# **WILSON PLACES** GERMAN CRISIS BEFORE SOLONS

President Tells Congress He Has Sent Ultimatum to Berlin Government.

### PUTS BREAK UP TO KAISER

Gives Notice That Diplomatic Relations Will Be Severed Unless Present Methods of Subsea Warfare Are Abandoned Immediately-Killing of Noncombatants Denounced as "Wanton."

House of Representatives, the Capitol, Washington, April 20 .- Sharply indicting Germany for its use of submarines against merchant vessels, President Wilson yesterday, before a lic notice to the world that unless that government changes its methods the United States will have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations.

"The history in the making," was witnessed by one of the largest gatherings that has ever been jammed into the historic chamber of the house of of available space was occupied, while literally thousands were turned away.

There was no questioning the seriousness of the president's position. His voice, somewhat husky, penetrated | kind. every corner of the room, and the message was emphasized with an expression that showed its author was fearful of the outcome. That seriousness was shared by the audience, the usual applause given the president's utterances being absent.

The message in every sense was an altimatum. True, it contained no time limit within which reply must be made. But it flatly insisted that the German submarine warfare has reached the stage when this government will no longer tolerate it.

The German explanations, previously made, have been accepted in good faith, the president said, in the hope that that government would finally be able to so order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the position of humanity as embodied in the "law of nations.

The United States has been willing to wait, the president said, "until the significance of the fact became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of but one interpretation." That point, he said, has "now unhappily been reached.

#### Text of President's Address. Following is the complete text of the president's address:

"Gentlemen of the Congress: A situ-

ation has arisen in the foreign relations of the country of which it is my plain duty to inform you very frankly.

"It will be recalled that in February, 1915, the imperial German government announced its intention to treat the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland as embraced within the seat of war and to destroy all merchant ships owned by its enemies that might be found within any part of that portion of the high seas, and that it warned all vessels, of neutral as well as of belligerent ownership, to keep out of the waters it had thus prescribed, or else enter them at their peril. The government of the United States earnestly protested. It took the position that such a policy could not be pursued without the practical certainty of gross and palpable violations of the law of nations, particularly if submarine craft were to be employed as its instruments, inasmuch as the rules prescribed by that law, rules founded upon principles of humanity and established for the protection of the lives of noncombatants at sea could not in the nature of the case be observed by such vessels. It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable risks, and that no right to close any part of the high seas against their use or to expose them to such risks could lawfully be asserted by any belligerent government. The law of nations in these matters, upon which the government of the United States based its protest is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

### Protest Was Disregarded.

"Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our government, the imperial German government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it has announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the dangers to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the gov would take every possible precaution. and to safeguard the lives of noncom-

being fulfilled. In pursuance of the ernment to the reproach of thrusting

policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus its immediate objects. announced and entered upon by the imperial German government in States has been very patient. At evdespite of the solemn protest of this ery stage of this distressing experigovernment, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked its own citizens were involved it had merchant ships with greater and great- sought to be restrained from any exer activity, not only upon the high treme course of action or of protest seas surrounding Great Britain and by a thoughtful consideration of the Ireland, but wherever they encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more all it said or did by the sentiments of indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less observant of re- of the United States have always enstraints of any kind; and have deliv- tertained and continue to entertain toered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality and bound upon every sort of errand. Vessels of neutral ownership, rial German government as given in bound from neutral port to neutral entire sincerity and good faith, and port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantman attacked has been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before she was sent takable and susceptible of but one into the bottom. But again and again terpretation, no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this government of but one interpretation. The impeforesaw must happen has happened. rial German government has been unjoint session of congress, issued pub. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the able to put any limit or restraints seas in such fashion, with such at upon its warfare against either freight tendant circumstances, as to make it or passenger ships. It has therefore grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, cannot be carried on without the most palpable the very outset is inevitable, namely, violation of the dictates alike of right | that the use of submarines for the deand of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the imperial of necessity, because of the very char-

### either the reason or the heart of man-As to Armed Merchantmen.

methods of attack upon the commerce

of its enemies within bounds set by

"In February of the present year the imperial German government informed this government and the other neutral governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given them secret orders to attack any submarine of the enemy they might encounter upon the seas, and that the imperial German government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning.

"The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them to repel attack, though to use them, in such circumstances, at their own risks; but the imperial German government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose thus still further to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operations of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practicable to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

"Again and again the imperial German government has given this government its solemn assurances that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has again and again permitted its undersea commanders to disregard these assurances with entire impunity. Great liners like the Lusitania and the Arabic and mere ferry boats like the Sussex have been attacked without a moment's warning, sometimes before they had even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed vessel of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew. have been sacrificed wholesale, in a manner which the government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has in fact been set to the indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters, constantly extending in area, where these operations have been carried on, and the roll of Americans who have lost their lives on ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

### Sussex a Late Example.

"One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross-channel steamer Sussex. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer Lusitania did. as so singularly tragical and unjustiflable as to constitute a truly terrible example of the inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for the past twelve months been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some disavowal by the German government, some evidence of criminal mistake or wilful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained; but ernment of the United States that it unhappily it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion both to respect the rights of neutrals inevitable that it is only one instance, even though it be one of the most extreme and distressing instances, of "What has actually happened in the the spirit and method of warfare year which has since elapsed has which the imperial German governshown that those hopes were not justi- ment has mistakenly adopted, and fied, those assurances insusceptible of which from the first exposed that gov-

all neutral rights aside in pursuit of

"The government of the United, ence of tragedy after tragedy in which extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war and actuated in genuine friendship which the people ward the German nation. It has, of course, accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the impehas hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the German government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmis-

"That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible become painfully evident that the position which this government took at struction of an enemy's commerce is representatives. Every single inch German government, it has manifestly acter of the vessels employed and the proved impossible for it to keep such very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants

> Virtual Ultimatum Sent. "I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the imperial German government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute ruthless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the government of the United States

must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue; and that unless the imperial German government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the government of the German empire al-

together. "This decision I have srrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will man of the rights of humanity, and utterly swept away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a resentative of the rights of neutrals able. the world over, and to a joint conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solem-

nity and firmness. "I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All soberthat the imperial German government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are

### Preserving Grant's Banner.

In order that it may be preserved for future generations, a flag which waved above General Grant's head-"star-spangled banner" a year and a alities and destinations. half ago. When Lee surrendered, the flag was presented by General Grant state of Massachusetts, and, while reposing in the statehouse, gradually it to be turned over to an eastern woman, who has gained a reputation as a restorer of old flags. The repairing process is described in the April Popular Mechanics Magazine. It consists in backing the banner with Irish linen of a certain weave. Special stitches employed to baste it to the re-enforcement give the flag a honeycombed appearance when closely examined. The thread used in doing this work is dyed to match the faded colors of the banner.

### A Modest Conclusion.

"Will you make many speeches in your own behalf?" "No," replied the candidate; "a man

One Exception. "No man can always be guarded in his conduct."

"I know of one class of men who can." "Where are they?" "In the penitentiarp."

about than talking."

## FINAL WORD ON SUBSEA CRISIS **GOES TO BERLIN**

Note Dispatched From Washington Demands That Attacks on Merchantmen Cease.

### REGARDED AS AN ULTIMATUM

President Declares That Unless Germany Immediately Declares and Effects Abandonment of Present Methods of Submarine Warfare, United States Will Sever Relations.

Washington, D. C .- The final note to Jermany on the submarine controversy with the United States, which was made public by the state department, is essentially an ultimatum to the kaiser, in the view of authorities on international law. The full text of the note follows:

To Ambassador Gerard:

You are instructed to deliver to the secretary of foreign affairs a communication reading as follows:

"I did not fail to transmit immediately by telegraph to my government your excellency's note of the 10th instant in regard to certain attacks by German submarines, and particularly in regard to the disastrous explosion which on March 24 last wrecked the French steamship Sussex in the English channel.

"I have now the honor to deliver, under instructions from my government, the following reply to your excellency: "Information now in the possession of the government of the United States fully establishes the facts in the case or the Sussex, and the inferences which my government has drawn from that information it regards as confirmed by the circumstances set forth in your excellency's note of the 10th instant.

"On the 24th of March, 1916, at about 2:50 o'clock in the afternoon, the unarmed steamer, Sussex, with 325 or more passengers on board, among whom were a number of American citizens, was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe.

"The Sussex had never been armed; was a vessel known to be habitually used only for the conveyance of passengers across the English channel, and was not following the route taken by troop ships or supply ships.

"About eighty of her passengers, noncombatants of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States. were killed or injured.

### German Submarine Blamed.

"A careful, detailed and scrupulousook forward to with unaffected reluc- ly impartial investigation by naval and tance. But we cannot forget that we military officers of the United States are in some sort and by the force of has conclusively established the fact circumstances the responsible spokes- that the Sussex was torpedoed without warning or summons to surrender and that we cannot remain silent while that the torpedo by which she was those rights seem in process of being struck was of German manufacture. In view of the government of the United States, these facts from the first made the conclusion that the torpedo was nation, to our sense of duty as a pre- fired by a German submarine unavoid-

"It now considers that conclusion substantiated by the statements of your excellency's note. A full statement of the facts upon which the government of the United States has based its conclusion is inclosed,

"The government of the United minded men must unite in hoping States, after having given careful consideration to the note of the imperial government of the 10th of April, regrets to state that the impression made upon it by the statements and proposals contained in that note is that the imperial government has failed to apreciate the gravity of the situation which has resulted, not alone from the attack on the Sussex, but from the whole method and character of submarine warfare as disclosed by the unrestrained practice of the commanders of German undersea craft durquarters during the latter part of the ing the past twelve months and more Civil war is being rejuvenated in the in the indiscriminate destruction of same manner as was the original merchant vessels of all sorts, nation-

"If the sinking of the Sussex had been an isolated case, the government to one of his staff officers. Some years of the United States might find it posago it became the property of the sible to hope that the officer who was responsible for that act had willfully violated his orders or had been crimfell into a had condition. This caused | inally negligent in taking none of the precautions they prescribed and to hope that the ends of justice might be satisfied by imposing upon him an adequate punishment, coupled with a formal disavowal of the act and payment of a suitable indemnity by the imperial government.

"But, though the attack upon the Sussex was manifestly indefensible ing within the seat of war. and caused a loss of life so tragical as to make it stand forth as one of the most terrible examples of the inhu- lost their lives upon ships thus atmanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels are month by month until the ominous toll conducting it, it unhappily does not has mounted into the hundreds.

stand alone. "On the contrary, the government of in my position should be more talked, events to conclude that it is only one ence of tragedy after tragedy it has extreme and most distressing inbecome more and more unmistakable many. as the activity of German undersea

been quickened and extended.

'The imperial government will rewaters surrounding Great Britain and ships owned by its enemies that might be found within that zone of embodied in the law of nations. danger, and warned all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, to keep to enter them at their peril, the government of the United States earnestly protested.

Peril Was Shown.

as the rules prescribed by that law, case be observed by such vessels.

"It based its protest on the ground that persons of neutral nationality and vessels of neutral ownership would be exposed to extreme and intolerable part of the high seas could lawfully be asserted by the imperial government in the circumstances then exist-

"The law of nations in these matmerely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based, on the contrary, upon manifest principles of humanity, and has long been established with the approval and by the express effect an abandonment of its present assent of all civilized nations.

Persists in Policy.

"The imperial government, notwiththe government of the United States nations. that it would take every possible precaution both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

"In pursuance of this policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and thus entered upon in despite of the solemn protest of the government of the United States, the commanders of the imperial government's undersea vessels have carried on practices of such ruthless destruction which have made it more and more evident as the months have gone by that the imperial government has found it impracticable to put any such restraint upon them as it had hoped and prom-

ised to put. "Again and again the imperial government has given its solemn assurances to the government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its undersea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity.

"As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed forces of its adversaries and deal with them as men-ofwar, this, at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to afford security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

### Neutral Vessels Sunk.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even from neutral port to neutral port, have beat a retreat. Half-stunned, he manbeen destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly in- into safety. By this time the grounds creasing number. Sometimes the mer- had been practically cleared of vischantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before be- in the central buildings. The keepers ing fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have been the bear back to his own quarters. vouchsafed the poor security of being Gun-firing accelerated his retreat, and allowed to take to the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom.

"But again and again no warning place of confinement. has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on

"Great liners like the Lusitania and Arabic and mere passenger boats like the Sussex have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have even become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of noncombatants, passengers and crew have been destroyed wholesale, and in a manner which the government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slighest color of justification

"No limit of any kind has in fact been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the imperial government has chosen to designate as ly-

American Toll Grows. "The roll of Americans who have

tacked and destroyed has grown "The government of the United

thoughtful consideration of the exstances, of the deliberate method and traordinary circumstances of an un-

"It has accepted the successive ex- than \$300,000.

vessels of war has in recent months planations and assurances of the imperial government as of course given in entire sincerity and good faith, and call that when, in February, 1915, it has hoped, even against hope, that it announced its intention of treating the | would prove to be possible for the imperial government so to order and con-Ireland as embraced within the seat trol the acts of its naval commandof war and of destroying all merchant ers as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as

"It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has out of the waters thus proscribed or been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the imperial "The government of the United government that that time has come. States took the position that such a It has become painfully evident to it policy could not be pursued without that the position which it took at the constant gross and palpable violation very outset is inevitable, namely, the of the accepted law of nations, partic- use of submarines for the destruction ularly if submarine craft were to be of an enemy's commerce, is, of necesemployed as its instruments, inasmuch sity, because of the character of the vessels employed and the very methrules founded on the principles of hu- ods of attack which their employment manity and established for the protec- of course involves, utterly incompattion of the lives of noncombatants at lible with the principles of humanity, sea, could not in the nature of the the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of noncombatants.

But One Course Open.

"If it is still the purpose of the imperial government to prosecute rerisks; and that no rights to close any lentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law ters, upon which the government of and the universally recognized dictates the United States based that protest. of humanity, the government of the is not of recent origin or founded upon | United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue.

"Unless the imperial government, should now immediately declare and methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the government of the United States standing, persisted in carrying out can have no choice but to sever dipthe policy announced, expressing the lomatic relations with the German emhope that the dangers involved, at any pire altogether. This action the govrate to neutral vessels, would be re-ernment of the United States conduced to a minimum by the instruc- templates with the greatest reluctance; tions which it issued to the command- but feels constrained to take in behalf ers of its submarines, and assuring of humanity and the rights of neutral

> "LANSING." (Signed)

### POLAR BEAR ON A STROLL

Animal's Exploration Trip Occasioned Some Excitement in the "Zoo" at Scotch Capital.

A polar bear at the Edinburgh Scotland) zoo caused some excitement and consternation among the visitors in the course of an unofficial tour of a portion of the grounds. Inadvertently the water encircling the rocky mound where the bears live was allowed to rise beyond the normal level. One of the animals swam across and managed to clamber to the topof the outer wall, which rises sheer from the surface of the pond, and ordinarily is too high above the water to be scaled. Pacing leisurely down the adjoining avenue, the bear met a message boy wheeling lemonade bottles on a barrow. The boy put down the barrow and fled. The bear curiously examined the unfamiliar object to his path. After sniffing around for some time, he playfully put out his paw and pushed the barrow over. Many of the bottles were broken, and flooded the roadway. Finding the liquor unattractive, he proceeded to the penguins' enclosure, and amid the excited protests of these droll Arctic birds leisurely strolled through their compound. Next he plunged into the otters' pool and enjoyed a swim. The next call was at the bisons' enclosure. Here his reception was hostile. Three of these formidable animals charged vessels of neutral ownership bound down upon him, and he was glad to aged to scramble through the palisade itors, most of whom sought refuge now appeared, and attempted to herd without great difficulty he was induced to return to his accustomed

### An Open Mind.

Marian has an open mind and is always willing to have opinions she has framed, changed.

"Mamma," she said, looking up from a book of fairy tales, "do you know that castles are solid gold and have solid gold furniture?"

"Those are fairy castles," replied mother. "Real castles are built of brick and stone and the furniture is very fine, but not of gold." A few minutes elapsed.

"Say, mamma, you can't believe anyand queens live in frame houses like ours.

"Perhaps, dear."

hired girl."

A few minutes more elapsed. "Say, mamma, you can't believe anything you read in these books, can you? I'll bet a lot of real poor kings live in shacks and don't even keep a

### Yale Students.

For the education of the 325 seniors at Yale college slightly more than \$1,-000,000 has been required. While it is figured that \$4,073 for the entire States has been very patient. At four years is the average cost a stuthe United States is forced by recent every stage of this distressing experident, one man alone has spent \$15,000 in the process of going through colinstances, even though one of the most sought to be governed by the most lege, while another has required only \$800 to provide his education. In this connection it is a noteworthy fact spirit of indiscriminate destruction of precedented war and to be guided by that 120 members of the class have merchant vessels, of all sorts, nation- sentiments of very genuine friendship earned their way through college eialities and destinations, which have for the people and government of Ger- ther in part or in whole, having earned to date a grand total of more