic response to be found in Allied newspapers was in the British Liberal press.⁵ Sir Edward was probably voicing typical Allied reaction when he denounced the "great scheme" as an attempt to give Germany something politically that it could not win militarily.⁶

This response to what Wilson and many Americans considered the highest of ideas was not the kind that had been expected from the Allies. There was already much concern about the consequences of preparedness (fig. 149, p. 144). This served only to sharpen the long held illusions about America's unselfish purpose in the world (figs. 150-151, p. 145). The British response, especially, seemed gratuitous in view of the ruthless suppression of the Irish revolt. American pride was further inflamed as the year advanced by the treatment meted out by Allied blockaders. Interference with American trade, blacklists, tampering with the mails, the filching of trade secrets, all served to embitter Anglo-American relations (figs. 152-159, pp. 146-150).

⁵Baker, Life and Letters VI, 224

⁶Ibid.



FIG. 149 "A Dangerous Pet." Many other cartoons on the danger of over-preparedness were also being published in 1916 but none was more unusual than this one which first appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle. The concern with over-preparedness seemed more common on the West Coast and the Midwest than in other sections of the country. (Literary Digest, March 11, 1916.)

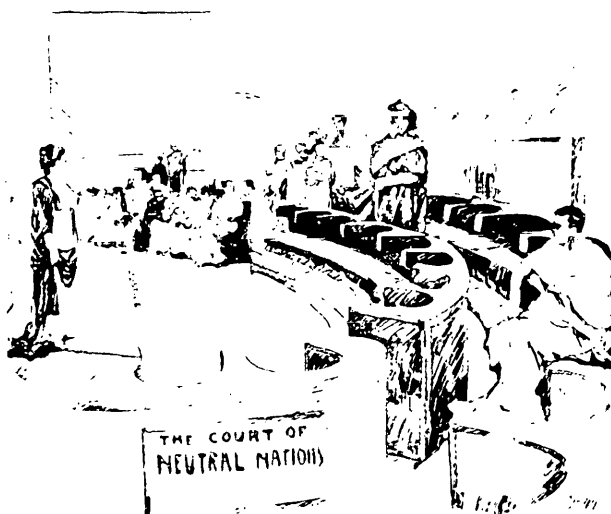


FIG. 150 "The Common Cause." "Uncle Sam pleads for humanity in the court of the neutral nations." Those words now seem almost embarrassingly evangelical. The cartoon was first published in the Plain Dealer (Cleveland.) (American Review LII, July, 1915.)



FIG. 151 "How Firm A Foundation." "America's unselfish purpose as interpreted by President Wilson." The Dispatch (Columbus, Ohio). (American Review LII, July, 1915.)



FIG. 152 "Don't Misuse That, John!" First printed in the New York Sun. (Cartoons Magazine IX, March, 1916.)



FIG. 153 "Among the Letters." Daniel Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. It is important to note that while Great Britain was being attacked, the symbol for that country continued to be presented as an essentially kind sort of spirit. (Cartoons Magazine IX, March, 1916.)



FIG. 154 "Gently, Please!" From the Chicago Tribune, a newspaper that admitted its Anglophobia but which stopped considerably short of "murder" in its "America first" campaign. (Literary Digest, April 22, 1916.)



FIG. 155
 "The
 Choppers."
 Resentment of
 Germany always
 was in the
 background as
 hostility
 against Great
 Britain rose
 to a new
 height. This
 concept of
 "double
 trouble" was
 cleverly
 illustrated in
 the Star
 (St. Louis).
 (Literary
Digest, May 6,
 1916.)

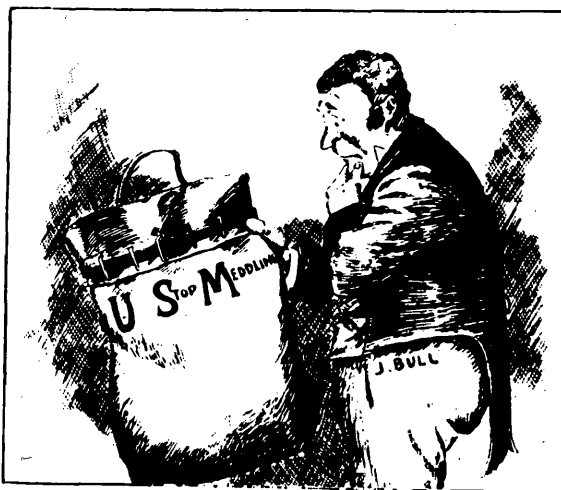


FIG. 156 "The New Meaning."
 Guy Spencer's "U. Stop
 Meddling" was first printed
 in the Morning World-Herald
 (Omaha) on May 29, 1916.
 (Literary Digest, June 10,
 1916.)



FIG. 157 "A Spring Offensive." Nelson Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle. (Literary Digest, June 10, 1916.)



FIG. 158 "Hiding Behind a Subterfuge." San Francisco Chronicle. (Literary Digest, December 30, 1916.)



FIG. 159 "The Same From Both Sides." James North in the Daily Ledger (Tacoma, Washington). (Literary Digest, December 30, 1916.)

Wilson dictated the Democratic platform in 1916. The planks in the platform called for a neutral foreign policy, reasonable preparedness, and it went on to pledge support for a postwar league of nations.⁷ Peace, however, became the rallying cry--first at the Democratic Convention, then during Wilson's speaking campaign in which he brought audiences to their feet with his charges that Republicans were for war and the Democrats for peace.⁸ The Literary Digest was saying in October that "Democratic leaders believe they have a winning slogan in 'He Kept Us Out of War,' as against the Republican 'Peace-At-Any-Price' charge."⁹ Charles Evans Hughes conducted a campaign of platitudes and wild criticism.¹⁰ The election was a close one, though, with the late returns from California finally deciding the issue for Wilson (figs. 160-161, p. 152). And because there were close races in both houses as well, the 1916 General Election was in a sense a failure--it gave no clear mandate from the people to the nation's leaders.¹¹

⁷Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 33.

⁸Ibid., pp. 234-235, 241-247.

⁹Literary Digest, October 14, 1916, p. 933.

¹⁰Betty Glad, Charles Evans Hughes and the Illusions of Innocence (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1966), pp. 80-81.

¹¹Elections for the House ended in a dead heat, 215 to 215; in the Senate, Republicans narrowed the gap to nineteen over the previous Democratic majority of 28. Seward W. Livermore, Politics Is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), pp. 10-11.



FIGS. 160-161 "The New Man and His Job." "Keep Right On the Job!" Both editorial cartoons appeared the same day in the New York Evening World, but in different editions on November 8, 1916. Hughes, appearing in the early editions, was replaced by Wilson in later ones that same morning when it became evident the President had won a second term. (Literary Digest, November 18, 1916.)

During October of 1916, the exploits of the German submarine U-53,¹² and the arrival of the merchant-submarine Deutschland,¹³ were grim reminders that the shooting war had been brought to the shores of the United states (figs. 162-163, p. 154). These incidents, as well as a series of borderline sinkings suggesting that the Sussex pledge might have been violated, spurred Wilson to make another bid for a negotiated peace. Before he could do anything officially, however, the Germans announced they were ready to talk.¹⁴ Wilson went ahead anyway, restricting his statement to a request for terms from the belligerents.¹⁵ Most of the American press approved, although they were extremely chary of German ambitions (fig. 164, p. 154).

Crucial in all this was the official German position-- something not easy to know because even as the exchanges got under way between Colonel House and Bernstorff, Germany was coming under total military dictatorship.

¹²Literary Digest, October 8, 1916, p. 1016.

¹³Ibid., October 28, 1916, pp. 1233-1234.

¹⁴New York Times, December 13, 1916.

¹⁵FR, 1916 Supplement, pp. 98-99.

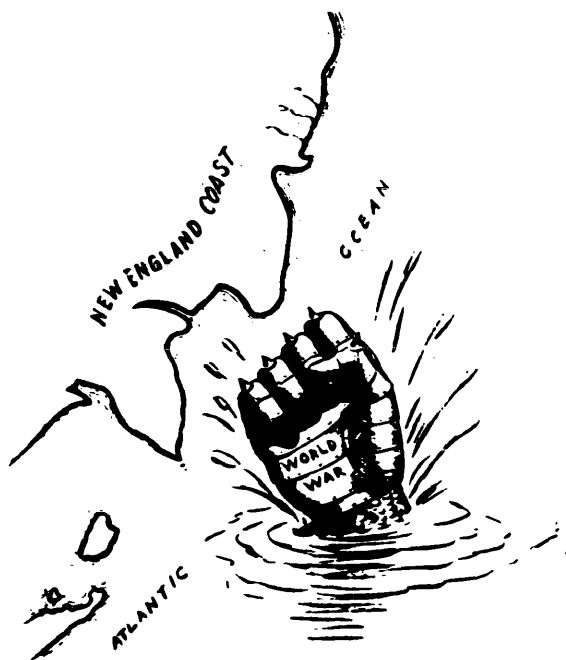


FIG. 162 "Right Under His Nose." Nelson Harding in the Daily Eagle (Brooklyn). (Literary Digest, October 27, 1916.)



FIG. 163 "Don't Bring That Beast Too Close, Admiral." New York Evening Sun. (Literary Digest, October 27, 1916.)



FIG. 164 "While the Picking's Good." The American (Baltimore). (Literary Digest, December 30, 1916.)

The House-Bernstorff talks were allowed to continue, although the new German military government had decided that unrestricted submarine war would resume on February 1, 1917.¹⁶ The United States was officially informed of this fact in January, the day before unrestricted U-boat war got under way.¹⁷ The German note said all ships found in the war zone would be sunk without warning.¹⁸ Neutral ships now at sea would be allowed to return to their home ports. The Germans would also permit "one steamer a week" to go through the war zone.

President Wilson waited three days, then broke relations with Germany on February 3, 1917.¹⁹ That same day, Wilson addressed a joint session of Congress. He told the hushed lawmakers that the intentional violation of the Sussex pledge left the United States "no alternative" but to break diplomatic relations.²⁰ While the President was speaking, Bernstorff and his staff were being handed their passports.²¹

¹⁶The Reichstag ordered the Chancellor to obey the wishes of the Supreme Command. Taylor, Course of German History, p. 171.

¹⁷FR, 1917 Supplement, pp. 97-102.

¹⁸Link has suggested that had the order been against armed merchantmen, or even belligerent shipping, Wilson would have gone along with it. Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 267.

¹⁹FR, 1917 Supplement, I, 106-108.

²⁰New York Times, February 4, 1917.

²¹Baker, Life and Letters VI, 459.

There followed a period of "awaiting the overt act" which would send the United States into war (fig. 165, p. 157). Many people, including the President, continued to hope wistfully that the Germans were bluffing.²² One of the incidents which convinced Wilson otherwise was the fantastic Zimmermann telegram. The offer to give part of the United States to Mexico was grotesque and the idea ludicrous.²³ But the day after receiving the Zimmermann telegram from British Intelligence, Wilson went before Congress to ask for authority to arm American merchantmen. He also wanted authority to pursue other methods to protect lives and guard sea commerce.²⁴ Nothing was said publicly about the Zimmermann telegram at this time. When Congress proved balky during debate on the Wilson request, the President caused to be published the Zimmermann telegram.²⁵ A tremendous wave of anti-German sentiment swept the country. Congress got the message and immediately set out to pass enabling legislation for the arming of American merchantmen. A handful of legislators, however, thwarted passage with a filibuster in the closing moments of the dying session.²⁶

²²Bailey, A Diplomatic History of the American People, p. 591

²³The Zimmermann telegram was given to Wilson on February 25, 1917. FR, 1917 Supplement, I, 147.

²⁴Link, Wilson and the Progressive Era, p. 271.

²⁵New York Times, March 1, 2, 4, 1917.

²⁶George W. Norris, Fighting Liberal (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945), pp. 174-182.



FIG. 165 "Awaiting the Overt Act." This Rollin Kirby cartoon was first published in the New York World. It was not typical because of the war-stance, and in the use of "Columbia." Most cartoonists were using the figure of "Uncle Sam," and in this particular period were showing that he was being supported by either the American people or by the President. (American Review of Reviews IV, March, 1917.)



FIG. 166 "Cause and Effect." Frank Pahey in the Commercial Appeal (Memphis, Tennessee). (American Review LV, March, 1917)



FIG. 167 "Some Promise!" James Cassel in the New York World. (American Review LV, April, 1917.)

A "little group of willful men," however, was not enough to stop an even more willful President. Wilson, exercising his executive authority, went ahead without Congressional assent and ordered that on March 12, 1917 armed guards were to be placed on merchant ships traveling in the war zones.²⁷ Subsequently, four unarmed American merchant ships were sunk, with heavy loss of life. The "overt act" had come.

Wilson called Congress into special session on April 2, 1917. He asked for war, saying that the "world must be made safe for democracy."²⁸ The Senate voted 82 to 6 for war.²⁹ The House adopted the resolution by a vote of 373 to 50.³⁰ The declaration of war on Germany marked a new era in the history of the United States and the influences--good and bad--which came to bear on this country because of this joining with Europe have continued to be felt by generations of Americans that came after.

²⁷FR, 1917 Supplement, I, 171.

²⁸New York Times, April 3, 1917.

²⁹Ibid., April 5, 1917.

³⁰Ibid., April 6, 1917.



FIG. 168 "Outward Bound." Roger Scott in the Leader (Cleveland). (American Review LV, April, 1917.)

CONCLUSION

On April 6, 1917 the United States entered a war because the vast majority of Americans could conceive of no other satisfactory foreign policy. This surprisingly simple explanation was plainly evident in the popular press of the period, and had been so for some time. The Brooklyn Eagle, for example, in April of 1916 was observing that the United States "had turned the other cheek" so often to Germany, it was possible the nation "may not have the face to do it again."¹ Editorial cartoons mirrored this attitude (figs. 138-147, pp. 136-141. Even fig. 148, p. 141, from the Milwaukee newspaper showed "peace" as no more than a hopeful interloper at the door. As late as the last quarter of 1915, it appeared possible to still continue a middle course between belligerents, fig. 115, p. 112. The war itself remained a horrible thing "over there" in Europe, and as foreign to the American scene as the planet Mars. See figs. 108-110, p. 107).

The American intransigency in national mood was shared, and was equally plain, in Germany (figs. 132-137, pp. 130-135), and in Great Britain (figs. 111-114, pp. 110-111).

¹Literary Digest, April 15, 1916, p. 1050.

It was true that following the Sussex pledge more attention was paid to British trade interference. Yet, even at its height, "John Bull" remained "John Bull." (See figs. 152-154, pp. 146-148, when relations between Great Britain and the United States had reached a new low. The "John Bull," for instance, from the Chicago Tribune on page 148 is essentially a kind old gentleman--up to no good, to be sure. The exception was Nelson Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle, fig. 157, p. 150. This was not a significant exception. Harding and the Eagle had declared against Germany as early as March 28, 1915, following the sinking of the Falaba, figs. 51-52, p. 61.) Portraying Great Britain as "John Bull" goes back to at least 1857.² Throughout the one hundred years that followed, the symbol remained the same portly gentleman, who many say was modeled after King George III. The symbol for Germany, by contrast, has altered a great deal. Bismarck served as the editorial symbol much of the time during his life, and the characterization was similar to "John Bull." William became the German symbol to an increasing degree when he became the Kaiser. William's image was never an endearing one when projected by American and British cartoonists, but it did not become ugly until late in 1914.

²John Leech drew the first recognizable "John Bull" for Punch in 1857. Arthur Bartlett Maurice and Frederic Taber Cooper, The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1904), pp. 114-118.

The transformation of William into a figure of hate, however, came at different times. Cartoonist Doane Powell had pictured William as a war lord before the outbreak of the conflict (fig. 2, p. 4). Ding Darling, in August of 1914, was showing a man in uniform being assaulted by "John Bull" and his friends (fig. 9, p. 16). The change for Darling came with the sinking of the Lusitania (fig. 67, p. 73). Never again would Darling show the Kaiser in a favorable light.

The destruction of the Lusitania was a major watershed for most American cartoonists, just as it was for Ding Darling. William had been marked with the label of Cain (fig. 69, p. 74). The conventional cartoon figure of Germany was thus forced into a new mold--the boy who had liked uniforms was now a full grown military chieftain, who would readily resort to violence to attain his ends. "John Bull" was never subjected to such a transformation, even by the Germans in their caricature of Great Britain (figs. 135-136, pp. 133-134).

William Jennings Bryan in this same general period was also being transformed by the cartoonists into a variety of symbols ranging from a "benevolent assassin" (fig. 86, p. 86) to a man who followed "his conscience" (fig. 84, p. 85). Many suspected Bryan of renewed presidential aspirations (figs. 116-117, pp. 115-117).

Foreigners also suspected Bryan's political motives, among them the Germans. They had been misinterpreting his position all along. The Germans blamed Bryan for the munitions trade with the Allies (fig. 62, p. 67). When Bryan resigned as Secretary of State, the Germans wrote that off to presidential ambitions (fig. 90, p. 90). President Wilson's activities generally were viewed in the same prejudiced light by the suspicious Germans. Kladderadatsch, for example, seldom had anything good to say about the United States or its leaders throughout the period of 1914 to 1917.

Punch, meantime, was following a slightly different editorial policy. Punch was often critical of Wilson (figs. 112-114, pp. 110-111). When it had something constructive to say, the magazine invariably would credit the nation with the accomplishment rather than the President (fig. 111, p. 110). As far as known, Punch never bothered to mention Bryan at all.

The American cartoonists seemed to be following the old adage about "politics stopping at the water's edge." Certainly, there was very little in the way of open criticism of Wilson's foreign policy. (See fig. 115, p. 112, for a typical cartoon-comment in support of American foreign policy.)

Domestic politics, on the other hand, were raked with regularity by American cartoonists and in this respect the President came in for his share of abuse. Wilson's proposal for a government owned merchant fleet, to cite one example, drew critical comment from all parts of the country (figs. 22-25, pp. 27-28).

Two things emerge in the foregoing appraisal. One is the incredible lack of understanding by the Germans with regard to the actual conditions that prevailed in the United States from 1914 to 1917. The other overriding fact which emerges is the very early commitment made by Americans to the Allied cause. If there was a period of neutrality, it would have to be placed during the first four or five months of the European War. It is at least an open question of how much of this neutral sentiment can be charged to indifference and lack of information on the progress of the war. (See figs. 5-11, pp. 14-15, for the early generalizations about the war.) This is not to say that neutralist sentiment did not exist. Indications, as a matter of fact, are just opposite and are to be found in editorial cartoons (figs. 28-29, p. 31), as well as in the guise of the various pacifist and humanitarian groups that were active from 1914 to 1917. But, as Falkenhayn said about submarines, there just were not enough to bring off anything decisive.

The cartoons used in this study were selected on the basis of being representative of editorial opinion. There was no concentration on a particular kind of message, theme, cartoonist, and the like. Samplings were taken as they came along, week by week, without thought of where they might lead. It seems necessary to re-emphasize the method of collection in order to make the following observation.

The dominating theme, as it turns out, was the submarine-cartoon. There was hardly a week that editorial cartoonists failed to comment in some way about U-boats. The comment began early, from September and October of 1914 (figs. 27, 29, pp. 30, 31), and continued right on through to the end of this study, to April, 1917 (fig. 168, p. 160). Submarines were not in every cartoon--often their presence was felt rather than actually seen. In any case, there is no question that cartoonists in the United States, Great Britain, and to a lesser extent Germany, were more prone to comment on maritime conditions than on any other single subject connected with the war.

The cartoons of the 1914-1917 era show great vigor and, at times, great originality. Draftsmanship was at a very high level. They were also highly partisan. Most American cartoonists had declared against Germany shortly after the sinking of the Luistania. They may have been ahead of public opinion.

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- Falkenhayn, General Erich von. General Headquarters, 1914-1916. And Its Critical Decisions. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1919.
One of the biggest decisions was starting unrestricted submarine war. Falkenhayn claims to have been misled by German Navy personnel about the number and effectiveness of U-boats. The claim, no doubt, was true.
- Falls, Cyril. The Great War, 1914-1918. New York: Capricorn Books, 1961.
A very good history of the war.
- Fay, Sidney Bradshaw. The Origins of the World War. 2nd ed., revised; two vols. in one. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930.
The definitive work on the causes of World War One.

Ford, Henry, in collaboration with Samuel Crowther. Today and Tomorrow. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926.

This was Ford's own vision for a better world. He would remove poverty but retain incentive.

Gambling, Oliver. Associated Press: The Story of News. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1940.

Good background on wire coverage, and lack of it, of the war.

George, Alexander L. and Juliette L. George. Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality. New York: John Day Co., 1956.

Interesting but was of no help to this study.

Gerard, James. My Four Years in Germany. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917.

Interesting from standpoint of anti-German bias.

Face To Face with Kaiserism. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1918.

A more rational account but still biased.

Glad, Betty. Charles Evans Hughes and the Illusions of Innocence. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1966.

A very fair and impartial book on a very important man.

Glad, Paul W. The Trumpet Soundeth: William Jennings Bryan and His Democracy, 1896-1912. Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1960.

Gooch, George Peabody. Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936.

Grew, Joseph H. Turbulent Era: A Diplomatic Record of Forty Years, 1904-1945. Ed. Walter Johnson and Nancy Harvison Hooker. 2 vols. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952.

Good account on how it felt to work in Germany during 1914-1917.

Grey, Edward Viscount. Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916. 2 vols. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1925.

Some of the reasoning involved in keeping diplomatically on the right side of the United States. He spends too much time, however, justifying all his actions.

- Gwynn, Stephen (ed.). The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929.
 Sir Cecil is ever the pessimist, who was more friendly to Theodore Roosevelt than Woodrow Wilson. His letters to Sir Edward are of particular interest.
- Hanak, Harry. Great Britain and Austria-Hungary During the First World War. A Study in the Formation of Public Opinion. New York: Oxford University Press, 1962.
 Opposition to holding talks to an early peace form one of the most interesting parts of the book. No mention is made of Punch.
- Hart, Liddel. The Real War, 1914-1918. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., reprinted 1964 by Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Original edition was printed in 1930.
 An excellent one volume history of the fighting.
- Hendrick, Burton J. The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page. New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1922.
- Hershey, Burnet. The Odyssey of Henry Ford and the Great Peace Ship. New York: Taplinger Co., 1967.
 Ford hired the ship and remained aboard until the ship docked in Norway. Hershey indicates Ford may have become involved in the Peace Ship in the expectation of selling more Ford cars with the publicity gleaned from the enterprise.
- Hibben, Paxton. The Peerless Leader, William Jennings Bryan. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1929.
- Hoehling, Adolph A., and Mary Hoehling. The Last Voyage of the Lusitania. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1956.
 The story in detail with full documentation.
- Houston, David F. Eight Years With Wilson's Cabinet, 1913-1920. 2 vols. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926.
 Good "behind-the-scenes" activities before and after the resignation of Bryan.
- Irwin, Will. The Making of a Reporter. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942.
 Stories from a war correspondent.

James, Marquis. Biography of a Business, 1792-1942.
New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1942.

This is a history of the North American Insurance Company. North American was one of the largest insurance companies in the world in 1914 and it was pro-Ally from the start of the war.

Kennan, George F. American Diplomacy, 1900-1950.
Chicago, Ill.: New American Library. A Mentor Book. 13th printing, 1963.

The author of this popular book takes the position that the United States entered the war because of the "inflated" issue of neutral rights.

Kerensky, Alexander. Russia and History's Turning Point.
New York: Duell, Sloan and Peace, 1965.

Kerensky said an imperialists' war was being waged in 1914-1918 and that in the end it destroyed the very colonial system that made the belligerents dedicated imperialists.

Klingender, F. D. Hogart and English Caricature. London:
Transatlantic Arts Co., 1945.

One of the very first British cartoonists.
Good background on editorial cartoons.

Kurenberg, Joachim von. The Kaiser: A Life of Wilhelm II.
Trs. H. T. Russell and Herta Hagen. Simon and Schuster, 1955.

Langer, William L. The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890-1902.
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935.

Lariar, Lawrence. Careers in Cartooning. New York:
Dodd, Mead and Co., 1949.

Limited material on editorial cartoon. Author says today's editorial cartoon has come to be regarded as primarily a medium of humor.

Legg, Stuart. Jutland: An Eye-Witness Account of a Great Battle. New York: The John Day Co., 1967.

A book of action and quotations. Takes position that Jutland hurt British morale, while proving to the Germans that dreadnoughts would soon give way to submarines.

Link, Arthur S. Woodrow Wilson: Confusions and Crises, 1915-1916. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1964.

The definitive authority on Wilson finishes the fourth book in the series. Definitely pro-Wilson but handles other leaders with fairness. The, single, most important book to this study.

_____. Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.

_____. Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917. New York: Harper Torchbook, 1964.

This was the second most important book to this study. It is especially good with regard to the submarine crisis.

_____. Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies. Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press, 1957.

Livermore, Seward W. Politics Is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.

Author makes a point that there was no adjournment of politics.

Livezey, William E. Mahan on Sea Power. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma, 1954.

A compilation of most of what Mahan wrote.

Low, David. An autobiography of _____. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.

The British cartoonist of World War Two. He came to Britain from Australia in 1914.

McAdoo, William G. Crowded Years. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931.

Very good on espionage and German spy activities.

McCutcheon, John T. Drawn from Memory. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950.

Famous World War One cartoonist of the Chicago Tribune.

McMaster, John Bach. The United States in the World. 2 vols. New York: Appleton and Co., 1918.

A very bad history in a very bad time.

McNown, Roy Allen. (ed.). The Sombrero: The Book of the Class of 1904. Lincoln, Nebr.: Jacob North and Co., 1903.

This is a Year Book of the University of Nebraska. Doane Powell, the Omaha cartoonist who predicted the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in a cartoon four years before it happened, was the staff artist of The Sombrero in 1903. There is no indication that he was graduated or that he belonged to many campus-organizations.

Mattfeld, Julius. Variety Music Cavalcade, 1620-1950. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952.

Maurice, Arthur Bartlett, and Frederic Taber Cooper. The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1904.

This appears to be the most recent history of cartoons. There is much that is dated in this book.

May, Ernest R. The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Millis, Walter. Road to War: American, 1914-1917 Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Account of how the United States came to accept the Allied viewpoint.

Moltke, Helmuth von. The Franco-German War, 1870-1871. Trs. Henry W. Fischer and Clare Bell Fischer. New York: Harper Brothers, 1892.

Contrast between German campaigns in those two wars.

Morison, Elting E. (ed.). The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. 8 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Morrissey, Alice M. The American Defense of Neutral Rights. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

The book remains very helpful in some areas, in spite of it being "dated."

Mott, Frank Luther. A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.

The histories of the various magazines, including their fairness, appeal, politics, and so on. A very important work.

_____. American Journalism. A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956.

Nevins, Allan, and Frank Weitenkamp. A Century of Political Cartoons: Caricature in the United States from 1800 to 1900. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944.

There are 100 reproductions in this collection. One page is devoted to the cartoon, and one page to text. All reproductions are "political" in nature, as contrasted to "editorial" cartoons, which do treat with other subjects.

Norris, George W. Fighting Liberal, an autobiography. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945.

A Nebraska Senator who opposed United States entry into World War One.

Ogg, Frederic Austin, with additional chapters by Walter Rice Sharp. Economic Development of Modern Europe. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949.

This is one of the classic economic studies of Europe, having been reprinted and revised twenty times since it first came out in 1926. Valuable to this study.

Olson, James C. History of Nebraska. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955.

Olson points out that the "feed and grain" sector of the economy was "booming" in 1914 in sharp contrast to the rest of the country. This prosperity had more to do with Midwest indifference to Europe and its war than any other factor, such as how many German-Americans were in a particular area. Historians have tended to overlook Midwest prosperity.

- Peterson, Harold C. Propaganda for War: The Campaign Against American Neutrality, 1914-1917. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939.
Peterson's indictment has not stood the "test of time." His ideas are interesting, however, and taken only in that context, are of value.
- Pratt, Julius W. A History of United States Foreign Policy. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955.
- Rae, John B. The American Automobile: A Brief History. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.
It is important to recognize the important changes the automobile brought to the people of fifty years ago. Urbanization is one of those changes brought on by low-priced transportation.
- Rappaport, Armin. The British Press and Wilsonian Neutrality. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.
A very valuable book but one which suffers because its author does not know enough about the workings of modern journalism. This book makes it very clear, however, that a majority of the British press detested most American policies between 1914 and 1917. Something similar should be done with regard to the American press.
- Roosevelt, Nicholas. Theodore Roosevelt: The Man As I Knew Him. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1967.
The "other" side of Wilson. Interesting.
- Salmon, Lucy Maynard. Newspapers and the Historian. New York: Oxford University Press, 1925.
This is one of the classic histories of Journalism. The section on editorial cartoons is particularly good.
- Salter, J. A. Allied Shipping Control: An Experiment in International Administration. London: Humphrey Milford, 1921.
This book gives a good insight of general conditions prevailing in the maritime trade.
- Scymour, Charles. (ed.). The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. 4 vols. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1926-1928.
A fragmentary compilation but it would be impossible to work in this period without consulting these volumes.

Siney, Marion C. The Allied Blockade of Germany, 1914-1916. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Makes important point that the long-distance blockade of Germany was not based on a legal right. Author says Wilson followed right policies but for the wrong reasons.

Sheldon, Addison Erwin. Nebraska: The Land and the People. 3 vols. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1931.

The first volume gives a detailed account of the 1916 elections and how the peace candidates carried the day in a state with a large German-American population. Henry Ford, campaigning against over-preparedness, also got a heavy vote in the Republican Primary. Nebraska, however, went Democratic in the November General Election of 1916.

Smith, Daniel M. The Great Departure: The United States and World War I, 1914-1920. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

Author sees everything in terms of personal leadership. He gives leaders more freedom of action than warranted, apparently overlooking the fact only God has complete sovereignty.

Smith, Gaddis. Britain's Clandestine Submarines, 1914-1915. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1964.

The book is blemished by attacks on Bryan, dwelling on the Commoner's disdain for International Law. Gives much praise to Lansing. Smith makes the interesting point that without Canadian influence, United States might not have gone to war. Also ties in various business inter-connections between Great Britain, America, and Canada. Author does not speculate, but one can't help wonder how many of those American submarines made in Canada later were involved in torpedoing of American merchantmen. The record says there were no such "accidents."

Sontag, Raymond James. European Diplomatic History, 1871-1932. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933.

Storey, Graham. Reuters: The Story of a Century of News-Gathering. New York: Crown Publishers, 1951.

- Sullivan, Mark. Our Times: The United States, 1900-1925. 6 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933.
The fifth volume gives a good contemporary account of American reaction to the sinking of the Lusitania.
- Tansill, Charles Callan. America Goes to War. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938.
- Taylor, A. J. P. The Course of German History. New York: Capricorn Books, 1962.
. The Struggle for Mastery in Europe. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
- Tirpitz, A. P. F. Memoirs. Leipzig: Berlag von R. J. Roehler, 1919.
The sinking of the Lusitania is especially well told in this book.
- Tuchman, Barbara. The Guns of August. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963.
- Tumulty, Joseph. Woodrow Wilson As I Knew Him. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1921.
- Wanderscheck, Herman. Weltkrieg und Propaganda. Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1935.
- Waugh, Coulton. The Comics. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.
Limited material on editorial cartoon.
- Westwood, H. R. Modern Caricaturists. London: Lovat Dickson, Ltd., 1932.
Selection of twenty outstanding caricaturists in the world at that time. Gives interesting histories of Kladderadatsch and other leading satire-humor magazines, 1900-1932.
- Wheeler-Bennet, John W. Wooden Titan: Hindenburg in Twenty Years of German History, 1914-1934. New York: William Morrow and Co., 1936.
- White, William Allen. Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924.
- Wilson, Woodrow. A History of the American People. 5 vols. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902.
A very good "popular" history which has stood the "test of time" rather well.