

A WHOLE WORLD OUTRAGED

Should Guilty Germany Be Permitted Ever to Resume Her Place Among the Nations? An Argument for Ostracism "on Grounds of Morality and Religion"

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FOUR years ago the German Nation was universally admired for its marvelous efficiency, but was suspected and feared for its immoral intentions and plans by relatively few in the civilized world. Today it is universally hated, and is revealed disgraced and scorned before the moral consciousness of mankind. The prospect is that four years from now it will be no less detested and despised from the moral point of view, but, we have reason to hope, no longer feared. There can be no doubt that the soldiers and people of Belgium, France, Italy, and Great Britain look on everything bearing the name "German" with a growing intensity of bitter feeling; and there is every reason to expect that the same thing will be true of us as the war goes on. We, too, in spite of all exhortations to the contrary, as we have practical experience of the German way of waging battle, of treating prisoners and noncombatants, and come better to comprehend their monstrous plans for dominating civilized mankind, shall find our hearts swelling with horror and detestation.

Nor is it at all likely, however the war may end, that this attitude of an outraged world toward this outrageous conduct will quickly subside. To be sure, the feelings of those who have fought our battles, or observed the facts, or read the books and listened to the tales describing the actual transactions, cannot remain long at the current pitch of intensity. The subjective and verbal record of the hateful doings of our enemies will grow dim quickly with time, and with a short period of peace will mostly subside. But will this rehabilitate Germany or to any considerable degree restore it to the confidence and respect of mankind? Will it cause the incomparable crimes of this nation, people as well as Government, to be condoned, forgiven, or forgotten? Let us hope not. No greater misfortune could happen to the moral sense of mankind.

Now there are some very good persons who, in the name of morality, deprecate the continuance in any lasting way of that attitude of mind which will not condone or cease from detesting and scorning the character and conduct even of a defeated Germany. They call our attention to certain excellences of Germany in the past, or to advantages of a material sort which might accrue from resuming social and trade relations with even an unrepentant and unreformed Germany; and some there be who would apply to the case the Christian rule of forgiveness. For, say they, does not the German Nation, too, think that it is fighting for the right, and that its enemies—especially the British and now also the Americans—are altogether abominably selfish and "materialistic"? And who appeals to God more frequently and confidently than the head ruffian of the German people?

To this the reply is, that even if it were true of every individual in all the Empire of Germany, it would not in the slightest degree save the moral issue. Such moral judgment is equally true of the Thugs and worshippers of Kali in India, and of the head hunters of Borneo and Formosa. On the contrary, the most deadly immorality of the German Nation, Government and people, today is still their theory of morality. Their theory is that what is conceived of as good for the interests of Germany to plan and to do is morally right. This has been taught in the schools and universities and from the pulpits of Germany for the entire generation of living men. The theory itself is devilishly immoral. For, the very fundamental conception of morality is that of a law, or an ideal, or—if you personify it—a righteous God.

Some Power or Some One, supreme over all individual and national selfish plans and interests. It is not—or He is not—the organ or servant of individuals or nations, and responsible to human wishes to give the rules of conduct to themselves; but, the rather, is It, or He, the rightful master of individuals and nations, and they are responsible to, and answerable to, It or Him.

Translated into the language of religion, and expressed in terms similar to those attributed to Lincoln, the difference spiritually is as wide as from earth to heaven, between being sure that "God is on your side," and being in earnest to make sure that "you are on God's side." And this, the world of civilized men, under the inspiration of its great moral teachers, Confucius, Sakya-Muni, Jesus and His Apostles, has come to believe, in spite of German propagandism, and, alas! of not a few misled teachers of morality in the courts and schools of the Entente Allies.

The feelings of an outraged world against an outrageous Germany, as set forth in deeds and fortified by theory, ought to continue undiminished to the end of time. Without faith in the eternal principles of righteousness no one can guarantee that it will be so; but we may be somewhat confident in the belief that these feelings will continue essentially the same for a very considerable time.

But the various forms of reaction by way of changes of attitude toward the German Nation which are destined to continue and probably grow stronger before the war ends, and whenever and however it ends, are becoming more marked and threatening to Germany's post-bellum reputation with every passing month, and, we might almost say, with every passing day.

Germany has lost immeasurably, and I believe irreversibly, among scholastic and academic circles, in its reputation for education and for science and philosophy. It has been discovered that in the higher realms of science, where imagination combined with superior reasoning powers and freedom from all sinister motives, control results, modern Germany has been inferior to Great Britain and France, and little or not at all superior to us; and that in the applied sciences of physics and chemistry, as devoted to the Government's plans for an all-conquering policy, its supremacy has been simply due to the fact that the Government commandeered these forces to such ends in its own behalf. Since the British, French, and American men of science got going in these directions they have already shown that they can equal and even outclass the Germans. When the war is over our young men will no longer flock to Germany for advanced education; nor will German books hold the same place in our graduate and professional schools; nor will the people outside, as well as within academical circles, puzzle over the vague platitudes of Eucken and other modern German writers on philosophy, as they did before the war.

American scholars can scarcely be expected to maintain their pristine deference and respect for the freedom from prejudice and historical accuracy of Harnack and the other signers of a Government-ordered manifesto issued in denial of the German atrocities in Belgium. American Assyriologists and other students of the archaeology of the Near East are organizing for independence of a German-ruled Turkey in respect of permission to excavate and make other researches in Mesopotamia and Syria and Armenia when our Government—however tardily—gets ready to do

its duty to assist the other Allies to bring this rule to an end. There are plain signs, too, that we are going to forbid all teaching in German, and must limit and carefully supervise the teaching of German, as well as regulate the teaching of anything by un-American Germans, in both the private and public schools of the country. The propagandism of German ideas and ideals is to be in the future much more difficult, if not sternly repressed. Yes; the prestige of Germany in science, philosophy, and scholarship is already doomed to a long period of decline, if not to the fate of extinction.

The same thing is true in scarcely less degree of modern German literature and art. And here the attitude of an outraged world against an outrageous Germany is based on no less solid grounds. For the literature of modern Germany, especially of modern Prussia, is essentially entitled to only scanty respect. In proof of this, let any one with a fair but critical spirit glance over the twenty elegant volumes of "The German Classics," published a few years ago under imperial auspices as much the most respectable and delicate species of propagandism, and mark the truly pitiable decline in quality after the first seven or eight volumes are passed, and modern, materialized, and sensualized Germany, under the influence of Prussia, has come more fully into its own. Let no one fear that we, and the larger world's lovers of great literature, shall ever cease to read and admire the famous poets, dramatists, novelists, essayists, and philosophers, who, in the glorious past of a not yet degenerate people, bore the German name. And, in fact, we have no need to surrender Kant, who was of Scotch descent; nor Beethoven, whose family origin was in Louvain and who bore a Dutch name; nor Goethe, who despised the Prussians as barbarians and predicted that, given civilization, they would become outrageous, as material to weave a halo about the heads of Kaiser Wilhelm, von Hindenburg, and Counts Reventlow and von Tirpitz. But the literature which Kultur of the Prussian type has produced does not hold up very well in the presence of the culture of France and Great Britain. Even America need not be greatly ashamed in its presence.

Surely the Germans have not commended themselves to the world of art so far as their love of the finest architecture is concerned. The artistic world will not, can not, and ought not quickly pardon them for their senseless and blind outrages of the world's aesthetic and moral sensibilities along this line. And in connection with these outrages, the arts of sculpture and pictorial representation have been deeply involved. Germany will have to restore and build anew a rare lot of churches and public buildings, will have to carve and paint diligently and with a taste of which it has never made even the beginning of an exhibition, in order to get the paragon of an outraged world for the destruction it has wrought.

A yet more trying feature of the world's way of manifesting its feeling toward the German Nation is this: It will require time and the patience and meekness which are not exactly Prussian to re-establish satisfactory social relations between the nation of Germany and the rest of mankind. The great majority of the German and Austrian peoples that have settled in good faith among us, and have become, or are ready in the future to become, a real part of us, we shall treat in the future, even more than we have in the past, on terms of friendliness

and perfect social equality. Others we shall dismiss from the prisons where they have been "interned for the period of the war," and quite cheerfully, as soon as transportation can be provided, return to the Fatherland, and let them fulfill their destiny in that, to them, more congenial clime. But the attitude of bonhomie will not return all at once to greet the German traveler or sojourner among the Entente Allies; and even their diplomats, with whatever formal politeness they are received in official circles, can scarcely expect that the memory of Count Bernstorff will have been obliterated.

Nor is it likely that American women, even those conspicuously ambitious to share some foreign title, will be quite so eager to trap a German or Austrian Baron; or that those who are governed by affection in such matters will be quite so likely to be entrapped by a German or Austrian Baron. On the contrary, it is altogether likely that marital and friendly ties will be more frequently contracted and will hold more firm and warm between members of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. Nor is it at all beyond the limits of possibility, or—so far as I can see—desirability, that some of our boys will return from the war bringing the choicest of trophies in the shape of French wives with them; or will stop in France to become founders of loyal French families. However this may be, it is certain to be extremely difficult for an outraged world to resume cordial and intimate relations of the social sort with the unrepentant products of the outrageous Kultur now espoused and practiced by a Prussianized Germany.

These considerations, even if they could be convinced of their reality, would probably not greatly affect the judgment or the conduct of the military party, the Junkers, the manufacturers of munitions, or the Hamburg and Bremen merchants and ship owners. The character of their interests, and the high and firm confidence which they have in the excellent superiority of the German Nation over all other peoples, would not be notably disturbed by what these other peoples might think of them in such minor matters. But the case is not the same with regard to what an outraged world proposes as punishment for an outrageous Germany in one other direction. This has to do with permission to resume their economic prosperity, their domestic industries, and their foreign trade. Both their policy of aggressive war and the policy of aggressive peace are pronounced with regard to this really important matter. On the one hand, we are entertained with threats of visits from immense submarines, of the bombardment of our coasts, of the exaction of huge indemnities, and of compulsion to furnish German factories with raw materials and make treaties to take their products on the most favorable terms. In short, we must allow them, from this time on, to dominate on their own terms the world's industries and foreign trade. Rather a tall proposition, this! On the other hand, we are cajoled with promises to relinquish a modicum of the spoils of war, so legitimately and gloriously won by the German Army, provided guarantees are made of the return of their colonies, the restoration of the freedom of the seas, so unrighteously wrested from them, the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine, and other similar restrictions, equality with the most favored nations in all treaties affecting trade, the retention of their hold on Russia and Turkey, &c., according as their bargaining may be allowed to extend to lesser or greater lengths.

Now, in the face of all this pretension,

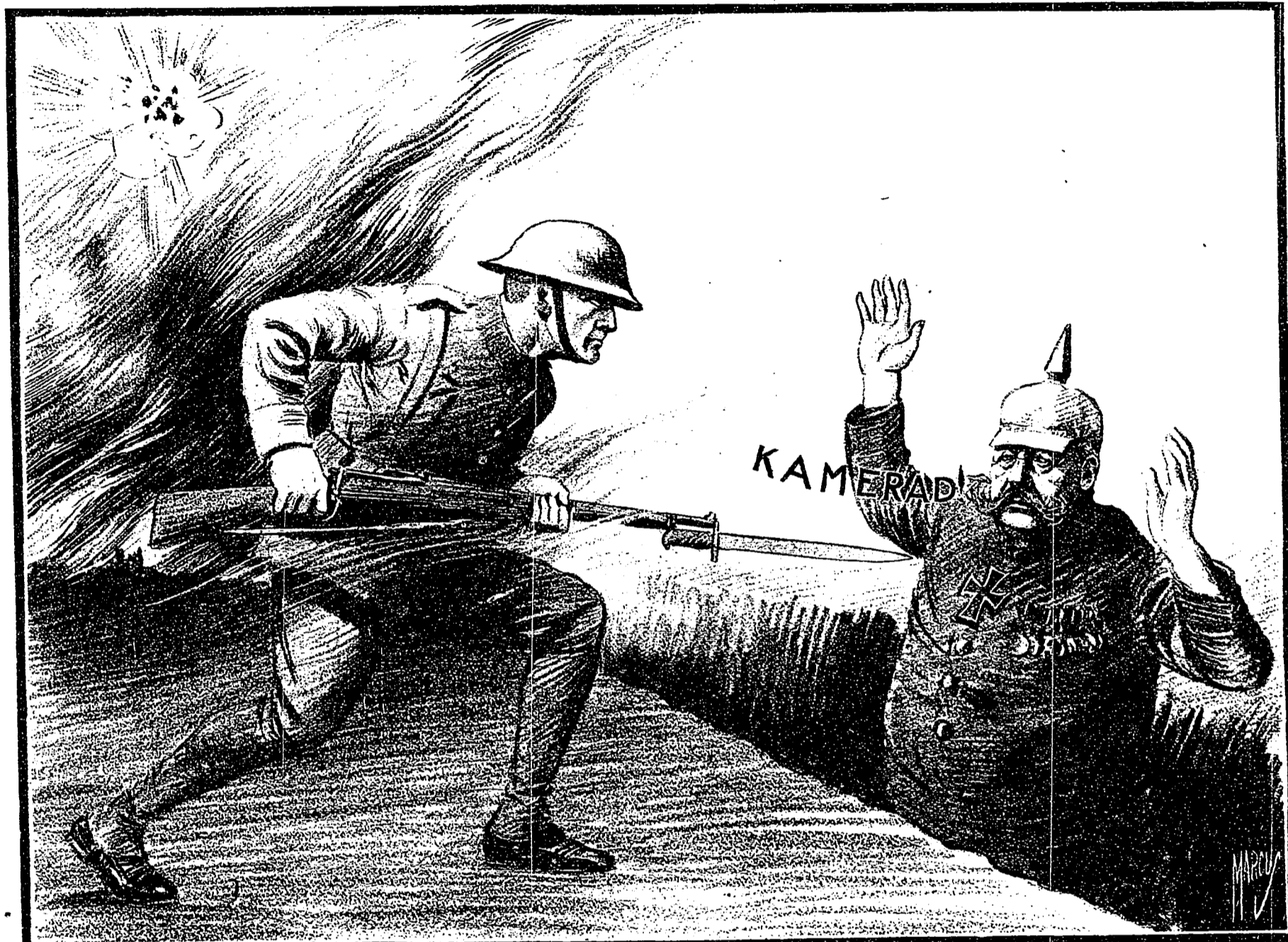
whether the proposal is to continue the war until the insolence of Great Britain and America is sufficiently humbled, or—what is just now much more to be feared—their desire to unburden a war-weary world becomes supreme, certain facts stand very firm and bulk very large. It was the British fleet which, more than any other influence, brought to the world the freedom of the seas and its system of open ports. It was the German submarine policy and ruthless practice which has temporarily destroyed this freedom of the seas. The British fleet, powerfully reinforced by the French and the greatly enlarged American and Japanese fleets, is going to have the say as to when

many. As for us, we need not be dependent on any foreign nation for any of the necessities, or for most of the comforts and luxuries, of civilized living. But for this very reason we ought to become not only more efficient, but also more just and more generous in our commercial relations with foreign nations. We may be perfectly sure, however, that neither justice nor generosity will be appreciated by an unreformed Germany.

Now, doubtless, Germany will continue to bully and wheedle the Russia it has ruined and is rapidly taking possession of, and all the weak and silly peoples of the East, both near and far, as long as Germany remains what Germany now is.

Shall we not also make some more definite arrangement for the immediate and near future to trade chiefly with our friends and little or none at all with our enemies? Shall we not for the time being, to greater or less extent, "boycott" Germany? Even before the beginning of the war the trademark "made in Germany" had lost much of its pristine glamour for those who knew the reality of things. The old-time German thoroughness and honesty had suffered a grievous abatement. There are hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, in this country to whom it has become distinctly offensive. It will take a considerable time for this offense to pass away.

We shall probably make treaties favoring trade with our allies and with those who have remained really neutral, and in some respects distinctly unfavorable to resuming trade on equal terms with Germany. Distinct movements in this direction are already afoot in France, Great Britain, and Japan and China; it is altogether likely that they will prevail more and more, as the war goes on, in this country also. And if the seamen of the other Allies adopt the resolutions already passed by the British Seamen's League, they will refuse to handle ships in any way concerned in trade with the nation which has so ruthlessly murdered so many of the members of their craft.



The Only Kind of Peace Talk That Counts

German ships, both warships and merchant marine, shall again enjoy the freedom of the seas, and on what terms they shall be reinstated in its enjoyment. This means that the Entente Allies will dictate to Germany and Austria the time and the terms of their resumption of foreign trade to the Westward Ho!

Another important fact concerns the supply of raw materials for certain of the most important lines of manufacture and industry. These materials are largely, and some of them almost completely, in the control of the Entente Allies. Here, too, it is likely to depend on the will of the owners, how much of, and on what terms, German and Austrian manufacturers and traders shall have these materials.

Still another important fact is this: Perhaps especially the United States, but to a considerable extent all the Entente Allies, are fast rendering themselves independent of Germany for those things for which they formerly found it necessary or convenient to go to Ger-

And we can scarcely expect to prevent or even to curb this so long as we remain in the totally inconsistent attitude of being active allies of France and Great Britain and Italy, while maintaining peace with Turkey and Bulgaria. But even the utmost success of this iniquitous drive to the eastward will not restore foreign trade to Germany in westward directions. How, then, should an outraged world treat an outrageous and unrepentant and unreformed German Government, and a nation still under the control of such a Government, in this to them most important regard?

And, first, it can scarcely be supposed that our own Government, whatever may be implied in even the latest rhetorical utterances of its head, or in the advice of some of its prominent "economists," will refuse for a suitable time at least to offer protection to those "infant industries" which are so rapidly making us independent of Germany and working toward the great extension and enrichment of our foreign trade.

Meantime, (silly as it may seem to the economist who will not admit that the moral and aesthetic emotions ought to influence mankind in their buying and selling), there may develop a large party of Americans ready to sign pledges to have nothing to do with things "made in Germany." It is conceivable that the heathen of India and Ceylon may revolt from buying their idols in the future from the arch desecrators of sacred places. At any rate, the feelings of the people of the Entente Allies will not be altogether placid in the view of resuming cordial business relations with this outrageous nation. Our babies of the next generation are more likely to nurse dolls made in Japan, or China, or in the United States, than dolls "made in Germany." And who would care, with the spirit which is going to prevail in America after the war, to eat his breakfast off a plate bearing this appetite-destroying trademark?

There remains the most important measure of all belonging to this class.

In considering these reactions of an outraged world against an outrageous Germany, the points of view of fact have been pretty closely adhered to. Doubtless different persons will differ somewhat widely from us when they assume the points of view of expediency or morality. And, as has already been said, there are persons, who can scarcely with justice be called definitely pro-German, who will hold that to indulge in these reactions after the war is over would be inexpedient and immoral. But let such bear in mind the nature of the German Government and the nature of the German people as at present governed. Then they may come to the conclusion that it is altogether best for the world and for the German people themselves that a world so outraged by a war so outrageously initiated and conducted should inflict grievous punishment on the guilty. At least, that is the contention of the writer of this article; and he bases it on grounds of morality and religion.