

eminent collegians in this connection; Dr. Charles Eliot and Nicholas Murray Butler; also Dr. Lyman Abbott and Rev. McKim, a Washington pastor.

"I wish to observe," he goes on, "that I am neither pro-German, as some of the newspapers have recently insisted, nor am I pro-Ally. I am, as this Congress ought to be, pro-American (applause), and nothing else. If it has come to that point where we must forget the history of this Nation, must obliterate the record we have made to attain our present position, or if we are to forget that once we severed the yoke that bound us and must put that yoke again upon our necks, I want to leave these congressional halls forever."

Magnificent melodrama!

SIR GILBERT PARKER is also implicated in Moore's indictment. Congressmen, it seems, have been getting war literature from Sir Gilbert. This makes Mr. Moore angry. He scents a British publicity campaign to drag the United States into war on the side of Great Britain. He becomes more angry when he deals with the argument that because the United States has taken two million dollars of the bonds of foreign powers in payment for munitions, the United States must see the Allies through or lose the money. And he winds up with this passionate peroration:

"Great God! Have we come to this in the United States, here in the Hall of our fathers, the Hall in which we determined the fate of America, the Hall in which we have fought out our great battles, the Hall in which we have resisted foreign aggression, the Hall in which we have dared to stand for our rights from colonial days—has it come to this, that because we are told by a great power or by great newspapers that some money is at stake we must go in and fight a foreign war or lose it all? Shall we forget our altars and our firesides, and shall all of the holy traditions of the United States stand for naught?" (Applause.)

The day after his speech the New York Sun diagnosed Hampton Moore as a crazy man. The Sun might better have said that Moore is the same kind of lunatic as the Fourth of July cannon-cracker that keeps foreign "nationals" inside the United States impressed that they are above all things American. There may be better methods of doing this than the anti-George-III. cannon-crackers; just as there are some saner Americans than J. Hampton Moore. The Pennsylvanian knows that England is not trying to fasten a 20th century yoke on the United States. He knows rather well that whatever yoke was being got ready for the United States was the made-in-Germany kind. He will not as a liberty-loving American deny that Potsdam is further from Philadelphia in political ethics than London is from Hongkong. Hampton Moore is a brainy demagogue. Curb orators are being arrested in New York for saying at the corner of 23rd and Broadway the identical things that Hampton Moore and Congressman Callaway say in Congress where no man can be arrested for speaking so long as he observes the rules and has the unanimous consensus of the House.

THIS is disturbing to a Canadian who settles himself at Keith's Vaudeville opposite the Treasury to forget Congress and the war. Here the President often sits in the balcony to drive away cares that are never too dull nowadays. He likes vaudeville—and baseball; both good American institutions.

Wednesday evening the Capitol dome was lighted in the top, the first time for weeks. There was a night session. Since 5 o'clock the gong in the congressional offices had been petulant. A large number of Congressmen, however, disregarded the night session. They went to Keith's. Between turns the manager came on stage to announce that there had been a call of the House; all Congressmen at the theatre were called back to the trenches. Telephone inquiry discovered that unless Congressmen reported at the House, the Sergeant-at-Arms would go out to arrest them. This is a regular form of polite procedure in Washington. Any Congressman with a message to mankind or a million in his ledger is liable to be arrested once in a while. And on Wednesday evening the secret service, strong-arm squad of the Sergeant-at-Arms made a fine roundup of Congressmen in swallowtails—from theatres, cafes, and other places of amusement. Thousands of people in the theatres scented—war. Was Congress in joint session about to declare war? Had the "overt act" at last put a match to the Wilson powder-magazine? Was the President already whizzing up Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House to the Capitol?

No. The cause of all the excitement was merely the old power boss and pacifist, James R. Mann, Republican leader and Parliamentary expert, conducting a filibuster over some report on a Soldiers' Home.

Next morning Augustus Peabody Gardner, Republican from Massachusetts, delivered his promised reply to Congressman Moore on the newspaper conspiracy. The House came to attention. Gardner is an evangelistic Rooseveltian who delights in a rumpus. He is an out-and-out pro-Ally. That alone got him a sympathetic hearing from at least one in the gallery. He made a hot speech in condemnation of Germany which drew out a picturesque query from white-whiskered, long-haired Cyclone Smith, down Kansas way. But though Gardner said things that ought to have fired Congress into flaming resentment against the black pirate notion on the Rhine, he did not cover his point relative to the alleged newspaper conspiracy. He remembered the Lusitania, the Falaba, and the Sussex. He made a fiery apostrophe to the flag above the speaker and said he wanted to see no yellow streak in that. And he got a good round of non-partisan applause. Congress knew he was right. But Gardner, with all his good intentions and obvious ability, didn't play ball as expertly as Moore. And if there is anything Congress likes better than party politics, it's good national baseball. When Hampton Moore got the unanimous consent of the House for a come-back at Gardner, the House cheered and Cyclone Smith rose like a gaunt old god of anti-war. The lean, dark orator from Pennsylvania re-affirmed his former statements as to the "stranglehold" press. He got cheers from both sides of Congress.

NOW as psychology what can we make out of this? The same Congress both wildly applauds the President for breaking off relations with Germany and cheers Hampton Moore for making an anti-British speech. Beautifully inconsistent. Consider again that the Congress which cheered the anti-big-interest speech is the same body that permitted the President last summer in a national emergency to jam through the anti-big-interest railroad law. Consistent to a dot. Go along this line and you expect that Hearst, Gompers and Bryan could all be expected to sway Congress; Hearst with his war referendum, Bryan adopting it, Gompers in his manifesto agreeing with both, and all agreeing with Messrs. Callaway and Moore. Take the war away from Morgan and the big newspapers, from the interests and from English interference, and refer it to the people. So easy. And with the right spokesman facing the House, even that might be put over Congress in the name of the American people. Similarly a clever orator might rouse Congress on the German bogey.

In fact, this great body of national legislators is just trying out its Americanism on world problems—clean cut away from party restrictions on the war problem Congress is making up its national mind. The Pennsylvania suspicion that England may be hand-in-glove with the big munitioners is just as American as the Massachusetts notion that Germany may be nothing but a piratical nation. Congress might just as easily have applauded the President for sending Ambassador Spring-Rice home and recalling Page. There might be some chivalrous reluctance to do such a thing to France; but not concerning Italy—and certainly not Russia, who seldom arouses any enthusiasm in the United States.

The basic thing in all these symptoms is—Americanism. The big republic is weary of being made an accessory in this war by either side. It wants to be plain Americans. Orators in Congress make flaming references to the Civil War. Southern Democrats give no sign of protest. They may even applaud the sentiment—because it's American. But let any orator go into an anti-George III. Liberty Hall speech, and under the right circumstances Congress goes off at once—because that's American also.

In a body of such diverse interests making up the Congressional mind, is largely a matter of impulses. The last united impulse of Congress was severing diplomatic relations with Germany. That was a drastic step. It was profoundly exciting. It was naturally followed by a slight reaction. Perhaps after all this might mean war. Perhaps Germany was not so bad as she had been painted. That was the psychic moment for dragging in the

"stranglehold" press bogey. It caught Congress on the back movement in the name of "Hands off America by the British—or any other power!"

There is no use being impatient with Congress. We have been in the same temperamental condition ourselves. When the greatest Congressional democracy in the world begins to act without reference to the precepts of party leaders on so intricate a problem as a world war, we may expect many curious reversals of feeling.

IT is a safe hazard that if war is declared Washington will come as near being a real American community as she ever is on the Fourth of July, or as she will be on March 4th, when she re-inaugurates President Wilson in the great democratic Durbar of America.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bernstorff and the flag over the German Embassy have gone. The White House is absolutely closed except to the President and his family and accredited guests, members of the Cabinet and the family pets. The State, Army and Navy building is uncompromisingly closed. Not even a Congressman, I doubt if even a Senator, could get in there. The Treasury is still accessible on presentation of a letter from a Congressman or a Senator. Washington is tightening up. Democracy which demands one cuspidor every twenty-five yards in the long tunnel from the Congressional office building to the Capitol, is getting ready to assert its climatic phase of Americanism by doing whatever the logic of necessity calls for when the psychological moment arrives. Tuesday this week Congress voted by a majority of over 300 a naval bill granting \$368,000,000 more to the navy. The grant last year was \$300,000,000.

Let us get it unmistakably into our Canadian heads that whatever Congress decides to do about the war it will have nothing to do with what Canada has done, is doing, or intends to do. As an incitement to or an example against war we simply don't exist down here. Congress may know what we are doing or it may not. Congress will never tell. We don't belong to the issue. If Congress declares war it will never be to help Canada and England. The United States gives Canada credit for being a very responsive and sentimental part of the Empire—more British than the English, as one put it yesterday. He may as well give Washington credit for having a business of its own, with being able to attend to that business without any advice from us.

Yet in Canada we have been talking for two years as though the United States had a solemn obligation to take one side or the other in this conflict just because we did. We have a peculiarly temperamental capacity for thinking this way because the problems of the United States are so very much like our own. But we get no thanks for doing it; not in Washington.

Occasionally, however, an American lets drop a remark that shows how hard it is to draw the line of sentiment at parallel 49. Speaking to a well-known club somewhere in America a few days ago a well-known American war correspondent, praising the Canadian army, said, in answer to a question as to the number of Americans in that army, "Why, it was like walking down Broadway."

If he had said it was like walking down Piccadilly or the Strand he would have had no more intention of minimizing the Canadian army. Of course, had he been speaking to a Canadian audience he might have given the same fact a much different turn. But we couldn't send Sir Sam Hughes or Gen. Lessard, or even Lord Beaverbrook down here and tell Washington anything about how she ought to begin to raise an army or increase a navy for going to war with Germany.

AS to the German-American menace, what? Some Congressmen have hundreds of thousand in their constituencies. The fact that Bernstorff has been given his passports causes them no alarm. They claim that the majority of the German-Americans are Americans first, Germans second. A Congressman who has both German-Americans and Canadian-Americans in his voting area may see no great difference between the natural sentiment of one or the other. Canadian-Americans naturally prefer to see England win. Why should not German-Americans prefer to see Germany win? So long as they are first of all Americans—what difference?

(Continued on page 23.)