

all other nations, and upon it every traveler and seaman had a right to depend. It is upon this principle of humanity as well as upon the law founded upon this principle that the United States must stand.

AID TOWARD MITIGATING WAR TERRORS

The government of the United States is happy to observe that your excellency's note closes with the intimation that the Imperial German government is willing now as before, to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with the government of Great Britain by which the character and conditions of the war upon the sea may be changed. The government of the United States would consider it a privilege thus to serve its friends and the world. It stands ready at any time to convey to either government any intimation or suggestion the other may be willing to have it convey, and cordially invites the Imperial German government to make use of its services in this way at its convenience. The whole world is concerned in anything that may bring about even a partial accommodation of interests in any way mitigate the terrors of the present distressing conflict.

In the meantime, whatever arrangement may happily be made between the parties to the war and whatever may, in the opinion of the Imperial German government have been the provocation or the circumstantial justification for the past acts of the commanders at sea, the government of the United States confidently looks to see the justice and humanity of the government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged or their rights as neutrals invaded.

The government of the United States therefore very earnestly and very solemnly renews the representations of its note transmitted to the Imperial German government on the 15th of May, and relies in these representations upon the principles of humanity, the universally recognized understandings of international law and the ancient friendship of the German nation.

RIGHTS OF AMERICANS IN "WAR ZONE"

The government of the United States can not admit that the proclamation of a war zone from which neutral ships have been warned to keep away may be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights either of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. It does not understand the Imperial German government to question these rights. It understands it also to accept as established beyond question the principle that the lives of non-combatants can not lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unresisting merchantman, and to recognize the obligation to take sufficient precaution to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact a belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

The government of the United States therefore deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done. (Signed)

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State ad Interim.

Mr. Bryan Resigns as Secretary of State

The Secretary of State,
Washington, June 9, 1915.

My Dear Mr. President:

It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of secretary of state with which you honored me at the beginning of your administration.

Obedient to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German government a note in which I can not join without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war. I therefore respectfully tender my resignation to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour.

Alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of

the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which should be employed. It falls to your lot to speak officially to the nation. I conceive it to be none the less my duty to endeavor as a private citizen to promote the end which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.

In severing the intimate and pleasant relations which have existed between us during the past two years, permit me to acknowledge the profound satisfaction which it has given me to be associated with you in the important work which has come before the state department and to thank you for the courtesies extended.

With the heartiest good wishes for your personal welfare and for the success of your administration, I am, my dear Mr. President,
Very truly yours,

W. J. BRYAN.
The President,
The White House.

The President Accepts Mr. Bryan's Resignation

The White House,
Washington, June 9, 1915.

My dear Mr. Bryan:

I accept your resignation only because you insist upon its acceptance; and I accept it with much more than deep regret, with a feeling of personal sorrow. Our two years of close association have been very delightful to me. Our judgments have accorded in practically every matter of official duty and of public policy until now; your support of the work and purposes of the administration has been generous and loyal beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it offered have been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our affectionate admiration and friendship. Even now we are not separated in the object we seek but only in the method by which we seek it.

It is for these reasons that my feeling about your retirement from the secretaryship of state goes much deeper than regret. I sincerely deplore it. Our objects are the same and we ought to pursue them together. I yield to your desire only because I must and wish to bid you Godspeed in the parting. We shall continue to work for the same causes even when we do not work in the same way.

With affectionate regard,
Sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

Hon. William Jennings Bryan,
Secretary of State.

Two Points of Difference

Mr. Bryan gave out the following statement to the public at the time of the sending of the German note, the time designated for his resignation to take effect:

"My reason for resigning is clearly stated in my letter of resignation, namely, that I may employ as a private citizen the means which the president does not feel at liberty to employ. I honor him for doing what he believes to be right, and I am sure that he desires, as I do, to find a peaceful solution of the problem which has been created by the action of the submarines.

Two of the points upon which we differ, each conscientious in conviction, are, first, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission and, second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition. I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply in this case the principle which we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and the thirty countries with which we have made treaties providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature. These treaties, negotiated under this administration, make war practically impossible between this country and these thirty governments representing nearly three-fourths of all the people of the world. Among the nations with which we have these treaties are Great Britain, France and Russia. No matter what dispute may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration of war and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission, and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to ALL the nations

without any exceptions whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept. No treaty was actually entered into with Germany, but I can not see that that should stand in the way when both nations endorsed the principle. I do not know whether Germany would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer. Such an offer if accepted would at once relieve the tension and silence all the jingoes who are demanding war. Germany has always been a friendly nation and a great many of our people are of German ancestry; why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to Americans traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition. Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve his country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship when he knows that the ship will pass through a danger zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right, under international law, to travel on a belligerent ship; the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country if not for his own safety, avoid danger when avoidance is possible. It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a government to go to war over a citizen's rights and yet relieves the citizen of all obligation to consider his nation's welfare. I do not know just how far the president can legally go in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the government should go as far as it can and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the government. But even if the government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise American citizens not to risk themselves, or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heeded. President Taft advised Americans to leave Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This advice, in my judgment, was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off of vessels subject to attack.

I think, too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endangered by cargoes of ammunition whether that danger comes from possible explosions within or from possible attacks from without. Passengers and ammunition should not travel together. The attempt to prevent American citizens from incurring these risks is entirely consistent with the efforts which our government is making to prevent attacks from submarines. The use of one remedy does not exclude the use of the other. The most familiar illustration is to be found in action taken by municipal authorities during a riot. It is the duty of the mayor to suppress the mob and prevent violence, but he does not hesitate to warn citizens to keep off the streets during the riot. He does not question their right to use the streets but, for their own protection and in the interest of order, he warns them not to incur the risks involved in going upon the streets when men are shooting at each other.

The president does not feel justified in taking the action above suggested; that is, he does not feel justified, first, in suggesting the submission of the controversy to investigation, or, second, in warning the people not to incur the extra hazard involved in traveling on belligerent ships or on ships carrying ammunition; and he may be right in the position he has taken, but as a private citizen, I am free to urge both of these propositions and to call public attention to these remedies in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the president in employing these remedies if in the future he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them."

In giving out the above, Mr. Bryan added that he would reserve other points of difference for future presentation.

The Real Issue

Mr. Bryan issued the following statement June 11:

"To the American People:

"You now have before you the text of the note to Germany—the note which it would have been my official duty to sign had I remained secretary of state. I ask you to sit in judgment upon my