

By Mr. CLARK of Florida: Petition of J. D. Bush and many other citizens of the State of Florida, favoring universal compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. DALE of New York: Petitions of municipal engineers of city of New York and National Guard of State of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Chamber of German-American Commerce of New York, against the British blockade, etc.; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. EAGAN: Memorial of New Hampshire Committee of Public Safety, relative to Government recognizing that a state of war now exists; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Hamilton Club of Chicago and Universal Service Committee of Veterans of National Guard and Naval Militia of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of R. M. Forbes, of Milton, Mass., against universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ESCH: Memorial of Hamilton Club of Chicago and Universal Service Committee of Veterans of National Guard and Naval Militia of New York, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of 60 Milwaukee citizens favoring thorough naval and military preparation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Wisconsin against this country in war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Wisconsin against section 10 of House bill 19810, relative to increase of postal rates by zones; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

Also, petition of sundry citizens of Dorchester, Wis., against Roman Catholic hierarchy bringing about a state of war between the United States and Mexico; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FLYNN: Petition of Aurora Benevolent Society, of Brooklyn, N. Y., favoring embargo on foodstuffs; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. HASTINGS: Petitions of G. H. Avery and others, of Muskogee, Okla., against this country in war with Germany; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of John M. Taylor, of Claremore, Okla., relative to standing by the President; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH: Memorial of D. A. Burt, L. S. Thompson, and 13 others, of La Belle Iron Works, Steubenville, Ohio, favoring compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, memorial of Friends Peace Committee of Winona; Friends Society of Adena, Ohio; Yearly Meeting of Friends, Philadelphia, Pa.; and many other members of Friends' societies, against war and compulsory military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MOTT: Memorial of New York Southern Society, of New York City, supporting the President and favoring universal military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ROWE: Memorial of citizens of Englewood, N. J., and Harvard Club, of Boston, Mass., pledging support to the President of the United States; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of Union Club, of Boston; Men's Bible Class of the Bethany Presbyterian Church, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; The Bronx Board of Trade; board of trustees of the City Club, of New York; Hamilton Club, of Chicago; and American Institute of Mining Engineers, favoring universal military training; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHOUSE: Petition of mothers of Great Bend and Ellinwood, Kans., against war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of citizens of the State of Kansas, favoring national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, petition of churches of Gray County, Kans., against compulsory military service; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Michigan: Petition of John Bodke and 85 citizens of Battle Creek, Mich., against entering European war; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. SNYDER: Petitions of New York State Agricultural Society and Utica (N. Y.) Chamber of Commerce, supporting the President and Congress in present situation with Germany; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, petition of 600 employees of the Library Bureau, Ithaca, N. Y., to sustain the honor of the Nation in the present situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WARD: Petition of J. L. D. Smith and others of Hudson, N. Y., relative to establishment of a Federal motion-picture commission; to the Committee on Education.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, April 4, 1917.

The Senate met at 10 o'clock a. m.

Rev. J. L. Kibler, of the city of Washington, offered the following prayer:

O God, our heavenly Father, at this time of great concern in our national life, let us understand that we need more and more to lean upon Thy strong arm. We not only need Thee in any conflict that may be forced upon us by a foreign power, but we need Thee at this time in the establishment of policies that shall be fair, and just, and right in the sight of God and man.

Forbid that any selfish or unworthy motive should enter our minds. Though we may be dealing with a Government that seems to ignore our rights and scorn our country's power, yet may we deal in a manner that shall be in harmony with Thy laws and shall win the approbation of our own enlightened consciences.

In the midst of the excited world of to-day, give us calm composure and sober thought. Thy servants upon whom rests the great responsibility of the issues involved need the use of their best thought and unclouded judgment. O God, grant that these men, appointed in Thy providence to serve their country, may act wisely to-day in considering the principles and details of every resolution that may be presented. May they be guarded safely against all errors and reach the highest point of efficiency, so that their conclusions may win the approval of the great Ruler over all the worlds and result in bringing an early and permanent peace, with real blessings, to every nation under the sun. May the Prince of Peace speedily permeate the thought of all mankind. We ask it in the name of Jesus, our Lord and Savior. Amen.

WARREN G. HARDING, a Senator from the State of Ohio, and PARK TRAMMELL, a Senator from the State of Florida, appeared in their seats to-day.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by J. C. South, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 12) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of the Hon. CYRUS A. SULLOWAY, late a Representative from the State of New Hampshire, and transmitted resolutions of the House thereon.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. GALLINGER. I present a telegram from Richard M. Faulkner, of Keene, N. H., who, in behalf of the Harvard Club of Keene, strongly urges the immediate passage of a bill for universal military training and service. I move that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. POINDEXTER. I present a telegram embodying a resolution adopted at a meeting of citizens of the State of Washington, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., March 31, 1917.

WASHINGTON DELEGATION IN CONGRESS,
Care Senator Miles Poindexter, Washington, D. C.:

We respectfully submit herewith the following resolution:

"Whereas full page advertisements have appeared in the Seattle papers to-day requesting the people of the West to appeal to President Wilson and the Members of the Sixty-fifth Congress to refrain from any acts of reprisal against the Imperial German Government: Now therefore be it

"Resolved by a mass meeting called in the city of Renton, Wash., March 30, 1917, as follows:

"First. We pledge to the President of the United States and to the Federal Government our united support, the active service of every man of military age, and every dollar of our resources in support of the position taken and to be taken by the United States of America.

"Second. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the early passage of an adequate universal military-training bill.

"Third. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the righteousness of an immediate declaration of war upon the Imperial German Government in protest against the violation of the rights of American citizens upon the high seas.

"Fourth. We urge upon the President and upon Congress the active participation of the armed forces of the United States, both Army and Navy, in aid of the destruction of Prussian militarism.

"Fifth. That a copy hereof should be immediately transmitted to the President of the United States and to the Members of Congress from the State of Washington."

Passed March 30, 1917.

THOMAS DOBSON, *Chairman*,
PAUL W. HOUSER, *Secretary*,
Renton, Wash.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to present to the Senate a resolution which I have just received, passed at a mass meeting of citizens of Colorado in the city of Denver on March 31, 1917, and request that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

We, citizens of Denver, and others resident in Colorado, in mass meeting assembled on March 31, 1917, make the following declarations:

In the present national crisis we pledge our loyalty in defense of the honor, rights, and just interests of our country, believing that Congress, and the administration will take quick, decisive, efficient, and adequate action to meet all possible emergencies, present and future.

We hold that in the present condition of the world thorough preparedness is necessary to give force to the ideals of human rights and of universal peace for which this country stands. Not only our rights, but our place in the council of nations, our civilization, and our hopes of permanent world peace are at stake, and this country in its united strength should stand ready to enforce its appeals.

Every citizen of a democracy should be prepared and ready at all times to do his part in upholding free institutions and in protecting the country against invasion or aggression of any kind. We therefore urge the immediate enactment of a bill for universal military training, thus providing for a permanent national defense based upon the duty of every able-bodied citizen to share in the protection of his country and in the maintenance of its high ideals.

Acts of the German Government in the present conflict disclose principles of national conduct which are inconsistent with the principles, the purposes, and aspirations of this Republic and of all free peoples. It has committed acts of war against the United States. In violation of the fundamentals of international law and the dictates of humanity it has forbidden us our rights in the use of the high seas, attempted to enforce its edicts by unlawful submarine warfare, destroyed our ships, and murdered our citizens. It would offer a portion of our territory, including a part of the State of Colorado, as a bribe to induce Mexico and Japan to join in war against us. Therefore we declare our deep conviction that the time has come to adopt the most vigorous and comprehensive measures and means for the national defense and the defense of civilization, and we urge upon Congress to give full support to every step that may be taken by the administration to vindicate the national honor and the national right.

JAMES H. BAKER,
T. J. O'DONNELL,
WILLIAM H. GABBERT,
N. WALTER DIXON,
RICHARD CRAWFORD CAMPBELL,
LUCIUS HALLETT,
Committee on Resolutions.

Unanimously indorsed by the general committee.

General committee: James H. Baker, Frank D. Baldwin, W. J. Barker, Harry E. Bellamy, W. N. W. Blayney, I. I. Boak, James C. Bulger, Dewey C. Bailey, Richard Crawford Campbell, Mrs. L. E. Campbell, Newcomb Cleveland, Harry C. Davis, N. Walter Dixon, W. D. Downs, Livingston Ferrand, William E. Fisher, Rabbi William S. Friedman, William H. Gabbert, Dr. Thomas J. Gallaher, Adjt. Gen. H. P. Gamble, J. B. Grant, Mrs. J. B. Grant, Gov. Julius C. Gunter, James F. Hadley, Lucius Hallett, Mrs. Lucius Hallett, Arthur C. Hamm, Horace N. Hawkins, W. A. Hover, Gerald Hughes, Thomas W. Jaycox, Bishop Irving P. Johnson, W. Harry Leonard, Charles Loughridge, A. D. Lewis, Hume Lewis, Rev. Charles H. Marshall, Rev. Charles L. Mead, Rev. Hugh L. McMenamin, Edward Monash, Dr. R. B. Moore, C. S. Morey, Ernest Morris, J. K. Mullin, Sanford S. Murphey, T. J. O'Donnell, Canton O'Donnell, James A. Pulliam, Harry Ruffner, Forrest Rutherford, Herbert S. Sands, Ralph W. Smith, Thomas B. Stearns, F. F. Struby, Frank M. Taylor, William C. Thornton, L. F. Twitcheil, Philip Van Cise, Robert F. Weltbreck, Frank E. Wheeler, Jesse M. Wheelock, S. Harrison White, E. E. Whitted, and F. A. Williams.

RALPH W. SMITH,
Executive Chairman.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I present sundry telegrams, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EL PASO, TEX., April 3, 1917.
Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The Rebecca Stoddard Chapter, Daughters American Revolution, of El Paso, Tex., heartily indorse President Woodrow Wilson in his platform of preparedness and patriotism.

Mrs. L. L. ROBINSON,
Regent.
Mrs. M. U. STRONG,
Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of Jacksonville, Tex., in mass meeting assembled adopted resolutions unanimously indorsing the action already taken by the President in meeting the present crisis and will indorse any means he and the Congress may adopt in the future for the protection of American rights, lives, and property.

D. B. DASHIELL,
C. H. MARTIN,
O. D. JONES,
Committee.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., April 2, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

Our organization, representing a large, active, and representative body of our citizenship, unanimously passed resolutions advocating the passage of the universal-service bill. We urge you to lend your hearty support to the President in these trying times.

SALESMANSHIP CLUB OF SAN ANTONIO.

YOAKUM, TEX., April 3, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Yoakum Commercial Club, 300 strong, earnestly request that you cooperate with and support our President in carrying out his policy as expressed in his personal message to Congress.

HENRY S. PAULS,
Chairman Committee.
J. K. ELKINS,
C. E. GILBERT,

SHERMAN, TEX., April 2, 1917.

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

The faculty of Austin College urge that you give your support to following recommendations: (1) As to military service, that we as a Nation continue the plan of Regular Army, militia, and volunteers; (2) in case of war we desire Congress to declare for an aggressive form of war.

T. S. CLYCE, *President.*

AUSTIN, TEX., April 3, 1917.

Hon. MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Austin lodge to night unanimously passed strong resolution indorsing President's course and pledging practical support in peace or war. Resolution follows by mail.

E. R. CORNWELL, *Secretary.*

Mr. SHEPPARD. I also present a communication from the Manufacturers' Club, of San Antonio, Tex., which I ask may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the communication was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SAN ANTONIO, TEX., March 29, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: At a meeting of the Manufacturers' Club of San Antonio, Tex., held the 27th day of March, 1917, it was unanimously agreed that the following resolution be communicated to the President of the United States, and that this also be sent to the Secretary of War, the Senators for Texas, the Representative in Congress from this district, and to the commanding general of this department at Fort Sam Houston:

"Moved by the dictates of patriotism and a profound sense of the obligation incumbent upon all citizens to uphold our Government in times of crisis, the members of the Manufacturers' Club of San Antonio, Tex., pledge their support and that of the club, as an organization, to the President of the United States in maintaining the dignity and honor of our country and in the solution of the problems which may present themselves in connection therewith, and, as a means to that end, unreservedly proffer the cooperation of the industrial plants represented by the members of the Manufacturers' Club to the President and Government of the United States."

We have the honor to be, sir,

Faithfully, yours,

MANUFACTURERS' CLUB OF SAN ANTONIO.
G. G. GEYER, *President*,
CHAS. LEEL, *Secretary*,
D. J. STRAUS,
ALBERT STEVES, Jr.,
THOS. G. HAY,
Committee.

Mr. McLEAN presented petitions of sundry citizens of Danbury and Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, praying that the United States remain at peace, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

He also presented petitions of the Men's League of the First Congregational Church of Waterbury; of the Eaton Guard Veteran Association, of Meriden; and of sundry citizens of Granby, Hartford, and New Haven, all in the State of Connecticut, praying for universal compulsory military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. FRANCE presented a petition of the Independent Citizens' Union, of Maryland, declaring faith and allegiance to the United States and favoring universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented resolutions adopted by Local Union No. 2819, United Mine Workers of America, of Frostburg, Md., favoring free speech, free press, and free assemblage, and remonstrating against universal military training, which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. COLT presented a memorial of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, remonstrating against the violation of Belgium by the Germans, indorsing the action of the President in severing diplomatic relations with the German Government, pledging support to the President in preparedness, and urging universal military training, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. WATSON presented a petition of 4,000 citizens of Indianapolis, Ind., favoring an immediate declaration of war on Germany and praying for the adoption of universal military training, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I present an article which recently appeared in the Kansas City Star expressing the views of a German-born American, Mr. P. W. Goebel, on the pending question. Mr. Goebel resides in my home city and is a man of the highest character. It would be well for every foreign-born American citizen to carefully study his attitude and to emulate his patriotic example. I desire to have the article printed in the RECORD without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that action will be taken.

The article referred to is as follows:

DUTY FIRST TO THIS COUNTRY—PLEA FOR PATRIOTISM MADE BY P. W. GOEBEL, BORN IN GERMANY.

P. W. Goebel, of the Kansas side, president of the American Bankers' Association, told the Rotary Club at luncheon to-day at the Hotel Baltimore that the United States is better prepared financially for war than any country ever has been in the history of the world.

Mr. Goebel is convinced, after a trip through the East, that the Army and Navy are not in a bad condition. In case of war, he said, this country would be able to handle itself well.

"My interest in the outcome of war," Mr. Goebel said, "is that the honor and dignity of the United States shall be maintained and that the flag of America shall be unstained. I shall give my best brains and financial ability to my adopted country, and my sons will fight to maintain the rights of the American people. That should be the duty of every man in America."

"I was born in Germany. Everything I have I owe to the unrestricted opportunities afforded in America to the man who will work. What I have is at the disposal of my country. Its liberty allowed me to progress, and what I have will be devoted to maintaining that liberty."

Talking to eastern bankers, I was saddened by their apparent apprehension of the effect war would have on their business. We must all place the Nation's need above our personal and business interests."

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. OWEN:

A bill (S. 3) to establish a department of health, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine.

A bill (S. 4) to establish a United States court of patent appeals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Patents.

A bill (S. 5) to provide for public education upon political questions and for the dissemination of information upon political issues and matters of a political nature of public interest by an authorized publicity pamphlet;

A bill (S. 6) to secure to women the right to vote for Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States of America; and

A bill (S. 7) to revise, amend, and codify the laws relating to publicity of contributions and disbursements at elections at which candidates for the offices of United States Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States are nominated and elected, regulating and limiting the purposes and the amounts for which contributions and disbursements may be made, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

A bill (S. 8) to amend the act approved December 23, 1913, known as the Federal reserve act, as amended by the acts of August 4, 1914, August 15, 1914, March 3, 1915, and September 7, 1916; and

A bill (S. 9) to indemnify depositors in "member banks," as defined by the Federal reserve act, against loss in the event of the failure or suspension of business of such bank; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

A bill (S. 10) conferring jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, consider, and determine certain claims of the Cherokee Nation against the United States;

A bill (S. 11) to amend the general deficiency appropriation act of June 30, 1906, and the act of Congress of March 4, 1909, regarding payment of judgment of Court of Claims in favor of Cherokee Nation;

A bill (S. 12) providing for the sale of the coal and asphalt deposits in the segregated mineral land in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Oklahoma;

A bill (S. 13) to pay the balance due the loyal Creek Indians on the award made by the Senate on the 16th day of February, 1903; and

A bill (S. 14) to provide for carrying into effect the agreement between the United States and the Muskogee (Creek) Nation of Indians ratified by act of Congress approved March 1, 1901, and supplemental agreement of June 30, 1902, and other laws and treaties with said tribe of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 15) for the establishment of a probation system in the United States courts, except in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 16) to prohibit concerted control of fire insurance rates in the District of Columbia; and

A bill (S. 17) for the protection of officers of the United States in the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, authorizing the search for and seizure of liquors introduced into the eastern district of the State of Oklahoma, and making the possession of such liquors prima facie evidence of an unlawful introduction, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 18) to create the department of education; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 19) to establish a fish-cultural station in the State of Oklahoma; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 20) granting a pension to Edward Shaw (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PITTMAN:

A bill (S. 21) to amend an act entitled "An act extending the homestead laws and providing for right of way for railroads in the District of Alaska, and for other purposes"; and

A bill (S. 22) to establish a commission form of government in the administration of national affairs in Alaska, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Territories.

A bill (S. 23) granting to the State of Nevada 7,000,000 acres of land in said State for the use and benefit of the public schools of Nevada and the State University of the State of Nevada;

A bill (S. 24) to add certain lands to the Toiyabe National Forest, Nev., and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 25) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the sale of desert lands in certain States," approved March 3, 1877;

A bill (S. 26) authorizing the cutting of timber for mining purposes by corporations organized in one State and conducting mining operations in another; and

A bill (S. 27) to encourage the reclamation of certain arid lands in the State of Nevada, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 28) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey title to certain lands in the State of Nevada; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 29) to reimburse W. B. Graham, late postmaster at Ely, Nev., for money expended for clerical assistance; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 30) to provide for the application of the reclamation law to irrigation districts; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 31) to regulate the interstate use of automobiles and all self-propelled vehicles which use the public highways in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 32) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David D. Sharp; and

A bill (S. 33) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of David H. Hartson; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 34) for the relief of J. I. Earl; and

A bill (S. 35) for the relief of John B. O'Sullivan; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 36) granting a pension to William C. Black; and

A bill (S. 37) granting a pension to James Golden; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WALSH:

A bill (S. 38) to reimburse the county of Lewis and Clark, State of Montana, for expenses incurred by it for the construction of a public highway through the Helena National Forest; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 39) to interdict commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign country which shall unlawfully interfere with the foreign trade thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 40) to preserve the rights of homestead entrymen who are members of the National Guard or Volunteer forces of the United States while in actual service;

A bill (S. 41) to authorize the sale of certain lands at or near Yellowstone, Mont., for hotel purposes;

A bill (S. 42) for the relief of Torger Olson;

A bill (S. 43) to provide for the leasing of oil and gas lands withdrawn from entry;

A bill (S. 44) granting additional rights to settlers on reclamation projects (with accompanying paper); and

A bill (S. 45) to encourage and promote the mining of coal, phosphate, oil, gas, potassium, and sodium on the public domain; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 46) to cancel the allotment of Little Bear, deceased Indian of the Crow Reservation, Mont.;

A bill (S. 47) for the relief of certain nations or tribes of Indians in Montana;

A bill (S. 48) modifying and amending the act providing for the disposal of the surplus unallotted lands within the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Mont.;

A bill (S. 49) providing for the equalization of the cost of the irrigation systems on the Blackfeet, Flathead, and Fort Peck Indian Reservations, in the State of Montana, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 50) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire certain Indian lands necessary for reservoir purposes in connection with the Blackfeet Indian reclamation project (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 51) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to prorate tribal funds of Indians; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 52) to provide for the erection of a public building at Glasgow, Mont.;

A bill (S. 53) to enlarge, extend, remodel, etc., public building at Helena, Mont.; and

A bill (S. 54) to increase the limit of cost for the Federal building and site therefor at Billings, Mont., and to authorize the provision of quarters for United States courts in said building; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 55) for the relief of Lars T. Rykken;

A bill (S. 56) for the relief of John T. Eaton;

A bill (S. 57) for the relief of Kate Canniff (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 58) for the relief of J. D. Savage;

A bill (S. 59) for the relief of John E. Woods (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 60) for the relief of Benjamin Musselman;

A bill (S. 61) for the relief of H. Frank Adkins;

A bill (S. 62) for the relief of Patrick Rafferty; and

A bill (S. 63) to reimburse Hill County, State of Montana, for money expended for the support of the Rocky Boy Band of Chippewa Indians; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 64) for the relief of Thomas W. Williams;

A bill (S. 65) for the relief of Edward T. Moran; and

A bill (S. 66) for the relief of Levi B. Rouse; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 67) to enlarge the jurisdiction of the municipal court of the District of Columbia and to regulate appeals from the judgments of said court, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 68) to amend section 269 of chapter 231 of the act of March 3, 1911, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the laws relating to the judiciary";

A bill (S. 69) to amend an act entitled "An act to amend section 3 of the act of Congress of May 1, 1888, and extend the provisions of section 2301 of the Revised Statutes of the United States to certain lands in the State of Montana embraced within the provisions of said act, and for other purposes" (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 70) providing for an additional judge for the district of Montana (with accompanying paper);

A bill (S. 71) amending section 140 of the act approved March 4, 1909, entitled "An act to codify, revise, and amend the penal laws of the United States"; and

A bill (S. 72) concerning actions on account of death or personal injury within places under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 73) granting a pension to Abel H. Hall;

A bill (S. 74) granting a pension to Mary E. King;

A bill (S. 75) granting a pension to Justus W. King;

A bill (S. 76) granting a pension to James Farrell;

A bill (S. 77) granting a pension to Mary E. Hover; and

A bill (S. 78) granting a pension to Kathryn C. Sterling; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A bill (S. 79) relating to the naturalization of married women; to the Committee on Immigration.

By Mr. SHEPPARD:

A bill (S. 80) to establish a department of aeronautics, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SAULSBURY:

A bill (S. 81) to supplement existing legislation relative to the United States Court for China and to increase the serviceability thereof; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. UNDERWOOD:

A bill (S. 82) to transfer Frederick W. Cobb from the list of chief machinists, United States Navy, to the list of chief

pay clerks, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 83) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A bill (S. 84) to provide for the purchase of a site and for the establishment of a military aviation academy within the State of Utah, and making an appropriation therefor;

A bill (S. 85) providing for the erection of a Government munition factory within the State of Utah;

A bill (S. 86) to authorize the Secretary of War to permit the use of a right of way over and across the Fort Douglas Military Reservation for the construction and operation of a standard-gauge railway spur connecting with local or transcontinental railroads;

A bill (S. 87) granting to the State of Utah the Fort Duchesne Reservation for its use as a branch agricultural college;

A bill (S. 88) authorizing and empowering the Secretary of War to grant a revocable permit to the University of Utah to lay pipe lines, construct a storage reservoir on the Fort Douglas (Utah) Military Reservation, and to use the surplus water of the reservation;

A bill (S. 89) for the relief of Henry N. Bird;

A bill (S. 90) for the relief of John H. Kidd; and

A bill (S. 91) for the relief of Almond S. Root; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 92) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to E. D. Partridge;

A bill (S. 93) to consolidate national-forest lands;

A bill (S. 94) to amend section 3 of an act entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, and for other purposes," approved March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. L., p. 1133);

A bill (S. 95) to provide for agricultural entries on coal lands in Alaska;

A bill (S. 96) granting to the State of Utah 1,000,000 acres of lands to aid in the construction and maintenance of public roads in the State of Utah;

A bill (S. 97) authorizing the exchange of certain lands in the State of Utah for the protection of the water supply of Salt Lake City;

A bill (S. 98) giving the right to an additional homestead to all persons who have exhausted or who shall exhaust their original right of entry through the purchase of Uintah Indian Reservation lands;

A bill (S. 99) providing for the acquisition by a State, under certain conditions, of any lands therein which are or may become chiefly valuable for the development of water power;

A bill (S. 100) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patent for certain lands in the State of Utah to Cyrena E. Young;

A bill (S. 101) to authorize the consolidation of Government lands and of privately owned lands, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 102) relating to the temporary filling of vacancies occurring in the offices of register and receiver of district land offices; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 103) to apply a portion of the proceeds of the sales of public lands to the endowment of schools or departments of mines and mining, and to regulate the expenditure thereof; and

A bill (S. 104) to provide for a commission to codify and suggest amendments to the general mining laws; to the Committee on Mines and Mining.

A bill (S. 105) to reimburse George Heiner, postmaster at Morgan, Utah, for loss of postage stamps;

A bill (S. 106) for the relief of Nathan A. Stæe; and

A bill (S. 107) for the reduction of the rate of postage chargeable on first-class mail matter for local delivery; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 108) to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to use, at his discretion, surplus moneys in the Treasury in the purchase or redemption of the outstanding interest-bearing obligations of the United States;

A bill (S. 109) to provide for the refunding of certain moneys illegally assessed and collected in the district of Utah; and

A bill (S. 110) for the relief of the Eldredge Bros. Live Stock Co., a corporation; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 111) to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain department publications, and to provide for crediting the department's printing allotment with the proceeds; to the Committee on Printing.

A bill (S. 112) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Bingham Canyon, in

the State of Utah; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 113) providing for acquiring a site and erecting a national memorial to irrigation at Salt Lake City, Utah; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 114) to provide for an increased annual appropriation for agricultural experiment stations, to be used in researches and experiments in home economics, and regulating the expenditure thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

A bill (S. 115) for the relief of Hannah Nelson Lundegren;

A bill (S. 116) for the relief of Jacob E. Michael; and

A bill (S. 117) for the relief of George E. Yeadon; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 118) granting a pension to Caroline A. Davis;

A bill (S. 119) granting a pension to Richard A. Norris; and

A bill (S. 120) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Liddle; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 121) to prevent the desecrating of the flag of the United States and to provide punishment therefor; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 122) for the relief of the heirs of James N. Ward, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 123) granting an increase of pension to Alada Thurston Paddock Mills; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. TOWNSEND:

A bill (S. 124) to provide for the naturalization of certain aliens; to the Committee on Immigration.

A bill (S. 125) to appoint Roy K. Carson a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 126) to provide for the investigation of controversies affecting interstate commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 127) for the adjudication and determination of the claims arising under joint resolution of July 14, 1870, authorizing the Postmaster General to continue in use in the Postal Service Marcus P. Norton's combined postmarking and stamp-canceling hand-stamp patents, or otherwise; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 128) for the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased; and

A bill (S. 129) for the relief of the heirs of George C. Lull, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 130) to create in the War Department and the Navy Department, respectively, a roll designated as the "Civil War volunteer-officers' retired list"; to authorize placing thereon with retired pay certain surviving officers who served in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps of the United States in the Civil War, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 131) to authorize the President of the United States to appoint certain officers to the Medical Corps of the Army;

A bill (S. 132) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Wallace O. Glazier;

A bill (S. 133) to correct the military record of Clark G. Russell;

A bill (S. 134) to remove the charge of desertion from the record of Isaac Terwilliger; and

A bill (S. 135) authorizing and directing the Secretary of War to muster Dr. John A. Bobb, deceased, a brigade surgeon with rank of major from assistant surgeon; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 136) granting a pension to Melvina Coquillard (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 137) granting a pension to George Zederbaum;

A bill (S. 138) granting a pension to Fidelia E. Betts;

A bill (S. 139) granting a pension to Frankie Esselstyn;

A bill (S. 140) for the relief of Emma M. Gordon;

A bill (S. 141) granting a pension to Lorenzo J. McEvoy;

A bill (S. 142) granting a pension to Nirenia S. Savage;

A bill (S. 143) granting a pension to Ellen Fyanes;

A bill (S. 144) granting an increase of pension to Bert E. Gray;

A bill (S. 145) granting an increase of pension to James K. Brooks;

A bill (S. 146) granting a pension to Lucy A. Palmer;

A bill (S. 147) for the relief of Melissa Gurin;

A bill (S. 148) granting an increase of pension to David A. Kooker;

A bill (S. 149) granting a pension to Mary E. Weeks;

A bill (S. 150) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Rogers;

A bill (S. 151) granting a pension to Dewitt C. Bush;

A bill (S. 152) granting an increase of pension to D. J. Hammond;

A bill (S. 153) granting a pension to Ambrose A. Link;

A bill (S. 154) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin McKimmy; and

A bill (S. 155) granting a pension to Henry F. Baldwin; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PENROSE:

A bill (S. 156) to grant Saturday afternoon as a holiday to all Government employees; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 157) to provide for the retirement of employees in the civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

A bill (S. 158) to determine what obligation, if any, exists under the treaty with Spain, of 1819, to relieve the estate of Richard W. Meade, deceased; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

A bill (S. 159) to provide for the acquisition of additional land adjoining the present post-office site at Gettysburg, Pa.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 160) to permit the redistillation of whisky in bond on distillery premises; and

A bill (S. 161) to define the true intent and meaning of section 48 of the act of August 28, 1894, and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 162) to provide a suitable memorial to the memory of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, Pa.; and

A bill (S. 163) to provide for the erection of a pedestal and base for a monument to William Procter, jr., in the Smithsonian Grounds, at Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 164) for the relief of Adolph F. Hitchler;

A bill (S. 165) granting relief to persons who served in the Military Telegraph Corps of the Army during the Civil War;

A bill (S. 166) for the relief of William Mattson;

A bill (S. 167) for the relief of the survivors of McLean's Pennsylvania Regiment and their widows and children;

A bill (S. 168) to grant an honorable discharge to John W. Jester;

A bill (S. 169) to grant an honorable discharge to Samuel Fogle;

A bill (S. 170) to correct the military record of John Brown; and

A bill (S. 171) for the relief of Thomas W. Miller; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 172) for the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter;

A bill (S. 173) providing for the trial of charges against employees in the classified civil-service list;

A bill (S. 174) providing for extended leave of absence to superannuated employees in the Postal Service;

A bill (S. 175) to reclassify the salaries of employees above the clerical grades in post offices of the first and second class; and

A bill (S. 176) to reclassify the grades and fix the salaries of railway postal clerks; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 177) for the relief of retired commissioned warrant officers detailed on active duty;

A bill (S. 178) to provide that commissioned chiefs of the United States Navy now on the retired list who had creditable Civil War service shall, as an equitable reward for said service, receive the rank and pay of lieutenant of the United States Navy, retired;

A bill (S. 179) to correct the naval record of Fred C. Konrad; and

A bill (S. 180) granting an honorable discharge to Owen S. Willey; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 181) granting the sum of \$549.12 to Clara Kane, dependent foster parent, by reason of the death of William A. Yenser, late civil employee, killed as result of an accident at Philadelphia Navy Yard;

A bill (S. 182) for the relief of Morris Busch;

A bill (S. 183) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Kate Reaney Zeiss, administratrix of William B. Reaney, survivor of Thomas Reaney and Samuel Archbold, against the United States;

A bill (S. 184) for the relief of Alice M. Lissak;

A bill (S. 185) for the relief of Sylvester Bonnaffon, jr.; and

A bill (S. 186) for the relief of Cecilia Barr; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 187) to pension widows and minor children of officers or enlisted men who served in the War with Spain or the Philippine Insurrection;

A bill (S. 188) to increase the pensions of the blind who served in the War with Mexico or the Civil War;

A bill (S. 189) granting pensions to soldiers confined in so-called Confederate prisons;

A bill (S. 190) to pension certain soldiers and nonenlisted men who served in the War of the Rebellion;

A bill (S. 191) extending the benefits of the general pension laws to the members of the Eighth, Twentieth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, and Thirty-third Regiments, the several batteries of Artillery, the several troops of Cavalry, and the several independent companies which comprised the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, otherwise known as the "emergency men," who were called into service by the President of the United States of America, officered by United States officers, and sworn into the service of the United States for an indefinite period, the same as if they had been in the service of the United States for a period of 90 days or more;

A bill (S. 192) granting an increase of pension to Thomas T. Adams;

A bill (S. 193) granting an increase of pension to Maria W. Antes;

A bill (S. 194) granting a pension to Mary A. Adams;

A bill (S. 195) granting a pension to Erastus J. Bierbower;

A bill (S. 196) granting a pension to Charlotte Bloom;

A bill (S. 197) granting a pension to Samuel Breitigan;

A bill (S. 198) granting an increase of pension to Jesse Brown;

A bill (S. 199) granting a pension to John Cary;

A bill (S. 200) granting a pension to William Carrell;

A bill (S. 201) granting a pension to Charles F. Cavanaugh;

A bill (S. 202) granting a pension to John B. Chandler;

A bill (S. 203) granting a pension to Kate L. Clear;

A bill (S. 204) granting an increase of pension to William Colpetzer;

A bill (S. 205) granting an increase of pension to Caroline W. Congdon;

A bill (S. 206) granting an increase of pension to David Craft;

A bill (S. 207) granting a pension to Ella E. Crouch;

A bill (S. 208) granting an increase of pension to Martin S. Crull;

A bill (S. 209) granting a pension to Caroline Decker;

A bill (S. 210) granting an increase of pension to Hezekiah Dixon;

A bill (S. 211) granting a pension to Clarissa F. Dye;

A bill (S. 212) granting a pension to William Eckert;

A bill (S. 213) granting an increase of pension to Josiah H. H. Feather;

A bill (S. 214) granting a pension to Michael P. Foley;

A bill (S. 215) granting a pension to Harry H. Gaither;

A bill (S. 216) granting a pension to Oscar L. Geer;

A bill (S. 217) granting an increase of pension to Emma C. Hill;

A bill (S. 218) granting a pension to Christian Graf;

A bill (S. 219) granting a pension to Gottlieb Long;

A bill (S. 220) granting an increase of pension to John S. McGinness;

A bill (S. 221) granting an increase of pension to Daniel C. McGregor;

A bill (S. 222) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. McPherran;

A bill (S. 223) granting a pension to Elmer Harry Martin;

A bill (S. 224) granting a pension to Charles G. Meyer;

A bill (S. 225) granting a pension to N. E. Millender;

A bill (S. 226) granting a pension to Jesse Murphy;

A bill (S. 227) granting a pension to Harry Hines, alias Harry Hinton;

A bill (S. 228) granting a pension to Jennie T. Hamilton;

A bill (S. 229) granting an increase of pension to U. P. Getz;

A bill (S. 230) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Parker;

A bill (S. 231) to increase the pensions of those who have lost limbs or have been totally disabled in the same in the military or naval service of the United States;

A bill (S. 232) for the better payment of pensioners;

A bill (S. 233) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Reese;

A bill (S. 234) granting an increase of pension to William Sheads;

A bill (S. 235) granting a pension to Charles L. C. Sherwin;

A bill (S. 236) granting an increase of pension to Rebecca M. Smith;

A bill (S. 237) granting a pension to J. K. Gleeson;

A bill (S. 238) granting a pension to Kathryn B. Steiner;

A bill (S. 239) granting an increase of pension to Margaret Stewart;

A bill (S. 240) granting a pension to Ed Sweeney;

A bill (S. 241) granting a pension to Leonardo S. Twisten;

A bill (S. 242) granting a pension to Mary A. Walker;

A bill (S. 243) granting an increase of pension to Henry Wenzel;

A bill (S. 244) granting an increase of pension to Marion L. Wilson;

A bill (S. 245) granting an increase of pension to Samuel S. Wilson;

A bill (S. 246) granting a pension to Josiah Huber;

A bill (S. 247) granting a pension to Caroline Kelly;

A bill (S. 248) granting a pension to Daniel Kennelley;

A bill (S. 249) granting a pension to Patrick Kinny;

A bill (S. 250) granting an increase of pension to Robert Kinhead;

A bill (S. 251) granting an increase of pension to Christian W. Klare;

A bill (S. 252) granting an increase of pension to Mary Elizabeth Lambert;

A bill (S. 253) granting an increase of pension to George Leadbeater;

A bill (S. 254) granting a pension to Milton M. Lile;

A bill (S. 255) granting an increase of pension to George W. Lodge;

A bill (S. 256) granting a pension to Agnes A. Gray;

A bill (S. 257) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Pierson;

A bill (S. 258) granting a pension to Lemuel W. Dobbins;

A bill (S. 259) granting a pension to Horatio P. Connell;

A bill (S. 260) granting a pension to Philip B. Depp;

A bill (S. 261) granting an increase of pension to Emma Taylor;

A bill (S. 262) granting a pension to Alonzo G. Williamson;

A bill (S. 263) granting a pension to John S. Whittaker (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 264) granting a pension to Almira E. Sheldrake (with accompanying papers);

A bill (S. 265) granting a pension to Bernard Closkey (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 266) granting an increase of pension to Samuel H. Brooks (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BRADY:

A bill (S. 267) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Blackfoot, Idaho; and

A bill (S. 268) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection thereon of a public building at Payette, Idaho; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 269) for the relief of Aaron Kibler;

A bill (S. 270) for the relief of John J. Muehleisen; and

A bill (S. 271) for the relief of Washington Kellogg; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 272) for the relief of Elizabeth Overholtz; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 273) granting a pension to George W. Bass;

A bill (S. 274) granting a pension to Philip Hutchinson;

A bill (S. 275) granting a pension to Daniel A. Williams; and

A bill (S. 276) granting an increase of pension to Leonard E. Griffith; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. STERLING:

A bill (S. 277) for the relief of Thomas E. Philips; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 278) to amend section 1 of an act approved March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L., 751), entitled "An act for the removal of restrictions on alienation of lands of allottees of the Quapaw Agency, Okla., and the sale of all tribal lands, school, agency, or other lands on any of the reservations within the jurisdiction of such agency, and for other purposes"; and

A bill (S. 279) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents in certain cases to missionary or religious organizations; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 280) for the relief of Alfred Sjoström; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A bill (S. 281) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

A bill (S. 282) making an appropriation of \$200,000 for the acquisition of a tract of land known as Great Piece Meadows, N. J., for a target range and camp ground;

A bill (S. 283) making appropriation for the support of the families and dependents of members of the National Guard drafted into service of the United States; and

A bill (S. 284) to provide for an increase in the pay of enlisted men in the time of war; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A bill (S. 285) for the relief of David E. Gray; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A bill (S. 286) to prohibit interstate shipments or transportation of certain food products; to define and to prohibit transportation and sale of adulterated or misbranded food products; to regulate traffic therein; to define and regulate cold storage; to regulate dealing in cold-storage food products; and to fix penalties for violation, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 287) to amend an act entitled "An act relating to navigation of vessels, bills of lading, and to certain obligations, duties, and rights in connection with the carriage of property," approved February 13, 1893; and

A bill (S. 288) regulating shipments of freight to foreign ports and prohibiting discrimination in the receipt and shipment of such freight; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 289) regulating trials by jury; and

A bill (S. 290) to establish a new judicial circuit of the United States with a circuit court of appeals, hereafter to be called the tenth circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 291) authorizing the Secretary of War to deliver to the town of Murfreesboro, Tenn., two condemned bronze or brass cannon or fieldpieces and suitable outfit of cannon balls; and

A bill (S. 292) to establish and maintain military training colleges in the several States of the Union, in Alaska, and in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 293) for the reduction of postage on first-class mail matter; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 294) to reduce the tax on oleomargarine; and

A bill (S. 295) to raise revenue by taxing certain articles of food held in cold storage; to the Committee on Finance.

A bill (S. 296) for the relief of W. K. Ellis; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 297) granting a pension to Walter L. Jewell; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A bill (S. 298) authorizing the appropriation of \$50,000 to reimburse the city of Renton, in the State of Washington, for damages done in the destruction of the outlet of the sewerage of that city; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 299) amending archives building act; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 300) providing free passage through the Panama Canal for American ships; to the Committee on InterOceanic Canals.

(By request.) A bill (S. 301) to provide for the organization of the unemployed into an industrial army of the United States and the maintenance of same; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

A bill (S. 302) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to make donation of condemned naval guns and cannon balls to the John Wannebo Camp, No. 9, United Spanish War Veterans, Everett, Wash., to be placed in public parks; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 303) providing for the election of a Delegate to the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

A bill (S. 304) for the relief of Peter McKay;

A bill (S. 305) for the relief of C. P. Zent;

A bill (S. 306) for the relief of L. H. Phipps;

A bill (S. 307) for the relief of Gertrude M. Woodson; and

A bill (S. 308) for the relief of Albert J. Weber; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 309) authorizing the county of Clallam, in the State of Washington, to convey to the city of Port Angeles certain lands;

A bill (S. 310) providing for second homestead and desert-land entries;

A bill (S. 311) for the relief of Napoleon Le Clerc; and

A bill (S. 312) to establish the Mount Baker National Park in the State of Washington; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 313) to amend section 4 of the act to regulate commerce passed February 4, 1887, and subsequent amendments thereof; and

A bill (S. 314) to amend section 20 of an act to regulate commerce, to prevent overissues of securities by carriers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 315) to punish the storing of foodstuffs for the purpose of cornering the market, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 316) authorizing the President to appoint J. Benjamin Hayes a first lieutenant in the Regular Army;

A bill (S. 317) for the relief of John Morrow;

A bill (S. 318) authorizing the President to appoint John K. Hume a first lieutenant of Cavalry, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 319) for the relief of Wellington F. Larabee;

A bill (S. 320) for the relief of James Gloster;

A bill (S. 321) authorizing the President to appoint Charles F. Smith a first lieutenant of the Regular Army, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 322) authorizing the Secretary of War to grant to John D. Sherwood, of Spokane, Wash., the right to overflow certain lands on the Fort George Wright Military Reservation at Spokane, Wash., and to accept the conveyance to the United States of other lands, to be designated by the Secretary of War, and suitable for a rifle range in exchange for the land so overflowed;

A bill (S. 323) authorizing the Secretary of War, upon the request of the governor of a State, to designate one or more commissioned officers of the United States Army to cooperate with the school authorities of the State in the establishment and proper conduct in any of the public schools of the State of the so-called Wyoming plan of military and physical training according to the system prepared by Lieut. E. Z. Steever, United States Army, and recommended by the War College Division of the General Staff Corps, United States Army; and

A bill (S. 324) authorizing the President to appoint Frank B. Lawson a first lieutenant in the Regular Army; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 325) granting an increase of pension to Charles E. Wilcox;

A bill (S. 326) granting an increase of pension to John Barker;

A bill (S. 327) granting a pension to Amme A. Wilson;

A bill (S. 328) granting an increase of pension to William H. Phelps;

A bill (S. 329) granting an increase of pension to Thomas Mullen;

A bill (S. 330) granting a pension to Jack Sommer;

A bill (S. 331) granting a pension to Arthur Rose;

A bill (S. 332) granting a pension to John Leonard;

A bill (S. 333) granting an increase of pension to Adam Eckert;

A bill (S. 334) granting an increase of pension to Anthony W. Presley;

A bill (S. 335) granting an increase of pension to Albert H. Boon;

A bill (S. 336) granting a pension to Charles A. Bushey;

A bill (S. 337) granting an increase of pension to Bridget McDaniels;

A bill (S. 338) granting a pension to Rolla King;

A bill (S. 339) granting a pension to Sarah Compton;

A bill (S. 340) granting a pension to Mahalath Leonard;

A bill (S. 341) granting an increase of pension to Sarah A. Higby;

A bill (S. 342) granting an increase of pension to Simeon L. Coen;

A bill (S. 343) granting a pension to Mary A. Cummings;

A bill (S. 344) granting an increase of pension to Hugh L. Eyer (with accompanying papers); and

A bill (S. 345) granting an increase of pension to Chase Cummins (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. GALLINGER:

A bill (S. 346) to increase the area of the United States Botanic Garden in the city of Washington, D. C.; to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. MARTIN:

A bill (S. 347) to provide for recognizing the value of the services of such citizens of the United States not officers of the Army, Navy, or Public Health Service, who were employed by the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co., and who served as such officials or employees of the Isthmian Canal Commission or the Panama Railroad Co. for a period of three years or more during the construction of said canal, and making an appropriation therefor; to the Committee on InterOceanic Canals.

A bill (S. 348) to amend an act entitled "An act to supplement existing laws against unlawful restraints and monopolies, and for other purposes," approved October 15, 1914, as amended by an act approved May 15, 1916; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 349) for the restoration of Alonzo Burke, chief carpenter, United States Navy (retired), to the active list of the Navy; and

A bill (S. 350) providing for the promotion of Chief Boatswain Patrick Deery, United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 351) to reimburse the estate of Gen. George Washington for certain lands of his in the State of Ohio, lost by conflicting grants made under the authority of the United States; to the Committee on Private Land Claims.

A bill (S. 352) granting pensions to certain members of the former Life-Saving Service; and

A bill (S. 353) to amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 354) providing for the improvement of the roadway from the railroad depot at Fredericksburg, Va., to the National Cemetery near Fredericksburg; and

A bill (S. 355) to establish the Fredericksburg and Adjacent National Battlefields Memorial Park, in the State of Virginia; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 356) to aid in the erection of a monument to Pocahontas at Jamestown, Va.;

A bill (S. 357) providing for the construction of an iron picket fence around the monument at Jamestown, Va.;

A bill (S. 358) for the erection of a statue to John Marshall; and

A bill (S. 359) for the erection of a monument to the memory of Gen. William Campbell; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 360) to provide for the adjudication of claims of trust companies and other claimants for refund of taxes illegally collected;

A bill (S. 361) to execute the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of the heirs of William Pollock, deceased;

A bill (S. 362) for the relief of E. Scott Arrington;

A bill (S. 363) for the relief of Ida Banks;

A bill (S. 364) to provide for the payment of certain moneys advanced by the States of Virginia and Maryland to the United States Government to be applied toward erecting public buildings for the Federal Government in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 365) for the relief of W. T. Brogdon;

A bill (S. 366) for the relief of William Allman and others; and

A bill (S. 367) to carry out the findings of the Court of Claims in the case of Edward I. Gallagher, administrator of Charles Gallagher, deceased; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 368) granting an increase of pension to Sophie M. Walker;

A bill (S. 369) granting a pension to Pyrrhus Williams;

A bill (S. 370) granting an increase of pension to Sarah Rebecca (Taylor) Jones;

A bill (S. 371) granting a pension to James W. Ruffin;

A bill (S. 372) granting a pension to James Mickian;

A bill (S. 373) granting an increase of pension to Oliver J. Johnson;

A bill (S. 374) granting a pension to Joseph H. Mayo;

A bill (S. 375) granting a pension to R. H. Catlett;

A bill (S. 376) granting a pension to Elmer E. Dickey;

A bill (S. 377) granting a pension to Roland B. Horsley;

A bill (S. 378) granting a pension to George E. Harrison;

A bill (S. 379) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Turner;

A bill (S. 380) granting an increase of pension to Susan Riley; and

A bill (S. 381) granting an increase of pension to Grace Boggs; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. WATSON (by request):

A bill (S. 382) for providing a system of national defense based upon universal liability to military training and service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CULBERSON:

A bill (S. 383) to punish the destruction or injuring of war material and war transportation facilities by fire, explosives, or other violent means, and to forbid hostile use of property during time of war, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DILLINGHAM:

A bill (S. 384) granting an increase of pension to Albert S. Greene (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 385) to authorize mining for metalliferous minerals on Indian reservations;

A bill (S. 386) to authorize the advancement of funds to survey, construct, and maintain roads, trails, and bridges within Indian reservations;

A bill (S. 387) for the relief of John Flanigan; and

A bill (S. 388) for the relief of Alfred Cluff, Orson Cluff, Henry E. Norton, William B. Ballard, Elijah Hancock, Mrs. Susan R. Saline, Oscar Mann, Celia Thayne, William E. Cox, Theodore Farley, Adelaide Laxton, Clara L. Tenney, George M. Adams, Charlotte Jensen, Sophia Huff, Peter H. McBride, and David Edward Adams; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

A bill (S. 389) to extend the time for cutting timber on the Coconino and Tusayan National Forests, Ariz.; and

A bill (S. 390) to establish the Grand Canyon National Park in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 391) amending section 4 of the public-building act approved March 4, 1913, providing for the purchase of a site for a building for post office and customhouse at Nogales, Ariz.; and

A bill (S. 392) to provide for the erection of a public building at Prescott, in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 393) granting a pension to Martin T. Knapp; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. PHELAN:

A bill (S. 394) granting an increase of pension to John Burns (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. LANE:

A bill (S. 395) to provide old-age pensions; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 396) to protect the rights of women citizens of the United States to register and vote for Senators of the United States and Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A bill (S. 397) to regulate control over all navigable waters and estuaries thereof; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 398) authorizing issuance of land patent to Lewis Montgomery; to the Committee on Public Lands.

A bill (S. 399) to amend paragraph 207 of the act approved October 3, 1913, entitled "An act to reduce tariff duties and to provide revenue for the Government, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Finance.

(By request.) A bill (S. 400) to encourage private enterprise and capital in upbuilding the merchant marine of the United States and to promote commerce between the United States and foreign nations; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 401) to provide for the purchase of a site and the erection of a building thereon at Corvallis, in the State of Oregon; and

A bill (S. 402) to provide for the acquisition of a site and the erection of a public building thereon at Hood River, Ore.; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

A bill (S. 403) for the relief of Joe Davis;

A bill (S. 404) for the relief of Emmett W. Entriiken;

A bill (S. 405) making an appropriation to construct a national home for aged and infirm colored people and colored working girls, and to establish industrial farms to aid in the maintenance of the same;

A bill (S. 406) making an appropriation for the payment of certain claims growing out of the Civil War; and

A bill (S. 407) for the relief of James D. Watts; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 408) to authorize the establishment of fish-cultural stations on the Columbia River or its tributaries in the State of Oregon or the State of Washington;

A bill (S. 409) for the protection, regulation, and conservation of the fisheries of Alaska, and for other purposes; and

A bill (S. 410) to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the extermination of fur-bearing animals in Alaska," etc.; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 411) for the relief of the Crow Indians in Montana;

A bill (S. 412) for the relief of the Osage Indians in Oklahoma;

A bill (S. 413) authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw from the Treasury a certain sum of the permanent fund of the Chippewas of Minnesota now on deposit therein to their credit;

A bill (S. 414) to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians; to provide penalties therefor; to amend chapter 109 of volume 29, United States Statutes at Large, the same being an act of Congress approved January 30, 1897;

A bill (S. 415) for the abolishment of the Indian Bureau, the closing out of Indian tribal organizations, and for other purposes;

A bill (S. 416) authorizing any nation, tribe, or band of Indians to submit claims against the United States to the Court of Claims, with the right of either party to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States; and

A bill (S. 417) to reimburse the heirs of Chief Heavy Runner on account of his death and for property taken from him at the time of the Baker massacre; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS:

A bill (S. 418) for the relief of the estate of Francis Mayerhoff;

A bill (S. 419) for the relief of heirs or estate of Benjamin Garrett, deceased;

A bill (S. 420) for the relief of the estate of J. M. Fortenberry, deceased;

A bill (S. 421) for the relief of Mrs. P. A. Eskridge;

A bill (S. 422) for the relief of Clarissa Duncan and Charles E. Duncan;

A bill (S. 423) for the relief of the estate of Mary Dean, deceased;

A bill (S. 424) for the relief of the estate of Enos Davis, deceased;

A bill (S. 425) for the relief of heirs or estate of E. C. Cornelius, deceased;

A bill (S. 426) for the relief of the heirs of J. B. Clark;

A bill (S. 427) for the relief of the heirs of Louis Cato, deceased;

A bill (S. 428) for the relief of heirs of Winston Morris, deceased;

A bill (S. 429) for the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett;

A bill (S. 430) for the relief of the estate of R. C. Bumpass, deceased;

A bill (S. 431) to authorize the Postmaster General to settle the accounts of Capt. J. H. Estes;

A bill (S. 432) for the relief of the heirs of J. L. W. Bullock, deceased;

A bill (S. 433) for the relief of the heirs of U. H. Buck, deceased;

A bill (S. 434) for the relief of the estate of Capt. John Belino, deceased;

A bill (S. 435) for the relief of Louis T. Barnes;

A bill (S. 436) for the relief of heirs of James Porter, deceased;

A bill (S. 437) for the relief of the estate of William Richards, deceased;

A bill (S. 438) for the relief of the estate of Joseph S. Rogers, deceased;

A bill (S. 439) for the relief of James K. Hamblen;

A bill (S. 440) for the relief of Mrs. E. A. Lanier and estate of N. B. Lanier, deceased;

A bill (S. 441) for the relief of the heirs of Jacob Kuykendall;

A bill (S. 442) for the relief of the estate of Phereby R. Sheppard;

A bill (S. 443) for the relief of heirs or estate of Eunice Hurdle, deceased;

A bill (S. 444) for the relief of Harry P. Lee, John M. Lee, and the heirs of Nathaniel W. Lee, deceased;

A bill (S. 445) for the relief of heirs or estate of Jesse Mabry, deceased;

A bill (S. 446) for the relief of the heirs, devisees, and legatees of Willis Lowe, deceased;

A bill (S. 447) for the relief of Thomas H. Jett;

A bill (S. 448) for the relief of M. T. Sigrest;

A bill (S. 449) for the relief of heirs or estate of John Mills, deceased;

A bill (S. 450) for the relief of Alice Petrie Watkins, Charles Petrie, and the heirs of Eva Petrie Hamilton, or their personal representatives;

A bill (S. 451) for the relief of the trustees of Evergreen Lodge, No. 77, Free and Accepted Masons, of Decatur, Miss.;

A bill (S. 452) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Decatur, Miss.;

A bill (S. 453) for the relief of the trustees of the Sageville Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 454) for the relief of the estate of Gladney, Gardner & Co.;

A bill (S. 455) for the relief of the estate of Julia A. Reece, deceased;

A bill (S. 456) for the relief of the estate of William Roberts, deceased;

A bill (S. 457) for the relief of the heirs of Franklin Perin, deceased;

A bill (S. 458) for the relief of the estate of Minerva Newman;

A bill (S. 459) for the relief of the legal representatives of James M. Brabston and Roche H. Brabston;

A bill (S. 460) for the relief of Maria Elizabeth Burnett;

A bill (S. 461) for the relief of the legal representatives of Gustavus Colhoun, late of Adams County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 462) for the relief of the estate of Franklin S. Whitney, deceased;

A bill (S. 463) for the relief of the heirs of Joshua Nicholls;

A bill (S. 464) for the relief of William H. C. Whiting and others;

A bill (S. 465) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, at Sageville, Lauderdale County, Miss.;

A bill (S. 466) for the relief of the estate of Nevin Phares;

A bill (S. 467) for the relief of W. W. Warren, administrator of the estate of Jackson Warren, deceased;

A bill (S. 468) for the relief of heirs or estate of Louis Summers, deceased;

A bill (S. 469) for the relief of the heirs of W. H. Sneed, deceased;

A bill (S. 470) for the relief of the estate of William Penn, deceased;

A bill (S. 471) for the relief of heirs or estate of W. R. Smith, deceased;

A bill (S. 472) for the relief of Sargeant Prentiss Knut, administrator of the estate of Haller Nutt, deceased;

A bill (S. 473) for the relief of the heirs of Charles F. McLean; and

A bill (S. 474) to confer jurisdiction on the Court of Claims to readjudicate the cases of Mattie W. Jackson, widow, and others against The United States, and Mattie E. Hughes against The United States; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 475) for the relief of Brooke Gwathmey Bird; and

A bill (S. 476) for the relief of Edward L. Keyes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 477) granting a pension to Lucy K. Kellogg;

A bill (S. 478) granting a pension to Fannie E. Hilton;

A bill (S. 479) granting a pension to Robert Webb Banks;

A bill (S. 480) granting an increase of pension to Ellen G. Taylor;

A bill (S. 481) granting a pension to Edward M. Riley;

A bill (S. 482) granting a pension to John E. Hall;

A bill (S. 483) granting an increase of pension to Elie Jones

Quinby;

A bill (S. 484) granting an increase of pension to Nancy Brooks;

A bill (S. 485) granting an increase of pension to David W. Herriman;

A bill (S. 486) granting a pension to Elvis R. Street;

A bill (S. 487) granting a pension to Eva A. Trager;

A bill (S. 488) granting a pension to Susan A. Strickler; and

A bill (S. 489) granting an increase of pension to Mary A. McElroy; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. McLEAN:

A bill (S. 490) granting an increase of pension to Catherine A. Payne;

A bill (S. 491) granting an increase of pension to Samuel Morris;

A bill (S. 492) granting an increase of pension to Edward P. Morgan;

A bill (S. 493) granting an increase of pension to Patrick J. Moran;

A bill (S. 494) granting an increase of pension to Rosanna Miller;

A bill (S. 495) granting an increase of pension to Delia J. McKeon;

A bill (S. 496) granting an increase of pension to Robert Liddell;

A bill (S. 497) granting an increase of pension to Laura H. Lathrop;

A bill (S. 498) granting a pension to Mary D. Lauder;

A bill (S. 499) granting an increase of pension to Ralph Kent, jr.;

A bill (S. 500) granting an increase of pension to Annie M. Judd;

A bill (S. 501) granting a pension to Olive Hazard;

A bill (S. 502) granting an increase of pension to Don Pedro Griswold;

A bill (S. 503) granting an increase of pension to George W. Garthwaite;

A bill (S. 504) granting an increase of pension to Mary E. Eddy;

A bill (S. 505) granting an increase of pension to Josephine M. Downes;

A bill (S. 506) granting an increase of pension to Amos Dickinson;

A bill (S. 507) granting an increase of pension to Sherman E. Deming;

A bill (S. 508) granting an increase of pension to Henry A. Dayton;

A bill (S. 509) granting an increase of pension to Charles L. Chappell;

A bill (S. 510) granting an increase of pension to David Burns;

A bill (S. 511) granting an increase of pension to William Brant;

A bill (S. 512) granting a pension to Elizabeth Blake;

A bill (S. 513) granting an increase of pension to Theodore C. Bates;

A bill (S. 514) granting a pension to Louise R. Baglin;

A bill (S. 515) granting an increase of pension to George I. Babcock;

A bill (S. 516) granting an increase of pension to Eva D. Peck;

A bill (S. 517) granting a pension to Joseph Povencher, jr.;

A bill (S. 518) granting an increase of pension to Curtis B. Ralph;

A bill (S. 519) granting an increase of pension to Ellen J. Raymond;

A bill (S. 520) granting a pension to Mary L. Tucket Spittle;

A bill (S. 521) granting a pension to Frances M. Swift;

A bill (S. 522) granting an increase of pension to William Thomas;

A bill (S. 523) granting a pension to Laura Tisdale;

A bill (S. 524) granting a pension to Harriet L. Whiton; and

A bill (S. 525) granting an increase of pension to Andrew Winter; to the Committee on Pensions.

A bill (S. 526) for the relief of Mrs. Jarvis M. Williams;

A bill (S. 527) for the relief of the estate of Philip Halsey Remington;

A bill (S. 528) for the relief of the heirs of Paul Noyes;

A bill (S. 529) for the relief of Alice H. Morse;

A bill (S. 530) for the relief of James Gilfillan;

A bill (S. 531) for the relief of Charles J. Fuller;

A bill (S. 532) for the relief of Joshua A. Fessenden and others;

A bill (S. 533) authorizing the payment to the widow of Dorence Atwater of compensation for services rendered the United States of America; and

A bill (S. 534) for the relief of the heirs of Adam and Noah Brown; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 535) to amend section 4414 of the Revised Statutes of the United States relating to the appointment of local and assistant inspectors of steam vessels; and

A bill (S. 536) for the improvement of navigation of the Connecticut River and authorizing the Connecticut River Co. to relocate and construct a dam in said river above the village of Windsor Locks, in the State of Connecticut; to the Committee on Commerce.

A bill (S. 537) for the relief of Joseph Wygant;

A bill (S. 538) for the relief of Henry E. Williams;

A bill (S. 539) for the relief of John M. Squire;

A bill (S. 540) for the relief of Edward Shannon;

A bill (S. 541) for the relief of Lester A. Rockwell;

A bill (S. 542) to grant medals to survivors and heirs of volunteers of the Port Hudson forlorn-hope storming party;

A bill (S. 543) to correct the military record of Walter H. Hutchinson; and

A bill (S. 544) to correct the military record of Charles K. Bond, alias Kimball W. Rollins; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 545) authorizing the Secretary of War to erect a monument at Valparaiso, Chile; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 546) regulating the use of names by fraternal orders; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND:

A bill (S. 547) to authorize the erection of a monument at Fort Seybert, W. Va., to commemorate the capture and massacre of Capt. Seybert and a number of men and women at that point and in the South Fork and South Branch Valleys of the Potomac by the noted Indian chief Kill Buck and his band of Indian warriors in the year 1758; to the Committee on the Library.

A bill (S. 548) to reimburse S. S. Buzzard, postmaster of Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va., for cash stolen; and

A bill (S. 549) to reimburse Isaiah Stephens, postmaster of McMechen, Marshall County, W. Va., for money and postage stamps stolen; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 550) for the relief of the legal representatives of John T. Adkins, deceased;

A bill (S. 551) for the relief of Jasper Newton Gibson;

A bill (S. 552) for the relief of Thomas J. Lloyd;

A bill (S. 553) for the relief of R. A. McCutcheon;

A bill (S. 554) for the relief of Mrs. Sarah L. Nuzum, widow of Joel D. Nuzum, deceased; and

A bill (S. 555) for the relief of the estates of Aaron Van Camp and Virginius P. Chapin; to the Committee on Claims.

A bill (S. 556) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Solomon M. Bennett;

A bill (S. 557) for the relief of John W. Berry;

A bill (S. 558) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John B. Connolly;

A bill (S. 559) for the relief of John W. May;

A bill (S. 560) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John Murphy;

A bill (S. 561) for the relief of Theophilus Nuzum;

A bill (S. 562) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of Thomas Simmons; and

A bill (S. 563) for the relief of George B. Todd; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 564) granting an increase of pension to General Taylor Garrison;

A bill (S. 565) granting an increase of pension to Oscar N. Greer;

A bill (S. 566) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Bartlett;

A bill (S. 567) granting an increase of pension to Ann Bates;

A bill (S. 568) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Beorn;

A bill (S. 569) granting an increase of pension to Luke P. Brooks;

A bill (S. 570) granting a pension to Charles B. Cundiff;

A bill (S. 571) granting an increase of pension to Daniel R. Cokeley;

A bill (S. 572) granting a pension to Anderson Crum;

A bill (S. 573) granting an increase of pension to Thomas E. Clark;

A bill (S. 574) granting an increase of pension to William A. Cale;

A bill (S. 575) granting an increase of pension to George B. Douglass;

A bill (S. 576) granting a pension to Ida M. Goodwin;

A bill (S. 577) for the relief of West Virginia State troops;

A bill (S. 578) granting a pension to Edwin T. Jones;

A bill (S. 579) granting an increase of pension to Jacob J. Lee;

A bill (S. 580) granting an increase of pension to George A. Liston;

A bill (S. 581) granting an increase of pension to Samuel McAtee;

A bill (S. 582) granting a pension to W. H. Mallow;

A bill (S. 583) granting an increase of pension to John W. Marks;

A bill (S. 584) granting an increase of pension to Levi Morris;

A bill (S. 585) granting an increase of pension to Joshua C. Ogden;

A bill (S. 586) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Reed;

A bill (S. 587) granting an increase of pension to Enoch Roberts;

A bill (S. 588) granting a pension to William P. Robinson;

A bill (S. 589) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin N. Satterfield;

A bill (S. 590) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin F. Smith;

A bill (S. 591) granting a pension to Solomon P. Stalnaker;

A bill (S. 592) granting a pension to Joseph Stevens;

A bill (S. 593) granting pensions to the officers and soldiers who served in the West Virginia State troops in the late Civil War;

A bill (S. 594) granting a pension to teamsters, bridge builders, and railroad repairers who were in the service of the United States during the Civil War;

A bill (S. 595) granting an increase of pension to Benjamin Taylor;

A bill (S. 596) granting an increase of pension to James W. Toothman;

A bill (S. 597) granting a pension to Edgar Travis;

A bill (S. 598) granting a pension to Cale Trippett;

A bill (S. 599) granting a pension to Henry Washington;

A bill (S. 600) granting an increase of pension to Ellsworth E. Welch;

A bill (S. 601) granting an increase of pension to Daniel W. Welsh;

A bill (S. 602) granting a pension to Lula C. Winans;
 A bill (S. 603) granting an increase of pension to Gordon H. Williams;
 A bill (S. 604) granting an increase of pension to David D. Arnold;
 A bill (S. 605) granting a pension to Asa W. Coplin;
 A bill (S. 606) granting an increase of pension to Henry Arthur;
 A bill (S. 607) granting an increase of pension to America Postelwalt;
 A bill (S. 608) granting an increase of pension to John B. Raines;
 A bill (S. 609) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Jordan;
 A bill (S. 610) granting an increase of pension to Jethrow Davis;
 A bill (S. 611) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Harman;
 A bill (S. 612) granting an increase of pension to C. C. Stemple;
 A bill (S. 613) granting an increase of pension to Leander N. Thornberry, now known as Frank H. Reynolds;
 A bill (S. 614) granting an increase of pension to Isaac Boyce;
 A bill (S. 615) granting an increase of pension to Edward D. Hamrick;
 A bill (S. 616) granting an increase of pension to Fannie I. Cooper;
 A bill (S. 617) granting an increase of pension to William L. Swiger;
 A bill (S. 618) granting an increase of pension to Littleton T. Morgan;
 A bill (S. 619) granting an increase of pension to William J. Grimm; and
 A bill (S. 620) granting an increase of pension to Charles W. Ebert; to the Committee on Pensions.
 By Mr. POMERENE:
 A bill (S. 621) to provide for the promotion of Americanization of immigrants through education, and to appropriate money therefor; to the Committee on Immigration.
 A bill (S. 622) to amend section 985 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.
 A bill (S. 623) to provide for the erection of a monument to Gen. William Henry Harrison, late President of the United States; to the Committee on the Library.
 A bill (S. 624) providing an additional appropriation for the Federal building at Steubenville, Ohio;
 A bill (S. 625) for the purchase of a post-office site at Bucyrus, Ohio;
 A bill (S. 626) providing for the purchase of a site for the purpose of erecting a Federal building thereon in the city of Troy, county of Miami, State of Ohio, and appropriating the money therefor; and
 A bill (S. 627) to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Treasury to contract for the enlargement, extension, remodeling, and improvement of the present Federal building in Youngstown, Ohio; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.
 A bill (S. 628) to increase the efficiency of the United States Military and the United States Naval Academies, and to increase the number of graduates therefrom by the immediate establishment of a one-year united service school in the Middle West;
 A bill (S. 629) to authorize the President to reinstate Guy H. B. Smith, formerly captain, Fourth United States Infantry, in the Army;
 A bill (S. 630) to amend section 4875 of the Revised Statutes to provide a compensation for superintendents of national cemeteries;
 A bill (S. 631) to authorize the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint George L. Morrison captain of Cavalry, to take rank as such next after Capt. James A. Mars; and
 A bill (S. 632) for the relief of Col. Selden Allen Day; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
 A bill (S. 633) for the retirement of employees in the classified civil service; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.
 A bill (S. 634) to promote export trade, and for other purposes;
 A bill (S. 635) to amend section 21 of "An act relating to bills of lading in interstate and foreign commerce," approved August 29, 1916; and
 A bill (S. 636) to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," as amended, in respect of car service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 637) regulating the issuance of checks, drafts, and orders for the payment of money within the District of Columbia;
 A bill (S. 638) authorizing the Post Office Department to acquire and extend the telephone system of the District of Columbia; to insure the Government complete control of such means of communication in safeguarding its military and executive affairs within the seat of government; to provide a special telephone service to facilitate the direct sale of farm products to consumers in said District; and to establish the efficiency and economy with which such service may be postally conducted;
 A bill (S. 639) regulating itinerant vendors in the District of Columbia; and
 A bill (S. 640) for the retirement of public-school teachers in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.
 By Mr. SHERMAN:
 A bill (S. 641) for the relief of Mary C. Mayers; and
 A bill (S. 642) for the relief of Edward N. McCarty; to the Committee on Claims.
 A bill (S. 643) for the relief of Clark W. Cottrell;
 A bill (S. 644) for the relief of Luther Cline;
 A bill (S. 645) for the relief of Caleb T. Holland; and
 A bill (S. 646) for the relief of James Orange; to the Committee on Military Affairs.
 A bill (S. 647) granting a pension to Amanda B. Birch;
 A bill (S. 648) granting a pension to Margaret Boudreaux;
 A bill (S. 649) granting a pension to Mary E. Bradshaw;
 A bill (S. 650) granting a pension to John August Bohman;
 A bill (S. 651) granting a pension to Monroe Cole;
 A bill (S. 652) granting an increase of pension to Joseph Creed;
 A bill (S. 653) granting a pension to Cora Conzet;
 A bill (S. 654) granting an increase of pension to John W. Chapman;
 A bill (S. 655) granting a pension to Ellen Hammond Clark;
 A bill (S. 656) granting a pension to Rebecca F. Cullison;
 A bill (S. 657) granting an increase of pension to Celia J. Crawford;
 A bill (S. 658) granting an increase of pension to Thomas J. Denny;
 A bill (S. 659) granting an increase of pension to Mary M. Dalzell;
 A bill (S. 660) granting an increase of pension to Aaron N. Elliott;
 A bill (S. 661) granting a pension to Hector C. Fairfowl;
 A bill (S. 662) granting a pension to John A. Foster;
 A bill (S. 663) granting an increase of pension to Margaret J. Fletcher;
 A bill (S. 664) granting an increase of pension to Zeba D. French;
 A bill (S. 665) granting a pension to John W. Ferris;
 A bill (S. 666) granting an increase of pension to Edward L. Frabe;
 A bill (S. 667) granting an increase of pension to Emma S. Gere;
 A bill (S. 668) granting a pension to Frank M. Gilmore;
 A bill (S. 669) granting a pension to Jane Goodman;
 A bill (S. 670) granting an increase of pension to John S. Goodyear;
 A bill (S. 671) granting a pension to Thomas S. Gher;
 A bill (S. 672) granting an increase of pension to George W. Grigg;
 A bill (S. 673) granting an increase of pension to William Hix;
 A bill (S. 674) granting a pension to Jacob Heffer;
 A bill (S. 675) granting a pension to William D. Harrington;
 A bill (S. 676) granting a pension to Eliza Hiser;
 A bill (S. 677) granting an increase of pension to Frances L. Hay;
 A bill (S. 678) granting a pension to George W. Irvin;
 A bill (S. 679) granting a pension to Mary W. James;
 A bill (S. 680) granting a pension to James T. Johnson;
 A bill (S. 681) granting a pension to William E. Johnson;
 A bill (S. 682) granting a pension to Margaret Jeffrey;
 A bill (S. 683) granting an increase of pension to William L. V. Kite;
 A bill (S. 684) granting an increase of pension to Alexander Lemora;
 A bill (S. 685) granting a pension to Sarah Morton;
 A bill (S. 686) granting a pension to Sarah E. Murray;
 A bill (S. 687) granting a pension to Fannie H. Maffitt;
 A bill (S. 688) granting an increase of pension to Daniel B. Mills;
 A bill (S. 689) granting a pension to Fred Muff;

A bill (S. 690) granting an increase of pension to William O'Callaghan;

A bill (S. 691) granting an increase of pension to Chester C. Overturf;

A bill (S. 692) granting a pension to Henry A. Rowley;

A bill (S. 693) granting an increase of pension to Madison O. Rose;

A bill (S. 694) granting an increase of pension to Warren B. Rich;

A bill (S. 695) granting a pension to Elizabeth Rigg;

A bill (S. 696) granting a pension to Clarinda Stoner;

A bill (S. 697) granting an increase of pension to Iva O. Shepardson;

A bill (S. 698) granting a pension to Elizabeth F. Skeen;

A bill (S. 699) granting a pension to Mary E. Sargent;

A bill (S. 700) granting a pension to Gustav J. Tichy;

A bill (S. 701) granting an increase of pension to Felix M. Wheat;

A bill (S. 702) granting a pension to Frank H. Wright;

A bill (S. 703) granting an increase of pension to John Wones;

A bill (S. 704) granting a pension to John Zilkie; and

A bill (S. 705) granting an increase of pension to Ella Conner; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. HUGHES:

A bill (S. 706) for the relief of George Wingate; and

A bill (S. 707) for the relief of Daniel Delhagen; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

A bill (S. 708) to provide for the retirement of employees in the Postal Service, and for other benefits and purposes in connection therewith; and

A bill (S. 709) to regulate the payment of salaries of post-office clerks in first and second class post offices and letter carriers in the City Delivery Service; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A bill (S. 710) to reinstate Elwin Carlton Taylor as a passed assistant surgeon in the United States Navy; and

A bill (S. 711) to place Albert Hamilton on the retired list of the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

A bill (S. 712) for the relief of Bayard T. Garrabrant; and

A bill (S. 713) for the relief of the Stevens Institute of Technology, of Hoboken, N. J.; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. ASHURST:

A bill (S. 714) providing for an additional judge for the district of Arizona; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A bill (S. 715) to establish a fish-hatching and fish-cultural station in the State of Arizona; to the Committee on Fisheries.

A bill (S. 716) to provide Federal aid in caring for indigent tuberculous persons, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate Commerce.

A bill (S. 717) authorizing receipts from the sale of surplus power to be applied to the payment of construction or operation and maintenance charges on reclamation projects; to the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation of Arid Lands.

A bill (S. 718) making an appropriation for the construction of roads within the Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz.; to the Committee on Appropriations.

A bill (S. 719) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a diversion dam with a bridge superstructure across the Gila River on the Gila Bend Indian Reservation, Ariz.;

A bill (S. 720) authorizing a report upon the feasibility of constructing the Colorado River Indian irrigation project; and

A bill (S. 721) to authorize a report upon the necessity for the construction of a bridge across the Salt River on the Salt River Indian Reservation, Ariz.; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. THOMPSON:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 3) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for national prohibition; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 4) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. OWEN:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 5) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, extending the right of suffrage to women; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 6) relating to the transmission through the mails of publicity pamphlets; to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 7) relating to the constitutionality of acts of Congress; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 8) proposing a method of amending the Constitution of the United States by establishing constitutional majority rule; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 9) looking toward an international peace conference at The Hague immediately after the close of the present war in Europe; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. McKELLAR:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 10) creating offices of congressional examiners; to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

By Mr. SHAFROTH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 11) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of President and Vice President without the intervention of the electoral college, establishing their term of office from the third Tuesday of January following their election, and fixing the time when the terms of Senators and Representatives shall begin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WADSWORTH:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 13) extending the time within which the "joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of War to issue temporary permits for additional diversions of water from the Niagara River" shall remain in effect; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

By Mr. POINDEXTER:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 14) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 15) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

By Mr. SMOOT:

A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 16) providing that the Congress of the United States shall participate in the celebration of the "golden wedding" of the first transcontinental lines of railway in the United States; to the Committee on Industrial Expositions.

NATURALIZATION OF ALIENS.

Mr. TOWNSEND. Mr. President, I present several bills for reading and reference, but I wish to call attention to one in particular. I am informed that there are in this country thousands of German aliens who have neglected through carelessness to take out their naturalization papers, although they have been in the United States many years. They have been and are law-abiding residents of our country, but at this time they realize, as they have never realized before, that they have neglected the opportunity which has been accorded them to become citizens of a country which they love and with which their highest welfare is aligned. They are now recorded or will be recorded as aliens, and the finger of suspicion will be pointed at them. I am advised that they are very anxious to become citizens of the United States at once.

I introduce this bill providing for naturalizing those citizens, without making the declaration of intentions, who comply with the law of the land in regard to naturalization in other respects and who have been here for five years or more. I move that the bill be referred to the Committee on Immigration.

The bill (S. 124) to provide for the naturalization of certain aliens was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Immigration.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Mr. JONES of New Mexico. Mr. President, I introduce a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage. This joint resolution is identical with one introduced in several previous Congresses and generally known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment. I have been requested by the National American Woman Suffrage Association and others to introduce this joint resolution in such order as would cause it to bear number "1" as in previous Congresses. I had planned this course, but the exigencies of this extraordinary session of Congress have not made this purpose practicable or advisable, owing to the tremendous importance of the joint resolution introduced on Monday night. I know that the supporters of this joint resolution are quite willing that it shall bear a subsequent number. I therefore introduce the joint resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 2) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION.

Mr. SHEPPARD. I introduce a joint resolution, which I ask may be read at length. It is short.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 17) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States as provided by the Constitution:

"ARTICLE —.

"SECTION 1. The manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, and the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes are hereby prohibited.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation, and nothing in this article shall deprive the several States of their power to enact and enforce laws prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

AMENDMENTS TO DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. JONES of Washington submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$4,000 to pay John W. Keener for compiling and indexing the Public Land Statutes of the United States, printed as Senate document No. 547, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 12), which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

Mr. HUGHES submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$1,200 to pay Dennis M. Kerr for extra and expert services rendered to the Committee on Pensions during the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill (H. R. 12), which was referred to the Committee on Pensions and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. HUGHES. I desire to give notice that on to-morrow I shall submit a proposed amendment to the rules of the Senate, to read as follows:

I hereby give notice of intention to propose an amendment to the rules of the Senate, as follows:

"Resolved, That after a bill or joint resolution shall have been reported to the Senate from the Committee of the Whole no Senator shall, without unanimous consent, speak for more than one hour on the bill nor for more than 10 minutes on any amendment, and that all such debate shall be pertinent and relevant to the subject under discussion."

FEDERAL ANTITRUST DECISIONS.

Mr. McLEAN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 1), which was read and referred to the Committee on Printing:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound 3,000 copies of the Federal antitrust decisions, 1911 to 1917, to be compiled by the direction of the Department of Justice, 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate and 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives.

ALICE CANNING.

Mr. HUGHES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 22), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to pay, from the miscellaneous items of the contingent fund of the Senate, to Alice Canning, widow of Thomas A. Canning, late conductor of elevator in the employ of the United States Senate, a sum equal to six months' salary at the rate he was receiving by law at the time of his death, said sum to be considered as including funeral expenses and all other allowances.

WASHINGTON RAILWAY & ELECTRIC CO.

Mr. HUGHES submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 23), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Whereas differences have arisen between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. (a street railway corporation in the District of Columbia, created and existing by virtue of the act of Congress approved June 5, 1900) and certain of its employees, by reason of which said employees declared a strike or "walkout" on Monday, March 12, 1917, and withdrew from the service of the company; and

Whereas the failure of the said street railway company and its employees to settle and adjust their differences has caused and is causing great public inconvenience and loss; and

Whereas it is in the interest of the public safety and welfare that the causes of the existing differences between the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and its employees should be ascertained and a means devised, if possible, whereby the same may be justly accommodated: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five Senators be appointed by the Presiding Officer of the Senate, who are hereby given full authority to investigate the cause or causes which have occasioned the present strike by the said employees of the Washington Railway & Electric Co. and to report the result of its investigations, with such recommendations as it may deem proper to make, to the Senate at the earliest possible day, and the said committee or subcommittee thereof is hereby given power and authority to summon witnesses, administer oaths, and take testimony under oath as to all matters and things covered by this resolution and to employ such clerical and stenographic assistance as may be necessary in the premises, the expenses of said committee to be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate.

AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

Mr. OWEN submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 24), which was referred to the Committee on Rules:

Resolved, That Rules I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XII, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXVI, and XL be amended to read as follows:

"RULE I.

"APPOINTMENT OF A SENATOR TO THE CHAIR.

"First. In the absence of the Vice President the Senate shall choose a President pro tempore. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Second. In the absence of the Vice President, and pending the election of a President pro tempore, the Secretary of the Senate, or in his absence the Chief Clerk, shall perform the duties of the Chair. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"That it is competent for the Senate to elect a President pro tempore, who shall hold the office during the pleasure of the Senate and until another is elected, and shall execute the duties thereof during all future absences of the Vice President until the Senate otherwise order.

"Third. The President pro tempore shall have the right to name in open Senate, or, if absent, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond an adjournment, except by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Fourth. In event of a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, or whenever the powers and duties of the President shall devolve on the Vice President, the President pro tempore shall have the right to name, in writing, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair during his absence, and the Senator so named shall have the right to name in open session, or in writing, if absent, a Senator to perform the duties of the Chair, but such substitution shall not extend beyond adjournment, except by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. IX.)

"Fifth. That whenever a Senator shall be designated by the President pro tempore to perform the duties of the Chair during his temporary absence he shall be empowered to sign, as acting President pro tempore, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions coming from the House of Representatives for presentation to the President of the United States.

"A Senator occupying the chair temporarily in the absence of those presiding officers who may occupy it under the rule is authorized to sign bills and joint resolutions as set forth in this clause.

"RULE III.

"COMMENCEMENT OF DAILY SESSIONS.

"First. The Presiding Officer having taken the chair, and a quorum being present, the Journal of the preceding day shall be read, and any mistake made in the entries corrected. The reading of the Journal shall not be suspended unless by unanimous consent, and when any motion shall be made to amend or correct the same it shall be deemed a privileged question and proceeded with until disposed of. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. VI, XLIX.)

"QUORUM.

"Second. A quorum shall consist of a majority of the Senators duly chosen and sworn. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. VI.)

"RULE IV.

"JOURNAL.

"First. The proceedings of the Senate shall be briefly and accurately stated on the Journal. Messages of the President in full; titles of bills and joint resolutions, and such parts as shall be affected by proposed amendments; every vote, and a brief statement of the contents of each petition, memorial, or paper presented to the Senate shall be entered. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLIX.)

"Second. The legislative, the executive, the confidential legislative proceedings, and the proceedings when sitting as a Court of Impeachment shall each be recorded in a separate book. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLIX.)

"RULE V.

"QUORUM—ABSENT SENATORS MAY BE SENT FOR.

"First. No Senator shall absent himself from the service of the Senate without leave. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. VIII.)

"Second. If, at any time during the daily sessions of the Senate, a question shall be raised by any Senator as to the presence of a quorum, the presiding officer shall forthwith direct the Secretary to call the roll and shall announce the result, and these proceedings shall be without debate, but a second call for a quorum shall not be had until business, other than debate, has been presented or has intervened. A Senator shall not be required to yield the floor to another Senator for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum without his consent.

"Third. Whenever upon such roll call it shall be ascertained that a quorum is not present, a majority of the Senators present may direct the Sergeant at Arms to request and, when necessary, to compel the attendance of the absent Senators, by issuing a warrant signed by the temporary occupant of the chair in the absence of the Vice President, the President pro tempore, or the Senator designated to preside during the day by the foregoing officers, and who is also hereby authorized to sign said warrant, which shall be attested by the Secretary with the seal of the Senate attached, which order shall be determined without debate; and pending its execution, and until a quorum shall be present, no debate nor motion, except to adjourn, shall be in order. The same powers are given to the majority of Senators present to request and, when necessary, to compel the attendance of absent Senators when a quorum is present, without debate.

"Fourth. If necessary, when a Senator is present, even if paired, and does not answer to the roll call, he shall be counted as present to make a quorum.

"RULE VI.

"PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS.

"First. The presentation of the credentials of Senators elect or appointed and other questions of privilege shall always be in order, except during the reading and correction of the Journal, while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending, or while the Senate is dividing; and all questions and motions arising or made upon the presentation of such credentials shall be proceeded with until disposed of.

"Second. The Secretary shall keep a record of the certificates of election or appointment of Senators by entering in a well-bound book kept for that purpose the date of the election, the name of the person elected and the vote given at the election, the date of the certifi-

cate, the name of the governor and the secretary of state signing and countersigning the same, and the State from which such Senator is elected.

"RULE VII.

"MORNING BUSINESS.

"First. After the Journal is read the Presiding Officer shall lay before the Senate messages from the President, reports and communications from the heads of departments, and other communications addressed to the Senate, and such bills, joint resolutions, and other messages from the House of Representatives as may remain upon its table from any previous day's session undisposed of. The Presiding Officer shall then call for, in the following order:

"The presentation of petitions and memorials.
"Reports of standing and select committees.
"The introduction of bills and joint resolutions.
"Concurrent and other resolutions.
"Resolutions coming over from a previous day.
"All of which shall be received and disposed of in such order, unless unanimous consent shall be otherwise given, except resolutions coming over from a previous day, which may be considered until disposed of on that day or until the expiration of the morning hour, and if not disposed of shall go to the calendar.

"Second. Senators having petitions, memorials, or bills during or after the morning hour may deliver them to the Secretary of the Senate, indorsing upon them their names and the reference or disposition to be made thereof, and said petitions, memorials, and bills shall, with the approval of the Presiding Officer, be entered on the Journal with the names of the Senators presenting them as having been read twice and referred to the appropriate committees; and the Secretary of the Senate shall furnish a transcript of such entries to the official reporter of debates for publication in the Record.

"It shall not be in order to interrupt a Senator having the floor for the purpose of introducing any memorial, petition, report of a committee, resolution or bill. It shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce this rule without any point of order hereunder being made by a Senator.

"Third. Until the morning business shall have been concluded and so announced from the Chair, which may be before the hour of 1 o'clock, but if not concluded until the hour of 1 o'clock has arrived no motion to proceed to the consideration of any bill, resolution, report of a committee, or other subject upon the calendar shall be entertained by the Presiding Officer unless by unanimous consent; and if such consent be given the motion shall not be subject to amendment, and shall be decided without debate upon the merits of the subject proposed to be taken up. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"Fourth. Every petition or memorial shall be referred without putting the question unless objection to such reference is made, in which case all motions for the reception or reference of such petition, memorial, or other paper shall be put in the order in which the same shall be made, and shall not be open to amendment except to add instructions. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIX.)

"Fifth. Every petition or memorial shall be signed by the petitioner or memorialist and have indorsed thereon a brief statement of its contents, and shall be presented and referred without debate. But no petition or memorial or other paper signed by citizens or subjects of a foreign power shall be received unless the same be transmitted to the Senate by the President. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIX.)

"Sixth. That when petitions and memorials are ordered printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the order shall be deemed to apply to the body of the petition only, and the names attached to said petition or memorial shall not be printed unless specially ordered by the Senate.

"Seventh. The presiding officer may at any time lay, and it shall be in order at any time for a Senator to move to lay, before the Senate any bill or other matter sent to the Senate by the President or the House of Representatives, and any question pending at that time shall be suspended for this purpose. Any motion so made shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"RULE VIII.

"ORDER OF BUSINESS.

"At the conclusion of the morning business for each day, unless upon motion the Senate shall at any time otherwise order, the Senate will proceed to the consideration of the Calendar of Bills and Resolutions and continue such consideration until 2 o'clock; and bills and resolutions that are not objected to shall be taken up in their order, and each Senator shall be entitled to speak once and for five minutes only upon any question; and the objection may be interposed at any stage of the proceedings, but upon motion the Senate may continue such consideration; and this order shall commence immediately after the call for 'concurrent and other resolutions' and shall take precedence of the unfinished business and other special orders. But if the Senate shall proceed with the consideration of any matter notwithstanding an objection, the foregoing provisions touching debate shall not apply. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"Unless otherwise ordered, the morning hour shall terminate at the expiration of two hours after the meeting of the Senate.

"All motions made before 2 o'clock to proceed to the consideration of any matter shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XIV.)

"RULE IX.

"ORDER OF BUSINESS (CONTINUED).

"Immediately after the consideration of cases not objected to upon the calendar is completed, and not later than 2 o'clock, if there shall be no special orders for that time, the Calendar of General Orders shall be taken up and proceeded with in its order, beginning with the first subject on the calendar which has been objected to in proceeding with the calendar; and in such case the following motions shall be in order at any time as privileged motions, save as against a motion to adjourn, or to proceed to the consideration of executive business, or questions of privilege, to wit:

"First. A motion to proceed to the consideration of an appropriation or revenue bill.

"Second. A motion to proceed to the consideration of any other bill on the calendar, which motion shall not be open to amendment.

"Third. A motion to pass over the pending subject, which, if carried, shall have the effect to leave such subject without prejudice in its place on the calendar.

"Fourth. A motion to place such subject at the foot of the calendar.

"Each of the foregoing motions shall be decided without debate and shall have precedence in the order above named, and may be submitted as in the nature and with all the rights of questions of order. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XIV, XXXIII.)

"RULE X.

"SPECIAL ORDERS.

"First. Any subject may, by a vote of a majority of the Senators present, be made a special order; and when the time so fixed for its consideration arrives the Presiding Officer shall lay it before the Senate, unless there be unfinished business of the preceding day, and if it is not finally disposed of on that day it shall take its place on the Calendar of Special Orders in the order of time at which it was made special, and shall, at 1 o'clock each day, be laid before the Senate until disposed of, unless it shall become by adjournment the unfinished business. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVIII, XXXIII.)

"Second. When two or more special orders have been made for the same time, they shall have precedence according to the order in which they were severally assigned, and that order shall only be changed by direction of the Senate.

"And all motions to change such order, or to proceed to the consideration of other business, shall be decided without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVIII, XXXIII.)

"RULE XII.

"VOTING, ETC.

"First. When the yeas and nays are ordered, the names of Senators shall be called alphabetically; and each Senator shall, without debate, declare his assent or dissent to the question, unless excused by the Senate; and no Senator shall be permitted to vote after the decision shall have been announced by the Presiding Officer, but may for sufficient reasons, after the roll call and before announcement of the result, with unanimous consent, change or withdraw his vote. No motion to suspend this rule shall be in order, nor shall the presiding officer entertain any request to suspend it by unanimous consent. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLI.)

"Second. When a Senator declines to vote on call of his name he shall be required to assign his reasons therefor, and, having assigned them, the Presiding Officer shall submit the question to the Senate: 'Shall the Senator, for the reasons assigned by him, be excused from voting?' which shall be decided without debate; and these proceedings shall be had after the roll call and before the result is announced; and any further proceedings in reference thereto shall be after such announcement. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVII, XLI.)

"Third. No request by a Senator for unanimous consent for the taking of a final vote on a specified date upon the passage of a bill or joint resolution shall be submitted to the Senate for agreement thereto until, upon a roll call ordered for the purpose by the Presiding Officer, it shall be disclosed that a quorum of the Senate is present; and when a unanimous consent is thus given the same shall operate as the order of the Senate, but any unanimous consent may be revoked by another unanimous consent granted in the manner prescribed above upon one day's notice.

"RULE XVI.

"AMENDMENTS TO APPROPRIATION BILLS.

"First. All general appropriation bills shall be referred to the Committee on Appropriations, except the following bills, which shall be severally referred as herein indicated, namely: The bill making appropriations for rivers and harbors, to the Committee on Commerce; the Agricultural bill, to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry; the Army and the Military Academy bills, to the Committee on Military Affairs; the Indian bill, to the Committee on Indian Affairs; the naval bill, to the Committee on Naval Affairs; the pension bill, to the Committee on Pensions; the Post Office bill, to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads; and no amendments shall be received to any general appropriation bill the effect of which will be to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill, or to add a new item of appropriation, unless it be made to carry out the provisions of some existing law, or treaty stipulation, or act, or resolution previously passed by the Senate during that session, or unless the same be moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate or proposed in pursuance of an estimate of the head of some one of the departments. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Second. All amendments to general appropriation bills moved by direction of a standing or select committee of the Senate, proposing to increase an appropriation already contained in the bill or to add new items of appropriation, shall, at least one day before they are considered, be referred to the committee having jurisdiction thereof, and when actually proposed to the bill no amendment proposing to increase the amount stated in such amendment shall be received; in like manner amendments proposing new items of appropriation to river and harbor bills shall before being considered be referred to the Committee on Commerce. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Third. No amendment which proposes general legislation shall be received to any general appropriation bill, nor shall any amendment not germane or relevant to the subject matter contained in the bill be received; nor shall any amendment to any item or clause of such bill be received which does not directly relate thereto; and all questions of relevancy of amendments under this rule, when raised, shall be submitted to the Senate and be decided without debate; and any amendment to a general appropriation bill may be laid on the table without prejudice to the bill. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"Fourth. No amendment the object of which is to provide for a private claim shall be received to any general appropriation bill, unless it be to carry out the provisions of an existing law or a treaty stipulation, which shall be cited on the face of the amendment. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXV.)

"RULE XVIII.

"AMENDMENTS—DIVISION OF A QUESTION.

"If the question in debate contains several propositions, any Senator may have the same divided, except a motion to strike out and insert, which shall not be divided; but the rejection of a motion to strike out and insert one proposition shall not prevent a motion to strike out and insert a different proposition; nor shall it prevent a motion simply to strike out; nor shall the rejection of a motion to strike out prevent a motion to strike out and insert. But pending a motion to strike out and insert, the part to be stricken out and the part to be inserted shall each be regarded for the purpose of amendment as an original question and not an amendment in the first degree; and motions to amend the part to be stricken out shall have precedence. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XXXV, XXXVI.)

"RULE XIX.

"DEBATE.

"First. When a Senator desires to speak he shall rise and address the Presiding Officer, and shall not proceed until he is recognized, and the Presiding Officer shall recognize the Senator who shall first address

him. No Senator shall interrupt another Senator in debate without his consent, except for a question, unless by unanimous consent, and to obtain such consent he shall first address the Presiding Officer; and no Senator shall speak more than twice nor for more than one hour upon any one question in debate on the same day without leave of the Senate, which shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Secs. XVII, XXXIX.)

"Second. No Senator in debate shall, directly or indirectly, by any form of words impute to another Senator or to other Senators any conduct or motive unworthy or unbecoming a Senator. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Third. No Senator in debate shall refer offensively to any State of the Union.

"Fourth. If any Senator, in speaking or otherwise, transgress the rules of the Senate, the Presiding Officer shall, or any Senator may, call him to order; and when a Senator shall be called to order he shall sit down and not proceed without leave of the Senate, which, if granted, shall be upon motion that he be allowed to proceed in order, which motion shall be determined without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Fifth. If a Senator be called to order for words spoken in debate, upon the demand of the Senator or of any other Senator, the exceptable words shall be taken down in writing and read at the table for the information of the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XVII.)

"Sixth. Whenever confusion arises in the Chamber or the galleries, or demonstrations of approval or disapproval are indulged in by the occupants of the galleries, it shall be the duty of the Chair to enforce order on his own initiative and without any point of order being made by a Senator.

"RULE XX.

"QUESTIONS OF ORDER.

"First. A question of order may be raised at any stage of the proceedings, except when the Senate is dividing, and, unless submitted to the Senate, shall be decided by the presiding officer without debate, subject to an appeal to the Senate. The Chair may permit debate for his own information, and each Senator may be entitled to speak once and for not exceeding five minutes on the question of order until the presiding officer announces that he is ready to rule on the point of order. When an appeal is taken, any subsequent question of order which may arise before the decision of such appeal shall be decided by the Presiding Officer without debate; and every appeal therefrom shall be decided at once, and without debate; and any appeal may be laid on the table without prejudice to the pending proposition, and thereupon shall be held as affirming the decision of the Presiding Officer. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"Second. The Presiding Officer may submit any question of order for the decision of the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"RULE XXII.

"PRECEDENCE OF MOTIONS.

- "When a question is pending, no motion shall be received but—
- "To adjourn.
- "To adjourn to a day certain, or that when the Senate adjourn it shall be to a day certain.
- "To take a recess.
- "To proceed to the consideration of executive business.
- "To lay on the table.
- "To postpone indefinitely.
- "To postpone to a day certain.
- "To commit.
- "To amend.

Which several motions shall have precedence as they stand arranged; and the motions relating to adjournment, to take a recess, to proceed to the consideration of executive business, to lay on the table, shall be decided without debate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XXXIII.)

"Provided, however, That any Senator may move that the debate should be brought to a close, the Chair shall, without permitting any debate thereon, put the question to the Senate—

"Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate should be brought to a close?"

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative, then it shall be in order to the exclusion of all other questions and business for any Senator to move to limit debate on the pending bill or resolution and all amendments thereto, and the said motion shall be decided without debate. And thereafter, the motion being carried, no Senator shall be entitled to speak more than one hour in all on the bill, the amendments thereto, and any motion affecting the same.

"No dilatory motion shall be in order, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to declare such motion out of order when the question of order is raised by a Senator, or to immediately submit the question without debate to the Senate.

"RULE XXVIII.

"MESSAGES AND EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS.

"First. Messages from the President of the United States or from the House of Representatives may be received at any stage of proceedings, except while the Senate is dividing, or while the Journal is being read, or while a question of order or a motion to adjourn is pending. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLVII.)

"Second. Messages shall be sent to the House of Representatives by the Secretary, who shall previously certify the determination of the Senate upon all bills, joint resolutions, and other resolutions which may be communicated to the House, or in which its concurrence may be requested; and the Secretary shall also certify and deliver to the President of the United States all resolutions and other communications which may be directed to him by the Senate. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. XLVII.)

"No communications from heads of departments, commissioners, chiefs of bureaus, or other executive officers, except when authorized or required by law, or when made in response to a resolution of the Senate, will be received by the Senate unless such communications shall be transmitted to the Senate by the President.

"RULE XXIX.

"PRINTING OF PAPERS, ETC.

"First. Every motion to print documents, reports, and other matter transmitted by either of the executive departments, or to print memorials, petitions, accompanying documents, or any other paper, except bills of the Senate or House of Representatives, resolutions submitted by a Senator, communications from the legislatures or conventions, lawfully called, of the respective States, and motions to print by order of the standing or select committees of the Senate, shall, unless the Senate

otherwise order, be referred to the Committee on Printing. When a motion is made to commit with instructions it shall be in order to add thereto a motion to print.

"Second. Motions to print additional numbers shall also be referred to the Committee on Printing; and when the committee shall report favorably the report shall be accompanied by an estimate of the probable cost thereof; and when the cost of printing such additional numbers shall exceed the sum of \$500 the concurrence of the House of Representatives shall be necessary for an order to print the same.

"RULE XXXVI.

"EXECUTIVE SESSIONS.

"First. When the President of the United States shall meet the Senate in the Senate Chamber for the consideration of executive business, he shall have a seat on the right of the Presiding Officer. When the Senate shall be convened by the President of the United States to any other place, the Presiding Officer of the Senate and the Senators shall attend at the place appointed, with the necessary officers of the Senate.

"Second. When acting upon confidential or executive business, unless the same shall be considered in open executive session, the Senate Chamber shall be cleared of all persons except the Secretary, the Chief Clerk, the Principal Legislative Clerk, the Executive Clerk, the minute and Journal clerk, the Sergeant at Arms, the Assistant Doorkeeper, and such other officers as the Presiding Officer shall think necessary; and all such officers shall be sworn to secrecy.

"Third. All confidential communications made by the President of the United States to the Senate shall be by the Senators and the officers of the Senate kept secret; and all treaties which may be laid before the Senate, and all remarks, votes, and proceedings thereon shall also be kept secret, until the Senate shall, by their resolution, take off the injunction of secrecy, or unless the same shall be considered in open executive session.

"The injunction of secrecy is extended to each step in the consideration of treaties, including the fact of ratification. (Senate Journal, p. 571, Appendix.)

"Fourth. Whenever the injunction of secrecy shall be removed from any part of the proceedings of the Senate in executive session, or secret legislative session, the order of the Senate removing the same shall be entered by the Secretary of the Legislative Journal as well as in the executive Journal, and shall be published in the RECORD. (Jefferson's Manual, Sec. LII.)

"RULE XL.

"SUSPENSION AND AMENDMENT OF THE RULES.

"No motion to suspend, modify, or amend any rule, or any part thereof, shall be in order, except on one-day's notice, in writing, specifying precisely the rule or part proposed to be suspended, modified, or amended, and the purpose thereof. Any rule may be suspended without notice by the unanimous consent of the Senate, except as otherwise provided in clause 1, Rule XII, or by a two-thirds vote, without debate."

WAR WITH GERMANY.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The morning business is closed.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now proceed to the consideration of Senate joint resolution No. 1.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and lays before the Senate the joint resolution.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to consider the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 1) declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same, which had been reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations with an amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the committee will be stated.

The SECRETARY. The amendment is, on page 1, line 7, after the words "directed to," to strike out the words "take immediate steps not only to put the country in a thorough state of defense, but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination," and insert "employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States," so as to make the joint resolution read:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful determination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, what I shall say in support of the joint resolution will be short. The time for action has arrived. The time for discussion has passed. The President of the United States has already stated more clearly, more conclusively, and more effectively than I can the reasons which make this great step now to be taken necessary.

The joint resolution provides for war against the Imperial German Government. It is framed on the lines of other war

declarations of Congress, in that it directs the President to employ the military and naval forces of the country to carry the war to a successful termination. It also conforms to the precedents of other declarations when Congress has entered upon the solemn business of war by declaring that a state of war already exists. It places the responsibility of this war squarely upon the shoulders of the Imperial German Government, which is charged with having committed repeated acts of war against the United States. Over and above all this, however, the measure is unquestionably also a declaration of war.

Mr. President, in presenting the joint resolution I am impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. Some may be filled with joy at the prospect of war. To me it is depressing and dreadful. The enormous cost which the people must pay, the great increased cost of living which they must meet, the enormous burden of taxes which they must bear, and the still greater heritage of debt which they must incur stagger my mind. The awful sacrifice of life that must follow sickens my heart. I am sure other Senators have the same feeling. I am sure the great body of the American people have it also.

Our country has nothing material to gain by victory. We want no more territory; we demand no indemnity. We have no historic grudges to settle and no racial antipathies to gratify.

In these respects, Mr. President, we differ from other countries already involved in this awful struggle. Pan-Slavism struggles with pan-Germanism. Italy fights to get back the Trentino. France is resolved to recover her lost provinces. Great Britain has almost within her grasp German commerce and German colonies. Russia fights to win Constantinople. Germany not only wants her place in the sun but she wants to dominate central Europe, while Austria, Bulgaria, and Roumania all seek to extend their borders.

We alone of all the nations, Mr. President, will spend our treasure and sacrifice our lives without possibility of material gain. We are going to war, Mr. President, to vindicate our honor and to maintain our independence as a great nation. We are going to war, as the President has stated, in defense of humanity. Such quarrel as we have with the Imperial Government of Germany was not of our seeking. It was forced upon us. We did much to avoid it.

For nearly three years of this struggle our country has steadily held to its purpose to avoid war if possible. This has been true not only of the President but of Congress; and it has been true of the American people. One desperate act of the Imperial German Government after another has added to the provocation. I do not mean to say, Mr. President, that Germany has desired war with us; I do not believe it; but the German Government has been desperate and has taken desperate chances.

The invasion of Belgium shocked the sense of justice of the whole civilized world and subjected American neutrality to its first great strain. The sinking of the *Lusitania*, with hundreds of innocent passengers, men, women, and children, many of them Americans, sent a thrill of horror through America, and would have produced war had it not been for the moderation of President Wilson and his success finally in securing from the German Government an agreement to modify its methods and conform them to the rules of international law and to the dictates of humanity.

It is customary, Mr. President, to say that this agreement was violated by Germany, but it is more just and more correct to say that Germany had reserved the right to revoke it under certain conditions and exercised that right by revoking it on February first of this year. This also was an act of desperation. It was not intended to provoke war with us, but it was followed by acts of war upon us. They were not made for the deliberate purpose of injuring us, but rather to starve the English people. The effect on us, however, was the same. We were ordered off the high seas. We then dissolved diplomatic relations with Germany. We might then have gone to war. We could not submit; no great nation could remain great and independent if it did so. No great nation could maintain its place in history if it permitted another to order it off the seas; if it permitted another to bottle up its commerce; if it permitted another to dictate to it as to the exercise of its unquestioned right and to impose the penalty of murder of its citizens in case of refusal.

The President stated in his address that we were confronted with the alternative of resistance or submission; and, Mr. President, we should remember that even then this people did not declare for war and our great President did not recommend war. He proposed the only other alternative there was, and recommended to Congress that this country assume a position of armed neutrality, so that it might assert and defend upon the high seas its rights and the privileges of its people without

actually going to war. When the President made that recommendation a little more than a month ago the country received it practically with unanimity; Congress received it practically with unanimity. The resolution authorizing it passed the House of Representatives almost unanimously. That resolution would have passed the Senate by an overwhelming vote if it had not been for a filibuster in the closing days of the session, which made it impossible for nine-tenths of the Senate to cast the vote that it was ready to cast in support of the President's position. Nevertheless as far as he could the President placed the country in a position of armed neutrality. So the people of the country, the Congress of the country, and the President of the country have taken one step after another, have adopted one policy after another, in the hope of avoiding this terrible last alternative with which we are now confronted.

Mr. President, I think that armed neutrality might have succeeded. I thought when I stood here, and advocated the armed neutrality bill that if Congress with practical unanimity stood behind the President in authorizing armed neutrality, Germany might yield. Germany might have seen that the position of the United States was definite and unmistakable as well as honorable, and Germany might have ceased to continue the invasion of our rights upon the high seas. Unfortunately, however, the opposition raised to that measure, the filibuster successfully conducted upon the floor of the Senate, resulted in a technical refusal of Congress to adopt the President's recommendation. It went out to the world officially that the different branches of the United States Government were at loggerheads. The result has been that our neutral rights have been more imposed upon since that time than they were before. Five or six, possibly seven, American vessels upon innocent errands of commerce upon the high seas have been sunk. Some of them were not even upon the way to a belligerent port, but were returning to the United States in ballast, and in three of the cases at least the lives of American citizens have been lost. Nearly a hundred lives of Americans have been lost since we stood here a month ago discussing armed neutrality, and the time has passed, unfortunately, when we can longer consider armed neutrality as an expedient short of war.

The American people, Mr. President, have clung to the hope through all these months that the dread alternative might be avoided. Like the Savior of man in the garden of Gethsemane, they have prayed that the bitter cup of sacrifice might pass from them. They have prayed that it might not be necessary to make the sacrifice for the protection of humanity and the vindication of national honor. All has been in vain. All patience, all moderation, and all long-suffering have apparently been in vain—not entirely in vain, though, Mr. President, because we have avoided the horrors of war for two years or more; but the time has now come when further delay is impossible.

Mr. President, I have opposed war; I have been bitterly opposed to it. What influence I have had in my State and in this body has been exerted against it. As long as there was any hope to avoid it I used my legitimate influence for that purpose. I supported armed neutrality here with the fervor that I did because I thought it offered an escape from war with honor, and I even hoped to avoid war up to the eleventh hour. Yes, Mr. President, when I knew that the people of the United States were calling for war, when I knew that a majority of the Congress of the United States was overwhelmingly for war, and upon the proper occasion would vote for war—even when I knew that, Mr. President, I sought out the President of the United States and begged him if possible to cling yet longer to armed neutrality as an expedient to avoid war; but it was vain. The President was in possession of such information as made it impossible for him to listen longer to the arguments of those who sought to avoid war. He has spoken to the Congress. The country is ready, and the Congress is ready. While the vote has not yet been recorded, the decision has, as we all know, been reached. It is war.

I can not at this moment cast my vote against war without doing a vain and foolish thing. My act would only serve to weaken my country in the face of the enemy and in the face of inevitable war. Therefore, Mr. President, I have obeyed the instructions of the Committee on Foreign Relations and made this report to the Senate, and I am now ready to take my place with those who will back to the utmost the President of the United States in prosecuting this war for the honor of the country and in the interest of humanity.

Mr. SWANSON. Mr. President, the President of the United States in an address to Congress has forcibly recited the many grievances which we have against the Imperial Government of Germany, the many outrages perpetrated upon our citizens by that Government, and its many affronts to our flag and sovereignty. He has shown that the German Government has re-

peatedly and grossly violated its treaty obligations to us and wantonly broken most solemn assurances given our Government to respect our international rights. He has proven that, by the lawless destruction of ships bearing and claiming the protection of our flag, without notice and without provocation, by German submarines acting under positive directions from the German Government, that Government has proceeded to wage war upon this Nation. He asks authority from Congress to use the Army and Navy to defend our rights, protect our citizens and their legitimate commerce, and to give him the means efficiently to wage this war violently precipitated by Germany.

The question presented to us for determination is whether we shall promptly and generously respond to the brave and patriotic appeal of the President to defend our rights and redress our wrongs, or whether we shall cowardly submit to these and further outrages, and through craven fear relinquish important rights which are vital to us as a great and aspiring Nation. The issue is not peace or war. War has already been wantonly and lawlessly prosecuted against us. The issue is whether we shall accept war or abject and cowardly submission. Before the recent outrages, had we not already submitted at the hands of the Imperial Government of Germany to all that could be expected of a brave and self-respecting people? Have we not seen since the beginning of this war German officials in the United States engaged in many improper activities in violation of the laws of the United States and of their obligations as officials in a neutral country? Has it not been proven beyond contradiction that the military and naval attachés of the German Embassy in this country by their many and varied activities sought to use this country as a base for military operations against nations with which we were at peace? The Federal authorities have clearly proven that a scheme was financed and directed from this country to incite a rebellion in India against the British Government, with which we are upon terms of peace and amity. Have not officers of interned German warships violated their word of honor and escaped? German officials duly accredited to his Government have been detected in issuing fraudulent passports to enable spies to enter and operate in foreign countries at peace with us. American passports, fraudulent and counterfeited, have been found on German agents. Persons have been tried and convicted and sentenced in this country for using our territory as a base for providing German warships with coal and other supplies, in violation of the statutes of the United States and our neutrality.

It has been disclosed that our territory has been used by German officials to organize efforts to wreck bridges and destroy important industries in Canada, our northern neighbor. Bombs have been prepared and sought to be placed upon allied ships lying in our harbors. German officials, in violation of our laws, have sought to control the employment in the munitions industries, and thus cripple or destroy these. For several years we have known of German activities in Mexico prejudicial to our interests and seeking to embroil us in trouble with that distracted country. The extent and dangerous character of these activities, though suspected, were not fully known until the recent publication of the Zimmermann letter, which proved the efforts being made in Mexico by the German Government to incite that nation to war against us. This letter reached the lowest depths of national turpitude. The German ambassador, while enjoying our hospitality, was informed of a contemplated breaking of a solemn assurance which he himself had given to our Government, promising to respect our international rights upon the sea, and was told that if we did not tamely submit to this broken pledge and gross invasion of our rights, then he should endeavor to combine Mexico and Japan with Germany in warfare against the United States, pledging the German Government to despoil us of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, which should be given to Mexico. The absurdity of the scheme does not lessen its shameless enormity. The fact that the wicked proposal fell upon unwilling ears does not lessen our belief in the willingness of the German Government, when opportunity presents, to do us serious mischief and harm. This note could not have been suddenly precipitated without previous careful consideration and possibly prior intrigue. Large national interests and combinations are not thus hastily determined.

We have long suspected a disposition on the part of Germany to dispute with us the great Monroe doctrine when opportunity favorably presented, and to seek to extend to the Western Hemisphere her territorial spoils. The Zimmermann letter proves that this suspicion is well founded, and that we must rely upon our naval and military strength to defend this great doctrine from invasion. The letter indicates a state of mind and a purpose on the part of Germany which demand serious consideration and prompt action on our part. It indicates an enmity which if not boldly resented by us portends greater

troubles for the future. Now is the time for us to teach this mischief-making Government that our territorial integrity can not be made the subject of war bargaining; that though we are a patient and peace-loving people, we will never become graduates of the school of cowardly submission of this character. This infamous letter itself constitutes a sufficient cause for a declaration of war on our part against Germany. In the light of these recent transactions we can understand now the occasion of the presence of the German fleet at Manila and its persistence in interfering with the plans of Dewey, and convinces us now of the truth of what we then suspected, that its purpose was, if opportunity offered, to seize and hold the fruits of our victory.

Mr. President, it would seem to me that these wrongs and outrages are sufficient to call for the strong resentment of any brave and high-spirited people. But, sir, the advocates of peace now would place upon this Nation the shame of a still greater submission. They would endure still greater affronts and surrender still more important rights. What is the contention between the President of the United States and the Emperor of Germany over the settlement of which war with all of its far-reaching effects impends? On February 4, 1915, the chief of the admiral staff of the German Navy, acting under direction of the Imperial Government, issued the following proclamation:

1. The waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared to be war zone. On and after the 18th of February, 1915, every enemy merchant ship found in the said war zone will be destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account.

2. Even neutral ships are exposed to danger in the war zone, as in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered on January 31 by the British Government and of the accidents of naval war it can not always be avoided to strike even neutral ships in attacks that are directed at enemy ships.

The purpose of this proclamation was to permit submarines to destroy merchant ships without being compelled to visit and search them and provide for the safety of the crews as required by international law before the ships should be destroyed and sunk. This proclamation was communicated to the American Government on February 6, and to which the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, promptly replied on February 10, 1915. In stating the position of our Government he said:

To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible.

Later in his letter, in discussing the possible destruction of an American vessel or the lives of American citizens, Mr. Bryan writes:

If such a deplorable situation should arise the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

Further in his reply he expresses—

the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government can and will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty.

Thus this communication of our Secretary of State, in substance, clearly stated American rights under acknowledged international law, boldly informed the Imperial German Government that if these rights were violated it would be held to strict accountability and that the rights of American citizens on the high seas would be vigorously defended, and diplomatically demanded assurances from the German Government that these rights would be respected and not violated. The issues he then presented are those with which we are to-day contending with the German Government. Further communications to that Government are but a greater amplification of the positions then taken.

Did we mean what we so bravely said in this note, or were we simply indulging in empty verbiage? Was our warning the mere bluff of a bully or the solemn voice of a resolute and determined people? No, Mr. President, our then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, in this great state paper forcibly and eloquently gave expression to the convictions of this great Republic and voiced the firm will of a brave and high-spirited people. Sir, I am satisfied that Congress will not by cowardly action upon the pending measure declare that diplomatically we roar with the voice of a lion and then when rebuffed strike with the gentle hand of a woman. Sir, as a great and true people we will square our actions with our words. Having been brave in word, we will be equally vigorous in action. The blood of pioneer ancestors who dared all dangers and perils yet tingles in our veins, and we have

not yet learned the arts of the braggart nor been schooled in the language of subterfuge and dissimulation.

On the 16th of February, 1915, the German minister for foreign affairs replied to the note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, stating:

The German Government announce merely the destruction of enemy merchant vessels found within the area of maritime war and not the destruction of all merchant vessels, as the American Government appear to have erroneously understood.

Thus the note, while disclaiming any intention of destroying neutral vessels, failed to further state what the intentions of the German Government were in extending to enemies' merchant vessels the right of visit and search and the safety of crews and passengers before destroying or sinking them. This was the situation of our diplomatic relations with the German Government when, on the 7th of May, 1915, the British steamship *Lusitania* was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine in the prohibited war zone without warning, and by which over one hundred American citizens lost their lives. This act was in direct contravention of the solemn warnings previously given by our Government. It was as cruel and shameless an act of murder as was ever perpetrated. It exceeded piracy in its worst and most revolting forms. No buccaneer that ever roved the sea could boast of a more fiendish act. This cruel deed was preceded on March 28 by a German submarine sinking the British passenger steamer *Falaba*, through which an American citizen was drowned; also by an attack on March 28 on the American vessel *Cushing* by a German airplane, and the torpedoing on May 1 of the American vessel *Gulflight* by a German submarine, as a result of which two American citizens met their death. These continuing and accumulated atrocities were such that on the 13th of May, 1915, Mr. Bryan, then Secretary of State, dispatched to the Imperial German Government a note in which he stated:

The Government of the United States was loath to believe—it can not now bring itself to believe—that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices, and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of that great Government.

Further in this note the then Secretary states:

This Government has already taken occasion to inform the Imperial German Government that it can not admit the adoption of such measures or such a warning of danger to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on ships of belligerent nationalities; and that it must hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental. It does not understand the Imperial German Government to question those rights.

American citizens act within their indisputable rights in taking their ships and in traveling wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights.

This note closed with the bold declaration:

The Imperial German Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment.

In clear presentation of American rights, in bold assertion of a determination vigorously to maintain them, and in solemn warning of what might be expected if the German Imperial Government continued to violate these rights and did not give prompt assurance that these rights would be respected, the last note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, far exceeded the former one. On May 28, 1915, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs, replying to this note of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, stated:

With regard, firstly, to cases of the American steamers *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the American Embassy has already been informed that it is far from the German Government to have any intention of ordering attacks by submarines or fliers on neutral vessels in the zone which have not been guilty of any hostile act. On the contrary, the most explicit instructions have been repeatedly given the German armed forces to avoid attacking such vessels.

This note failed to make any satisfactory explanation of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with great loss of American life, or to give any future assurances regarding the further sinking and destruction of such vessels. On June 9, 1915, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, addressed a note to the German Government, again calling attention to the *Lusitania* incident, reiterating American claims and rights, insisting upon a satisfactory adjustment of the affair, and demanding assurances that American rights would be respected in the future. On July 21, 1915, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, again addressed a note to the Imperial Government of Germany, stating that its notes regarding the sinking of the *Lusitania* were unsatisfactory, and further insisting upon the rights of American citizens as previ-

ously stated. In this note, discussing the freedom of the seas, Mr. Lansing declared:

The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom from whatever quarter violated, without compromise and at any cost.

He closed his note with this solemn warning:

Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly.

On August 19, 1915, the British ship *Arabic* was torpedoed by a German submarine without warning, and three American lives were lost. This illegal act greatly intensified the differences remaining unsettled between our Government and the German Government concerning the *Lusitania*. Continuously and urgently pressed by our Government for assurances regarding the use of the submarine against merchant vessels according to international law and for settlement of the *Lusitania* incident, finally, on the 1st of September, 1915, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, in a letter to the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, informed him that he had received instructions from the German Government, in its reply to the Secretary's last *Lusitania* note, containing the following passage:

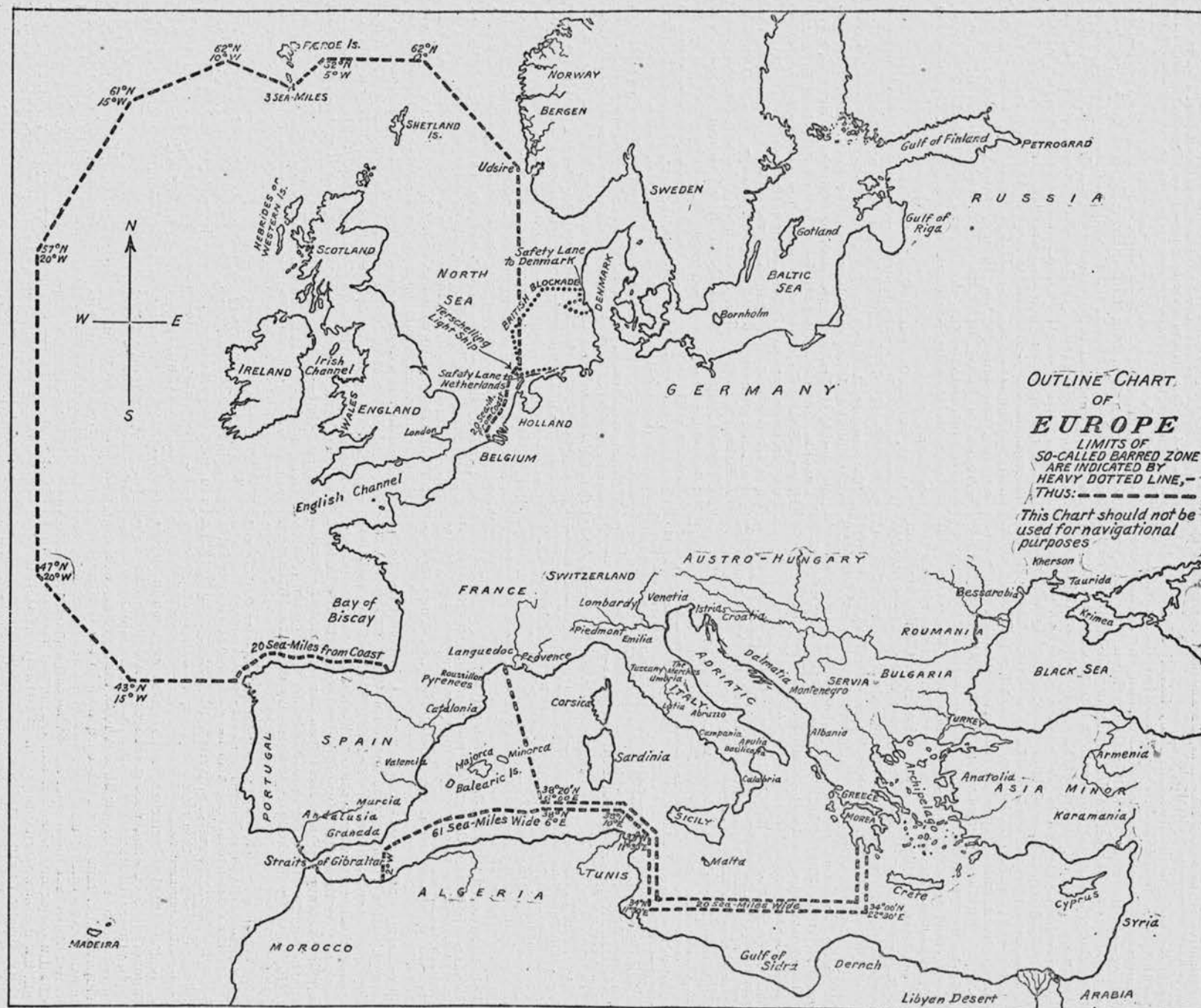
Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance.

Thus finally the German Government conceded the justice of our contention as far as liners were concerned, that they could not be sunk by submarines without first visit and search and providing for the safety of the crew and passengers. The United States Government believed that this assurance was given in good faith and would be strictly adhered to by the German Government. Yet, despite the solemn assurance thus given, on December 30, 1915, without warning, the British ship *Persia* was believed to have been torpedoed and two American lives were lost. On November 9, 1915, without warning, the Italian ship *Ancona* was torpedoed by a submarine and seven American citizens were lost. On March 24, 1916, the unarmed French steamer *Sussex*, engaged in the regular passenger service, was torpedoed by a German submarine without notice and sunk, through which many American lives were lost. On March 27, 1916, the British ship *Englishman* was torpedoed by a submarine and six Americans were lost. On December 14, 1916, the British ship *Russian* was torpedoed without warning and 17 Americans were lost. The German Government, with its submarines, torpedoed and destroyed many other merchant vessels than these enumerated contrary to the positive assurance given this Government by Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador. A more faithless performance of positive promises made by one government to another can not be found anywhere than that exhibited by the German Government in these dealings with the United States. All of its assurances have been regarded as mere "scraps of paper," to be utterly disregarded when German interests or desires demanded. But all of these violations of our rights, gross and flagrant as they are, pale into insignificance in comparison with the recent injuries inflicted upon us by the action of the German Imperial Government which precipitated the present crisis. On January 31, 1917, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, presented to the Secretary of State a communication from the Imperial German Government declaring that—

From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean.

This proclamation in marking the barred zone makes it impossible for an American ship of any kind whatsoever, bent upon any purpose whatsoever, to sail to or from any parts of the British Isles, any parts of Belgium, France, or Italy. After entering the Mediterranean Sea and passing the coast of Spain and her possessions in Africa, American and other neutral vessels are only permitted to navigate this sea within a 20-mile lane leading to Greece. All other parts of the Mediterranean Sea with its vast commerce are prohibited to American and other neutral vessels for all purposes whatsoever. The prescribed zones in the proclamation are so fixed that American and other neutral vessels can approach only the northern shores of Spain in a 20-mile limit around her coast. Our own and other neutral vessels can only trade with Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden by sailing very far north, being required to go above 62° north latitude, and then approaching these countries through narrow sea lanes skirting their coast. The barred or war zone in the Atlantic extends from 5° east longitude to 20° west longi-

MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN BARRED WAR ZONE.



tude, and from about 43° north latitude to about 62° north latitude. Thus the German Imperial Government has by this proclamation appropriated absolutely to itself an area in the Atlantic Ocean about 1,400 miles in length and 1,000 miles in breadth. It extends in the Atlantic Ocean about 500 miles west from the western shores of Ireland. The German Government practically assumes ownership and control of the entire Mediterranean Sea. In this large sea area, including the proscribed zones in the Atlantic and Mediterranean, passes almost three-fourths of the world's vast foreign commerce.

Imagination is powerless to picture the great inconvenience to navigation, the immense dislocation of trade and commerce which would be occasioned if the world should submit to Germany's arrogant assumption of control and ownership of these seas. It is an act of tyranny and arrogance unprecedented in the world's history. If an American vessel sails from one of our ports containing only foodstuffs and not an article of contraband for the neutral ports of Holland, Denmark, or other neutral country, with no intention of entering the ports of any of the belligerents, and dares to cross any part of this barred zone, it becomes under this German decree a proscribed outlaw, divested of all rights of international law, all considerations of humanity, and is doomed to instant destruction by German submarines. It is the most arrogant, far-reaching, and destructive attack upon the freedom of the seas ever attempted by any nation. It gives us some faint conception of the ruthless tyranny, the fearful burdens upon navigation, the frightful depredations and spoiliations that would be committed by the German Government if it should ever attain supremacy of the seas.

If Germany has a right to designate a barred war zone 500 miles from the western coast of Ireland and prohibit all vessels from entering it, she has an equal right to extend this zone farther westward, even within 20 miles of our own shores, and prohibit all vessels from entering within the zone thus enlarged. She has defiantly done this on the northern coast of Spain, a neutral country, only permitting vessels to approach and depart from these shores within a narrow sea lane of 20 miles skirting the coast. We can not shirk the issue. The conflict is on for the freedom of the seas. We are forced to a decision whether we will wage war to maintain the freedom of the seas as a common heritage for all the nations or whether we will cowardly submit to the tyrannical decree and proclamation of the German Government appropriating unto itself for its own use vast areas.

No nation is more vitally concerned in the freedom of the seas than the United States. Our foreign commerce far exceeds that of any other nation, and its continuance and its growth are indispensable to our prosperity and progress as a people. Hampered by restrictions or destroyed our vast foreign commerce, and bankruptcy and ruin will overshadow alike mine, farm, and factory. The future greatness of this Nation is inseparably interwoven with the freedom of the seas. They are one and inseparable. When we wage war for this we are contending for the most vital of all American rights. If we now surrender to Germany the freedom of the seas and permit this infringement upon this common heritage, our posterity will never forgive us for the ignominy of that cowardly submission. With strong arms and brave hearts let us accept the challenge and valiantly defend our most cherished rights. While thus battling for our own most vital interests we are also contending for the rights of humanity and civilization. Do those who now counsel peace and submission to Germany fully realize the present great distress to which they invite us? Last year our total exports amounted to \$5,481,000,000. Out of this, \$3,382,000,000 was exported to the allied belligerent countries, with which Germany now prohibits us from having any commercial intercourse whatsoever. In other words, if we acquiesce, as many suggest, in this illegal and tyrannical proclamation and decree of the German Government, about three-fifths of our entire export business will cease at once. It would mean that at once we would be precipitated from great prosperity to acute financial and industrial distress. The great profits of mine and manufactory would immediately disappear. Present busy and thriving centers of industry would be overcrowded with the unemployed. Of our agricultural exports, two-thirds of our wheat, five-sixths of our hog products, six-sevenths of our cotton, seven-eighths of our beef, and three-fifths of our tobacco last year were exported to these allied belligerent countries. To acquiesce in Germany's prohibition of the exportation of these agricultural products to these countries would mean bankruptcy and ruin to all these great and varied agricultural interests. Sirs, submission means greater loss, greater distress than war itself. Honor, humanity, and self-interest alike demand that we should uphold to the fullest extent these important rights. The Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, in a note to the German Government on the 21st of July,

1915, in discussing the freedom of the seas, as I have previously stated, informed the German Government that—

The Government of the United States will continue to contend for that freedom from whatever quarter violated, without compromise, and at any cost.

Are we prepared to make good this bold declaration, or are we cowardly going to run as soon as this right is violated? When robbers approach to deprive us of our rights and possessions are we going to stand up and manfully contend with them or cowardly skulk to the cellar? Are our diplomatic demands to be enforced when made, and respected by the nations of the world, or are they to be considered mere vaporings to be abandoned when challenged by a first-class power? Are we to become a reproach in the great family of nations, noted for long-suffering and abject submission, or are we proudly to hold our head high and fearlessly enforce our demands and bravely maintain our rights? Sirs, the history of the world teaches one sure lesson: That national timidity and cowardice more than everything else are the breeders of war.

Sirs, in long national life the pathway of peace is the pathway of firmness, courage, and resolution. Prudence and foresight are wise counselors, ever to be listened to and followed, but cowardice and timidity are the worst advisers that ever poured their whisperings into the national ear. Sirs, honor, wisdom, and self-interest demand that, in the language of our Secretary of State, we should defend our rights upon the seas from whatever quarter violated, without compromise, and at any cost. The President of the United States appeals to Congress to give him the authority and the means efficiently to do this. Mr. President, the proclamation of Germany issued on the 31st of January, 1917, is not only opposed to every principle of international law and the dictates of humanity, but it is in direct contravention of her many assurances given to us during the pendency of this world-wide war, and also of her solemn treaty obligations.

In more than half a dozen notes received from the Imperial German Government on this question our Government has been assured that American and other neutral ships would not be interfered with in the war zone without visit and search and unless they carried contraband contrary to the laws of nations. This assurance since the 1st of February has been continuously and repeatedly violated. The destruction of American ships in this war zone is in direct contravention of a treaty made between the United States and the Kingdom of Prussia in 1828, extending provisions contained in the treaty of 1799, and which the German Government has recognized as valid and binding in its recent correspondence with our Government. It settled the *Frye* case satisfactorily with this Government on account of the provisions contained in this treaty. Its proclamation of January 31 disregards the rights conferred in this treaty to the United States, and according to the German practice it is treated as a mere "scrap of paper." The proclamation of the Imperial German Government of January 31, 1917, making all of the eastern Mediterranean, or practically this entire sea, a barred or war zone, and prohibiting all vessels from entering this sea, and thus preventing the use by any vessel of neutrals of the Suez Canal, is in clear violation of the treaty entered into by Germany with the other European powers at Constantinople in 1888. Article 1 of this treaty provides:

The Suez maritime canal shall always be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to every vessel of commerce or of war, without distinction of flag.

Consequently the high contracting parties agree not in any way to interfere with the free use of the canal in time of war as in time of peace.

The canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right of blockade.

By this treaty Germany solemnly pledged herself in peace or war to do nothing to prevent the free passage of vessels through this great international sea highway. Yet she has issued a proclamation declaring that any ship traversing the sea in order to reach the Suez Canal shall be destroyed. She has clearly violated her pledge not to block this canal. This treaty becomes to Germany a mere "scrap of paper," utterly to be disregarded. The extent to which this proclamation would injure the commerce of the world if submitted to may be realized when we reflect that during 1914 the tonnage of vessels passing through the Suez Canal amounted to 17,108,000 tons, and the entire tonnage of the world's shipping at that time was 49,089,000 tons. If the tyrannical German decree is obeyed, more than one-third of the world's tonnage of shipping would be interfered with and the trade and commerce of the world to that extent dislocated and hampered. This will result in a serious injury to us. It is amazing the extent to which German tyranny and arrogance will go in injuring the commerce of the world contrary to its

express promises and obligations in order to serve its own selfish interests or desires of revenge. International law is to be violated, solemn treaties disregarded, humanity ignored, the commerce of the world hampered and destroyed in order that German submarines, which have become the murderous assassins of the sea, may more easily operate in their destructive purposes. Everything that is right and humane, all law, plighted faith, and honor itself thus are surrendered to the more efficient use of this murderous weapon. This new murderous weapon must not conform itself to international law and the principles of humanity and to obligations of treaties, but all of these must yield and be obliterated in order to give increased potency to this instrument of destruction.

Mr. President, these numerous affronts, wrongs, broken pledges, and flagrant violations of our vital rights and interests were such as to compel the President of the United States to sever all diplomatic relations with Germany and to give the German ambassador his passports and to recall our ambassador from Berlin. Unless we should have promptly declared war there was no other course left for a self-respecting nation to follow. It was hoped that this would be a sufficient warning to Germany to induce her to make proper redress for our grievances and give us assurances that there would be no future infraction of our rights and to abandon her lawless order of January 31, 1917, but all of these hopes have been shattered. We have almost forgotten the wrongs of the past in amazement at the outrages of the present. Germany has shown a fixed determination to enforce by ruthless warfare the infamous purposes indicated in her proclamation of January 31. On March 16 last the American steamer *Vigilancia*, bearing the American flag, having a cargo consisting of dried fruit, straw, and other merchandise, sailing from New York for Havre, was torpedoed and sunk by a submarine without warning, and 15 American citizens were lost. The ship was flying a United States flag and so marked that there could be no doubt of her nationality. On March 17 last, 44 miles off the Irish coast, the American steamer *City of Memphis*, flying the American flag and sailing from Cardiff to New York in ballast, was torpedoed by a submarine and sunk, the crew escaping in their own small boats and enduring great hardships and suffering before they were landed ashore. The *City of Memphis* was unarmed and did not use wireless. She was on her way to New York, contained no contraband or illegal cargo, and could not have been considered in any way as aiding Germany's enemies.

The nationality of this boat could not have been mistaken. On March 17 last the American tanker *Illinois*, flying the American flag and sailing from London to Port Arthur, Tex., was torpedoed by a submarine and sunk within 20 miles north of Alderney. This ship was shelled by the submarine without warning and one of the crew wounded. No measures were taken by the submarine for the safety of the crew. The crew were for more than six hours in small boats and encountered much danger and suffering. As this ship was returning from London to its home port in America in ballast, it could not have been considered in the remotest degree rendering any assistance to any enemy of Germany. There could have been no doubt as to the nationality of the ship. On March 21 last, 25 miles north of the Netherlands coast, the American oil ship *Heraldton*, sailing from Philadelphia for Rotterdam, a neutral port of Holland, and flying the American flag, was twice torpedoed by a submarine without warning, no opportunity being given between first and second torpedoed for men to take the boats, and was sunk, and 21 of her crew were lost, including many American citizens. The suffering endured by the survivors after more than 17 hours' exposure in small boats in a cold wind, choppy sea, and snow flurries were terrible, and two died of exposure. This American ship was sailing from America to a neutral port, and, it is claimed, was within the zone of safety indicated in the German proclamation of January 31. The submarine could not have failed to have known the nationality of this ship.

None of these four American ships offered any resistance to the submarine or attempted to escape. None of them were armed. In destroying these vessels in no case did the submarine make any provisions for the safety of the crew or make any efforts to aid them. None of them were conveying munitions of war or contraband to the enemies of Germany. They were engaged in peaceful and lawful commerce. The only offense committed by these four American vessels was that in the prosecution of their legitimate business they sailed upon open seas, the free and common heritage of all nations, but which the German Imperial Government by its decree of January 31 last had forbidden them to use, and for this, and this alone, they encountered ruthless destruction at the hands of German submarines. All of these vessels were of American registry, flying the American flag, and entitled to all the protection that the Stars and

Stripes can give. But, sirs, more than this: Before they ventured upon these seas their Government had given them solemn assurance that in so doing they would be fully protected in their rights.

In discussing the possible destruction of an American vessel by Germany, in his letter of January 10, 1915, to the German Government, Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, as I have previously stated, used the following language:

If such a deplorable situation should arise, the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas.

In the note of July 21, 1915, to the German Government, as previously stated, the Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, in protesting against any infringement of the freedom of the seas by orders proscribing vessels entering certain limits, pledged this Government to defend the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter attacked, without compromise and at any cost.

Mr. President, our citizens owning vessels and navigating them had a right to rely upon these official promises and assurances. Shall we now keep faith with them or cowardly fail them when a real test comes? Shall we use all the vast power possessed by this great Government to protect them, as we have officially and solemnly pledged, or cravenly leave their wrongs unredressed and unavenged? Shall we permit our flag, the emblem of our honor, our power, and our aspirations, to be lawlessly and deliberately assaulted upon the high seas, and then not strike with all the force possessed by us the arrogant assailant? If we do not vigorously do this, then indeed has "Old Glory," the most cherished object of our pride and affection, sunk to low depths of shame and humiliation; we are no longer worthy sons of worthy sires. The heritage of courage, fortitude, and honor bequeathed to us will have indeed been foully forfeited. The American flag will no longer be, as it was made by our brave and worthy forefathers, the shield and protection of American citizens in every part of the world. The stars of our statehood and Union will no longer gleam from unsullied skies. Their radiance will be dimmed by clouds of doubt, timidity, and fear. But, sirs, if we will meet the present emergency with our accustomed firmness, resolution, and energy, with a union of hearts and a union of purpose, and boldly assert and maintain our rights to the fullest extent of our power, then our flag will attain a richer and a deeper majesty, a brighter and a greater glory.

Mr. President, as I have previously stated, the issue presented to us for decision is not one of mere peace or war. In the attack just enumerated upon four American vessels flying the American flag, without provocation, by her naval boats Germany is herself waging relentless and persistent warfare against us. These repeated acts constitute warfare in its worst and most despicable form. What else can Germany do to wage war against us except with her submarines to attack our ships and commerce and assault our flag? She has already invited Mexico and Japan to join in warfare against us. How much further must she go in order to satisfy some of our hesitating citizens that she is directing warfare against us? Do we need further insults, affronts, and injuries to move our indignation? Sirs, these have become so numerous and flagrant that in self-respect we have been compelled to sever all diplomatic relations with her. Can a greater injury be done a nation than a wanton attack upon its flag? Sirs, Germany has heaped upon us every insult, conspired against our internal and external peace, spat and trampled upon our flag, foully murdered 319 of our citizens, and perpetrated wanton acts of war upon us. She has inflicted every injury upon us except an actual invasion of our territory. Are there any among us cowardly or foolish enough to desire to be quiescent until this is done? Does anyone doubt that if the German fleet was released from blockade by the British fleet and free to do so, it would not already be upon our shores endeavoring to do its work of devastation and ruin? Is anyone foolish enough to imagine that, if Germany was free from European troubles and had a large army that she could safely land here, she would not do so and endeavor to conquer us and obtain lodgment and territory in the Western Hemisphere?

No, Mr. President, since the 1st of February last Germany has defiantly ignored our warnings not to infringe upon our rights upon the high seas and has been waging warfare against us with every instrumentality available for use by her. The question for us is, Shall we accept the war which she is now waging, or submit to her demands and injuries? There are some who seek to avert the direct issue by advocating the following of the policy known as armed neutrality. This policy

was wise before Germany had commenced warfare by attacking and destroying four American ships. This policy would have been an additional warning to her that if she attacked our ships and flag she must expect at our hands prompt and efficient warfare. Prior to the commencement of hostilities by Germany, armed neutrality would have been our wise and proper course. It might have averted war, but Congress failed to give its approval to this policy as recommended by the President. The failure to venture even so far as armed neutrality to redress our wrongs and defend our rights encouraged Germany to further insult and injury and made her believe that we could not under any circumstances be forced into war. Moved by this conviction, she has deliberately attacked and destroyed four American ships. Armed neutrality after these occurrences would be a cowardly makeshift unworthy of this great Republic. It would simply mean that after Germany has clearly evinced her deliberate purpose to destroy all American ships found in the barred war zone we would foolishly send our merchant ships there relying only upon their own powers of defense. We would be sending our peaceful vessels of commerce to be attacked by the public war vessels of Germany, and at the same time withholding from our vessels the assistance of our own naval forces. Sirs, one of the chief reasons we incurred the vast expenditure in creating a Navy was through it to extend protection to our trade and commerce. No, sir. Armed neutrality, whatever might have been its benefits heretofore, would be but a miserable failure, encouraging Germany to further aggression and injuries. If we send our merchant vessels in this proscribed zone, they should go there with the positive assurance that they will receive all the protection that the power of this Government can give. To do otherwise would be but an invitation to Germany to attack them knowing that they must depend upon themselves for defense and could not rely for any assistance upon the naval and military forces of this Government.

Mr. President, we can not avoid it. The only wise, manly, and honorable course for us to pursue is to accept the conditions of warfare precipitated by Germany, declare the existing state of war between Germany and the United States, give authority to the President to use the Army and Navy of this country to wage the war thus unjustly brought on us, augment our Army and Navy, and use every resource possessed by us to wage this war efficiently and successfully. We are not waging war against the German people, but against its military and autocratic Government, which, we believe, contrary to the wishes of the German people, has inflicted these many injuries upon us and severed the ties of friendship which have for more than a century bound us to the German people. We believe that when the war-mad and military autocracy which now rules Germany has been chastened or overthrown the ties of friendship now severed will be reunited and become firmer and stronger. In waging this war we will be aiding the free, liberal, and democratic nations to overthrow in Germany the last refuge of autocracy and militarism.

Mr. President, in making this decision for war we are fully aware of the perils that may lie in our pathway. We are fully conscious of the many difficulties which we must meet and must overcome. We fully realize the many sacrifices that we must make to achieve victory in order to redress our wrongs and maintain our rights. We are not enamored of the pomp and glory of war, and only accept it because impelled to do so by national honor and national vital interests. Having entered this pathway, however, protracted and tiresome the journey may be, we will follow it to the end. Having crossed the Rubicon, boldly and bravely we will march to Rome. With brave heart and resolute will we will bend every energy of mind and body to the successful prosecution of this war. Every resource at our command will be dedicated to the cause of our country. If misfortunes should come we will not be discouraged, but they will but serve to stimulate us to greater endeavor. We know full well that if the 100,000,000 people constituting this great Republic act in unison of mind and heart for service of country we can successfully meet all perils, difficulties, and dangers which may befall us, and emerge from this conflict stronger, better, greater.

At this critical time let us have a revival of the patriotic fervor and love of country which so strongly pulsated in the hearts of our forefathers. Let us feel as they felt, that public honor is private honor, that public disgrace is private disgrace, that public failure is private failure, that public success is private success. These were the principles and sentiments that animated the founders of this Republic and made possible its greatness and glory. Let us feel, as our fathers felt, that the bugle call to battle and duty is far more pleasing to the ear than the dinner gong inviting to feast and revelry. Let us cultivate the stronger and sterner virtues which must now bear the bur-

dens of national difficulties. The clock of national patriotism now strikes for each of us our hour of work and responsibility. The voices which speak to us from the past, the inspiration which springs from the present, the possibilities that crown the future should awaken in each of us a fervid and lofty patriotism and confirm the resolve of each of us in this hour of storm and stress valiantly to serve this Republic, and with strong arms and brave hearts defend her against every enemy that may assail her, and thus in the end enable this great people to advance along the pathway of justice, liberty, and peace.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, no one is more conscious than I that this is a moment for action and not for debate. But, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and having taken part in framing this resolution, I wish briefly to state why I support it with the greatest earnestness of which I am capable.

The most momentous power entrusted to Congress by the Constitution is the authority to declare war, and never has Congress been called to a more solemn exercise of this great function than at this moment. We have submitted to wrongs and outrages from the central powers of Europe—wrongs which involve not only injury to property but the destruction of American lives—with a long patience. We have borne and foreborne to the very limit of endurance. Now the inevitable end is here and we are about to declare war against Germany.

Speaking for myself and, I hope, for my associates generally on this side of the Chamber, I desire to say that in this crisis, and when the country is at war, party lines will disappear, and this disappearance of the party line will, I am confident, not be confined to the minority. Both Democrats and Republicans must forget party in the presence of the common danger. This is not, and can not be, a party war. It is a war in which all Americans must be united, and no one must ask a loyal citizen, high or low, who seeks to serve his country in the field or in civil life to what party he belongs, any more than it would be possible to ask his religion or his race. As Americans we shall all, I am sure, be prepared to give to the Executive money, men, and all the necessary powers for waging war with energy and driving it forward to a successful conclusion. The President has made recommendations as to the action which he hopes Congress will take, with which I for one am in most thorough accord.

We have only a very small Army and we must proceed at once as rapidly as possible to build up a large one fit to defend the country in any emergency. We must provide for the future and for the supply of men for the Army by a system of universal military training. I agree with the President that this new Army should be chosen upon the "principle of universal liability to service." Our Navy is strong in certain branches and very weak in others. It must be our business to supply the deficiencies as rapidly as possible. Fortunately those deficiencies are of the kind which can be most quickly supplied. It is our duty to see to it that all the money and all the legislation necessary for both the Army and Navy are given at once.

The President has said that war "will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the Governments now at war with Germany and, as incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs." I am not only in full agreement with this policy advised by the President, but it seems to me that nothing is more important than to follow it out. I am as thorough a believer as ever in the general policy laid down by Washington when he advised the people of the United States not to enter into permanent alliances; but the man who won the American Revolution through the alliance with France would have been the last to lay down a hard and fast rule that under no circumstances and for no purposes were we ever to ally ourselves with other nations. He covers this point completely in the Farewell Address, where he says:

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Farseeing and wise, he knew very well that dangers might come which would make a temporary alliance or agreement with foreign nations imperative. That time has arrived. It would be madness for us to attempt to make war alone upon Germany, and find ourselves, perhaps, at the end left isolated, at war with that power, when all the other nations had made peace, because we had not associated ourselves with them. The allies of the entente, as they are called, are fighting a common foe, and their foe is now ours. We can not send a great army across the ocean, for we have no army to send. Yet I should be glad for one if we could send now 10,000 men of our Regular troops, so that the flag of the United States might at least be unfurled in the fields of France. I believe that the mere sight

of that flag in that region made so desolate by war would stimulate the courage and help the success of those who have the same aim which we have and who seek the same victory. We can also help the allies, as the President recommends, with large credits and with those supplies which we can furnish and which they lack. We can not do more in any direction to bring this war to a speedy end than to give those credits and furnish those supplies.

The President has told us that German spies "were here even before the war began, and it is, unhappily, not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States." I believe myself that the overwhelming mass of our citizens of German descent are just as loyal to the United States as any citizens could possibly be. But there is this class of agents of the Imperial German Government who are ready to engage in plots and crimes to the injury of the people of this country. "Disloyalty," if I may again borrow the words of the President, "must be put down with a firm hand."

The purpose of the German submarine campaign is the destruction of the world's mercantile tonnage. In the old days, in previous wars, the ships of warring nations were captured, frequently in large numbers, as was the case when our privateers ranged the English Channel in the War of 1812. But it must not be forgotten that, with few exceptions, these merchant vessels, when captured, were sent into port, condemned as prizes, and again put afloat. The total tonnage of the world was not materially reduced. But the German submarine war, ruthlessly carried on, is directed toward the destruction of the tonnage of the whole world. Forced into war, as we now are, our first action should be to repair in some measure this loss to our own tonnage and to that of the world by seizing the ships of Germany now in our ports and putting that additional tonnage into the world's service.

Mr. President, we have never been a military Nation; we are not prepared for war in the modern sense; but we have vast resources and unbounded energies, and the day when war is declared we should devote ourselves to calling out those resources and organizing those energies so that they can be used with the utmost effect in hastening the complete victory. The worst of all wars is a feeble war. War is too awful to be entered upon half-heartedly. If we fight at all, we must fight for all we are worth. It must be no weak, hesitating war. The most merciful war is that which is most vigorously waged and which comes most quickly to an end.

Mr. President, no one feels the horrors of war more than I. It is with no light heart, but with profound sadness, although with hope and courage, that I see my country compelled to enter the great field of conflict. But there are, in my opinion, some things worse for a nation than war. National degeneracy is worse; national cowardice is worse. The division of our people into race groups, striving to direct the course of the United States in the interest of some other country when we should have but one allegiance, one hope, and one tradition is far worse. All these dangers have been gathering about us and darkening the horizon during the last three years. Whatever suffering and misery war may bring it will at least sweep these foul things away. Instead of division into race groups, it will unify us into one Nation, and national degeneracy and national cowardice will sink back into the darkness from which they should never have emerged.

I also believe that on our entrance into this war, under the conditions which it has assumed, our future peace, our independence as a proud and high-spirited Nation, our very security are at stake. There is no other way, as I see it, except by war to save these things without which national existence is a mockery and a sham. But there is a still higher purpose here as I look upon it. The President has said with great justice that Germany is making war on all nations. We do not enter upon this war to secure victory for one nation as against another. We enter this war to unite with those who are fighting the common foe in order to preserve human freedom, democracy, and modern civilization. They are all in grievous peril; they are all threatened. This war is a war, as I see it, against barbarism, not the anarchical barbarism of what are known as the Dark Ages, but organized barbarism panoplied in all the devices for the destruction of human life which science, beneficent science, can bring forth. We are resisting an effort to thrust mankind back to forms of government, to political creeds and methods of conquest which we had hoped had disappeared forever from the world. We are fighting against a nation

which, in the fashion of centuries ago, drags the inhabitants of conquered lands into slavery; which carries off women and girls for even worse purposes; which in its mad desire to conquer mankind and trample them under foot has stopped at no wrong, has regarded no treaty. The work which we are called upon to do when we enter this war is to preserve the principles of human liberty, the principles of democracy, and the light of modern civilization; all that we most love, all that we hold dearer than life itself. In such a battle we can not fail to win. I am glad that my country is to share in this preservation of human freedom. I wish to see my country gathered with the other nations who are fighting for the same end when the time for peace comes. We seek no conquests, we desire no territory and no new dominions. We wish simply to preserve our own peace and our own security, to uphold the great doctrine which guards the American hemisphere, and to see the disappearance of all wars or rumors of wars from the East, if any dangers there exist. What we want most of all by this victory which we shall help to win is to secure the world's peace, broad-based on freedom and democracy, a world not controlled by a Prussian military autocracy, by Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, but by the will of the free people of the earth. We shall achieve this result, and when we achieve it we shall be able to say that we have helped to confer great blessings upon mankind, and that we have not fought in vain. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The VICE PRESIDENT. Did the doorkeepers distribute the cards to the people who entered the galleries? [A pause.] The doorkeepers will remove all persons whom they can identify as interfering with the rules of the Senate. They have had fair warning.

Mr. VARDAMAN. Mr. President, the elements of genuine greatness in the statesman show themselves in the hour of stress, when through the mists of passion he is able to see clearly the path of duty and, in "spite of the stare of the wise and the world's derision," dares to follow it undismayed.

The atmosphere enveloping this Capitol has been for the past year surcharged with the spirit of prejudice, of hate, love, and all the bad and good passions that grow out of the ravages of war to such an extent that men have lost their bearings and discarded for the time that poise and power of deliberation which usually characterizes their conduct. All order festers to their abnormal vision, and everything seems out of joint.

Of all the times in the history of this Nation when Congressmen and the people generally should hold themselves in due bounds and keep their heads, now is the time. As the little chunks, water-sogged, having found their proper place in the bottom of the lake will rise to the surface when the waters are lashed by the fury of the storm, so may we expect small men to come to the front and be heard for their much talking and little thinking in this moment of national disorder and desperate tragedy. But after the war is over and order shall be restored these verbal patriots, in obedience to the rule which finally determines the eternal fitness of things, will return again to their former places from which they were lifted by the influences of this world-wide cataclysm.

There are two classes of men who will attract public attention in this tragic hour. The first will be the heroic group of determined men who in performing their proper part in the affairs of the country will not consider the cost or measure the dangers involved to themselves since they will bear the responsibilities and suffer all the consequences of their own acts and utterances. The other is the large group of men known for their much verbiages and mock heroism, paucity of ideas, and plasticity of conscience who are comfortably ensconced in a bombproof position far from the unerring shot of the enemy. This large group of little men with the flame of vaunted patriotism burning on their insincere tongues will not hesitate to count the cost in sorrow and death which others are to suffer as the result of their foolish immaturely considered acts. Intolerance, bigotry, self-assumed superiority are qualities of mind which should excite contempt rather than admiration. They are the attributes of little minds and dwarfed souls and stamp the one afflicted with them as incompetent for leadership, rather than being accomplishments fitting him to participate in directing the affairs of a great Nation at a critical moment of its history.

Much depends upon what this Congress may do. The present is pregnant with momentous issues; the provocations are great and the tide of passion runs high. Each Senator and Representative should remember that by his vote he is making history to-day. He may possibly be signing the death warrant of hundreds of thousands of his fellow citizens, bringing sorrow and distress to hundreds of now happy homes, and burdening posterity with a debt which will sap the moral and mental natures

and weaken the physical fiber of the generations yet to come, and thereby destroy the virility of the race by its crushing burden. He should also remember that the Republic is on trial. Democratic principles in government, so dear to the fathers, are being subjected to the acid test. Crimination and recrimination, partisanship, and personal politics are as much out of place in the deliberations of this body to-day as unregenerate sin in the realm of infinite morality.

Mr. President, there comes a time in the life of every man when the performance of duty imposes a painful process. To move along the lines of least resistance, to drift with the tide, to keep step with the thoughtless gang is the natural impulse of the human heart. I find myself in a position this morning where I wish my sense of obligation to the people I have the honor in part to immediately represent in this Chamber particularly, and the American people generally, would permit me to vote as I am sure a large majority of my colleagues will vote on the pending question. Their patriotism I do not question, and the wisdom of their course will be determined by time alone.

I only wish I could believe that the thing the Senate is about to do will redound to the interests of the American people, but for the life of me I can not bring myself to believe it will contribute to the welfare of the great mass of American people and to the happiness of the world, and elevate and render more permanent the civilization of mankind.

I do not in any way condone the crimes which Germany has committed against the American people and the commerce of the world. I do not deny that the law has been violated and that we have a legal right to declare war. Many things have occurred which are shocking to my every idea of humanity. Such acts of brutality can be excused or accounted for only upon the theory that the perpetrators were frenzied with hate and engaged in a life-and-death struggle. But the crimes committed in this war can not all be charged to one nation.

The allies have also violated international law, sunk our ships, killed our citizens, and committed other crimes which I know were only incidental to the prosecution of cruel warfare. Yes, they all have done things that in the calmer and saner moments would have caused them to shudder with horror and hang their heads in shame. The warring forces of Mexico have also manifested the brutalizing influence of war. They have outraged innocent women, murdered little children, atrociously killed our men, and destroyed millions upon millions of dollars' worth of property. But these, I repeat, were all, or most of them, incidental; they grew out of war's brutalities—cruel, criminal, foolish war. It only shows to what depths men will fall when engaged in the commerce of the beast, and furnishes another reason also why America should keep out of this slaughter pen. It will not be forgotten that notwithstanding the unlawful and brutal conduct of Mexico the American voter at the polls last fall approved the Wilson administration and continued it in power as a reward for keeping us out of war. Don't forget that. Men talk of civilized warfare. There is no such thing. In its mildest and least objectionable form it is what Sherman said it was, "It is hell." If our joining in this war in Europe would relieve the world of this burning, devouring, devastating social cancer that is destroying the world body politic, there might be some justification for the adoption of this resolution. I do not believe that we will relieve the situation by becoming a party to the horrors and brutalities of the conflict, but, on the contrary, I believe our entrance into it will only serve to postpone the day of an amicable settlement. I was impressed with the President's suggestion in his message to Congress Monday night that permanent world peace will come only by the dethronement of kings and establishing in their stead throughout the nations of the earth governments by the people.

The President also suggested that if the people who are now engaged in this war in Europe had been consulted there would have been no war. If I may be permitted to indulge in a little speculation I will say, Mr. President, that if the people of the United States—I mean the plain, honest people, the masses who are to bear the burden of taxation and fight the Nation's battles, were consulted—the United States would not make a declaration of war against Germany to-day. If the women and children, who are the greatest sufferers in time of war, were consulted, the voice would come back in thunderous tones as it gathered volume from the tenement houses of the great cities, the factories, the farm homes, and all along through the humbler walks of life, on its way to Washington, directing the President and Congress to find some other way, if possible, to settle it rather than by the arbitrament of the sword. The great moral sentiment of the world would approve such a course—such a course would be unusual, but the uniqueness of the thing would challenge the admiration of mankind and lift humanity from the brutal bog in which it has wallowed

since the dark days of the beginning. America is great enough to set a precedent in a great world-serving, man-saving, moral movement of that character. Nothing will be settled by the United States entering into this war except the question of superiority of strength.

The President hopes that by sacrificing millions of Americans, spending a few billion dollars, taken from the products of the toiling masses of this country, we may be able to "organize the parliament of man," and bring about "the federation of the world." It is a big price to pay, but probably the consummation will be worth the sacrifice. It is a fine, big idea the President has for the salvation of the world. I wish him Godspeed in his good efforts in that direction. But the world will not take his big ideas by force of arms. He can not "draw down this new Republic held in air and make for it a foundation on the earth" by using the methods of the brute. Moral reform must come by virtue of inherent merit and not by the force of standing armies. A hired professional soldiery is inconsistent with free institutions. Love of country is the saving, conserving influence in republics—it is the very soul of our system of government. It ought to be a glorious privilege for a patriotic citizen to give his life in defense of his country. It ought to be a highly prized opportunity in the hour of trial, such as we are passing through to-day, for a citizen of this Republic to offer his services in defense of his flag. For a righteous cause I am sure that 10,000,000 American men would rush to the colors and hesitate not to consider the consequences. They would come christened with the tears of loving mothers, devoted wives, and loyal sisters, and with hearts afire with unquenchable patriotism they would keep "Old Glory" unstained and triumphant in the air. Compulsory military service is at this time an affront to the patriotism of the better class of our people. It should be resorted to only when we are down to the dregs for men. But, Mr. President, I do not feel like sacrificing a million men—I can not afford to break the hearts of loving mothers, becloud the lives of devoted wives, and shadow the souls of orphaned children with ineffable sorrow, in order to liberate Germany from the cruel domination of kings, without first consulting the people who are to be sacrificed for the deliverance. I have the right to give my own life for such a cause, but I have no right to give the life of any loving mother's son or the husband of a devoted wife or the father of little children who are probably dependent for bread upon his daily toil.

We are told that the masses of the people of Europe were not consulted about the war flagrant there to-day. Their consent was not obtained before the war was started and they will not be permitted to determine the time of its ending. And that is true. If they had been consulted, the differences between the warring Governments would have been honestly and fairly settled by arbitration rather than by wage of battles involving the sacrifice of human lives. The ruling classes are alone responsible for the disgraceful condition in Europe to-day, a condition which stamps their pretended faith in the Prince of Peace as a bloody lie. The meek and lowly Nazarene is held up as a disciple of Mars, and hate has taken the place of love in our religion. Now, if the ruling classes of Europe are responsible for that war, if they brought it on without consulting the people, how can we, the Members of Congress and the Executive, the governing head of this great Republic, how can we justify involving this country in a war which will necessarily result in the slaughter of millions of men and the squandering of billions of dollars—I repeat, how can we explain to our constituents why we had plunged them into this vortex of murder and plunder without consulting them and getting their consent? If it is wrong for a king to plunge his subjects into the vortex of war without their consent, it can not be less reprehensible for the President of the United States and the Congress to involve their constituents in a war without their consent. There is no necessity for haste in this matter. It were better to suspend commerce for a while, lose a little money or profits, if you please, and save from slaughter a few hundred thousand of the bravest and best men beneath the stars. But I apprehend that some one may say, we have not time to wait, our honor is at stake. That matter I prefer to let the people determine. If they want war, if they are willing to pay the price of war, if they feel that the offense justifies war, since they must pay the price in blood and treasure, in the name of God let them settle that question for themselves.

Mr. President, I am not going to vote for this resolution. I do not believe that it is necessary to go to war in order to bring about a settlement of this desperate trouble with honor to America, but I am not going to interfere with or delay in any way the final consideration of the resolution. I want Congress to act upon it, and act upon it right now. I have no doubt about

its passage, and for that reason I am overwhelmed with a sense of anxiety, not for myself, not for any individual, but for the welfare of all the people, and especially the great toiling masses of America, upon whom will fall the larger part of the burden. When the resolution shall pass, we will be in a state of war with Germany. Every American citizen will then be called upon to go to the defense of the flag, and I trust he will respond promptly to the demands of the hour, and if need be, give his life and his all to uphold the Nation's cause. I shall vote to give the President men and money to the last citizen able to bear arms, and every dollar that shall be necessary to meet the expenses of the war. I shall do more. My own services shall be offered to do whatever may be necessary within my power in support of my country's cause. I trust there will be no break in the ranks, no hesitating, no question, but that all Americans may present a solid, invincible front to the common enemy. I have hoped, I repeat, that the question might be settled peaceably by negotiations, but when the Congress decides that only by the arbitrament of the sword it shall be settled, then to that task we will devote our hands, our heads, our hearts, and the products of our toil. May the God of nations in His infinite wisdom lead the Congress and the American people safely through the dark and perilous valley which our country is called upon at this time to pass.

I do love
My country's good with a respect more tender,
More holy and profound than my own life.

And to her service I hereby dedicate my life and all that I possess.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President, I listened to the greater part of the speeches made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HITCHCOCK], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE]. I shall not attempt to answer those speeches, although it seems to me answer would be easy.

In the circumstances of this fateful hour I think it best not now to enter into the domain of controversy. I wish merely to put this much in the Record in the interest of historical accuracy. The Senators adverted to certain facts to justify their arguments, but adverted only to a part of the facts, and in numerous instances neglected to state the whole truth of the facts to which they did advert. But that sort of thing has been from time immemorial done by advocates who seek to justify before the people the wisdom and the justice of what they do. However, it is certain that impartial history will record the whole truth, and so far as I am concerned I will let controversy go for this immediate day and time.

Mr. President, I fear that the Congress is about to involve the United States in this European war, and when you do that my belief is that you will commit the greatest national blunder of history. I shall vote against this mistake, to prevent which, God helping me, I would gladly lay down my life.

Until the Congress shall otherwise command, I shall stand as I have stood from the beginning, and even now I lift my voice in solemn warning against this blunder. But if the constituted powers of my Government, the powers constitutionally authorized to speak for the people on this momentous issue, shall decide for war, and we go into war, then I shall cast all doubts and forebodings to the winds, and my eyes thenceforth will be blind to everything but the flag of my country borne by American boys through the storm of war, and my ears deaf to every call save that of my country in its hour of peril. If Congress unfurls the battle flag, however profound my sorrow, I will at once stand in salute to that flag, dutifully willing and ready to perform any service or make any sacrifice necessary to bring the cause we espouse to a successful issue.

To my countrymen everywhere I say that while we may differ as we do about the policy of entering this war, once in it all differences must cease. In war there can be no divided patriotism. In war the eyes of an American can behold but one flag. In a time of stress like that all gaps must be closed and our front become as solid as a wall.

If we declare for war there must be no halting; we must make war in earnest. We know what that means. But when war is declared, if it is declared, honor and patriotism alike demand that we shrink not to enter, if need be, into the very mouth of hell.

Mr. President, if your decision be for war, there is nothing that any sane, patriotic, honorable American could do that I will not do to make that war a success. I will stand ready instantly to take my full share of the responsibility and the burden.

Mr. President, I have finished.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I offer the following substitute for the joint resolution before the Senate. I ask that the Secretary may read it. I simply desire to preface the read-

ing by the statement that I have formulated a concurrent rather than a joint resolution, because I have a conviction that Congress alone has the power to either make or refuse war, and that it does not need the signature of the President as a joint resolution would need it. I ask the Secretary to read the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. SAULSBURY). The Secretary will read the concurrent resolution.

The Secretary read as follows:

Concurrent resolution asserting certain of the duties imposed upon belligerents by international law in the maintenance of a blockade, defining certain of the inalienable and vital rights of American vessels and American citizens on the high seas, and declaring that a willful violation of these rights by any belligerent will be regarded and accepted as an act and declaration of war against the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate of the United States (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Government of the United States recognizes the right of any belligerent engaged in the present European war to establish and maintain a blockade of the ports of its enemies against the imports of contraband goods, and that such blockade may be effectuated through the employment of any type of marine war craft: Provided, That well recognized rules of international law are followed; that in the enforcement of such blockade the belligerent power may exercise the right of search and seizure for the purpose of determining whether any neutral vessel passing through the blockaded zone is destined to a neutral port or is engaged in carrying contraband of war to her enemy, and may detain a neutral vessel for such time as may be reasonably necessary to ascertain that fact, but that in the exercise of that right the merchant vessel of a neutral must first be summoned to submit to such visitation and can not be lawfully fired upon unless she attempts to escape after receiving such summons.

If contraband is found upon such neutral vessel and it is impossible or impracticable to take it into port and subject it to the investigation of a prize court, the right to destroy such contraband cargo, by the blockading power is acknowledged by this country, but that the question of the contraband character of the cargo of such vessel must be determined before such vessel or cargo is sunk or destroyed, and that such vessel can not be sunk without notice and without being first summoned to submit to an examination; and in no case can such vessel be sunk unless and until all passengers and crew shall have been removed therefrom and assured safe conduct into some port where they may find shelter and food.

That if under the conditions and limitations of submarine capacity and power passengers and crew can only be accorded the safety of their lifeboats they can be turned adrift only under such conditions as to make it certain that with reasonable diligence and care on their part they can be landed safely in such port. If the condition of the sea or the distance from land is such that said crew and passengers would be subjected to great danger if left to their own lifeboats the right of the belligerent must be limited to the destruction of the contraband cargo on such vessel, leaving the vessel in the hands of the crew to reach a port of safety.

That no belligerent has a right to prohibit any neutral vessel from traveling upon any part of the high seas in carrying on commerce with another neutral in goods not intended for belligerent destination, and no right to exercise any interference except such as may be reasonably necessary to determine the character of the cargo and the destination of the vessel.

That the Government of the United States hereby declares that the firing upon or sinking of any vessel of American registry without notice by any belligerent, or the destruction of such vessel without first providing for the safety of the passengers and crew thereon, or the willful detention of such vessel engaged in trade with other neutral countries, except in so far as such detention may be reasonably necessary to determine the character of the cargo or the destination of the vessel, or any other willful violation of the rights of American ships and American citizens, as herein declared, is an act of war against this country, and will be accepted and regarded as an act of war against the United States by the country so offending; and, thereupon, without further declaration or notice, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the offending country; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, in presenting this resolution I am following a course consistent with my attitude and purpose since the very beginning of this European war. That purpose has been to maintain our neutrality and avoid being drawn into this conflict if it could be done without the surrender of vital American rights or national honor.

We have reached a point to-day where we must either surrender vital American rights, and I think American honor as well, or Germany must surrender her present method of ruthless and indiscriminate submarine warfare against American vessels and American citizens. I am pausing on the brink of this war long enough to allow Germany to withdraw her declaration of unrestricted warfare on neutral ships and neutral citizens. I am allowing her the opportunity to retreat. Without condoning a single past act, I am chalking the deadline and leaving it to her whether she will again cross that line. She can answer by word or act. If she immediately ceases her unlawful assaults upon our vessels and citizens, she can avoid war with us. If she oversteps that line again, she will do so after having measured the consequences, and the war will be of her own choosing. In the meantime we will be continuing our preparation and will lose no point of vantage by a few days' delay in declaring or initiating war.

Mr. President, I have recognized that in a great war like that now raging across the ocean no neutral country could expect to exercise without hindrance or inconvenience every commercial right it enjoyed in times of peace; that nations in the throes of a life and death struggle would on many occasions overstep recognized belligerent rights and infringe upon the rights of neutrals; that there can be no great war without upsetting to a considerable extent the course of trade and other commercial and financial relations of neutrals; and that in the light of the history of all wars we ought to exercise a great degree of charitableness toward these war-maddened nations of Europe.

I have therefore sought on all occasions to keep this country neutral in spirit as well as in conduct. When this war began and the press of the country seemed united in a campaign of denunciation of the whole German people, indicting them as Huns, as savage and remorseless murderers, I felt it my duty to defend them against this wholesale charge of brutality in an address made before the Senate. While I could not condone many of the acts committed, like the shooting to death of a nurse girl, the levying of tribute upon the conquered Belgians, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the ruthless sinking of hospital ships, or wanton destruction of homes and household effects of noncombatants, I preferred to place the blame where it rightly belonged, on the shoulders of the officers commanding, rather than upon the German people in whom I had always found a spirit of mildness and sympathy.

I have, rather, charged these things to that false dogma of Prussian militarism inculcated by every commander from the Kaiser down, that militarism must of necessity be austere and merciless, devoid of sympathy or humanity, and governed by the single unswerving purpose to accomplish results, whether such results be achieved by shattering the ranks of an enemy soldiery or striking terror into the hearts of an enemy populace. I have believed, and still believe, that the German soldier who executes these merciless commands has no more heart in the work assigned to him than the executioner who carries out the death sentence of a court; that the relentless spirit of militarism above him, ever bearing upon its banner the edict of immediate death to him who hesitates to obey, has forced every repugnant or heartless deed.

Mr. President, when this war broke out I proposed and supported a measure prohibiting the shipment of arms and ammunition to either belligerent. While recognizing that there were two sides to this great question on its merits, I did not agree with the majority in the Senate that such an embargo would be a breach of either neutrality or of our treaties, and that while the withholding of arms from a weaker or unprepared nation as against a stronger or well prepared country might well be considered an unneutral act, I felt that there was no such disparity in the matter of preparedness or ability to prepare between the great countries engaged in this conflict as to create a moral duty on our part to supply either with the means to destroy the other.

When the differences between this country and Germany on the use of submarines in warfare became acute I was compelled through conviction to disagree with the President and a majority in the Senate in the assertion that the submarine could not under international law be used at all against enemy merchant ships. Although I was but one of a small minority holding this view, and for which I was subjected to no little criticism, I believe that view has since been practically acquiesced in by this country.

So, too, I stood with the few against the many in the Senate in insisting that while the controversy between this country and Germany on the subject of the use of submarines against belligerent vessels was under diplomatic discussion, it was the duty of the American citizens to waive their right to travel on a belligerent war vessel, and that this country should request its citizens to refrain from travel on such belligerent vessels during such negotiations, that the possibility of reaching an agreement might not be jeopardized by any needless act of an American citizen.

Mr. President, I have followed this course and advocated these positions not only because of my conviction that they were sound and right but also because I wished, first, to keep this country at peace with all the warring nations and, second, to maintain an attitude so clearly and unmistakably neutral that she could exert a potent influence in checking this slaughter and be a powerful factor in maintaining the future peace of the world. If I have seemed overlenient or forbearing in case of wanton wrong it has sprung from an earnest desire that this country might remain at peace and that only the gravest and most aggravating cause should lead us from our neutral purpose.

I am not unmindful of, nor do I slight the great and grave provocations which seem to come with ever-increasing fre-

quency and aggravation in the sinking of American vessels not engaged in trade with any belligerent, but carrying on commerce between neutral nations only, without notice, warning, or investigation. So unprovoked have been some of these acts of destruction, in some instances so wanton, like the sinking of our merchant vessels trading only with other neutrals, that I find it difficult to believe that the German people, if they fully understood the circumstances, would uphold the officials of their Government in such reckless assault upon commerce between peaceful and neutral countries. On what ground the German Government can claim that vessels trading only between this country and Holland, Denmark, Sweden, or Norway in goods not intended, directly or indirectly, for the use of a belligerent should be treated as enemy vessels is beyond my comprehension.

There seem to be but two possible explanations of this conduct: Either that official Germany, exasperated at the world sentiment against her, has become so reckless as to look upon all the commercial powers as her enemies or that, being unable to secure from this country that which other belligerents are securing by reason of their ability to command at least the surface of the seas, she believes that with her undersea craft she can better carry out her purpose to isolate Great Britain and cut off her food supply by striking her commerce with this country at its source, and is, therefore, in reality inviting rather than avoiding a war with this country, assuring herself that we have not the equipment to land or support an army in Europe and that in a state of war, and freed from the restraints of neutrality, she can sink American vessels either at our ports or on the high seas and thereby better accomplish her purpose of eliminating Great Britain from the contest by cutting off her food supply. Whatever may be her purposes or motives, it is certain she is sinking our ships which are not engaged in commerce with her enemy. She may feel justified in sinking without notice or warning any belligerent merchant vessel, but I can not understand how she can justify herself in sinking without warning neutral vessels engaged in neutral trade with neutral nations. I can not believe that her own people, if they understood the real situation, would ever back up such an assertion of right, such a wholesale assault upon the commerce of the world.

Now, Mr. President, there can be no such thing as both parties to a war being right. Notwithstanding the fact that the people of each nation may consider their cause just, one or the other must be wrong. If we are right we ought to make the people of the other country—not merely the heads of government, not merely the military caste, but the great people themselves—understand that their cause can not be just. The assertion that "he is thrice armed whose cause is just" loses much of its force if it so happen that his opponent conscientiously believes that cause to be grossly unjust.

I believe the German people—the common people—do not understand our attitude. I want them to understand it. I believe they are laboring under a false conviction that as a Nation we are claiming rights which we do not claim; that they are imbued with a false notion that we as a Nation are insisting upon the right of our merchant ships to deliver without molestation or interference contraband of war to their enemies. I want this country to dispel that false conviction.

Mr. President, I want the fairness and righteousness of our position to be presented to the German people before we either declare war or commit an act which will, in fact, constitute war. I want to put the onus of that war on the other country. If, in connection with what we concede to be belligerent rights, we send this declaration of our own unquestioned international rights to Germany, we put it up to her to decide whether she wishes to make an unjust war on us. Under this resolution we need not even wait for a reply. One single act on her part in defiance of these sacred rights of this neutral country will be answer sufficient for us.

I have an abiding hope that if we pass this resolution in this form there will never be another American vessel sunk without notice, and never another American vessel engaged in trade with neutrals sunk either with or without notice; and that we shall secure a recognition of these, our vital rights, without plunging into the vortex of this conflict.

But it is said we have already not only asserted these rights but declared we would hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability in case of her violation of them, and she has answered by a still more reckless disregard of them. We are compelled to admit this is true. But, Mr. President, the previous assertion of these American rights in defense of which war would be justifiable has been so associated and bound up with assertions of other rights, for the breach of which we would not go to war, and our course has been so uncertain that not only our own people but the people of other countries might

well believe that we have waived some of them, and I therefore think we ought to redeclare in unmistakable language not all of our neutral rights but only those we hold to be so vital and their violation such an assault upon the honor of our country that we will back them with the blood and treasure of the Nation. I want the dead line between peace and war to be laid with precision.

I admit, Mr. President, that some of the acts committed by the central powers upon American vessels and American citizens can not be differentiated from war, and we may properly and justly accept them as war, but I can not agree that war actually exists between this country and any belligerent to-day. It takes two parties to make war, and so far we have not made it. I will also admit that the promulgation of an order by the German Government declaring a vast section of the open sea to be a war zone, and that she would destroy any vessel, neutral or belligerent, passing through or into such zone, without notice and without reference to its destination, operates in its effect as a blockade of our own ports, and thereby treats us as a belligerent, and, so treated, we may with perfect propriety and justice, so far as the other country is concerned, accept the belligerency which she has enforced upon us.

But, Mr. President, I am considering the sentiment of this country. If we are to get into this war, I should prefer to have back of it the sentiment of 100 per cent rather than of 80 per cent of its people. If we declare war against Germany to-day, we shall run counter to the sentiment and wishes of a very considerable portion of our people, as is evidenced by the vast number of antiwar telegrams, resolutions, and petitions. If, on the other hand, we declare the dead line between peace and war—which we have not yet done—if we declare that the first attempt to now destroy an American vessel without notice, or the willful destruction of an American life on such vessel, in violation of our somewhat revised declarations, will visit upon the head of the offending nation the might of our war power, and Germany then deliberately steps across that line, and by so doing declares her purpose to force us into the conflict, the American pacifist will then not have a single leg to stand on, and we shall have back of our war a united, aggressive American spirit.

But, suppose we should pass this resolution and Germany should answer, "I shall in the future, so far as American vessels and citizens are concerned, conduct my submarine warfare in accordance with your views," would we then proceed to declare war? And, if we do not, would we insist that we have had a war with Germany? I know that there are a great many of our citizens who believe that we should make common cause with the entente powers, without regard to any specific act of Germany against us; that the allies are fighting the battle of humanity and progress; that it is the final struggle between merciless militarism and freedom, and that we ought not to stand idly by while other nations of the world are pouring out their blood in lavish currents to free Europe and the world from the ever-impending danger of annihilation by the demon of war. But, however this may appeal to many, I am satisfied, Mr. President, that the vast majority of the people of this country are not impressed with the idea that such a situation in reality confronts our people or the world, and that, therefore, they will justify our entering into this war only upon the grounds that it is imposed upon us by the German Government, and we are compelled to enter it in defense of vital American rights.

Mr. President, I have assured the people of my State that, as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate, I would do everything in my power compatible with the honor of our country to keep our people out of this most savage and bloody conflict. In presenting this resolution I am making a final effort, or, perhaps, I might better say, giving the great central powers the opportunity to avoid a war with us. I believe that if we should pass this resolution, or one similar to it, the answer might be peace. If not, then Germany has preferred war with us and must take the consequences.

But this country can not stand and will not stand for a continuance of present conditions. While we have committed no act of war against any belligerent, the declaration of a belligerent that she will sink any American ship within a certain zone without notice and without any attempt to ascertain either its cargo or its destination, operates as a blockade of our ports even against trade with neutral countries. And her acts in destroying the lives of American citizens on American ships without notice or investigation are acts of war against us; and if I am compelled to vote on that issue my vote must record the truth, that war is being made on us. But, Mr. President, I feel that it is for our own interest that we now draw the line

between peace and war and leave it to Germany to cross that line.

Mr. President, if this last effort of mine to avoid conflict shall fail, if the majority of Congress feel that acts already committed demand an immediate appeal to arms, I shall acquiesce in that judgment and support my Government in its every war need; and, reluctant as I am to get into this conflict, if the decision of this country shall be for war, I shall never vote to sheathe the sword until peace, honorable and just, shall be restored to her throne of tranquillity, and her sovereignty guarded and assured in the future by all the great nations of the world, by the very armies that have razed her temples and ravished her realms.

I shall, Mr. President, submit this resolution for a vote of the Senate. I have little hope that it will pass, as I understand very well the present sentiment of this body. The fact that it may not pass, however, does not change my conviction that it ought to pass. If it does not, there is but one thing left for me to do, and that is to vote in favor of the resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I shall do that rather than for a single moment to allow the present conditions to remain unchallenged and unacted upon.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, while I am most emphatically and sincerely opposed to taking any step that will force our country into the useless and senseless war now being waged in Europe, yet if this resolution passes I shall not permit my feeling of opposition to its passage to interfere in any way with my duty either as a Senator or as a citizen in bringing success and victory to American arms. I am bitterly opposed to my country entering the war, but if, notwithstanding my opposition, we do enter it, all of my energy and all of my power will be behind our flag in carrying it on to victory.

The resolution now before the Senate is a declaration of war. Before taking this momentous step, and while standing on the brink of this terrible vortex, we ought to pause and calmly and judiciously consider the terrible consequences of the step we are about to take. We ought to consider likewise the route we have recently traveled and ascertain whether we have reached our present position in a way that is compatible with the neutral position which we claimed to occupy at the beginning and through the various stages of this unholy and unrighteous war.

No close student of recent history will deny that both Great Britain and Germany have, on numerous occasions since the beginning of the war, flagrantly violated in the most serious manner the rights of neutral vessels and neutral nations under existing international law as recognized up to the beginning of this war by the civilized world.

The reason given by the President in asking Congress to declare war against Germany is that the German Government has declared certain war zones, within which, by the use of submarines, she sinks, without notice, American ships and destroys American lives.

Let us trace briefly the origin and history of these so-called war zones. The first war zone was declared by Great Britain. She gave us and the world notice of it on the 4th day of November, 1914. The zone became effective November 5, 1914, the next day after the notice was given. This zone so declared by Great Britain covered the whole of the North Sea. The order establishing it sought to close the north of Scotland route around the British Isles to Denmark, Holland, Norway, Sweden, and the Baltic Sea. The decree of establishment drew an arbitrary line from the Hebrides Islands along the Scottish coast to Iceland, and warned neutral shipping that it would cross those lines at its peril, and ordered that ships might go to Holland and other neutral nations by taking the English Channel route through the Strait of Dover.

The first German war zone was declared on the 4th day of February, 1915, just three months after the British war zone was declared. Germany gave 15 days' notice of the establishment of her zone, which became effective on the 18th day of February, 1915. The German war zone covered the English Channel and the high sea waters around the British Isles. It sought to close the English Channel route around the British Isles to Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the Baltic Sea. The German war zone decreed that neutral vessels would be exposed to danger in the English Channel route, but that the route around the north of Scotland and in the eastern part of the North Sea, in a strip 30 miles wide along the Dutch coast, would be free from danger.

It will thus be seen that the British Government declared the north of Scotland route into the Baltic Sea as dangerous and the English Channel route into the Baltic Sea as safe. The German Government in its order did exactly the reverse. It declared the north of Scotland route into the Baltic Sea as

safe and the English Channel route into the Baltic Sea as dangerous.

The order of the British Government declaring the North Sea as a war zone used the following language:

The British Admiralty gives notice that the waters of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and other vessels will be exposed to the gravest danger from mines it has been necessary to lay.

The German Government, by its order declaring its war zone around the south of England, declared that the order would be made effective by the use of submarines.

Thus we have the two declarations of the two Governments, each declaring a military zone and warning neutral shipping from going into the prohibited area. England sought to make her order effective by the use of submerged mines. Germany sought to make her order effective by the use of submarines. Both of these orders were illegal and contrary to all international law as well as the principles of humanity. Under international law no belligerent Government has the right to place submerged mines in the high seas. Neither has it any right to take human life without notice by the use of submarines. If there is any difference on the ground of humanity between these two instrumentalities, it is certainly in favor of the submarines. The submarine can exercise some degree of discretion and judgment. The submerged mine always destroys without notice, friend and foe alike, guilty and innocent the same. In carrying out these two policies, both Great Britain and Germany have sunk American ships and destroyed American lives without provocation and without notice. There have been more ships sunk and more American lives lost from the action of submarines than from English mines in the North Sea; for the simple reason that we finally acquiesced in the British war zone and kept our ships out of it, while in the German war zone we have refused to recognize its legality and have not kept either our ships or our citizens out of its area. If American ships had gone into the British war zone in defiance of Great Britain's order, as they have gone into the German war zone in defiance of the German Government's order, there would have been many more American lives lost and many more American ships sunk by the instrumentality of the mines than the instrumentality of the submarines.

We have in the main complied with the demands made by Great Britain. Our ships have followed the instructions of the British Government in going not only to England but to the neutral nations of the world, and in thus complying with the British order American ships going to Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have been taken by British officials into British ports, and their cargoes inspected and examined. All the mails we have carried even to neutral countries have been opened and censored, and oftentimes the entire cargo confiscated by the Government. Nothing has been permitted to pass to even the most neutral nations except after examination and with the permission of the officials of the British Government.

I have outlined the beginning of the controversy. I have given in substance the orders of both of these great Governments that constituted the beginning of our controversy with each. There have been other orders made by both Governments subsequent to the ones I have given that interfered with our rights as a neutral Nation, but these two that I have outlined constitute the origin of practically the entire difficulty, and subsequent orders have only been modifications and reproductions of those I have already mentioned. It is unnecessary to cite authority to show that both of these orders declaring military zones were illegal and contrary to international law. It is sufficient to say that our Government has officially declared both of them to be illegal and has officially protested against both of them.

The only difference is that in the case of Germany we have persisted in our protest, while in the case of England we have submitted. What was our duty as a Government and what were our rights when we were confronted with these extraordinary orders declaring these military zones? First, we could have defied both of them and could have gone to war against both of these nations for this violation of international law and interference with our neutral rights. Second, we had the technical right to defy one and to acquiesce in the other. Third, we could, while denouncing them both as illegal, have acquiesced in them both and thus remained neutral with both sides, although not agreeing with either as to the righteousness of their respective orders. We could have said to American shipowners that, while these orders are both contrary to international law and are both unjust, we do not believe that the provocation is sufficient to cause us to go to war for the defense of our rights as a neutral nation, and, therefore, American ships and American citizens

will go into these zones at their own peril and risk. Fourth, we might have declared an embargo against the shipping from American ports of any merchandise to either one of these Governments that persisted in maintaining its military zone. We might have refused to permit the sailing of any ship from any American port to either of these military zones. In my judgment, if we had pursued this course, the zones would have been of short duration. England would have been compelled to take her mines out of the North Sea in order to get any supplies from our country. When her mines were taken out of the North Sea then the German ports upon the North Sea would have been accessible to American shipping and Germany would have been compelled to cease her submarine warfare in order to get any supplies from our Nation into German North Sea ports.

There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. Many instances of cruelty and inhumanity can be found on both sides. Men are often biased in their judgment on account of their sympathy and their interests. To my mind, what we ought to have maintained from the beginning was the strictest neutrality. If we had done this I do not believe we would have been on the verge of war at the present time. We had a right as a nation, if we desired, to cease at any time to be neutral. We had a technical right to respect the English war zone and to disregard the German war zone, but we could not do that and be neutral. I have no quarrel to find with the man who does not desire our country to remain neutral. While many such people are moved by selfish motives and hopes of gain, I have no doubt but that in a great many instances, through what I believe to be a misunderstanding of the real condition, there are many honest, patriotic citizens who think we ought to engage in this war and who are behind the President in his demand that we should declare war against Germany. I think such people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war. We have loaned many hundreds of millions of dollars to the allies in this controversy. While such action was legal and countenanced by international law, there is no doubt in my mind but the enormous amount of money loaned to the allies in this country has been instrumental in bringing about a public sentiment in favor of our country taking a course that would make every bond worth a hundred cents on the dollar and making the payment of every debt certain and sure. Through this instrumentality and also through the instrumentality of others who have not only made millions out of the war in the manufacture of munitions, etc., and who would expect to make millions more if our country can be drawn into the catastrophe, a large number of the great newspapers and news agencies of the country have been controlled and enlisted in the greatest propaganda that the world has ever known, to manufacture sentiment in favor of war. It is now demanded that the American citizens shall be used as insurance policies to guarantee the safe delivery of munitions of war to belligerent nations. The enormous profits of munition manufacturers, stockbrokers, and bond dealers must be still further increased by our entrance into the war. This has brought us to the present moment, when Congress, urged by the President and backed by the artificial sentiment, is about to declare war and engulf our country in the greatest holocaust that the world has ever known.

In showing the position of the bondholder and the stockbroker I desire to read an extract from a letter written by a member of the New York Stock Exchange to his customers. This writer says:

Regarding the war as inevitable, Wall Street believes that it would be preferable to this uncertainty about the actual date of its commencement. Canada and Japan are at war, and are more prosperous than ever before. The popular view is that stocks would have a quick, clear, sharp reaction immediately upon outbreak of hostilities, and that then they would enjoy an old-fashioned bull market such as followed the outbreak of war with Spain in 1898. The advent of peace would force a readjustment of commodity prices and would probably mean a postponement of new enterprises. As peace negotiations would be long drawn out, the period of waiting and uncertainty for business would be long. If the United States does not go to war it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war.

Here we have the Wall Street view. Here we have the man representing the class of people who will be made prosperous should we become entangled in the present war, who have already made millions of dollars, and who will make many hundreds of millions more if we get into the war. Here we have the cold-blooded proposition that war brings prosperity to that class of people who are within the viewpoint of this writer. He expresses the view, undoubtedly, of Wall Street, and of thousands

of men elsewhere, who see only dollars coming to them through the handling of stocks and bonds that will be necessary in case of war. "Canada and Japan," he says, "are at war, and are more prosperous than ever before."

To whom does war bring prosperity? Not to the soldier who for the munificent compensation of \$16 per month shoulders his musket and goes into the trench, there to shed his blood and to die if necessary; not to the broken-hearted widow who waits for the return of the mangled body of her husband; not to the mother who weeps at the death of her brave boy; not to the little children who shiver with cold; not to the babe who suffers from hunger; nor to the millions of mothers and daughters who carry broken hearts to their graves. War brings no prosperity to the great mass of common and patriotic citizens. It increases the cost of living of those who toil and those who already must strain every effort to keep soul and body together. War brings prosperity to the stock gambler on Wall Street—to those who are already in possession of more wealth than can be realized or enjoyed. Again this writer says that if we can not get war, "it is nevertheless good opinion that the preparedness program will compensate in good measure for the loss of the stimulus of actual war." That is, if we can not get war, let us go as far in that direction as possible. If we can not get war, let us cry for additional ships, additional guns, additional munitions, and everything else that will have a tendency to bring us as near as possible to the verge of war. And if war comes do such men as these shoulder the musket and go into the trenches?

Their object in having war and in preparing for war is to make money. Human suffering and the sacrifice of human life are necessary, but Wall Street considers only the dollars and the cents. The men who do the fighting, the people who make the sacrifices, are the ones who will not be counted in the measure of this great prosperity that he depicts. The stock brokers would not, of course, go to war, because the very object they have in bringing on the war is profit, and therefore they must remain in their Wall Street offices in order to share in that great prosperity which they say war will bring. The volunteer officer, even the drafting officer, will not find them. They will be concealed in their palatial offices on Wall Street, sitting behind mahogany desks, covered up with clipped coupons—coupons soiled with the sweat of honest toil, coupons stained with mothers' tears, coupons dyed in the lifeblood of their fellow men.

We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money. And even if we do not cross the Atlantic and go into the trenches, we are going to pile up a debt that the toiling masses that shall come many generations after us will have to pay. Unborn millions will bend their backs in toil in order to pay for the terrible step we are now about to take. We are about to do the bidding of wealth's terrible mandate. By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. I will say to the Senator that I prefer not to yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator yield?

Mr. REED. Of course I can not interrupt under those circumstances.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator declines to yield.

Mr. NORRIS. I know that I am powerless to stop it. I know that this war madness has taken possession of the financial and political powers of our country. I know that nothing I can say will stay the blow that is soon to fall. I feel that we are committing a sin against humanity and against our countrymen. I would like to say to this war god, You shall not coin into gold the lifeblood of my brethren. I would like to prevent this terrible catastrophe from falling upon my people. I would be willing to surrender my own life if I could cause this awful cup to pass. I charge no man here with a wrong motive, but it seems to me that this war craze has robbed us of our judgment. I wish we might delay our action until reason could again be enthroned in the brain of man. I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

I have no sympathy with the military spirit that dominates the Kaiser and his advisers. I do not believe that they represent the heart of the great German people. I have no more sym-

pathy with the submarine policy of Germany than I have with the mine-laying policy of England. I have heard with rejoicing of the overthrow of the Czar of Russia and the movement in that great country toward the establishment of a government where the common people will have their rights, liberty, and freedom respected. I hope and pray that a similar revolution may take place in Germany, that the Kaiser may be overthrown, and that on the ruins of his military despotism may be established a German republic, where the great German people may work out their world destiny. The working out of that problem is not an American burden. We ought to remember the advice of the Father of our Country and keep out of entangling alliances. Let Europe solve her problems as we have solved ours. Let Europe bear her burdens as we have borne ours. In the greatest war of our history and at the time it occurred, the greatest war in the world's history, we were engaged in solving an American problem. We settled the question of human slavery and washed our flag clean by the sacrifice of human blood. It was a great problem and a great burden, but we solved it ourselves. Never once did we think of asking Europe to take part in its solution. Never once did any European nation undertake to settle the great question. We solved it, and history has rendered a unanimous verdict that we solved it right. The troubles of Europe ought to be settled by Europe, and wherever our sympathies may lie, disagreeing as we do, we ought to remain absolutely neutral and permit them to settle their questions without our interference. We are now the greatest neutral nation. Upon the passage of this resolution we will have joined Europe in the great catastrophe and taken America into entanglements that will not end with this war, but will live and bring their evil influences upon many generations yet unborn.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the adoption of the substitute offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER].

Mr. GRONNA obtained the floor.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from North Dakota yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. REED. I understood I have the floor unless we were going to vote.

Mr. GRONNA. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator if he wishes to speak now.

Mr. REED. It will take me just a moment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota yields to the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. REED. I thank the Senator. Mr. President, I hope the junior Senator from Nebraska will not leave the Chamber.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Ashurst	Hale	Martin	Shields
Borah	Harding	Myers	Simmons
Brady	Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Ariz.
Brandegge	Husting	New	Smith, Ga.
Broussard	James	Norris	Smith, Mich.
Calder	Johnson, Cal.	Overman	Smith, S. C.
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Page	Smoot
Culberson	Jones, N. Mex.	Penrose	Stone
Cummins	Jones, Wash.	Phelan	Sutherland
Curtis	Kellogg	Pittman	Swanson
Dillingham	Kendrick	Poindestex	Tillman
Fall	Kenyon	Pomerene	Underwood
Fernald	Kirby	Ransdell	Vardaman
Fletcher	Knox	Reed	Wadsworth
France	Lane	Robinson	Warren
Frelinghuysen	Lewis	Saulsbury	Watson
Gallinger	McCumber	Shafroth	Weeks
Gerry	McKellar	Sheppard	Williams
Gronna	McLean	Sherman	Wolcott

Mr. PITTMAN. I wish to announce that the senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] is unavoidably detained from the Senate on account of business and other matters.

Mr. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] on account of illness.

Mr. MARTIN. I desire to announce that the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH] is detained at home by serious illness in his family.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I wish to announce the absence of my colleague [Mr. GOFF], who is unavoidably detained on account of illness.

Mr. REED. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of the senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE]. He is confined to his home by illness, as he has been for a number of weeks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-six Senators have answered to their names. There is a quorum present.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, it has been no part of my purpose to participate in this debate, but a statement or series of statements made by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. NORRIS] seem to me to demand instant repudiation. I need not say to that Senator or to the Members of this body that I hold the Senator from Nebraska in the very highest personal regard and esteem, and because of that regard and esteem I shall not permit myself to characterize his speech as I believe it ought to be characterized. There are men in this world of high intelligence who become so obsessed by certain ideas that they permit them to color all other objects coming within their mental vision. The Senator from Nebraska, I fear, is so obsessed with a fear of "money" and of "profits" and of "fortunes" that all that it is necessary to suggest is that some wealthy concern may have an interest, remote, contingent, or direct, in the subject matter under consideration in order to confuse his mental vision. So we find the Senator here to-day reading a letter which he says comes from some unnamed Wall Street man. The letter purports to be nothing save a business man's view as to the business outcome in the event of possible hostilities. Because of that letter the Senator makes the statements which I propose to challenge. He said:

We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. We are going to run the risk of sacrificing millions of our countrymen's lives in order that other countrymen may coin their lifeblood into money.

Mr. President, that is an indictment of the President of the United States. That is an indictment of the Congress of the United States. That is an indictment of the American people. That is an indictment of truth, and it is not the truth. The Senator continues:

By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations.

Mr. President, that is another indictment of the President of the United States, of the Congress of the United States, of the American people, and of truth and fact. The Senator continues:

I know that I am powerless to stop it. I know that this war madness has taken possession of the financial and political powers of our country.

And he continues:

I would like to say to this war god, "You shall not coin into gold the lifeblood of my brethren."

Then he adds:

I feel we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

Ah, Mr. President, I am sorry from my heart that such a statement should have been made at this time by an American citizen in the highest body of the American Congress. If that be not giving aid and comfort to the enemy on the very eve of the opening of hostilities then I do not know what would bring comfort to the heart of a Hapsburg or a Hohenzollern. If that be not treason it takes on a character and guise that is so near to treason that the enemies of America will gain from it much consolation.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If it be not treason it grazes the edge of treason.

Mr. REED. As the Senator from Mississippi says with his usual terseness, if it be not treason it grazes the edge of treason.

Sir, this war is not being waged over dollars. It is not being waged over commerce. It is not being waged over profits and losses. It is a war for the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the American Republic and for the preservation of American dignity in the councils of the nations of the earth.

There was a time when Great Britain sought to levy a little tax on tea. The tax amounted to nothing from the dollar-and-cent standpoint. There were men then in old Boston town who said they would not pay that tax. If my friend had been there then I have no doubt he would have said to the Boston tea party, "You are waging war to save a few paltry dollars; you should not wage war for money; you would sacrifice human life to save a little tax." But there were patriots in that day who knew that a great principle was involved. They knew it was not a question of dollars. They knew that liberty was involved. They knew that back of the taxgatherer stood the power of a great country, that proposed to lay its heavy hand upon the liberties of this people; and so those Boston men went forth not to resist the tax, but to resist tyranny; not to save money, but to pour out their lifeblood that liberty might live on this side of the Atlantic.

And to-day, as the President of the United States calls our country to arms, he does not do so because of the loss of a few paltry dollars. He calls us to arms because the life of this

Republic, its honor and its integrity, have been assailed. He calls us to arms in order that the rights of the American Nation upon the high seas shall not be sacrificed. He calls us to arms to the end that neutral nations, great and small, shall not be crushed beneath the iron heel of that military despotism which to-day threatens not alone the civilization of Europe but of the world at large.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I doubt very much whether anything from me is necessary in reply to what the Senator from Missouri has said. I want to say just a few words, however.

In the first place, I want to deny most emphatically that there is anything in the remarks which I made that by any construction of the English language can be construed as an attack or reflection upon the President of the United States. What I have said will be printed, I presume, as I said it, and I will invite any man to make any examination and find anything in it anywhere that can be considered as a reflection upon the President or anybody else.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator a question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; I yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I should like to ask the Senator from Nebraska whether he did or did not say he feared we were about to put the dollar mark upon the flag?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes, sir; I said that. Is that any reflection on the President? That is what I believe. I believe it.

Mr. JAMES. It is a reflection on the country.

Mr. NORRIS. No; it is not a reflection on the country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator say that the remark is no reflection on the President or Congress or the people of the United States, charging them with baseness, paltriness, and selfishness and meanness? Does he stand here and say he meant nothing by it?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I meant what I said. I am not apologizing for what I did say.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. Just wait a minute now. The Senators ought to realize that when they map out a course that to them seems proper, if somebody else disagrees with it and expresses himself in regard to it he has the same right to his judgment and the same right to his opinion that every other Senator has.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. NORRIS. In just a moment I will yield.

Mr. JAMES. Let me ask the Senator a question.

Mr. NORRIS. Just a minute.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska declines to yield for the present.

Mr. NORRIS. Just let me finish now. I believe myself that we would not be on the verge of war now if it were not for the influence of money, and that is the idea I expressed. I expressly said that I did not question any man's motive. I believe that the country is war mad now. I said then, and I repeat it now, that notwithstanding the fact that I am opposed to this resolution, when it is passed and war is declared there will be no man here who will go further or sacrifice more to carry our flag to victory than I.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

Mr. SMITH of Arizona. You will have the dollar mark also.

Mr. NORRIS. It may be that I will. There are a good many influences, I will say to the Senator, that I have heard him speak of, and every other Senator here. Wealth has had its influence. It is the greatest power in the world, and I believe that it is almost unanimous in favor of war. That does not mean that because a man is wealthy he is not patriotic; and I never expressed such an idea. I never intended to say and I did not say anything of that kind; but the great power of wealth has done more to bring us to our present position than any other; and men may be influenced by it unconsciously, I realize.

Mr. JAMES. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. NORRIS. I will first yield to the Senator from Missouri, if he wants to ask me a question.

Mr. REED. The Senator used the expression:

I feel that we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

I read from the Senator's manuscript, as I also read the other statements purporting to come from him from his manuscript.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not denied making that statement. I did make it, and I do say that I feel that way.

Mr. REED. The Senator, of course, means by that that by entering this war we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator will just wait a moment. The Senator must not ask me a question and then put the answer in my mouth.

Mr. REED. No; I do not desire to do that.

Mr. NORRIS. Then he must not undertake to do it. I said I believed we were about to put the dollar sign on the American flag.

Mr. REED. By entering this war. That is what you meant.

Mr. NORRIS. No.

Mr. REED. What did you mean, then?

Mr. NORRIS. No; by the passage of the resolution.

Mr. REED. That is entering the war.

Mr. NORRIS. Yes; you can put it that way.

Mr. REED. That is what I said.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator can not put a construction on it to mean that when we get into the war it would not be my duty and every other man's duty to do everything we could to bring it to a successful result.

Mr. REED. If by entering the war we are about to put the dollar sign on the American flag and the President directs us to enter the war, does he not thereby direct us to put the dollar sign on the American flag, and does the Senator regard that kind of a statement as complimentary to the President and not as grossly insulting the President?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, of course the President or anybody else can put what construction he pleases on it. I do not believe in the ordinary construction of the English language he has a right to put any such construction on it.

Mr. JAMES. Will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. NORRIS. Just let me finish and then I will yield. I do not cast any reflection, in my judgment, upon any person. I did not charge anyone with being unpatriotic. I believed, and I do believe now and I repeat it, that there is a war craze; that men have lost their judgment, and that we are going into war without reason. Now, I have a right to that opinion. I have a right to express it. If my language is not as beautiful as some others and some one wants to put a misconception on it that is his privilege.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I concede the Senator's right, and I have always conceded the right of any Senator to say that he wants to escape this war. I concede his right to vote against it. What I am challenging is a statement being sent out to the world that this war is being waged for cold dollars.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President—

Mr. REED. I say the Senator owes it to himself, to his State, to his country to make his language so clear at this moment that a doubt can not exist.

Mr. NORRIS. I have made my statement as clear, Mr. President—

Mr. REED. Anything else is dishonorable to the Senate.

Mr. NORRIS. When American lives were lost or American ships sunk by English mines or German submarines it was done in an effort to make money. I am not complaining of the men who wanted to take the risk; that was their privilege; but, Mr. President, it was always commercial. Everything connected with it was commercial.

Mr. REED. Do you think that the woman and babe who were drowned going to the father and husband were there for the purpose of making money?

Mr. NORRIS. No; there was not a mother and babe drowned on an American ship.

Mr. REED. There were an American woman and an American babe drowned, according to my information.

Mr. NORRIS. If we had done like the English colonies we would not permit American women and American babies to sail on ships of any nationality into the war zone. That is the rule that Canada has, and one that she enforces.

Mr. JAMES. I should like to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. NORRIS. All right; I yield.

Mr. JAMES. The Senator says—

Mr. WILLIAMS. Canada and the other colonies are engaged in the war.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator interrupts to say something when I had yielded to the Senator from Kentucky. Of course, that is contrary to the rules of the Senate but it is all right for the Senator from Mississippi to do it. As I understand it, Canada will not permit Canadian women and Canadian children to sail even on English vessels from a Canadian port to an English port at this time.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question. He says that the action that is about to be taken here by the United States Congress would place the dollar mark upon

the American flag, and yet he asserts that that is no reflection upon the President, the Congress, or the country. What would the Senator think if I should say to him that those who battle with him against the passage of this resolution were seeking to place the picture of the Kaiser upon the American flag? Would the Senator think that that was any reflection upon him and those associated with him?

Mr. NORRIS. I would, of course, know it was wrong.

Mr. JAMES. Certainly the Senator would.

Mr. NORRIS. And if the Senator said it I would not pay any attention to it. [Laughter in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Just one moment. The Senator will suspend. Occupants of the galleries must preserve order. Otherwise the Chair will be compelled to have the galleries cleared.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, I rise to a question of order. I trust that the rule will be strictly enforced that Senators must address the Chair and obtain permission from the Chair to interrupt.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has endeavored to enforce the rule—

Mr. GALLINGER. I hope the rule will be enforced—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. And the Chair will insist on its enforcement hereafter.

Mr. GALLINGER. Otherwise we shall have a town meeting here.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, if the Senator from New Hampshire is referring to me, I will enlighten him by saying that I did request and, after several trials, got permission through the Chair to interrupt.

The Senator from Nebraska says that he would not pay any attention had I said what I have just suggested, but I will say to the Senator that, while he would not pay any attention to it, his statement which has been made here and his speech which he has just delivered will be paid attention to by the American people, and particularly by the people of Nebraska, whom he pretends to represent.

Mr. NORRIS. I do hope the people of Nebraska will pay attention to what I have said. Let me again now repeat that what I have said stands for itself, in my judgment. I have not said anything that will compare with what the Senator from Missouri has said in regard to me.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator from Missouri quoted you.

Mr. NORRIS. I have not, I know, intended to cast any reflection upon any living being. I do not believe that anything which I have said will be so construed; but if it is, I can not help it. Reflections, however, have been cast here to-day upon me which are ten million times greater than anything I have said. I am not going to take them seriously, because I believe, as I have said, that there is at this time a feeling controlling not only the country, but Members of this body, by which men are not in full possession of all their reasoning faculties. The Senator from Missouri has said something that at some time he will regret, I believe.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. I am not going to resent it; I am not going to say anything in regard to it, because I have too high a regard for the Senator, and I have too high a regard for the Members of this body to bring it in here and now. I yield to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, the Senator from Nebraska has just stated that the Members of the Senate have lost their reasoning powers, or rather that they were affected—

Mr. WILLIAMS. All except him.

Mr. POMERENE. Up to date about three hundred American men, women, and children have lost their lives as the result of Germany's submarine warfare.

Mr. NORRIS. Now, Mr. President—

Mr. POMERENE. May I ask the Senator—

Mr. NORRIS. All right.

Mr. POMERENE. How many more American lives must be lost before he shall be willing to vote that there is a state of war in existence, or vote to take measures for the defense of our people?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, I am glad to answer the Senator's question. I outlined in my remarks what I believed would have brought about a complete avoidance of the present difficulty, and if the Senator from Ohio had done me the honor to remain in the Chamber while I was speaking he would have found what my ideas were. I believe the Senator said there were 300 American lives lost. Mr. President, if any Government were seeking out Americans with the intention of killing them because they were American citizens, I should be willing to go to war, if necessary, when the first one was killed. That has not been the case as to a single American life lost, either by British

mines or German submarine. Neither one of them was hunting Americans; neither one of them desired to kill American citizens; neither one desired to destroy American property; but they did it because it was incidental to what they conceived to be their right or what they claimed to be their right against their enemy.

In Mexico we have had more than 300 people killed, not incidentally in a war or quarrel with somebody else, but because they were Americans. They were hunted down and killed because they were Americans.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. NORRIS. I again yield for a question.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, if I may answer the last suggestion of the Senator I shall be glad to ask the Senator a further question.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, if the Senator wants to do that, and I shall not lose the floor by yielding, I have no objection to his doing so.

Mr. POMERENE. If I may do so, I will say the Senator ought to be content to settle our difficulties with Germany first.

Mr. NORRIS. I am.

Mr. POMERENE. And later on we shall take up the other proposition. I think Senators can differentiate between the acts of a responsible Government like Germany and the acts of an irresponsible mob in Mexico. I believe I can, even if I have in part lost my reasoning powers.

Mr. NORRIS. And so can I, even though I do not have the same mental ability which the Senator from Ohio has.

Mr. POMERENE. Oh—

Mr. NORRIS. But the Senator—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair understands the Senator from Nebraska yielded to the Senator from Ohio, and he must not interrupt him and allow him to remain on the floor. If the Senator from Nebraska objects to yielding further to the Senator from Ohio, the Chair will withhold that privilege.

Mr. NORRIS. I have no objection to yielding to the Senator from Ohio, but I do not want to lose the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Then the Senator from Nebraska will kindly address the Chair before he interferes with the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I want to make a suggestion in reference to the manner in which these Americans have been killed. The Senator from Nebraska says that these Americans were not willfully killed. Herr Zimmermann the other day said that they were incidentally killed. Whether that be true or not it is not necessary to discuss; I will assume that they were incidentally killed; but it was in violation of the law of the seas. Some of these men lost their lives after Germany had declared that all ships within a proscribed zone would be sunk. The Senator from Nebraska is a lawyer, and he knows quite well that if I should purposely shoot at him with malice aforethought and incidentally killed somebody else in his vicinity it would be murder. Just so it is when it comes to this mode of submarine warfare.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They killed them premeditatedly and purposefully and declared the intention to do so beforehand.

Mr. POMERENE. Certainly. If they had aimed to kill a British officer and had, in the performance of an act which was itself illegal, incidentally killed an American, it would have been an offense against us; but Germany has declared that she will sink any vessel that goes into the proscribed zone whether it be belligerent or neutral. Now, does the Senator from Nebraska feel that we must thus submit to this outlaw on the high seas?

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. President, the Senator has at last propounded his question. It is the same one which he previously asked, and I give the same answer. If the Senator had honored me with his presence in the Chamber when I was making my remarks he would have heard my answer to his question. I gave then my ideas, and I do not intend to now repeat them.

I want to refer to what the Senator says about shooting at one man and killing another. It is true, if the first act was done without right and was illegal, and they killed the wrong person, they are guilty of a crime; but it is a different crime in that case. The Senator from Ohio smiles at that, but if he will take the statutes of his own State and read the difference between manslaughter and the various degrees of murder he will find that the elements which constitute the difference are specifically defined and were defined under the common law of England. There always has been a difference. It must be said in favor of both England and Germany that they were not hunting out Americans to kill them. I think Senators who do not agree with me have the right to their opinions. Both

England and Germany would have been glad if they could have destroyed their enemy or the ship or cargo they were about to destroy without injury to Americans. But, Mr. President, another thing the Senator assumes is that I am defending that action. Again, if the Senator had been here when I made my remarks he would have found out that I nowhere, at no time, defended it. I have denounced it as illegal and contrary to international law.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Ohio?

Mr. NORRIS. I yield to the Senator if he desires to interrupt me again.

Mr. POMERENE. I do not mean to say the Senator is defending that act, but I do mean to say that he is assaulting the American people.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, I regret, Mr. President, very gravely that the Senator should have that opinion. I regret more than I can say that he should have that opinion of me. As I view it, it is absolutely unfounded. I have said nothing that is an assault on the American people, and I do not intend to say anything that is an assault on them. I think as much of the American people as does the Senator from Ohio. It seems to me it is only an illustration that applies to me and to the Senator from Ohio and to all of us, just as it does to all the people, that the excitement of the day has probably led us astray in our judgment from where we would have been if there had been nothing but calmness.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President—

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator from Ohio smiles at that. He does not realize, of course, that he is prejudiced or that he is biased or that all of this great cry for war has had any influence on him; but I believe it has, and I mean no reflection on him when I say that. He thinks it has had some effect on me. I hope he does not intend to reflect on me because I do not agree with him in his view of the proposition. I hope it has not come to this, that a man in a legislative body must absolutely, because the majority is so very great against him, bow his head in silence and obey every mandate that majority wants to put across without a word or without any objection. It may be, and probably would be in most cases, that the majority would be right; it is a good thing for the majority to rule, and I want it to rule; but there are some rights that even ordinary people who do not belong to the majority have, and they ought to be respected in maintaining those rights. I do not believe that there has been any justification for the insinuations made by the various Senators here on what I have said.

I now yield to the Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I desire to ask the Senator a question for historical information. Of course, the Senator thinks that Senators have insinuated things against him, but he does not think he has insinuated anything against us when he has charged that we have been influenced by dollars and wealth in what we are about to do. But the question I want to ask the Senator for historical information is this: He has carefully and solicitously coupled England with Germany in connection with the murder of American citizens. Now, historically speaking, I have no recollection of any American who has lost his life by the act of Great Britain—that is, by the direction of the Government of Great Britain, at any rate—while those American citizens who have lost their lives by the action of Germany have lost them by the direction of the Government of Germany. When and where has such a thing occurred, and what is the name of any American citizen that England has murdered?

Mr. NORRIS. Let me answer the question. Mr. President, in the first place, there might be some ground for argument, but I am not going to contradict the Senator that when a life is lost by a submarine it is the act of a Government, and that the Government commands it. A Government, of course, is responsible for all the acts of its commanders, whether it has issued a direct command or not.

Mr. WILLIAMS. If the Senator will pardon me one moment right there, does the Senator deny that the German Government issued orders to its officers of submarines to kill and sink without warning even American ships in that zone?

Mr. NORRIS. I do not deny that; I not only do not deny it but I condemn it. Now, the Senator must realize that when a Government places a submerged mine in the open sea and a ship is destroyed by running against that mine in the open sea, then it is the act of the Government.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Well, what American citizen has lost his life in that way?

Mr. NORRIS. There were two American ships—

Mr. WILLIAMS. I have never heard of them.

Mr. NORRIS. I do not know but that there were more, but I remember the *Carib* and the *Evelyn*, both sunk in the North Sea, both American ships, both sunk by English submerged mines, and on both of which vessels American citizens lost their lives.

Mr. JAMES. How does the Senator know that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes; how does the Senator know that? I never heard of it.

Mr. NORRIS. I will tell the Senators how I know that. If they will read the minority report, they will get some evidence which they will probably respect more than my word. I refer to the minority report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House in the last Congress on the so-called armed neutrality bill. They will find a report made there by Mr. SHACKLEFORD, of Missouri.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I know that statement was made, and I know that the Senator is repeating it now, but what I am doing is challenging the statement.

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator deny it?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Absolutely.

Mr. NORRIS. The Senator, I think, is entirely wrong.

Mr. WILLIAMS. The Senator has no proof of it.

Mr. NORRIS. I read it in the paper at the time it was done.

Mr. JAMES. Oh, Lord!

Mr. NORRIS. Why, Mr. President, the facts of the destruction of the *Carib* and the *Evelyn* were of common knowledge when they were destroyed. There was an official report made by an American consul and sent to the Secretary of State, I understand, in which he told of the destruction at least of one of those vessels, and I suppose there is a report in regard to the other.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And where were they destroyed?

Mr. NORRIS. In the North Sea.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In the North Sea?

Mr. NORRIS. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In what part of the North Sea?

Mr. NORRIS. Near the southern part.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And close to the German shore?

Mr. NORRIS. Does the Senator want to say that the Germans destroyed them?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I say the Senator does not know by whom that mine was planted, and neither does anybody else know by whom it was planted.

Mr. NORRIS. Why, Mr. President, let me tell the Senator with what those ships were loaded. They were both loaded with cotton and both bound to a German port. With Germany dying for cotton, it would have been a great how-do-you-do for Germany to destroy ships with her submarines coming into her own ports, loaded with something that she needed in carrying on the war.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Does the Senator—

Mr. NORRIS. I have never heard it disputed.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Senators must address the Chair before interrupting.

Mr. NORRIS. I have never heard it disputed before that both these vessels were destroyed by English mines in the North Sea.

Mr. WILLIAMS. But if Germany had planted mines to defend her own ports and her own shipping against Great Britain we would not have thought that Germany was guilty of exactly the same crime when that mine did blow up those ships that she is guilty of when she deliberately gives us notice beforehand of a premeditated intent to destroy our men, women, and children and our ships whenever they come into a part of the ocean which she insultingly, insolently, and sovereignly reserves for her Government.

Mr. NORRIS. Well, Mr. President, she might have done all that in planting mines in the North Sea, in the open sea. It seems to me no man can dispute that that was contrary to international law, absolutely inhuman and wrong; but because it was done by England should we forget it, should we acquiesce in the order? I concede we had the right to do that, but we did not have the right to do it and remain neutral. I have no fault to find with a man who says "I want to go to war with the allies against Germany; I want to acquiesce in the British orders; I want to acquiesce in the orders which England has made in regard to all our ships, which have absolutely controlled American shipping to all neutral countries and to England herself." We have a right to believe that if we want to do so, but I do not believe we ought to do it. I think we ought to remain neutral; and we can not be neutral if we allow one Government without protest to put submarine mines in the open sea and condemn another Government because in another part of the open sea she uses submarines. I think they ought to be condemned alike, for they are both wrong.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Then we should go to war with both of them.

Mr. NORRIS. We would have a right to do that if we wanted to do so, of course; but I would not go to war with one of them on account of it without also going to war with the other. I do not think it was necessary to go to war with either one of them. I think we had the power in our hands by which we could have avoided trouble with both of them and let them fight out their own battles.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, just a word. The Senator from Nebraska, in reply to questions by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. POMERENE], said that he had already stated what he thought the remedy is or ought to be. I listened to the Senator's speech, but I did not hear him suggest a remedy. I have read the Senator's manuscript, and I do not find in it any suggestion of a remedy. I find that he complains that we have suffered wrongs at the hands of England and that we also have suffered wrongs at the hands of Germany. He states that we had several alternatives presented to us, but he does not state which of these alternatives he would have accepted. If there is anywhere in the four corners of these several sheets of the Senator's manuscript that I hold in my hand a suggestion as to how the United States was to keep out of this difficulty, I do not find it. This was one of the reasons I rose in the first instance. I hoped that the Senator from Nebraska could be induced to see that when he charged that our Government was entering upon war in the interest of dollars he was making a statement which, if true, places our Government in the most unworthy and contemptible attitude any Government could assume. I hoped the Senator would not send to the courts of Germany and Austria a statement conveying the charge that America is waging war for such base and unjustifiable purposes. But the Senator adheres to his language. I am sorry he does not withdraw it. More than this, the Senator pleads extenuation of the murder of American citizens upon the high seas that it was only "incidental."

Mr. President, the best that can be said for the slaughter upon the high seas is that it has been indiscriminate; that the men who acted under the orders of the Kaiser indiscriminately sent to their graves the soldier wearing the uniform of the enemy and the babe in the arms of a mother whose home and allegiance were in another country and to another flag.

The Senator tells us there is an alternative and a remedy, but he has not defined it. What is the remedy? Germany has mapped out of the sea, as was stated by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] this morning, a strip a thousand miles wide, and has said "Keep off that portion of the sea." She has mapped the entire Mediterranean, except a little narrow neck 20 miles wide, and has said, "Keep off the Mediterranean Sea." She has surrounded Europe with her lines arbitrarily drawn, and has said to the great American Nation and to other neutral powers, "Keep off the sea." Our alternative is as poltroons to obey the mandate of a master and to keep off the sea or as brave men to stay on the sea and fight for our rights. That, sir, is the issue. It is not an issue of dollars and cents; it is an issue of principles and of men; and this country will soon determine who are the men whether they are inside or outside of this Chamber.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, to change the course of the debate, not verbosely but necessarily, I address myself to a different phase of this subject.

Mr. President, the President, in his noble address on last Monday, made it very clear that the people of the United States are not going to declare war against the German people, but against the Hohenzollern dynasty. I quote from his address:

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor States with spies or set the course of intrigues to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression carried, it may be, from generation to generation can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the Nation's affairs.

* * * Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

* * * We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people.

The President has repeatedly emphasized the idea that the German people have had nothing to do with this war upon which we are now forced to enter. The Kaiser and his slavish under-

lings, aiders, and abettors alone are responsible. The Hohenzollerns indeed have compelled us to fight for our dearest rights. The German people, having been educated for more than a generation to bow down and worship that dynasty, have become indifferent to their own liberties and rights, because they never had any. I want to pick out the Hohenzollerns and specify that we are warring alone with them and not with the German people. The Russian people have settled with the Romanoffs, and we ought by every means to encourage the Germans to settle with the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs.

If the legal status did not require the use of the words "Imperial German Government" in this resolution, I would gladly substitute "Hohenzollern dynasty, its aiders and abettors." But, as we can not thus word the resolution declaring war, I am taking this opportunity to call attention to the fact, repeatedly voiced by the President in emphasizing that the American people have no quarrel with the German people, but we have a quarrel to the death with autocracy.

The Senator from Virginia has in most eloquent words this morning pointed out how infamous, outrageous, all-embracing, and treacherous is the action of the German Government in the submarine warfare they are making on the freedom of the seas. We would be untrue to every instinct of our natures, recreant to every idea of freedom in government and the liberty for which our fathers fought and suffered so much if we do not accept the challenge of autocracy and all its vile brood and never cease to battle until they are conquered.

Mr. KENYON. Mr. President, I am one of those who have been strongly opposed to our engaging in this war, and earnestly wish there were some honorable way in which it could be avoided. Matters have now reached a crisis. Regardless of how brought about, we have drifted into conditions where it seems impossible longer to keep from this terrible conflict, however much we may desire to do so.

In the present solemn time no one can claim that the great Republic has been impatient. Patience has its limitations, and the limit seems to have been reached. The war in which we are about to engage is not of our choosing. The Government of another nation with which we have been in harmonious relation through all the years is now waging war upon us. Uncle Sam, the patient giant, with a spirit of charity, has done his best for peace. Destiny seems to decree otherwise. The people will back the President and Congress with men, money, and loyalty. There will be no difficulty in finding recruits if in the mind of the people there is the conclusion that this is a struggle to help save the democracy of the world or to maintain the honor of the United States.

I have been a firm believer that there was a Divine Providence guiding the destiny of individuals and of nations. Difficult, indeed, has it been to see such Providence in this war, but if out of this turmoil and strife and suffering and bloodshed the self-assumptive, divine right of kings and kaisers and czars shall be overthrown; if thrones shall totter and fall and in their places great governments of the people arise, then the hand of Providence may be apparent.

I regret that when the war started there was not some method of compelling the Czar and the Kaiser and their kind to enter the first battle on the firing line. That would have lessened its duration. Crowned heads seem to have done none of the dying.

It is time now that all voice of partisanship should be stilled. The hour of action is here. It is no time to talk about mistakes; no time for criticism of the President, of the Cabinet, of Congress. They are all doing their duty. It is no time to waste energy censuring and criticizing one another; no time to denounce those who have been earnestly contending for peace and who are fully as patriotic as those who have been more vocal. It is no time for divided allegiance. It is a time for 100 per cent Americanism.

The people of this Nation should stand as one man, realizing the solemnity of the step about to be taken. The great Republic must accept the challenge of autocracy and go forth to help in the battle for the world's democracy. Our hand is now to the gun. We must prepare, and prepare well. When we hit, we must hit hard. The roll of honor of the American Republic in every war in which it has engaged evidences no lack of patriotism when the Nation's welfare and honor are involved.

In such a time the spirit of selfishness in our Nation must be dethroned. "No one for himself and everyone for his country" should be our motto. Let us forget for a while the making of money. Let us realize that everyone must bear a part of the sacrifice and burden. Those who in this time of national emergency will try to make excessive profit, either in the manufacture of those things which the Government must have to carry on war or by combinations to raise the prices of the things the people must have to live, are just as guilty of treason as those who give

aid and comfort to the enemy. They should be treated as enemies of the Republic.

We do not go to war with any spirit of hatred toward the German people. If the people of Germany controlled their Government, there would be no war. The action of the American Congress to-day rings the bell for the falling of the curtain on the house of Hohenzollern. Germany as a republic, freed of this bloody dynasty, will know no limitation in the progress and development of her people.

Mr. President, peace is a passion with me. I am not, however, one of those who believe in peace at any price. Some things are worse than war—dishonor infinitely so. I can not close my eyes to present conditions—to attacks upon our flag, to the killing of our people, to plots against our Nation. Nor can I in imagination close my eyes to future scenes—battle fields, sacrifices, bloodshed—that probably will be brought about by our action here to-day. I wish this cup could pass from us. It can not. We can not flinch in the performance of our duty. The American people must approach this crisis in a spirit of solemnity. It is a weighty hour to the Republic. This war will not be fought with speeches at banquets, nor by applause in Senate galleries, nor amid the Havana-laden atmosphere of luxurious clubs.

Gen. Sherman declared that war was hell; but modern war is worse than hell, for no devilish ingenuity could equal modern methods of injury and torture in war.

At this hour, when it is certain that war is upon us, there should be the least division of counsel that it is possible to have. Outside of any other reason I would vote for this resolution on that ground. It must strengthen our cause if the world believes we are fairly united.

If this resolution committed our Nation to any foreign alliance I could not support it. I do not so construe it. Co-operation with foreign nations will, of course, be necessary; but any question of alliance must of necessity come again before Congress. The question of sending our Army, or any portion thereof, to the battle fields of Europe is a question, as far as I am concerned, that is not settled by a vote for this resolution.

Any foreign alliance would utterly change the policy and traditions of our country for over 100 years. We had better, before that happens, take counsel of the Father of his Country. He warned the Nation against such alliances in that memorable Farewell Address. Let us think well before we enter into that field. The Nation will meet this question when it fairly arises.

Not with hope of reward does the Republic draw the sword; not with lust for power; not for the conquest of territory, but solely, as in the Spanish War, for humanity and the preservation of its ideals. When peace comes—which God grant may be soon—when the peoples of Europe may be freed from the tyranny of crowns and scepters and come from the darkness of bondage into the light of freedom, as are now the people of Russia, the giant Republic of the West will have no apologies for the part it has played under the providence and guidance of the Almighty.

The words of Paul to the Corinthians might well be our watchword at this time:

Stand fast in the faith; quit you like men; be strong.

Our strength is the unselfishness of our purpose; our faith the God of nations. With such strength and such faith we will quit ourselves like men.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I had intended to take some time in calling to the attention of the Senate and the country some of the things which happened during the closing hours of the last Congress, and also, with reference to the European war, some of the facts which I believe have been overlooked or which have not been disclosed so far as I know. But after listening to the speeches of some of my colleagues, and especially to the wise and patriotic words of the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. STONE], I have concluded to occupy only a few minutes, because I agree with what the Senator from Missouri has said—that we ought not at this time to enter into any controversy among ourselves. I shall, therefore, waste neither time nor words; but the question of peace or war is so momentous a question and so serious that I feel that I would not do my full duty should I remain silent. This resolution declaring war is too grave a question to be decided passionately.

Senators, we are intrusted with and are holding the power vested in 100,000,000 of American people. I would, therefore, agree that we proceed to argue this question impassionately, in a friendly spirit; not in a light spirit, nor with minds clouded by passion.

The members of this Congress and the President of the United States are holding in their hands the destiny of 100,000,000 of people. May God give us wisdom and strength to dis-

charge the responsibility with which we have been intrusted, in obedience to Christian principles, right, and justice.

Senators, I do not presume to point out to any one of you the course you should pursue. Each one of us must take this momentous problem into the judgment chamber of our own hearts and decide it according to our own judgment and the dictation of our own conscience. Those of you who have made up your minds to plunge this country into a bloody war have no right to criticize any one who sincerely and patriotically believes in peace. Those of you who believe that the only way in which we can protect our national honor is to declare war, and in that way manifest your patriotism, I ask you in all sincerity, Have you reckoned the cost of the dreadful conflict that will ensue?

I shall not now argue whether the majority of the American people desire war. No man knows, without first submitting it to a vote of the American people, what their decision might be. The American people will not have that opportunity. But while I believe that the majority of the American people are for peace, I can not with any certainty assert that it is so. I do know, however, the sentiment of the people of my own State, and I do assert that a very small minority are in favor of war. We criticize European monarchies for forcing their subjects into war against their will, but we refuse to ascertain by a referendum vote of the American people whether they desire peace or war.

Mr. President, this is a fateful hour, and the Senate is about to decide one of the most momentous problems in the history of our country. Let me remind the Senate that we are not the Government; let me remind you that Congress is not the Government; let me remind you that the President of the United States is not the Government; but the 100,000,000 of people are the sovereign power of this country. Why do we refuse to submit for their decision a question so important to the future welfare of our people? Why do we ignore their petitions, which we have by the hundreds of thousands, asking us to avert war? Why do we ignore the pleadings and the petitions of the millions of mothers of this country, whose hearts are bleeding in sadness and whose minds are disturbed over the possible loss of lives dear to them and the future welfare of their beloved ones?

Mr. President, I have before me the petitions of thousands of patriotic American citizens asking me to oppose a declaration of war with any of the nations of Europe. Shall I regard their pleading prayers as noisy clamor, or shall I respect their constitutional right of petition? This question will not be decided until it is decided right. It will not meet with the approval of the American people unless it is based upon the principles of right, justice, and equality.

Mr. President, the European countries are to-day regretting that they precipitated a war. Their people are sick to death and are wishing that they could find a way to end it. Selfishness was the cause of beginning this cruel and bloody war in Europe; false national pride prevents the ending of it.

Mr. President, speaking for the people whom I in part represent, we are as jealous of our national honor as any loyal American can possibly be. We are as devoted to the flag and would as quickly resent any insult as would those who are now clamoring for war. But we believe, sir, that there is a possibility of averting war without the killing of the millions of our youth and the sacrifice of our national honor.

I shall therefore vote against this resolution declaring war against the Imperial Government of Germany. I would under similar circumstances vote against war with any of the nations of Europe. I shall vote against war because I believe it would have been possible to maintain an honorable peace with all the nations of the earth. While I believe it will be a tremendous mistake and an unpardonable blunder and error to plunge our country into war at a time when we ought to be at peace with all the nations of the earth, if war shall be declared—as I fear it will be—there will be but one course for every loyal American citizen to pursue, and that course will be to do our full duty in defense of our flag.

Mr. President, I am opposed to war because war means destruction, misery, and poverty to the toiling millions of our country for generations to come; but if it shall come I shall do my full duty.

Mr. KIRBY. Mr. President, I want to say a few words on the resolution. It seems to me that I am bound to do so.

I have felt from the beginning that the policy we had adopted and were pursuing would result in war, as it now appears it will. On that account I opposed and did not approve of certain acts of the administration. Because of that I was against what was called the armed-neutrality bill, and that has been denounced here to-day by its friends as but a subterfuge, or in any event a remedy that was altogether inefficient and futile, and

could not result in benefit to the Government or the protection of our people. I have feared that war would come, and war is here; and, Mr. President, I want to say but a few words defining my attitude.

I have not believed it was necessary that this war should come. I have not believed that a majority of the people of the United States felt that it must come. But it has come.

I have seen the war sentiment cultured. I have seen it manipulated. I have seen the people's sentiment lashed into fury by the eastern papers yonder. I have seen the war propaganda and the National Security League sending eminent speakers throughout these United States—what for? To cultivate a sentiment of peace? No! I have seen an ex-President of the United States of America traveling through the southern part of our country, ostensibly in the interests of a league of peace, and declaring, as though by authority, that the United States would be at war by a formal declaration in less than 10 days. That is the way in which the sentiment of this country has been developed, if there is a sentiment now that demands that we shall go to war; and if we must go, why, and what for?

What have we? It was a masterly address that the President delivered, pointing to a great ideal, a glorious ideal for mankind, where democracy might triumph over all the autocratic forces of the world; but I had never until then even supposed that it would be laid down as a policy to be pursued by a Government and enforced by the sword. The Master of men has set up exalted ideals, that we might develop on toward them in our thought, in our course of life, in our civilization; but the President has laid it down now as a policy to be enforced by the sword by the American people that world democracy shall triumph over autocratic power.

Let us see just a little bit further. Our people's lives have been destroyed and our commerce upon the open sea. We are not going into world war to establish a democracy for the nations of the earth. Oh, no; but chiefly to protect the lives of our people on the open sea and our commerce.

We talk about our commerce being impeded, obstructed, and destroyed, that we are \$92,000,000 of exports short in February, that the German people are interfering with our business, that they are imposing hardships on American citizens and it is time that that was prevented. I say to you now, gentlemen—or Senators, as you prefer to be called—that I believe it is as much the duty of the American people to protect our rights of one kind as of another. I say if our rights are infringed to such an extent that it is necessary to go to war, we ought to go to war even if it be for the protection of our commerce, if that is what this war is for.

I can not see it otherwise, Senators. I have looked upon it here and there and yonder. We have read the sentiments expressed in the eastern newspapers. We have heard it reechoed in the smaller papers. We have heard it exaggerated in some quarters and we have heard it encouraged in others. Our officials are representing only that sentiment as it comes to us. We have not heard from the people who are going to do the fighting except from this man and that man and the other who says what the sentiment is. I do not believe the majority of the people of the United States ought to have been forced into war under existing conditions. I am satisfied and clear on that point, but I am of course for my country, as I said in my first speech, "My country right or wrong."

That is the condition I find myself in here and the very first suggestion that is made is a departure from the traditions of the past. It is a departure from all the policies of the Government heretofore—traditions and policies that have placed our Nation in the first place in the foremost line of the nations of the earth.

I have always heard and believed heretofore that we should not have entangling alliances with any other nation, and to-day I hear it talked in the United States Senate that we must put the power of the Government of the United States in the trenches yonder with the allies of Europe, and that we should furnish unlimited means and credit to the allies on the other side of the world, that that would be the first duty of America. I am not for that; never will be. American power and prowess is sufficient for the protection of American rights and must be used for that purpose only.

Then what next?

We have denounced and decried Prussianism and militarism, and what do we find ourselves recommending this very day?

I have thought that in a Republic like ours, where the public sentiment was supposed to control, a cause for war must be so plain and so just and so necessary that the people would rise as one man and volunteer their lives to support the cause. Do you find any such proposition suggested in the United States Senate or in this Congress to-day? No! We must, in

order to raise and arm troops, adopt this same militarism that we have denounced and decried. In order to raise an army we must make compulsory universal military service. That is the only way you can get an army in this war. I say, as far as I am concerned, there is one thing right about that. There is a statement in our Constitution, and believed in, that all men are created free and equal. All men are created equal. It is a fallacy in many respects, but it was intended to be true in that they should stand equal before the law.

That is all it was ever intended to be. That is all it could possibly mean. So far as I am concerned, if universal military service be required, if you are going to have an army, there is no good reason why one man who is more patriotic and has higher ideals and a greater love of country should offer his life than that others should do so. I say let it be known to every man that he must offer his service to his country like every other man, and when the Government requires it by law we will all think more soberly of the causes for war.

Now, I am in this attitude: I have not believed that war was necessary. I have seen the conditions. I know American lives have been lost. I know our commerce has suffered from submarine warfare. I understand that condition; but it seemed to me if we administer the Government with a view to the greatest good to the greatest number we should delay and suffer a few more of these obstructions of our commerce rather than send our whole Nation to war and put two or three million of our people in armed camps, where we might have a million of them killed.

We have swung so far out from our old traditions that God only knows where we will land when we have gone into the world war.

I say to you frankly my heart bleeds to-day for my country. I have had an awful battle with myself as to what I should do under existing conditions, believing, as I do, the things are true as I have outlined them, but I have finally concluded that I am not going to vote against this resolution. I have finally concluded that there is no good to be accomplished by my voting against it. I have finally concluded that since the great majority is going to pass the resolution—and I believe in a majority rule—on that account I am not going to resist it further. But if there was the slightest chance on God's earth that my vote against it would defeat it, I would stand here and vote a thousand years if it might be that we do not go to war. Under the conditions as they are I know the Senate is going to pass the resolution by an overwhelming majority; and if we must go to war, then, so far as I am concerned, I will vote for the resolution, that it may appear that we are going along together. I shall do what I can when war is commenced to bring it to a successful conclusion. I am one of those men who believe that when we declare war somebody must be whipped before the war is ended. I am going to enter upon that sort of a proposition. I do not believe in some of the theories that have been suggested. I do believe in my country, right or wrong, and I am going to stand by it.

Mr. ASHURST. Mr. President, the supreme hour has struck and we must stand up and be counted. We can not shirk nor evade.

No man has ever striven more nobly for peace than has Woodrow Wilson. He tried diplomacy, moral suasion, argument. He expostulated, he exhibited patience beyond that of any man I have ever known. He resorted to every ingenuity, every subtlety, every lawful device to preserve peace, but all in vain.

The United States is great not simply and solely because of her vast area, but because she never seeks revenge—she simply demands justice. Our Government came into life not only as the fulfillment of the bright dream of liberty-loving persons, but as the fulfillment of a task as well. Our free States are not mere abstract longings for justice and peace, for when the States were formed these abstractions and longings were galvanized into life and translated into communities seeking concrete justice and liberty.

Civil liberty on this continent was a worthy but denied and baffled sentiment until it became articulate in our Declaration of Independence. The declaration itself would have been nothing more than an eloquent and accurate recital of the philosophy of liberty except that its principles were vivified and enforced by the American patriots. Liberty can not survive if it does no more than parade around in nightgown and slippers looking for comfort, safety, luxury, and ease. When democracy is attacked it must repel force with force. Democracy will not survive if in times of danger it does no more than preach the doctrine of philosophical nonresistance, simper sentimental regret over a deadly wound it receives, and with lustrous, soft-

expressed eyes view with pensive melancholy decisive action aimed for its destruction.

If we are to keep our Nation powerful for good in the affairs of men and continue to work out the altruistic problems to which our country was dedicated, we must present to other nations an unweakened fiber, a courage both moral and physical, a mind free from trash and slush, flexed muscles and thews that have not been debilitated or degenerated by sensuality, security, and luxury.

Our governmental system is and was intended to be one which shall be nourished by the individual instead of one which shall nourish the individual. The individual should give strength and sustenance to the State, not receive strength and sustenance from the State. It is easy and pleasing to indulge in smug complacency and self-deception and thus evade the unwelcome thought of national defeat or degradation, but it is neither wise, judicious, nor statesmanlike to do so. It is wiser and safer to be on guard and preclude all possibility of danger than to hide our fears of danger in the secret recesses of our closets.

We are living in a day of wonders. Gigantic events are coming so rapidly that they tread upon each others' heels, and among the lessons being taught is the fact that men may be heroes, but unless they are drilled their heroism will end only in unavailing martyrdom. Our mountains are filled with copper and iron ore, but these can not instantly be converted into battle craft. Preparation and vigilance only can work the necessary changes. Men do not ascend to eminence, strength, and power by a single leap or by growth overnight. It is only by steady tread that a man moves up the rough and rugged path to success. Those who reach eminence and distinction are they who subject their lives to the fires of intellectual and physical endeavor. Success and efficiency, in war and in peace, come only after many years of anxious striving and long sustained effort. He who expects something for nothing has already begun to decay. There is nothing worth possessing that we get without effort. To compensate the world for what we use is the profound law of all life. Liberty, security, peace, health, and happiness must be paid for. We must face problems as they are presented, not as we should like to have them presented.

So it is with a nation. It holds its place and preserves its liberty only by never becoming careless and by never despising nor underrating nor running from an opponent. Ever since the days of the children of Noah men have sought to build them a tower which they might ascend in a day of trouble and thus escape the hardships and the clash and din of this world. But such can not be; under nature's harsh yet profound laws we must meet and overcome dangers and perform duties; we can not build a tower lofty enough to take us above and beyond the trials and duties of this life.

In the annals of every nation it has frequently been necessary to protect innocence and peace by vigorous action. Persons who think with any degree of accuracy are bound to know that this is not a world of automatic righteousness and self-acting justice. Innocence alone is not sufficient to protect the innocent.

No man making a pretense toward statesmanship would for a moment assert that it would be moral or righteous for us inertly and supinely to sit by and twiddle melting notes on a harp of peace, the while our progress, spiritual and material, our liberties—the most cherished deposits confided to human hands—the blessing of our industry, the fruits of our toil and self-denial, were being subverted or annihilated. It is honorable and righteous to oppose with force those who forcibly attempt to subvert and destroy any of the attributes which adorn and elevate humanity.

A government designed to make life pleasant for its people is frequently obliged to take some immediate measures to insure the survival of its people. Sometimes in a nation's history it is required to be fearless as well as careful.

Surely no one could quarrel with those luminous souls who advocate peace at any price. I respect them, but I am not of them. In their hearts repose sentiments of love for all mankind. They believe that Mars is dead instead of red. They think they perceive this earth to be a beautiful temple within which are walled peace, contentment, and plenty; a temple domed with rosy hues; a temple within which turmoil, strife, and struggle are blackballed, and from which all crime, vice, cupidity, hate, envy, rage, and revenge are banished till time itself shall be no more. They see, however, a vision of heaven, not of earth. Evil things constantly assail man on this mundane sphere. Envy, deceit, fraud, force, foaming revenge, livid fires of malice and hate, bigotry, cupidity, greed, lust for world

power, and kindred evil passions inveterately attack the human heart and must be combated, not surrendered to. The liberties of our citizens—yea, our very security in the future—will be preserved by public servants who have their eyes to the sea, not by those who have their ears to the ground.

If our country is to retain, as I believe she will, her historic position as the leader and noble pioneer in the vanguard of progress and human liberty; if she is to remain the beautiful exemplar, we must keep her, in senate, in court, in camp, in field, and in home, true to the principles upon which she was founded.

What shall it profit a nation if, by keeping an unpunctured skin, it rots its heart? What shall it profit a nation to keep a full pocket and lose its soul? America must not only rear temples, build cities, conquer deserts, enchain the bolts of Olympian Jove, hew down mountains, and harness waters that pour destructive floods, she must also heal sore wounds, crush bigotry and race hatred, struggle for liberty, endow the youth of the land with standards of courageous patriotism, and constantly pour forth her long-enduring strength for the vindication of American rights and the preservation of human justice on these shores.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I know that the joint resolution has been sufficiently debated, and I suppose the debate upon it is probably drawing to a close, but I am not satisfied to give it my vote alone; I want to give it my voice and support as well as my vote. I want to take a few minutes to say that I am very heartily in favor of the joint resolution.

I believe the President is right in his attitude in this most momentous matter. I believe he has ample justification and extreme provocation for it. I believe he can not honorably take any other position, and I intend to stand by him and support him in his stand for the honor and integrity of our dearly beloved country. I believe the President has been, in matters pertaining to our foreign relations, a man of wonderfully long-suffering and marvelous patience. He has patiently and calmly submitted to many things which were amply sufficient in themselves to call for a declaration of war against Germany; submitted, pleading, arguing, hoping Germany would take warning and abandon uncivilized, illegal warfare and trespass on our rights.

In fact, the only fault I have to find with the President, if any, is that he has been perhaps too patient in these matters; but I suppose that in matters of such tremendous gravity it is well to be deliberately long-suffering and patient rather than to take any chance of being too hasty. His patience has been the wonder of those who know only a small part of what he knows of his provocations, vexations, and anxieties; who know only a small part of the indignities heaped on our beloved America by a desperate and war-mad nation. He has been reviled, criticized, and called in contempt a pacifist by those who wanted less delay. Yet he waited and waited, matters all the while growing worse, until there was nothing to do but resort to war, as did Washington and Lincoln before him, or submit to dishonor. Woodrow Wilson is a man of peace, but he realizes that sometimes peace is worse than war.

I am a believer in peace. I am, I always have been, and always will be a lover of peace and an advocate of peace so long as it is consistent with our national honor and the preservation of our national rights, but no longer. The President in his address to Congress has said that we can maintain peace no longer consistently with our honor and the preservation of our rights, and I think he has abundant authority for saying so. I heartily concur with him, and when that point comes, and it having been reached, only one of two courses can be followed—that is, to submit to a deprivation of our rights or to use force to protect and defend them, as did our forefathers. I can see no alternative; I can see no middle ground; I can see nothing that we could do now except to submit or go to war. I believe we have to take our choice between those two courses; and as for submission, it is intolerable. Perish the thought! I do not believe that there is any American citizen who realizes the situation, who realizes that it is submission or fight, who would be in favor of submission, which would mean taking orders from a foreign Government.

Germany has ordered this Government to keep its ships, its commerce, and its citizens off the high seas, at least off of a certain prescribed portion of the high seas, the highway which belongs to all nations and to all the peoples of the earth. The question is, Shall we take orders from a foreign Government? Are we so debased, so degenerate as to think of that? Does any American favor that? Are we ready to do that? Is our Nation going to put itself in that humiliating and dastardly attitude before the world? No, no! a hundred times.

I have been highly pleased that heretofore, and for so long, the President of this country has rendered such great service in keeping this country out of war, and I have been ever ready to give him a high degree of praise for doing so. I believe that in the past he has rendered the people of this country inestimable service in keeping us out of war as long as he could, and I am glad that he did so. I was with him in it, but I believe that he has gotten to the point and that we have gotten to the point where that may no longer be done consistently with the preservation of our honor and of our rights on the seas.

I will not undertake to enumerate the long series of gross outrages to which Germany in her desperation has subjected the people of this country and our Nation as a nation. They are well known to all of you; they have been detailed in the President's message; they have been repeated on the floor of this Chamber to-day. They have been numerous; and I say that the fact that they are committed on the high seas, where we have the right to be, makes them no less offensive than if committed on the land. I do not believe that Germany has any more right to violate our national rights on the high seas than on the land. I believe that one is no less an offense and no less serious than the other. The fact that we are assaulted and murdered on the seas makes it no less wrong than if on land. I do not believe that Germany has any more right to sink with her submarines our unarmed or our armed merchant vessels on the high seas, those vessels being engaged in legitimate commerce, than she would have to send a war fleet to the shores of this country and bombard and demolish the city of New York.

If we are not equally quick to assert and defend our national rights on land and on sea, then we deserve and we shall receive the merited contempt of all the civilized nations of the world. If the United States is to maintain its position as one of the great powers of this world—one not only great in material matters, in material power, but in principle, in integrity, in honor, in pride, in all that goes to make a nation great in the hearts of its citizens and in the esteem of the world—the time has come for us to stand up for our rights, to protect the lives of our citizens, to protect their property, and protect their rights on the seas as well as on the land. The hour is here. No one denies that German submarines have unlawfully murdered our citizens, sunk our ships, destroyed our property. It is admitted by all international lawyers, students, experts, statesmen that these things are unlawful. What will we do about it? Will it be to submit further or fight? Which?

Shall we sit still longer and see our rights ravished? Shall we not strike back to protect our cherished rights? Germany says she will continue to do these things. She is doing them. Are we helpless? The time has come to say. If we do not in our national capacity accept the challenge which Germany has defiantly thrown down to us, then, indeed, in my opinion, the men who fought at Bunker Hill, the men who suffered with Washington at Valley Forge, the brave men who crossed the Delaware with Washington, the men who prevailed over Cornwallis at Yorktown, suffered and fought in vain; for, if that should be the case, they established a Nation which is too cowardly and too degenerate to protect the rights of its citizens which it wrested from control across the seas after eight years of long and deadly war. If we are not now ready to accept the challenge of Germany to stay off the seas; if we are to be driven like curs off the seas, driven like craven cowards to safe retreats; if we are to lock ourselves up in our homes and show that we are afraid to go where we have a God-given right to go, then, indeed, the valiant Union soldiers who shed their blood on the battle fields of Gettysburg, Chancellorsville, Antietam, the Wilderness, Seven Pines, Manassas, Chickamauga, and a hundred other hard-fought battle fields during the Civil War, shed their blood in vain, because they preserved a Nation which will not protect the rights and the lives of its citizens, of their sons and daughters whom they fought to protect in their precious rights. If so, they made a mistaken fight and they died in that event believing that they were preserving a Union which would maintain the liberty and the rights of democracy for all time to come, so soon to be supinely surrendered at the command of a foreign nation. Can your blood stand the thought?

If we are not going to accept the challenge of Germany, who defies us to sustain our rights, then the torn and tattered, war-worn and battle-stained veterans of the gray, 8,000 of them, starved and bedraggled, who surrendered with Lee at Appomattox, indeed, surrendered in vain, because they surrendered to a Government which, after their surrender, will not protect them in the rights which were guaranteed to them when they surrendered, and when they were told they were cementing by their surrender the greatest Republic that had ever existed or ever would exist on the face of the earth.

We have more than our rights at stake in this war—far more. The democracy, the civilization, the Christianization of the world are at stake; and I believe that America should be proud of the opportunity to engage in a world-wide fight of democracy against autocracy as a token of appreciation of the valued rights which she wrested in 1776 from monarchical rule and which she has enjoyed ever since.

This country has been specially favored by Providence; it has been made a beacon light, a guiding star to those who look forward to the time when the rule of the people shall be world-wide. It has had the privilege of setting the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World in New York Harbor, bespeaking to all the world democracy, liberty, enlightenment in self-rule. If we do not respond to this challenge to the democracy, not only of our own country but to the democracy of all the world; if we are not ready to defend our own liberty, then we would better take down the Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, which we have erected in New York Harbor, for it would be a snare and delusion.

Now, since Russia has taken her stand with the nations of the earth that believe in self-rule and stand for self-government, this terrible war is purely a battle between democracy and autocracy, and there should be no question of the attitude of this Government, or where, when challenged to enter, it should align itself. It is the democracy of the world against German Prussianism, Austrian absolutism, and the unspeakable Turk, who is a stench in the nostrils of the Christian nations of the world and ought long ago to have been driven not only out of Europe but out of the Holy Land, which he has despoiled.

To my mind, this Government has an opportunity to do great service to the world in behalf of all for which it has stood for now nearly 150 years. It has a chance to secure to the rest of the struggling, panting world some of the rights which we have been enjoying for so long to the exclusion of many other nations, and when it takes a hand in doing so we will not only be protecting our own rights but at the same time upholding the democracy of the world in waging a fight on the greatest remaining bulwark of special privilege in the world, the Prussian dynasty of Germany. We talk much of the bulwarks of special privilege. The greatest bulwark of special privilege in the world to-day is the Prussian dynasty of Germany. It is defiant, confident. It challenges us, assaults us, undertakes to drive us from the great highway of nations. Shall we respond or submit? There can be only one answer. Americans never submit to tyranny. That day passed forever in 1776. The spirit of 1776 is here. It has only been dormant. It is aroused and will be heard in tones that will reverberate around the world.

Mr. COLT. Mr. President. I agree with the remark of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON] that the time for discussion has passed and the time for action has come. I also think that the most eloquent and effective speech which can be made at this time is to cast a vote in the affirmative for the resolution before the Senate in favor of war and in support of the President of the United States. At the same time I feel that I ought, at least, to say a simple word or two.

To my mind, there are three courses open in this crisis—submission, armed neutrality, or war. Submission can not be thought of for a moment when we reflect upon the honor and dignity of the United States. Armed neutrality has been tried and has proved a failure. Armed neutrality, or defensive warfare, is not adapted to the submarine. We can not have a condition of armed neutrality and defend ourselves against this monster of the sea which lies in ambush. There is, therefore, no alternative left but war.

I am not going to discuss whether we are in a state of war or not. The facts have been reviewed and are familiar to all. I regard that we are as much in a state of war as if Germany had sent a battleship and bombarded New York City and killed innocent men, women, and children—innocent noncombatants—for a merchant ship bearing the United States flag and sailing peacefully upon the ocean is a portion of the territory of the United States, and when, under the authority of a foreign Government, that ship is sunk without warning and the lives on board are sacrificed, that is an act of war.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MYERS] has said that the battle to be fought is between autocracy and democracy. I would change that phraseology. To my mind, the battle to be fought is between democracy and Prussian militarism. It is the domination of the military power of Prussia which is a menace to the world, to civilization, and to democracy. Germany is Prussianized. The Prussian military system is a system of blood and iron. It substitutes force for law, and the battle to-day is simply—the issue is sharply defined in my own mind—the battle to-day is simply for the overthrow of Prussian militarism, and

nothing else. It is Prussian militarism which threatens to destroy liberty, civilization, Christianity, and all that we hold dear as an enlightened people.

Prussian militarism is the system of the Middle Ages. The U-boat controversy is a mere incident in it. It is a system of cruelty, of outrage, of the nonrecognition of international law and of all human rights. It is a system of the use of force at any cost; a system which says that self-preservation justifies the employment of any means, however cruel and savage. It is a system which has now arrayed the civilized world against Germany.

If we are going to war upon that issue we know what our task is. That task is the destruction of the military system of Prussia which has poisoned Germany, has extended its poison to Austria-Hungary, and will poison the civilization of the world if it is allowed to conquer.

I feel, Mr. President, that that is the issue—a momentous one—and I feel in my heart where our people, our Republic, should stand in the presence of that world-wide, momentous issue. We want to stand where the President of the United States has placed us in his message. War means the overpowering of the enemy—the utter defeat of the enemy. We want to avail ourselves of every means at hand; we want to join the allies; we want to join the neutrals if they will come with us; and, presenting a solid, united body of nations and countries devoted to civilization and liberty, let us join with all and fight the good fight until victory crowns our banners.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, Congressman HELGESEN, of North Dakota, having undergone a severe surgical operation, is lying in his bed of pain in a hospital in this city. He has requested me to read on the floor of the Senate a letter which he has received from one of his constituents. Through his secretary, he has advised me that the thousands of letters and telegrams that come to him on the question that is pending before this body to-day bear to him one message—of uniform protest against war.

The letter which I am requested to read this afternoon is from Mrs. H. A. Woods, who signed herself "A North Dakota Farm Woman":

FLASHER, N. DAK., March 29, 1917.

HON. HENRY T. HELGESEN,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The United States, according to the newspaper reports, is on the brink of entering the European war "for the sake of humanity," against which act I emphatically protest. Did the mother of the poorer, thrifty classes, who spent many wakeful nights during the infancy of her boy, who went faint and weak, who got along without necessities in the way of clothing, who patched and stinted, in order to feed and clothe her boy, go through those sacrifices to send her boy to a slaughterhouse to be butchered? And what has that boy done to be sacrificed, to be made to suffer until he goes insane, to lose his eyesight, to lose an arm or a leg or both? Where does the humanity and the justice come in?

I am not a German or a German sympathizer, but I sympathize with the mothers and the proposed victims who are to be sacrificed on the altar of greed to enable money-making concerns who have made piles and piles of money to make still more money.

Let the United States Government confiscate the German vessels now in the harbors of the United States and hold them as hostages for property destroyed by submarines. The maudlin sympathy with women who lose their lives on the high seas these days is ridiculous. Let the women stay at home, where they belong.

I protest against compulsory military service, except, should it ever be needed, for home defense.

I protest, in the name of humanity, against the taking away of husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers to be butchered, as proposed by the proallies' paid press, from the American women and children, leaving the latter to meet financial ruin, misery, and, in some cases, death from broken hearts.

The lower middle classes, a percentage of them in the large cities, live under economic conditions which enable them to raise but one or two children to a family. Is the sinking of a few merchant vessels worth even one life brought up at the expense of so many sacrifices?

By laying the above protests before the United States Congress, you would greatly oblige,

A NORTH DAKOTA FARM WOMAN.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Mr. President, I had supposed until recently that it was the duty of Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote and act according to their convictions on all public matters that came before them for consideration and decision.

I.

STANDING BACK OF THE PRESIDENT.

Quite another doctrine has recently been promulgated by certain newspapers, which unfortunately seems to have found considerable support elsewhere, and that is the doctrine of "standing back of the President," without inquiring whether the President is right or wrong. For myself I have never subscribed to that doctrine and never shall. I shall support the President in the measures he proposes when I believe them to be right. I shall oppose measures proposed by the President when I believe them to be wrong. The fact that the matter which the President submits for consideration is of the greatest im-

portance is only an additional reason why we should be sure that we are right and not to be swerved from that conviction or intimidated in its expression by any influence of power whatsoever. If it is important for us to speak and vote our convictions in matters of internal policy, though we may unfortunately be in disagreement with the President, it is infinitely more important for us to speak and vote our convictions when the question is one of peace or war, certain to involve the lives and fortunes of many of our people and, it may be, the destiny of all of them and of the civilized world as well. If, unhappily, on such momentous questions the most patient research and conscientious consideration we could give to them leave us in disagreement with the President, I know of no course to take except to oppose, regretfully but not the less firmly, the demands of the Executive.

II. ARMED NEUTRALITY.

On the 2d of this month the President addressed a communication to the Senate and House in which he advised that the Congress declare war against Germany and that this Government "assert all its powers and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

On February 26, 1917, the President addressed the Senate and the House upon the conditions existing between this Government and the German Empire, and at that time said, "I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it." * * * "I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them" against what he characterized as the unlawful attacks of German submarines.

A bill was introduced, and it was attempted to rush it through the closing hours of the last session of Congress, to give the President the powers requested, namely, to arm our merchant ships, and to place upon them guns and gunners from our Navy, to be used against German submarines, and to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as might in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such vessels. That measure did not pass.

It is common knowledge that the President, acting without authority from Congress, did arm our merchant ships with guns and gunners from our Navy, and sent them into the prohibited "war zone." At the time the President addressed us on the 2d of April there was absolutely no change in the conditions between this Government and Germany. The effect of arming merchant ships had not been tested as a defensive measure. Late press reports indicate, however, that the *Aztec*, a United States armed merchantman, has been sunk in the prohibited zone, whether with mines or a torpedo, I believe, has not been established, so the responsibility for this sinking can not, so far as I know at this time, be placed.

When the request was made by the President on February 26 for authority to arm merchant ships, the granting of such authority was opposed by certain Members of the House and by certain Senators, of which I was one. I made at that time a careful investigation of the subject, and became convinced that arming our merchant ships was wholly futile and its only purpose and effect would be to lure our merchantmen to danger, and probably result in the destruction of the vessels and in the loss of the lives of those on board. The representatives of the President on this floor then having that bill in charge saw fit, by methods I do not care to characterize, to prevent my speaking upon the measure and giving to the Senate and to the country such information as I had upon the subject.

Under the circumstances, I did the only thing that seemed practical to me, and that was to give such publicity as I was able through the press to the fact that the proposition to arm merchant ships would be wholly futile, and could only result in loss of the lives and property of our own people, without accomplishing the results intended. I regret to say that the President, according to statements in the public press purporting to emanate from him, and which have never been denied, saw fit to characterize as "willful" the conduct of the Senators who, in obedience to their consciences and their oaths of office, opposed the armed-ship bill, and to charge that in so doing they were not representing the people by whose suffrages they are here. I know of no graver charge that could be made against the official conduct of any Member of this body than that his official action was the result of a "willful"—that is, an unreasoned and perverse—purpose.

Mr. President, many of my colleagues on both sides of this floor have from day to day offered for publication in the RECORD messages and letters received from their constituents. I have received some 15,000 letters and telegrams. They have come from

44 States in the Union. They have been assorted according to whether they speak in criticism or commendation of my course in opposing war.

Assorting the 15,000 letters and telegrams by States in that way, 9 out of 10 are an unqualified indorsement of my course in opposing war with Germany on the issue presented. I offer only a few selected hastily just before I came upon the floor which especially relate to public sentiment on the question of war.

Mr. President, let me say that the city of Monroe, Wis., is the county seat of Green County, which borders on the State of Illinois. I am not able to state exactly the percentage of the nationalities of the people, but I know that the foundation stock of that little city was of New England origin. In the last 10 or 15 or 20 years a great many Swiss have come into the county.

But, Mr. President, it is a good town, typical of any town of like size in any State in the Union. They held an election there on the 2d day of April, and the following vote was polled upon the question of declaring war against Germany. The telegram reporting the vote is as follows:

Monroe election votes on referendum on war question. For peace, 954; for war, 95.

I am informed that in a Massachusetts referendum by postal card 20,000 postal cards were sent out, and the returns thus far show 66 per cent against war; 63 per cent against conscription. The following form was submitted in taking the vote in Massachusetts:

President Wilson said: "I would rather know what the people are thinking out there around their quiet firesides than to know what is going on in the cloakrooms of the Capitol."

What do you think of the two questions on the other side? Mark your cross. We will see that your Congressman hears. Do it now and mail immediately.

EMERGENCY PEACE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS,
120 Bolton Street, Room 533.

Telephone Beach 6899.

MARCH 27, 1917.

REFERENDUM FOR MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESSMEN.

	Yes.	No.
1. Do you believe that the interest of humanity would best be served by the United States keeping out of the European war?		
2. Do you oppose the adoption of conscription as dangerous to American democracy?		
Name _____		
Street _____		
Town or city _____		

I received this telegram April 2 from Flint, Mich.:

Vote taken this afternoon in third precinct, first ward; question, Shall we enter war on European soil? Results—for war 26, against war 130.
L. E. LARSON.

I do not know Mr. Larson. I know little or nothing about Flint, Mich. I do not know whether it has a German population or a mixed population. The senior Senator from that State [Mr. SMITH] says that it is a mixed population.

I have this from Sheboygan, Wis. Sheboygan is a rather strong German county in the State of Wisconsin. I expected to have had here noted on the telegram the exact percentage of the German vote. I glanced at it myself in my office, but I did not have at hand the last census. The Wisconsin Bluebook, which gives the figures for 1905, shows there were then over 50,000 population and 10,000 of German birth. This telegram is dated April 3. I might say that our spring election is held in Wisconsin on the 2d day of April, when all the municipal officers in the townships and in the villages and cities are elected. It brings out a fairly representative vote:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., April 3, 1917.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

By referendum vote taken the last two days of the qualified electors of the city of Sheboygan on the question, Shall our country enter into the European war? 4,082 voted no and 17 voted yes. Certified to as correct.

F. VOLRATH,
O. A. BASSUENER,
ADAM TRESTER,

Canvassers.

I received also the following. A vote was taken not only in the city of Sheboygan, but in the county of Sheboygan, representing the country or farmer vote:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., April 4, 1917.

HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: Since sending the last telegram, in the referendum vote taken by the qualified electors of Sheboygan County outside the city of Sheboygan 2,051 voted against our country entering into the European war. No votes were cast in favor of war. Certified to as correct by the canvassers.

OTTO A. BASSUENER,
F. VOLRATH,
ADAM TRESTER.

The next telegram is not a report upon any election. I presume very few of them were held. It is a telegram from Melrose, Mass., sent to me by Mr. Henry W. Pinkham. I do not know him. I read it as handed to me by one of my secretaries:

MELROSE, MASS., April 3, 1917.
Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

The President's message explicitly and completely vindicates you in opposing armed neutrality. Stand firm against war and the future will honor you. Collective homicide can not establish human rights. For our country to enter the European war would be treason to humanity.

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

And the following:

WALLACE, IDAHO, April 3, 1917.
Senator LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Mailed you to-day 400 signatures of indorsement from this district to you and colleagues on your stand of March 4.

L. SCHULLER.

RACINE, WIS., April 4, 1917.
Senator ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Four thousand people assembled at the Auditorium last night; lots American sentiment; no enthusiasm for war; recruits were asked for; only seven men offered themselves for enlistment. This shows there is no war sentiment in Racine. Resolutions were spoken of, but no attempt was made to pass them. Audience was not for war. I approve your stand.

ARTHUR EHRLICK.

SEATTLE, WASH., April 4, 1917.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Good work. People with you. Straw referendum signed to-day at public market, city streets, shows 31 for war declaration, 374 against. Press brazenly reporting war demand of meetings where vote is against war. If presidential election were to-morrow, you would have best chance.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG,
Member Seattle School Board.

BERKELEY, CAL., April 4, 1917.
Senator R. M. LA FOLLETTE,
Washington, D. C.:

Having sounded the opinions of juniors and seniors taking electrical engineering at the University of California to-day, I have foundation on which to base my statement that practically none of us enthuse at all over war. We believe the country can do most good by avoiding it. We put trust in you.

GLENN K. MORRISON.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. In addition to the foregoing telegrams, I submit the following, which has just been placed in my hands:

A wire from Chicago received this afternoon from Grace Abbott, of Hull House, says that in city council election held yesterday John Kennedy received the largest plurality of any of the city councilmen elected. His plurality was 6,157 votes in his ward. On account of his stand against war, every newspaper in Chicago opposed him bitterly throughout the campaign.

Mr. Kennedy made his campaign on the war issue, and in every speech he took occasion to declare himself as against war.

There was received in Washington to-day a petition against war with over 6,120 bona fide signers, which were secured in the city of Minneapolis in one day, and a wire late this afternoon states that 11,000 more names have been secured to that petition.

In New Ulm, Minn., at an election, according to a telegram received this afternoon, 485 votes were cast against war to 19 for war.

A telegram received from Philadelphia this afternoon expresses tersely the sentiment of the people. It reads:

President Wilson said German people were not consulted about entering the war. Were we?

(Signed) COMMON PEOPLE.

And Congressman LUNDEEN, representing the Minneapolis district, informs me that in response to letters addressed by poll lists to every voter in his district has up to this hour brought in returns from nearly 8,000 voters against declaring war on Germany to less than 800 who favor such a declaration.

Do not these messages indicate on the part of the people a deep-seated conviction that the United States should not enter the European war? The armed-ship bill meant war. Senators who opposed its being forced through Congress in the closing hours of the session were rebuked by the President. It is highly important, therefore, to note at this time that the President in his address on the 2d of this month takes the same view of arming merchant ships that was entertained by at least some of the Senators, including myself, when the armed-ship bill was before us for consideration. In his address of April 2 the President said:

It is impossible to defend ships against their (submarine) attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase on the open sea.

He says in the same address:

It [arming merchant ships] is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

I take satisfaction in noting that this is exactly what I stated in an editorial in my magazine, which was published a short time after the armed-ship bill discussion.

I will read just a paragraph or two from that editorial:

The armed ship bill was not only unconstitutional, it was, in my judgment, foolish and inadequate. It pleased the supporters of this bill to assume that it was only necessary to place guns on merchant ships in order to defend them successfully against submarine attack. There was no evidence before Congress that would warrant the conclusion that arming these ships would afford protection.

1. The available evidence points to the futility of such armament. The *Laconia* was armed, but she was torpedoed twice and sunk without a chance to fire a shot. Merchant ships of the allies are armed. Their great loss of tonnage is conclusive evidence that guns planted on merchant ships are ineffectual in warding off submarine attack. It is criminal to lure from our harbors our merchant ships with passengers, crew, and freight to embark on a voyage fraught with such imminent peril in the belief that they may resist attack.

I venture to read two or three more paragraphs:

2. The first question we should ask ourselves, before we enter on this war with our armed merchantmen or our Navy for the express purpose of maintaining our right to the seas, is: What will happen to our ships? If it is so easy to clear the trans-Atlantic lanes of submarines, why is not the British Admiralty keeping them open and free for our commerce—since our carrying trade across the Atlantic now consists of supplies for the allies—food and ammunition? From all we can learn it appears that the British Navy is not attempting this perilous task, but is keeping inside carefully guarded harbors.

What assurance have we that we can clear the German war zone with armed merchantmen or with battleships as convoys or with any of the so-called "submarine chasers"?

Manifestly it is an undertaking which the British Admiralty declines for good and sufficient reason.

The American public is being woefully deceived. We are derided for hiding behind the British Navy. Moving pictures portray our fleet firing on submarines that instantly go to the bottom. The daily papers are filled with stuff that would lead us to believe that we need only declare war, order out our fleet to scour the seas, and the war is ended and won.

It is admitted that the submarine discharges its torpedo with deadly accuracy at a range of 2 to 4 miles.

It is admitted that the submarine, with its hull submerged several feet below the surface and exposing nothing but its periscope, can discharge its torpedo with equal chance to achieve its purpose.

The periscope furnishes a target no larger than a sailor's cap for merchant and naval gunners to fire at.

I have the best authority for the statement that the chances of hitting a target of that size at the distance of 2 miles, or of damaging a submarine so submerged, would in a hundred shots be practically zero.

WAR-MAD PRESS BREEDS INTOLERANCE.

It is unfortunately true that a portion of the irresponsible and war-crazed press, feeling secure in the authority of the President's condemnation of the Senators who opposed the armed-ship bill, have published the most infamous and scurrilous libels on the honor of the Senators who opposed that bill. It was particularly unfortunate that such malicious falsehoods should fill the public press of the country at a time when every consideration for our country required that a spirit of fairness should be observed in the discussions of the momentous questions under consideration.

A member of the British Parliament is visiting in this country. He has had some opportunity to observe this new spirit of intolerance that has been bred in the press and through the press in the United States within the last few months that challenges the right of any man to utter his independent judgment on a question vital, sir, to the people of this Nation; vital to the interests of this Government. It has led him to institute some comparisons between the conditions that prevail in Great Britain, a part of that war-torn territory of Europe, and the conditions that prevail here, where we still have peace. I have this comment of his upon it. I am not permitted to use his name, though he may be within the sound of my voice.

He said:

In England we feel that the theory of democracy requires the fullest and frankest discussion of every measure. We feel that the minority has a right to a respectful hearing. This is the only way you can carry on a democracy, and keep it a democracy.

Another strange thing I find is that in America you seem to expect that when the minority is beaten it will at once capitulate, declare it has been in the wrong, and join the majority. This is not democracy either. In England during the Boer War and this war, but especially in the Boer War, there was an organized minority in Parliament—there always has been in time of war. In the Boer War this minority was led by no less a person than David Lloyd-George.

If you make it an American policy that when the majority has once spoken, the right and duty of the minority to express itself and fight for what it believes in ends, you have lost your democracy. There is no safety or wisdom in trying to suppress thought or to force men to silence.

CONSTITUTION GIVES RIGHTS TO MINORITY.

Mr. President, let me make another suggestion. It is this: That a minority in one Congress—mayhap a small minority in one Congress—protesting, exercising the rights which the Constitution confers upon a minority, may really be representing the majority opinion of the country, and if, exercising the right

that the Constitution gives them, they succeed in defeating for the time being the will of the majority, they are but carrying out what was in the mind of the framers of the Constitution; that you may have from time to time in a legislative body a majority in numbers that really does not represent the principle of democracy; and that if the question could be deferred and carried to the people it would be found that a minority was the real representative of the public opinion. So, Mr. President, it was that they wrote into the Constitution that a President—that one man—may put his judgment against the will of a majority not only in one branch of the Congress but in both branches of the Congress; that he may defeat the measure that they have agreed upon and may set his one single judgment above the majority judgment of the Congress. That seems, when you look at it nakedly, to be in violation of the principle that the majority shall rule; and so it is. Why is that power given? It is one of those checks provided by the wisdom of the fathers to prevent the majority from abusing the power that they chance to have, when they do not reflect the real judgment, the opinion, the will of the majority of the people that constitute the sovereign power of the democracy.

We have had three immigration bills passed by Congress much in the same form, varying in some particulars, which have been vetoed by President Taft and twice vetoed by President Wilson. At recurring elections the people send back the Members who have passed that bill by an overwhelming majority; and still the President, exercising that power—that one-man power—vetoes the legislation ratified by the people at the polls through the election of Members of Congress—through the election and reelection of Members of Congress with that legislation one of the paramount issues. Mr. President, that might have been characterized as the exercise of a willful disposition, but it was not.

So, too, Mr. President, we find that the framers of that great instrument wrote into it that one-fifth of the Members of either one of the two bodies of Congress might hold in check the autocratic use of power by the majority on any question whatsoever. They armed a minority of one-fifth of the body with the power to filibuster; the power to demand a roll call—not a roll call, as some of the State constitutions provide, only upon matters which carry appropriations, but a roll call on every single question upon which it pleases one-fifth of the body to demand a roll call.

SUPREME POWER IS IN THE PEOPLE.

What was the purpose of it? Not to make a record, for parliamentary legislative history shows that they had that right prior to that time, and always had it and could exercise it. No, no; it was the foresight of the makers of the Constitution of this great Government of ours desiring to perpetuate not the semblance of democracy but real democracy, and they said, "There may be times when a majority, swept either by passion or misinformation, may do a wrongful thing to this Republic, and we will arm the minority in such emergencies against the undue exercise of majority power by placing in the hands of one-fifth the right to demand a roll call on every question." Exercised in the late hours of the session of a Congress it would easily be possible for them to demand roll calls in such a way as to make an extra session necessary. But, oh, Mr. President, we have always and ever in this Republic of ours back of Congresses and statutes and back of Presidents the supreme power, the sovereign power of the people, and they can correct our errors and mistakes and our wrongdoing. They can take us out of our places, and if we abuse any power which the Constitution puts in the hands of a minority, it lies with them to call us to account; and the more important, the more profoundly and intensely important the question upon which such a power is abused by a minority, the more swift and sweeping will be the punishment by the people for the wrongful exercise of it.

We need not disturb ourselves because of what a minority may do. There is always lodged, and always will be, thank the God above us, power in the people supreme. Sometimes it sleeps, sometimes it seems the sleep of death; but, sir, the sovereign power of the people never dies. It may be suppressed for a time, it may be misled, be fooled, silenced. I think, Mr. President, that it is being denied expression now. I think there will come a day when it will have expression.

The poor, sir, who are the ones called upon to rot in the trenches, have no organized power, have no press to voice their will upon this question of peace or war; but, oh, Mr. President, at some time they will be heard. I hope and I believe they will be heard in an orderly and a peaceful way. I think they may be heard from before long. I think, sir, if we take this step, when the people to-day who are staggering under the burden of supporting families at the present prices of the necessities of life

find those prices multiplied, when they are raised a hundred per cent, or 200 per cent, as they will be quickly, aye, sir, when beyond that those who pay taxes come to have their taxes doubled and again doubled to pay the interest on the nontaxable bonds held by Morgan and his combinations, which have been issued to meet this war, there will come an awakening; they will have their day and they will be heard. It will be as certain and as inevitable as the return of the tides, and as irresistible, too.

I promise my colleagues that I will not be tempted again to turn aside from the thread of my discussion as I have outlined it here, and I will hasten with all possible speed.

MAY NOT THE PRESIDENT BE WRONG AGAIN?

Now that the President has in his message to us of April 2 admitted the very charge against the armed-ship bill which we made I trust that he is fully convinced that the conduct of the Senators on the occasion in question was not unreasoned and obstinate, but that it was inspired by quite as high purposes and motives as can inspire the action of any public official.

I would not, however, have made this personal reference did not the question it suggests go to the very heart of the matter now under consideration. If the President was wrong when he proposed arming the ships; if that policy was, as he now says, "certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents," is it so certain he is right now when he demands an unqualified declaration of war against Germany? If those Members of Congress who were supporting the President then were wrong, as it appears from the President's statement now they were, should not that fact prompt them to inquire carefully whether they are right in supporting the proposed declaration of war? If the armed-ship bill involved a course of action that was hasty and ill advised, may it not well be that this proposed declaration of war, which is being so hotly pressed, is also ill advised? With that thought in mind let us, with the earnestness and the singleness of purpose which the momentous nature of the question involves, be calm enough and brave enough to examine further the President's address of April 2.

III.

"PROMISE" OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT.

In his address of April 2 the President says:

Since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commands of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk, and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats.

Beside that statement I wish to place exactly what the German Government did say:

The German Government, moreover, is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes, now as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But neutrals can not expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it is violated.

Accordingly the German Government is confident that, in consequence of the new orders issued to its naval forces, the Government of the United States will now also consider all impediments removed which may have been in the way of a mutual cooperation toward the restoration of the freedom of the seas during the war, as suggested in the note of July 23, 1915, and it does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915. Should the steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation, in which it must reserve itself complete liberty of decision. (May 4, 1916.)

It must be perfectly apparent therefore that the promise, so called, of the German Government was conditioned upon England's being brought to obedience of international law in her naval warfare. Since no one contends that England was brought to conduct her naval operations in accordance with international law, and even the poor protests our Government has lodged against her show that she has not done so, was it quite fair to lay before the country a statement which implies that

Germany had made an unconditional promise which she has dishonorably violated?

This is a time of all times when the public mind should be calm, not inflamed; when accuracy of statement is vitally essential to presenting the issues to the Congress and to the people of the country.

IV.

GERMANY'S HUMANE PRACTICES.

In his message of April 2 the President says:

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things [referring to German submarine methods of warfare] would in fact be done by any Government that had heretofore subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the sea, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up with meager enough results indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view at least of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

The recognition by the President that Germany had always heretofore subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations is a most important statement. Does it not suggest a question as to why it is that Germany has departed from those practices in the present war? What the President had so admirably stated about international law and the painful stage by which it has been builded up is absolutely true. But in this connection would it not be well to say also that it was England, not Germany, who refused to obey the declaration of London, which represented the most humane ideas and was the best statement of the rules of international law as applied to naval warfare? Keep that in mind. Would it not have been fair to say, and to keep in mind, that Germany offered to abide by those principles and England refused; that in response to our request Germany offered to cease absolutely from the use of submarines in what we characterized an unlawful manner if England would cease from equally palpable and cruel violations of international law in her conduct of naval warfare?

V.

GERMANY'S WARFARE IS AGAINST MANKIND.

The President in his message of April 2 says:

The present German warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations.

Again referring to Germany's warfare he says:

There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind.

Is it not a little peculiar that if Germany's warfare is against all nations the United States is the only nation that regards it necessary to declare war on that account? If it is true, as the President says, that "there has been no discrimination," that Germany has treated every neutral as she has treated us, is it not peculiar that no other of the great nations of the earth seem to regard Germany's conduct in this war as a cause for entering into it? Are we the only nation jealous of our rights? Are we the only nation insisting upon the protection of our citizens? Does not the strict neutrality maintained on the part of all the other nations of the earth suggest that possibly there is a reason for their action, and that that reason is that Germany's conduct under the circumstances does not merit from any nation which is determined to preserve its neutrality a declaration of war?

Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, and all the great Republics of South America are quite as interested in this subject as we are, and yet they have refused to join with us in a combination against Germany. I venture to suggest also that the nations named, and probably others, have a somewhat better right to be heard than we, for by refusing to sell war material and munitions to any of the belligerents they have placed themselves in a position where the suspicion which attaches to us of a desire for war profits can not attach to them.

On August 4, 1914, the Republic of Brazil declared the exportation of war matériel from Brazilian ports to any of these powers at war to be strictly forbidden, whether such exports be under the Brazilian flag or that of any other country.

In that connection I note the following dispatch from Buenos Aires, appearing in the Washington papers of yesterday:

President Wilson's war address was received here with interest, but no particular enthusiasm. . . . Government officials and politicians have adopted a cold shoulder toward the United States policy—an attitude apparently based on apprehension lest South American interests suffer.

The newspaper *Razon's* view was illustrative of this. "Does not the United States consider this an opportune time to consolidate the imperialistic policy everywhere north of Panama?" it said.

This is the question that neutral nations the world over are asking. Are we seizing upon this war to consolidate and extend an imperialistic policy? We complain also because Mexico has turned the cold shoulder to us, and are wont to look for sinister

reasons for her attitude. Is it any wonder that she should also turn the cold shoulder when she sees us unite with Great Britain, an empire founded upon her conquests and subjugation of weaker nations. There is no doubt that the sympathy of Norway, Sweden, and other countries close to the scene of war is already with Germany. It is apparent that they view with alarm the entrance into the European struggle of the stranger from across the sea. It is suggested by some that our entrance into the war will shorten it. It is my firm belief, based upon such information as I have, that our entrance into the war will not only prolong it, but that it will vastly extend its area by drawing in other nations.

VI.

NO QUARREL WITH THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

In his message of April 2, the President said:

We have no quarrel with the German people—it was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war; it was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

Again he says:

We are, let me say again, sincere friends of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us.

At least, the German people, then, are not outlaws. What is the thing the President asks us to do to these German people of whom he speaks so highly and whose sincere friend he declares us to be?

Here is what he declares we shall do in this war. We shall undertake, he says—

The utmost practicable cooperation in council and action with the Governments now at war with Germany, and as an incident to that, the extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may, so far as possible, be added to theirs.

"Practicable cooperation!" Practicable cooperation with England and her allies in starving to death the old men and women, the children, the sick and the maimed of Germany. The thing we are asked to do is the thing I have stated. It is idle to talk of a war upon a government only. We are leagued in this war, or it is the President's proposition that we shall be so leagued, with the hereditary enemies of Germany. Any war with Germany, or any other country for that matter, would be bad enough, but there are not words strong enough to voice my protest against the proposed combination with the entente allies. When we cooperate with those Governments we indorse their methods, we indorse the violations of international law by Great Britain, we indorse the shameful methods of warfare against which we have again and again protested in this war; we indorse her purpose to wreak upon the German people the animosities which for years her people have been taught to cherish against Germany; finally when the end comes, whatever it may be, we find ourselves in cooperation with our ally, Great Britain, and if we can not resist now the pressure she is exerting to carry us into the war, how can we hope to resist, then, the thousandfold greater pressure she will exert to bend us to her purposes and compel compliance with her demands?

We do not know what they are. We do not know what is in the minds of those who have made the compact, but we are to subscribe to it. We are irrevocably, by our votes here, to marry ourselves to a nondivorcable proposition veiled from us now. Once enlisted, once in the copartnership, we will be carried through with the purposes, whatever they may be, of which we now know nothing.

Sir, if we are to enter upon this war in the manner the President demands, let us throw pretense to the winds, let us be honest, let us admit that this is a ruthless war against not only Germany's army and her navy but against her civilian population as well, and frankly state that the purpose of Germany's hereditary European enemies has become our purpose.

VII.

MUST SPEND OUR WHOLE FORCE TO WIN.

Again, the President says "we are about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe of liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power." That much, at least, is clear; that program is definite. The whole force and power of this Nation, if necessary, is to be used to bring victory to the entente allies, and to us as their ally in this war. Remember, that not yet has the "whole force" of one of the warring nations been used. Countless millions are suffering from want and privation; countless other millions are dead and rotting on foreign battle fields; countless other millions are crippled and maimed, blinded, and dismembered; upon all and upon their children's children for generations to come has been laid a burden of debt which must be worked out in poverty and suffering, but the "whole force" of no one of the warring nations has yet been expended; but our "whole force" shall be expended, so says the

President. We are pledged by the President, so far as he can pledge us, to make this fair, free, and happy land of ours the same shambles and bottomless pit of horror that we see in Europe to-day.

VIII.

THIS IS A WAR OF DEMOCRACY.

Just a word of comment more upon one of the points in the President's address. He says that this is a war "for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government." In many places throughout the address is this exalted sentiment given expression.

It is a sentiment peculiarly calculated to appeal to American hearts and, when accompanied by acts consistent with it, is certain to receive our support; but in this same connection, and strangely enough, the President says that we have become convinced that the German Government as it now exists—"Prussian autocracy" he calls it—can never again maintain friendly relations with us. His expression is that "Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend," and repeatedly throughout the address the suggestion is made that if the German people would overturn their Government it would probably be the way to peace. So true is this that the dispatches from London all hailed the message of the President as sounding the death knell of Germany's Government.

But the President proposes alliance with Great Britain, which, however liberty-loving its people, is a hereditary monarchy, with a hereditary ruler, with a hereditary House of Lords, with a hereditary landed system, with a limited and restricted suffrage for one class and a multiplied suffrage power for another, and with grinding industrial conditions for all the wageworkers. The President has not suggested that we make our support of Great Britain conditional to her granting home rule to Ireland, or Egypt, or India. We rejoice in the establishment of a democracy in Russia, but it will hardly be contended that if Russia was still an autocratic Government, we would not be asked to enter this alliance with her just the same. Italy and the lesser powers of Europe, Japan in the Orient; in fact, all of the countries with whom we are to enter into alliance, except France and newly revolutionized Russia, are still of the old order—and it will be generally conceded that no one of them has done as much for its people in the solution of municipal problems and in securing social and industrial reforms as Germany.

Is it not a remarkable democracy which leagues itself with allies already far overmatching in strength the German nation and holds out to such beleaguered nation the hope of peace only at the price of giving up their Government? I am not talking now of the merits or demerits of any government, but I am speaking of a profession of democracy that is linked in action with the most brutal and domineering use of autocratic power. Are the people of this country being so well represented in this war movement that we need to go abroad to give other people control of their governments? Will the President and the supporters of this war bill submit it to a vote of the people before the declaration of war goes into effect? Until we are willing to do that, it illy becomes us to offer as an excuse for our entry into the war the unsupported claim that this war was forced upon the German people by their Government "without their previous knowledge or approval."

Who has registered the knowledge or approval of the American people of the course this Congress is called upon to take in declaring war upon Germany? Submit the question to the people, you who support it. You who support it dare not do it, for you know that by a vote of more than ten to one the American people as a body would register their declaration against it.

In the sense that this war is being forced upon our people without their knowing why and without their approval, and that wars are usually forced upon all peoples in the same way, there is some truth in the statement; but I venture to say that the response which the German people have made to the demands of this war shows that it has a degree of popular support which the war upon which we are entering has not and never will have among our people. The espionage bills, the conscription bills, and other forcible military measures which we understand are being ground out of the war machine in this country is the complete proof that those responsible for this war fear that it has no popular support and that armies sufficient to satisfy the demand of the entente allies can not be recruited by voluntary enlistments.

THE EVENTS REVIEWED WHICH HAVE LED UP TO THE PRESENT SITUATION.

I desire at this point to review as briefly as possible, but with absolute accuracy and fairness, the events occurring since the commencement of the present European war, which have

brought us to the very brink of war with the German Empire. I enter upon this task the more freely because every fact to which I refer is undisputed, and the events I shall relate are so fresh in the minds of every Senator that if I should err in any particular I will no doubt be quickly corrected.

1. WITH THE CAUSES OF THE PRESENT WAR IN EUROPE WE HAVE NOTHING TO DO.

When in the middle of the summer of 1914 the great war broke out in Europe our relations with every one of the unfortunate countries involved were in every way friendly. It is true that many years before we had had some differences with France, but they had long since been adjusted, and we felt toward the French people and toward the Government of France, like ours Republican in form, nothing but sincere and disinterested friendship. With England the situation was a little different. We had fought two bloody wars with England—one to obtain our independence as a people, and later the War of 1812, with the causes and consequences of which we are all familiar. But the ties of race and language and long commercial association had taught us to forget much in British conduct and diplomacy which we have felt was wrong and unfair in her dealings with us and with other countries.

With Germany likewise our relations were friendly. Many hundreds of thousands of the subjects of Germany had emigrated to this country, and they and their descendants had shown themselves to be in every way most worthy and desirable citizens. The great Civil War which saved the Union was successful largely through the services rendered by Germans, both as officers and as men serving in the ranks. B. A. Gould, in a work dealing with some of the phases of the Civil War, and prepared soon after its close, among other things, presented a table of the relative number of foreign-born soldiers in the Union Army. I quote from that table as follows:

English	45,508
Canadian	53,532
Irish	144,221
German	187,858
All other foreign born	48,410

Later and more careful investigation of the statistics show that there were in reality 216,000 native Germans in the Union Army, and, besides this, more than 300,000 Union soldiers who were born of German parents.

More than one-half a million of the men who carried the musket to keep this Government of ours undivided upon the map of the world were men who are now having their patriotism and loyalty to this country questioned, with secret-service men dogging their footsteps.

Who does not remember, among the most gallant and distinguished officers in the Union Army, Schurz, Sigel, Rosecrans, and scores of others? It is well to recall also that when President Lincoln issued his call for volunteers they volunteered much more largely from the German-settled States of the Middle West than from the war-mad States of the East. Is history to repeat itself?

The German people, either in this country or in the fatherland, need no tribute from me or from anyone else. In whatever land they have lived they have left a record of courage, loyalty, honesty, and high ideals second to no people which have ever inhabited this earth since the dawn of history. If the German people are less likely to be swept off their feet in the present crisis than some other nationalities, it is due to two facts. In the first place, they have a livelier appreciation of what war means than has the average American, and, in the second place, German speaking and reading people have had an opportunity to get both sides of the present controversy, which no one could possibly have, who has depended for his information solely on papers printed in English and English publications.

I have said that with the causes of the present war we have nothing to do. That is true. We certainly are not responsible for it. It originated from causes beyond the sphere of our influence and outside the realm of our responsibility. It is not inadmissible, however, to say that no responsible narrator of the events which have led up to this greatest of all wars has failed to hold that the Government of each country engaged in it is at fault for it. For my own part, I believe that this war, like nearly all others, originated in the selfish ambition and cruel greed of a comparatively few men in each Government who saw in war an opportunity for profit and power for themselves, and who were wholly indifferent to the awful suffering they knew that war would bring to the masses. The German people had been taught to believe that sooner or later war was inevitable with England and France and probably Russia allied against her. It is unfortunately true that there was much in the secret diplomacy of the years immediately preceding the

breaking out of the war in 1914 to afford foundation for such belief. The secret treaty between France and England for the partition of Morocco, while making a public treaty with Germany, the terms of which were diametrically opposite to those of the secret treaty, did much to arouse the suspicion and hostility of the German people toward both France and England.

I doubt if the diplomatic history of any of the nations of the earth in civilized times can show so reprehensible, so dishonest, so perjured a record as the Moroccan affair brings home to the doors of those who were responsible for that Moroccan treaty, the diplomatic agents of the French and the English Governments.

Think of it, Mr. President! German citizens had acquired property as individual purchasers in the rich mineral fields of Morocco. A treaty was entered into between England, France, and Germany which protected all the interests of all those who signed the treaty. Then France and England executed a treaty, certain provisions of which were not published when the treaty was published. By the terms of these secret provisions German enterprise was to be driven out of Morocco. Mark you, it was not the people of France and England—it was not even the Governments of the respective countries—which were guilty of the great wrong committed against both Morocco and Germany, but less than a half dozen ambitious, intriguing diplomats, who made the secret plan to divide Morocco between France and Spain. Germany was to be thrown out. England backed up France and Spain in the disreputable deal and received for her part of the swag the relinquishment of France to all rights which she had theretofore claimed in Egypt. It was not until those facts came out that real hostile feeling between Germany and England began to develop. Herein history will find the real cause for this war. England would tolerate no commercial rivalry. Germany would not submit to isolation.

Of this incident Mr. W. T. Stead, in the Review of Reviews for December, 1911, had this to say:

We were nearly involved in the stupendous catastrophe of a gigantic war with the greatest of all the world powers in order to enable France to tear up the treaty of Algeiras by taking possession of the Empire of Morocco, whose independence and integrity we were pledged to defend. It is not to our interest to make over to France a vast domain in northern Africa. * * * The fact remains that in order to put France in possession of Morocco we all but went to war with Germany. We have escaped war, but we have not escaped the natural and abiding enmity of the German people. Is it possible to frame a heavier indictment of the foreign policy of any British ministry? The secret, the open secret of the almost incredible crime against treaty faith, British interests, and the peace of the world is the unfortunate fact that Sir Edward Grey has been dominated by men at the foreign office who believe all considerations must be subordinated to the supreme duty of thwarting Germany at every turn, even if in so doing British interests, treaty faith, and the peace of the world are trampled underfoot. I speak that of which I know.

This is but one of the many instances that illustrate the character of the diplomacy which has been conducted in Europe during the last few years, and it is in this kind of diplomacy that we must become a partner also if we become a party to the war.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. If it does not divert me from the course of my remarks.

Mr. KNOX. It is merely to ask a question. From whom was the Senator reading? I did not catch the name if the Senator stated it.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It was from William T. Stead.

A celebrated Englishman, Sir John Fisher, as a delegate to one of the early Hague conferences, is credited with having said:

In case of war I should have only one aim, even if I had to violate every one of the rules laid down by the peace conference—to win. The diplomats can negotiate afterwards. (See "The Inevitable War," by Francis Delaisi.)

Such were the ideals the people of Europe had been taught to hold in preparation for the great war.

2. ENGLAND'S REPUDIATION OF THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.

On August 6, 1914, and within a few days after the beginning of the war, Secretary Bryan through Ambassador Page inquired whether England would agree that the naval warfare should be conducted according to the declaration of London.

At the same time the same inquiry was addressed to the respective Governments of the warring countries through our ambassadors at St. Petersburg, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. The inquiry addressed to Great Britain was as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, August 6, 1914—1 p. m.

Mr. Bryan instructs Mr. Page to inquire whether the British Government is willing to agree that the laws of naval warfare as laid down by the declaration of London of 1900 shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe, provided that the Govern-

ments with whom Great Britain is or may be at war also agree to such application. Mr. Bryan further instructs Mr. Page to state that the Government of the United States believes that an acceptance of these laws by the belligerents would prevent grave misunderstandings which may arise as to the relations between neutral powers and the belligerents. Mr. Bryan adds that it is earnestly hoped that this inquiry may receive favorable consideration.

Germany and Austria promptly replied that they would be bound by the declaration of London. I quote the reply of each:

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Vienna, August 13, 1914—8 p. m.

Your August 6th. Austro-Hungarian Government have instructed their forces to observe stipulations of declaration of London as applied to naval as well as land warfare during present conflict, conditional on like observance on part of the enemy.

PENFIELD.

AMERICAN EMBASSY,
Berlin, August 22, 1914—12 midnight.

Mr. Gerard refers to department's August 19, 4 p. m., and says his August 20, 1 a. m., by way of Copenhagen, states that the German Government will apply the declaration of London, provided its provisions are not disregarded by other belligerents.

Russia and France waited to hear from England. Ambassador Page finally transmitted England's reply on August 27, 1914. That reply, omitting the immaterial parts, was as follows:

I have the honor to inform your excellency that His Majesty's Government, who attach great importance to the views expressed in your excellency's note are animated by a keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries, have given this matter their most careful consideration, and have pleasure in stating that they have decided to adopt generally the rules of the declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations. A detailed explanation of these additions and modifications is contained in the inclosed memorandum.

The necessary steps to carry the above decision into effect have now been taken by the issue of an order in council, of which I have the honor to inclose copies herein for your excellency's information and for transmission to your Government.

The modifications and additions quoted which Great Britain made to the declaration of London were so completely subversive of the essential principles provided by that declaration that nothing was left to do except to treat the British answer as a refusal to be bound in any material respect by the declaration of London, and accordingly on October 22, 1914, our Government replied as follows:

Inasmuch as the British Government consider that the conditions of the present European conflict make it impossible for them to accept without modification the declaration of London, you are requested to inform His Majesty's Government that in the circumstances the Government of the United States feels obliged to withdraw its suggestion that the declaration of London be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare to be observed by belligerents and neutrals during the present war; that therefore this Government will insist that the rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London; and that this Government reserves to itself the right to enter a protest or demand in each case in which those rights and duties so defined are violated or their free exercise interfered with by the authorities of His Britannic Majesty's Government.

LANSING.

Thus was the first step taken in that ruthless naval warfare which has since horrified the civilized world. Thus did Great Britain initiate her naval warfare, and induce her allies to do the same, by repudiating the rules of naval warfare and the rights of neutrals upon the sea, which had been declared and agreed to by the representatives of all the great powers of the world, including our own. Of course, it is well understood that the governments had not ratified it, but their representatives had agreed to it.

Mr. KNOX. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I certainly do.

Mr. KNOX. In the interest only of accuracy, may I ask, do I understand the Senator to state that all of the powers had agreed to the declaration of London? Is that correct?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I stated that the representatives of all of the powers had signed and agreed to it.

Mr. KNOX. But it had not been ratified by the governments.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It had not been. I had already so stated before the Senator from Pennsylvania rose.

Mr. KNOX. Did the Senator state specifically that Great Britain had never ratified the declaration of London?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I did not; but I now state that fact.

Mr. KNOX. The Senator so understands it?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I so understand it; but I say that the representatives, the enlightened men who were sent there by their respective governments, in the calmness of the deliberations of that assembly wrote the declaration of London as the expression—the enlightened, humane expression—of the rules of warfare based upon international law, as they understood it,

and that final and formal ratification by the governments had not been consummated does not change that fact.

This case of ours in going into this war will not be tried by history upon technicalities, but upon great fundamental, underlying principles, and the declaration of London was the expression—the codification of the well-settled and accepted principles of international law on the subjects covered relating to naval warfare by the most advanced governments of the world. And the Government of Germany that is arraigned here every hour as the most bloodthirsty Government on earth, responding to the inquiry of our Government, agreed that she would suspend or wipe out her right to the use of the submarine in conformity with our suggestions provided that the rules laid down in the London declaration were adhered to by all of those who had participated in it and who were then parties to the war.

Mr. STONE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question.

Mr. STONE. The question is suggested by what the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Knox] asked the Senator from Wisconsin, whether the Government of Great Britain had ever ratified the declaration of London. Did the Government of Great Britain, or any other of the governments participating in the conference, reject that declaration?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I believe they never did. I think I am entirely safe in saying that they had never rejected or disaffirmed the act of their representatives in the London conference.

For reasons which become clearer as we advance it suited England's policy to disregard the rules of civilized naval warfare as the same were codified and clearly set forth in the declaration of London and revert to that indefinite and conflicting body of precedents called international law, in which can be found authority for doing anything you have the power to do.

The declaration of London, promulgated in 1909, as I have stated, was the work of the accredited representatives of the leading nations of the world, who met in London at England's request. Among the nations represented were Germany, the United States, Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Holland, and other leading nations. The way had been prepared for such a great conference by the various Hague conventions and the discussions therein. The sentiment of the civilized world demanded such a conference, and the nations of the world accepted the declaration of London as being the best and most humane statement of the rules of naval warfare which could be prepared. The very first paragraph of the declaration is:

The signatory powers are agreed in declaring that the rules contained in the following chapters correspond in substance with the generally recognized principles of international law.

Article 65 provided, "the provisions of the present declaration form an indivisible whole."

GREAT BRITAIN'S ACTION MADE RESULT INEVITABLE.

When, therefore, Great Britain made waste paper of this declaration, as she did early in the war, it ought not to have been difficult to have foreseen the inevitable result. There are a few simple propositions of international law embodied in the declaration of London to which in this connection it is important to call attention. One is that "a blockade must be limited to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy." (See art. 1.)

That has been international law ever since we have had a body of international rules called international law, and that was expressed in the London declaration, which was joined in by the representatives of Great Britain. If that had been adhered to, no declaration taking this country into the war would be before us this afternoon.

I repeat it. One of the declarations reads as follows:

A blockade must be limited to the ports and coasts belonging to or occupied by the enemy. (See art. 1.)

Another is that a blockade in order to be binding upon anyone must be "maintained by a force sufficiently large to prevent access to the enemy coast." (See art. 2.) Not by sowing the open sea with deadly contact mines, but by a force which shall maintain the blockade of the ports. (See art. 2.)

Another is that a blockade must under no circumstances bar access to the ports or to the coasts of neutral countries.

The press of this country has attempted, from the very beginning, to show that the Government of the United States during the Civil War set up and established precedents that violated the proposition enunciated in the statement which I have just read. A decision of the Supreme Court of this country—and it is to the honor of America that it can be recited—denied to this Government, when it was fighting for its existence in the Civil War, the right to stop the shipment of goods

from England up the Rio Grande to be landed on the Mexican side, but really thereafter to be transported across to Brownsville, Tex., for the benefit of the Southern Confederacy. An opinion was written by the Supreme Court that will thrill with pride every American heart. At that time, Mr. President, the court must have been under every temptation which can be made to appeal to the human heart to shave and shade its views to meet the exigencies of our Government, but against the interests of this Government and in vindication of the principle of law necessary to the maintenance of a body of international rules to protect the rights of neutral commerce and maintain peace between neutral nations and belligerents they denied the interests of this Government in that perilous hour and sustained the right of the owners of the vessel. This is the holding in the *Peterhoff* case (5 Wall., 28).

Another important service rendered by the declaration of London to a civilized world was the clear statement it furnished of articles which were contraband, conditional contraband, and those which under no circumstances could be declared contraband. (See arts. 22 to 27.)

Talk about making war, about hurling this Government into the bottomless pit of the European conflict to sustain the principles of international law under which we have suffered the loss of some ships and some human lives, when England, by her course in rejecting the declaration of London and in the manner of conducting her naval warfare, has wiped out the established rules of international law which had grown up through the centuries and opened the pathway and set us upon the road we have followed straight to the proceedings which engage the attention of the Senate this afternoon.

ENGLAND OVERTURNED LAW OF CONTRABAND.

The distinction between articles that are contraband and those that are conditional contraband and free is well understood. I will not trespass upon the time of the Senate to discuss it. Articles which are contraband are always liable to capture by one belligerent if shown to be destined to territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or if it was destined to the armed forces of the enemy, no matter to what particular port the contraband might be billed. Of this class, according to the declaration of London, were all kinds of arms, ammunition, projectiles powder, clothing and equipment of purely a military character, and other articles used exclusively for war. Conditional contraband was not liable to capture if bound for a neutral port, and in any case the government asserting the right to capture it, even when it was moving direct to the enemy country, was obliged to prove that it was destined for the use of the enemy armed forces and not to the civilian population. Conditional contraband, according to the declaration of London, included food of all kinds, clothing, vehicles, tools, and a vast multitude of other things enumerated which, while they might be used by the armed forces, were also susceptible of use by the civilian population. Goods on the free list could move unhindered to the enemy country in either direct or indirect trade. Among the articles on the free list, according to the declaration of London, was raw cotton, wool, substantially all other raw materials, and a great variety of other articles necessary for a civilian population. Goods from the enemy country could not be stopped, except by an effective blockade.

There is no escape from these propositions. They are to be found in every work upon international law, approved by every court that has ever passed upon the questions relating to contraband, as shown by an unbroken line of decisions.

As late as the Boer War, Lord Salisbury—now get this into your minds if your attention has not been directed to it before—when asked the position of the British Government regarding foodstuffs, which were and always had been conditional contraband, Lord Salisbury said:

Foodstuffs with a hostile destination can be considered contraband of war only if they are supplied for the enemy's forces. It is not sufficient that they are capable of being so used; it must be shown that this was in fact their destination at the time of the seizure. (*Hales' American Rights at Sea*, p. 11.)

In the very first days of the war with Germany, Great Britain set aside and reversed this well-established rule announced by Lord Salisbury as to foodstuffs. Had she obeyed that rule of law Germany would have received food for her civilian population through neutral merchantmen and our neutral commerce would not have been attacked by German submarines. Now, that is the way history is going to record it, Senators. That is the undisputed fact and there is nothing else to be said about it. It has pleased those who have been conducting this campaign through the press to make a jumble of the issues, until the public sees nothing, thinks of nothing but the wrongs committed by the German submarine, and hears nothing, knows nothing of wrongdoing of England that forced Germany to take the course she has taken or submit to the unlawful starving of her civilian population.

OUR NEUTRAL RIGHTS SET ASIDE.

Now, I want to repeat: It was our absolute right as a neutral to ship food to the people of Germany. That is a position that we have fought for through all of our history. The correspondence of every Secretary of State in the history of our Government who has been called upon to deal with the rights of our neutral commerce as to foodstuffs is the position stated by Lord Salisbury, just quoted. He was in line with all of the precedents that we had originated and established for the maintenance of neutral rights upon this subject.

In the first days of the war with Germany, Great Britain set aside, so far as her own conduct was concerned, all these rules of civilized naval warfare.

According to the declaration of London, as well as the rules of international law, there could have been no interference in trade between the United States and Holland or Scandinavia and other countries, except in the case of ships which could be proven to carry absolute contraband, like arms and ammunition, with ultimate German destination. There could have been no interference with the importation into Germany of any goods on the free list, such as cotton, rubber, and hides. There could have properly been no interference with our export to Germany of anything on the conditional contraband list, like flour, grain, and provisions, unless it could be proven by England that such shipments were intended for the use of the German Army. There could be no lawful interference with foodstuffs intended for the civilian population of Germany, and if those foodstuffs were shipped to other countries to be re-shipped to Germany, no question could be raised that they were not intended for the use of the civilian population.

It is well to recall at this point our rights as declared by the declaration of London and as declared without the declaration of London by settled principles of international law, for we have during the present war become so used to having Great Britain utterly disregard our rights on the high seas that we have really forgotten that we have any, as far as Great Britain and her allies are concerned.

Great Britain, by what she called her modifications of the declaration of London, shifted goods from the free list to the conditional contraband and contraband lists, reversed the presumption of destination for civilian population, and abolished the principle that a blockade to exist at all must be effective.

Edwin J. Clapp, professor of economics of the New York University, in his book, *Economic Aspects of the War*, describes the situation aptly. It is supported by all the authorities, but I quote from him:

The modifications [of the declaration of London] were subversive of the principles of the declaration to which they were attached. These modifications, supplemented by an unexampled extension of the British contraband list and finally by what our Government calls an illegal blockade, have been England's method of exercising economic pressure upon Germany and, necessarily, upon all neutral nations that trade with her.

Again the same author says:

This action stopped our direct trade with Germany. It might appear that goods on the free list could still move. Some of them did move, from free to contraband. People feared to ship the others lest they should be so listed while ships were on the ocean, and the goods made subject to seizure. Practically nothing has been shipped to Germany from this country but cotton, and it was not shipped until December. In belated response to the insistence of southern Senators and of American business interests which had found themselves gravely embarrassed by the cessation of cotton shipments, Great Britain finally made a clear statement that this particular commodity would not be considered contraband.

So much for direct trade with Germany. There was still a method by which we should have been able to export our goods and discharge our neutral obligations to trade with Germany as with England. We might have carried on this trade via neutral ports like Rotterdam or Copenhagen, from which the goods might have been shipped to Germany. The declaration of London allows a belligerent to interfere with a shipment between two neutral ports only when it consists of absolute contraband for enemy territory. Conditional contraband so moving may not even be suspected. The order in council changed this. It extended the new intention of capturing conditional contraband to goods moving to Germany even through a neutral port. And, as explained, conditional contraband was seizable if destined to anyone in Germany; it was not conditional but absolute.

The British action, besides stopping our trade with Germany, barring only a certain amount of indirect trade carried on with much difficulty and danger, subjected to grave peril our commerce with other neutrals. The British contraband lists were extended so rapidly that soon almost no important article of commerce with neutrals was free from seizure by England, who suspected everything on these lists as being of possible German destination. By these methods England proposed to starve the civilian population of Germany and destroy neutral trade.

3. ENGLAND AGAIN DECLINES OUR REQUEST TO CONDUCT HER NAVAL WARFARE WITH SOME RESPECT FOR NEUTRAL RIGHTS AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH MORE HUMANE PRINCIPLES, WHILE GERMANY AGAIN ACCEPTS OUR SUGGESTION.

Now, listen to the statement of facts under that proposition:

On February 20, 1915, our Government, through Secretary Bryan, addressed the following communication to the Government of Great Britain:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, February 20, 1915.

You will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identic note which we are sending England and Germany:

In view of the correspondence which has passed between this Government and Great Britain and Germany, respectively, relative to the declaration of a war zone by the German Admiralty and the use of neutral flags by British merchant vessels, this Government ventures to express the hope that the two belligerent Governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur in the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents.

The Government of the United States respectfully suggests that an agreement in terms like the following might be entered into. This suggestion is not to be regarded as in any sense a proposal made by this Government, for it of course fully recognizes that it is not its privilege to propose terms of agreement between Great Britain and Germany, even though the matter be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely venturing to take the liberty which it hopes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassing neither nation involved and of serving, if it may, the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world.

Now, after all that prefatory matter—which I might have omitted, I suppose, to save time—we come to the proposition:

Germany and Great Britain to agree:

1. That neither will sow any floating mines, whether upon the high seas or in territorial waters; that neither will plant on the high seas anchored mines, except within cannon range of harbors for defensive purpose only; and that all mines shall bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so constructed as to become harmless if separated from their moorings.

2. That neither will use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search.

3. That each will require their respective merchant vessels not to use neutral flags for the purpose of disguise or ruse de guerre.

Germany to agree:

That all importations of food or foodstuffs from the United States (and from such other neutral countries as may ask it) into Germany shall be consigned to agencies to be designated by the United States Government; that these American agencies shall have entire charge and control without interference on the part of the German Government of the receipt and distribution of such importations, and shall distribute them solely to retail dealers bearing licenses from the German Government entitling them to receive and furnish such food and foodstuffs to noncombatants only; that any violation of the terms of the retailers' licenses shall work a forfeiture of their rights to receive such food and foodstuffs for this purpose; and that such food and foodstuffs will not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose whatsoever or be diverted to the use of the armed forces of Germany.

Great Britain to agree:

That food and foodstuffs will not be placed upon the absolute contraband list, and that shipments of such commodities will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if consigned to agencies designated by the United States Government in Germany for the receipt and distribution of such cargoes to licensed German retailers for distribution solely to the noncombatant population.

In submitting this proposed basis of agreement this Government does not wish to be understood as admitting or denying any belligerent or neutral right established by the principles of international law, but would consider the agreement, if acceptable to the interested powers, a *modus vivendi* based upon expediency rather than legal right and as not binding upon the United States, either in its present form or in a modified form, until accepted by this Government.

BRYAN.

Without quoting at length the replies of the Governments of Germany and Great Britain, it is sufficient to say that under date of March 1, 1915, the German Government replied substantially acceding to the proposition made by the Government of the United States, and on March 15 the British Government replied substantially refusing to accede to our request. It will be noted that at this time the deadly submarines of Germany and the equally deadly mines of Great Britain had rendered the high seas dangerous to the lives of all neutrals, but the English steamship *Lusitania*, loaded with 6,000,000 rounds of ammunition destined for the English Army, had not been sunk with the consequent loss of American lives, and the damage to neutrals had not been heavy compared with that which they have since suffered. Here again the sole responsibility for continuing the unlawful naval warfare must rest upon Great Britain and her allies. Germany, knowing as the world did not then know the possibility of destruction contained in the submarine branch of her navy, and at the risk of being thought weak and anxious for peace, offered to agree if Great Britain and her allies would do the same, to those suggestions of ours which would have avoided all the acts of which we complain to-day.

ENGLAND HAS NOT YIELDED TO OUR PROTESTS.

It is not my purpose to go into detail into the violations of our neutrality by any of the belligerents. While Germany has again and again yielded to our protests, I do not recall a single instance in which a protest we have made to Great Britain has won for us the slightest consideration, except for a short time in the case of cotton. I will not stop to dwell upon the multitude of minor violations of our neutral rights, such as seizing our mails, violations of the neutral flag, seizing and

appropriating our goods without the least warrant or authority in law, and impressing, seizing, and taking possession of our vessels and putting them into her own service. I have constituents, American citizens, who organized a company and invested large sums of money in the purchase of ships to engage in foreign carrying. Several of their vessels plying between the United States and South America were captured almost in our own territorial waters, taken possession of by the British Government, practically confiscated, and put into her service or the service of her admiralty. They are there to-day, and that company is helpless. When they appealed to our Department of State they were advised that they might "file" their papers. And were given the further suggestion that they could hire an attorney and prosecute their case in the English prize court. The company did hire an attorney and sent him to England, and he is there now, and has been there for almost a year, trying to get some redress, some relief, some adjustment of those rights.

But those are individual cases. There are many others. All these violations have come from Great Britain and her allies, and are in perfect harmony with Britain's traditional policy as absolute master of the seas.

I come now, however, to one other event in the naval policy of Great Britain during this war, which to my mind is absolutely controlling upon the action we should take upon the question under consideration.

ENGLAND'S MINING OF THE NORTH SEA.

On the 2d of November, 1914, only three months after the beginning of the war, England issued a proclamation, the most ruthless and sweeping in its violation of neutral rights that up to that time had ever emanated from a civilized government engaged in prosecuting a war, announcing that on three days' notice all of the North Sea, free under international law to the trade of the world, would be entered by our merchant ships at their peril. She based her action upon an assertion that the German Government had been scattering mines in waters open to the world's commerce.

The material portions of it are as follows:

During the last week the Germans have scattered mines indiscriminately in the open sea on the main trade route from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland.

Peaceful merchant ships have already been blown up, with loss of life, by this agency.

In these circumstances, having regard to the great interests entrusted to the British Navy, to the safety of peaceful commerce on the high seas, and to the maintenance within the limits of international law of trade between neutral countries, the Admiralty feels it necessary to adopt exceptional measures appropriate to the novel conditions under which this war is being waged.

It therefore gives notice that the whole of the North Sea must be considered a military area. Within this area merchant shipping of all kinds, traders of all countries, fishing craft, and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.

Every effort will be made to convey this warning to neutral countries and to vessels on the sea; but from November 5 onward the Admiralty announces that all ships passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides through the Farne islands to Iceland do so at their own peril.

The North Sea, a great stretch of the Atlantic Ocean, extending from Scotland to Iceland, was barred to the commerce of the world, the neutral commerce, that had the same right there that you have to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Before considering the piratical character of this document as a whole it will be noted that while it proposes to use every effort to warn neutral shipping it allows just three days for the warning.

Do you observe that the country with whom we are about to yoke ourselves issued this proclamation, unheard of before in the history of the world, mining a great area of the Atlantic Ocean with deadly contact mines, and gave to the neutral nations only three days' notice? It issued its declaration on the 2d of November, and it went into effect on the 5th of November.

Of the preliminary allegations in the note concerning the scattering of mines by Germany in the open sea around the British Isles, no proof of it has ever been furnished, so far as I am aware; and, even if it were true, it certainly would not have remedied the condition to mine a much larger portion of the sea upon which neutral ships must travel. I say this because of the high-sounding but obviously false and hypocritical assertion contained in the proclamation that Britain is taking this action in order to maintain trade between neutral countries within the limits of international law. She was, in fact, by her action absolutely destroying trade between neutral countries, and the penalties for disobeying her orders, and which operate automatically and inexorably, was the destruction by mines of all ships and passengers venturing into the prohibited portion of the sea.

UNITED STATES ACQUIESCES IN ENGLAND'S ILLEGAL ACT.

Now we come to the most unfortunate part of our record. The present administration agreed to this lawless act of Great Britain. I make this statement deliberately and fully appreciating its consequences. If we had entered into a contract with Great Britain, signed and sealed under the great seals of the respective countries, agreeing that she should commit the act of piracy involved in mining the North Sea, we would not more completely have been bound by such contract than we are bound by the conduct of the present administration. It will be recalled that when Secretary Bryan made his request of Great Britain to adhere to the declaration of London, and she refused, and he notified her that the request was withdrawn, he declared in substance that he would nevertheless hold her responsible for any violations of international law, so far as they affected our right as a neutral Nation. And from that time protest after protest was made by us; many against Germany and some against Great Britain and her allies, whenever we claimed that international law had been violated.

The fact remains, however, that from November 2, when England declared her settled purpose to mine large areas of the public sea contrary to every principle of international law, the Government through the present administration has never uttered a word of protest.

If you think you can escape the responsibility of that act and hold other belligerents to the strict requirements of international law by play upon a phrase you are mistaken. You may make this country declare war in your attempt to do it, but your war will not have the support of the people. Until the omission of this administration to uphold our rights against Great Britain is corrected we can never hope for popular support for a war waged to enforce the same right against the country at war with Great Britain.

AN ABSURD CONTENTION.

I do not need to cite authorities to show that the mining of the North Sea by Great Britain was illegal. In declaring her intention to mine the North Sea, Great Britain did not pretend that her act was legal, and attempted to justify it only on the ground of necessity. Nor am I aware that any responsible person has ever attempted to defend the legality of the act. You have but to remember that if England had a right to mine the North Sea and a large portion of the Atlantic Ocean during an indefinite period and thereby exclude all commercial shipping, then any two warring nations can mine any or all portions of the high seas as they choose and thus destroy the neutral commerce of the world so long as the war shall last. Such a claim is too absurd to merit consideration.

I will not dwell now upon the physical consequences of this act by Great Britain, for I am concerned at this time simply with the question of how this act by our Government has affected our legal relations to Germany.

You can not afford to declare war and rest the right to do so in history upon a violation of international law when we are to any extent responsible for such violation.

Mr. REED. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Missouri?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question.

Mr. REED. Does the Senator have any other evidence that we signed and sealed and delivered a contract with Great Britain by which we permitted her to violate international law than that which he has just given, namely, the assertion that we did not protest?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I have not stated that we had a signed and sealed compact.

Mr. REED. No; you stated—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I was reading from my manuscript, and I know just what I said. The Senator misunderstood me.

Mr. REED. You stated that we had done it as effectively—

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. Just as effectively as though it were a contract. I think it was just as effective by a failure to protest as though it had been a contract.

I now proceed to make that good by my argument, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. REED. And you will not permit any further interruption? Very well, if that is the premise.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. That is my argument, and I am proceeding to make it.

In passing, however, I desire to call attention to the fact that the lawless action of Great Britain resulted in the loss of at least two of our ships—the *Carib* and the *Ecelyn*—because they ventured into the zone Great Britain had prohibited them from entering—were sunk by mines, with the loss of several Ameri-

can lives. (Minority report, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. R. 21052, 64th Cong.)

WE SUBMIT TO ENGLAND'S WAR ZONE.

The only reason why we have not suffered the sacrifice of just as many ships and just as many lives from the violation of our rights by the war zone and the submarine mines of Great Britain, as we have through the unlawful acts of Germany in making her war zone in violation of our neutral rights, is simply because we have submitted to Great Britain's dictation. If our ships had been sent into her forbidden high-sea war zone, as they have into the proscribed area Germany marked out on the high seas as a war zone, we would have had the same loss of life and property in the one case as in the other; but because we avoided doing that in the case of England, and acquiesced in her violation of law, we have not only a legal but a moral responsibility for the position in which Germany has been placed by our collusion and cooperation with Great Britain. By suspending the rule with respect to neutral rights in Great Britain's case, we have been actively aiding her in starving the civil population of Germany. We have helped to drive Germany into a corner, her back to the wall, to fight with what weapons she can lay her hands on to prevent the starving of her women and children, her old men and babes.

The flimsy claim which has sometimes been put forth that possibly the havoc in the North Sea was caused by German mines is too absurd for consideration.

I refer to the three vessels sunk in the British war zone. Why should Germany mine the North Sea, the gateway from the Atlantic to her own ports and those of Norway, Sweden, and Holland, with whom she most desired to trade and with whom her relations were and are most friendly? She doubtless placed some mines at the entrance of her harbors for purposes of protection, as she had a right to do, but it is ridiculous to suppose that she would have mined the North Sea.

Besides this the records show that up to March 10, 1915, of the floating mines that had been taken up and rendered harmless along the Dutch coast 214 were of British origin, 33 French, and only 22 German. (P. 142, *Economic Aspects of the War*, by Clapp.)

The same author at page 8 thus speaks of the result of the mining of the North Sea by Great Britain:

Because of these floating mines in the North Sea literally scores of vessels were lost, mostly belonging to the Scandinavian countries or Holland. Three American vessels were included—the *Greenbriar*, *Carib*, and *Eclym*. Because of the danger of mines ocean freight and war-risk insurance rates became a very heavy burden on shippers and buyers, and in the case of some commodities became prohibitive of commerce; a policy of uncertainty and fear was thrown over the commercial world.

Days, weeks, and months went by, and still no protest came from the American Government against this unlawful act on the part of Great Britain.

GERMANY WAITED FOR US TO PROTEST.

She did this unlawful thing on the 5th day of November. Germany waited and waited, week after week, for this Government to assert its neutral rights and demand the opening of the North Sea to neutral commerce. She waited in vain for three long months for this Government to take some action, and not until the 4th day of February—that is my recollection of the date; I do not know that I have it here—did she in retaliation serve notice upon this Government of the establishment of her war zone.

Germany then did as a matter of retaliation and defense what Great Britain had done months previously purely as an offensive measure—established a war zone or war area. She included in it portions of the sea about the British islands, and gave notice that ships coming within it would be destroyed by mines or submarines, even as English mines in the North Sea destroyed the ships which entered there.

It is Germany's insistence upon her right to blindly destroy with mines and submarines in the area she has declared a war zone all ships that enter there, that causes the whole trouble existing between us and Germany to-day. It is for this, and this only, that we are urged to make war. Yet in asserting this right or in sinking the ships in the proscribed area without warning, Germany is doing only that which England is doing in her proscribed area, with our consent. Here is the parting of the ways. When England, having previously violated all neutral rights on the high seas, mined the North Sea and asserted the right to blindly destroy, and mines can only destroy blindly, all ships that traversed it, one or two courses was open to us.

We chose to acquiesce, but a singular thing transpired. I suppose all Senators have secured the published copies of the diplomatic correspondence which has been issued by the State Department.

WE HOLD GERMANY TO STRICT ACCOUNTABILITY.

I find all the correspondence about the submarines of Germany; I find them arrayed; I find the note warning Germany that she would be held to a "strict accountability" for violation of our neutral rights; but you will search in vain these volumes for a copy of the British order in council mining the North Sea.

I am talking now about principles. You can not distinguish between the principles which allowed England to mine a large area of the Atlantic Ocean and the North Sea in order to shut in Germany, and the principle on which Germany by her submarines seeks to destroy all shipping which enters the war zone which she has laid out around the British Isles.

The English mines are intended to destroy without warning every ship that enters the war zone she has proscribed, killing or drowning every passenger that can not find some means of escape. It is neither more nor less than that which Germany tries to do with her submarines in her war zone. We acquiesced in England's action without protest. It is proposed that we now go to war with Germany for identically the same action upon her part.

ADMINISTRATION'S FATAL MISTAKE.

At this point, sir, I say, with all deference but with the absolute certainty of conviction, that the present administration made a fatal mistake, and if war comes to this country with Germany for the present causes it will be due wholly to that mistake. The present administration has assumed and acted upon the policy that it could enforce to the very letter of the law the principles of international law against one belligerent and relax them as to the other. That thing no nation can do without losing its character as a neutral nation and without losing the rights that go with strict and absolute neutrality.

In an address delivered by the President at a joint session of the two Houses of Congress on February 3, 1917, and referring to the reply which our Government had made to Germany's protest that her enemies were permitted to apply unlawful methods of naval warfare while she was held by us to the strict rules of naval warfare, the President said that Germany had been advised as follows. Now, listen to this—

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wisconsin allow me, before he proceeds with that extract, to ask his view as to what he means by the assertion which he has just made? In other words, may I interrupt him with an inquiry?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Wolcott in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I yield for a question if it does not divert me from my argument.

Mr. LEWIS. I should like to ask the able Senator as to whether or not I am correct in understanding his argument to mean that, if we fail to declare war against Great Britain because of wrongs committed against us by Britain sufficient to have had war declared, thereby we are prohibited from declaring war against another Government that might do acts which are themselves a justification for the declaration of war?

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. The Senator from Illinois will be best answered as I proceed with my argument, which deals exactly with that question.

Mr. LEWIS. I will not divert the Senator further, then, if he intends to cover that matter.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. It will not divert me. The Senator will be answered presently as well as I am able to answer him.

MISSTATEMENT OF THE LAW.

I quote now from the President's address of February 3, 1917, before the two Houses of Congress:

In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

That phrase the President has used repeatedly in his addresses; he has used it at least three times, I think, and he has referred to it as being a complete and sufficient answer to this proposition. It misstates the law; it asserts a principle that can not be maintained for one moment with a decent regard for equal rights between nations with whom we are dealing upon a basis of neutrality.

The offenses of Great Britain and Germany against us can not be treated as they might be treated if those nations were not at war with each other. Undoubtedly, if those nations were not at war with each other we could suffer one to violate international law to our injury and make no protest and take no action against the nation so offending and hold the other to

strict accountability and compel her to respect to the limit our rights under international law, and if she refused we would be justified in going to war about it. But when we are dealing with Germany and Great Britain, warring against each other, so evenly balanced in strength that a little help to one or a little hindrance to the other turns the scale and spells victory for one and defeat for the other, in that situation I say the principle of international law steps in which declares that any failure on our part to enforce our rights equally against both is a gross act of unneutrality.

That is precisely what we have done, as I have shown. In the early days of the conflict in this matter of the war zones of each belligerent, in submitting to Great Britain's dictation concerning what might be treated as contraband, resulting finally in a practical cessation of shipping to German ports, we have done Germany as much harm as though we had landed an army in France to fight beside the entente allies. How will history regard this conduct of ours? How will our own people regard it when they come to understand it? We can never justify it.

WE HAVE NOT BEEN NEUTRAL.

Jefferson asserted that we could not permit one warring nation to curtail our neutral rights if we were not ready to allow her enemy the same privileges, and that any other course entailed the sacrifice of our neutrality.

That is the sensible, that is the logical position. No neutrality could ever have commanded respect if it was not based on that equitable and just proposition; and we from early in the war threw our neutrality to the winds by permitting England to make a mockery of it to her advantage against her chief enemy. Then we expect to say to that enemy, "You have got to respect my rights as a neutral." What is the answer? I say Germany has been patient with us. Standing strictly on her rights, her answer would be, "Maintain your neutrality; treat these other Governments warring against me as you treat me if you want your neutral rights respected."

I say again that when two nations are at war any neutral nation, in order to preserve its character as a neutral nation, must exact the same conduct from both warring nations; both must equally obey the principles of international law. If a neutral nation fails in that, then its rights upon the high seas—to adopt the President's phrase—are relative and not absolute. There can be no greater violation of our neutrality than the requirement that one of two belligerents shall adhere to the settled principles of law and that the other shall have the advantage of not doing so. The respect that German naval authorities were required to pay to the rights of our people upon the high seas would depend upon the question whether we had exacted the same rights from Germany's enemies. If we had not done so we lost our character as a neutral nation, and our people unfortunately had lost the protection that belongs to neutrals. Our responsibility was joint in the sense that we must exact the same conduct from both belligerents. No principle of international law is better settled than that which is stated by Oppenheim, the great English authority on international law, in volume 2, second edition, page 365. He says:

Neutrality as an attitude of impartiality involves the duty of abstaining from assisting either belligerent either actively or passively.

The same author points out, on pages 441 to 444, that a neutral can not permit one belligerent to do what another is not permitted to do.

In the case of the *Bermuda* (3 Wallace, p. 514) the Supreme Court of the United States points out that neutrality involves absolute equality of treatment. The court says:

Neutral trade is entitled to protection in all courts. Neutrals in their own country may sell to belligerents whatever belligerents choose to buy. The principal exceptions to this rule are that neutrals must not sell to one belligerent what they refuse to sell to the other.

And so forth.

OUR COURT AND JEFFERSON ESTABLISHED THE TRUE PRINCIPLES OF NEUTRALITY.

In the case of *Resolution* (Federal court of appeals, 1781; 2 Dalles, 19) it is said that the idea of a neutral nation "implies two nations at war and a third in friendship with both."

J. Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, on May 19, 1818, said:

By the usual principles of international law the state of neutrality recognizes the cause of both parties to the contest as *just*—that is, it avoids all consideration of the merits of the contest. (See Moore's International Law Digest, vol. 7, p. 860.)

Oppenheim on International Law, volume 11, second edition, paragraph 294, page 362, says:

Since neutrality is an attitude of impartiality, it excludes such assistance and succor to one of the belligerents as is detrimental to the other, and, further, such injuries to the one as benefit the other.

The best and clearest exposition of the exact question, however, was made long ago by one of the greatest of Democrats

and statesmen of this country—Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Jefferson, then Secretary of State, in writing to Thomas Pinckney, United States minister to Great Britain regarding England's stoppage of our food shipments to France, with whom England was then at war, dealt with precisely the same situation that confronts President Wilson in the war between Germany and England, but Secretary Jefferson dealt with the situation in precisely the opposite manner from that adopted by President Wilson. In this letter, under date of September 7, 1793, Secretary Jefferson said:

The first article of it [the British order] permits all vessels laden wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, to be stopped and sent into any British port, to be purchased by that Government or to be released only on the condition of security given by the master that he will proceed to dispose of his cargo in the ports of some country in amity with his majesty.

This article is so manifestly contrary to the law of nations that nothing more would seem necessary than to observe that it is so.

How much less was it obnoxious to the law of nations than mining the great area of the North Sea.

Reason and usage have established that when two nations go to war those who choose to live in peace, retain their neutral right to pursue their agriculture, manufactures, and other ordinary vocations; to carry the produce of their industry, for exchange, to all nations, belligerent or neutral, as usual; to go and come freely without injury or molestation, and, in short, that the war among others shall be, for them, as if it did not exist. One restriction on those mutual rights has been submitted to by nations at peace; that is to say, that of not furnishing to either party implements merely of war, for the annoyance of the other, nor anything whatever to a place blockaded by its enemy.

This act, too, tends directly to draw us from that state of peace in which we are wishing to remain. It is an essential character of neutrality to furnish no aids (not stipulated by treaty) to one party which we are not equally ready to furnish to the other. If we permit corn to be sent to Great Britain and her friends, we are equally bound to permit it to France. To restrain it would be a partiality which might lead to war with France, and, between restraining it ourselves and permitting her enemies to restrain it unrightfully is no difference. She would consider this as a mere pretext, of which she would not be the dupe; and on what honorable ground could we otherwise explain it? Thus we should see ourselves plunged by this unauthorized act of Great Britain into a war, with which we meddle not and which we wish to avoid, if justice to all parties, and from all parties, will enable us to avoid it.

In the same letter Jefferson says:

The loss of our produce destined for foreign markets or that loss which would result from an arbitrary restraint of our markets is a tax too serious for us to acquiesce in. It is not enough for a nation to say, "We and our friends will buy your produce." We have a right to answer that it suits us better to sell to their enemies as well as their friends.

We have a right to judge for ourselves what market best suits us, and they have none to forbid to us the enjoyment of the necessities and comforts which we may obtain from any other independent country.

Further, he says:

Were we to withhold from her [France] supplies of provisions, we should in like manner be bound to withhold them from her enemies also and thus shut to ourselves all the ports of Europe where corn is in demand or make ourselves parties in the war. This is a dilemma which Great Britain has no right to force upon us, and for which no pretext can be found in any part of our conduct. She may, indeed, feel the desire of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of doing it at our loss nor of making us the instruments of it.

And with a firmness which it would have been well had the present administration emulated, it is said:

It is with concern, however, I am obliged to observe that so marked has been the inattention of the British court to every application which has been made to them on any subject by this Government (not a single answer, I believe, having ever been given to one of them, except in the act of exchanging a minister) that it may become unavoidable in certain cases, where an answer of some sort is necessary, to consider their silence as an answer.

IF WE WERE NEUTRAL WE WOULD NOT NOW FACE WAR.

Had the plain principle of international law announced by Jefferson been followed by us, we would not be called on to-day to declare war upon any of the belligerents. The failure to treat the belligerent nations of Europe alike, the failure to reject the unlawful "war zones" of both Germany and Great Britain, is wholly accountable for our present dilemma. We should not seek to hide our blunder behind the smoke of battle, to inflame the mind of our people by half truths into the frenzy of war, in order that they may never appreciate the real cause of it until it is too late. I do not believe that our national honor is served by such a course. The right way is the honorable way.

One alternative is to admit our initial blunder to enforce our rights against Great Britain as we have enforced our rights against Germany; demand that both those nations shall respect our neutral rights upon the high seas to the letter; and give notice that we will enforce those rights from that time forth against both belligerents and then live up to that notice.

The other alternative is to withdraw our commerce from both. The mere suggestion that food supplies would be withheld from both sides impartially would compel belligerents to observe the principle of freedom of the seas for neutral commerce.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, if immortality could be attained by verbal eternity, the Senator from Wisconsin would

have approximated immortality. We have waited and have heard a speech from him which would have better become Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, of the German Parliament, than an American Senator. In fact, he has gone much further than Herr Bethmann-Hollweg ever dared to go. Herr Bethmann-Hollweg said that the use of submarines, in the manner in which they are being used now, could be justified only by "military necessity." The Senator from Wisconsin has put their use upon the same footing as the use by Great Britain of ships to enforce a blockade. I fully expected before he took his seat to hear him defend the invasion of Belgium—the most absolutely barbarous act that ever took place in the history of any nation anywhere. I heard from him a speech which was pro-German, pretty nearly pro-Goth, and pro-Vandal, which was anti-American President and anti-American Congress, and anti-American people. I heard his eulogy of the German Government. I heard his justification of its barbarous methods in war. I heard his surly, contemptuous criticism of the entente powers. The American people will read a part of it. I fancy that it is the speech that the Senator from Wisconsin prepared to deliver upon the neutrality bill in the last Congress. We are better prepared to receive it now than we were then, because we have grown a little bit older and a little bit more patient and perhaps a little bit more submissive to wrong.

The Senator from Wisconsin, while he was pronouncing a eulogy upon the German people, might have pronounced a eulogy upon a people very much greater, very much more intelligent, and very much more moral—the American people. His speech was absolutely worthy of Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag, if Bethmann-Hollweg had had the audacity to make it there; but Bethmann-Hollweg did not have the audacity, and he had too much knowledge and common sense to have attempted to make that particular speech, even in the Reichstag.

The Senator has spent himself in eulogy of the German people while he has forgotten to notice you and me. I might have begun this speech by paraphrasing the utterances of old Patrick Henry: "Gentlemen speak of peace, but there is no peace." And, although I could not say with him that "the chains are already clanking upon Boston Common," I could say that the groans of American men and women and children, as they sank after a murderous and unwarmed attack, unknelt and unshriven, to their graves, to face God at judgment, are all here now, being heard by us if we have ears to hear. I hear them in the air and you hear them, but the Senator from Wisconsin has not heard one of them. He has heard nothing—nothing except what he has obtained from German authority and information; and he tells us in a part of his speech that the Germans have had "a better opportunity to get information than anybody else."

Is not that a very remarkable statement, when we all know that the very news of the President's message, except his peace message, has not been allowed to go to the German people, and when we know that the Junkerthum and the Hohenzollern family control the press in Germany, as Bismarck did, and Bismarck spoke of it in a manner which indicated the contempt of an autocrat belonging to the Junkerthum for anything like free speech, free assembly, or free expression?

I have loved the Senator from Wisconsin, in a way, until recently, but I have no sort of patience with any American who stands up in the American Senate and spends three or four hours in plaudits of the common enemy, who happens right now to be not only our enemy but the enemy of the human race, while he has not one word to say in praise of an American President or an American Congress or the American people, who are doing nothing except resenting insult and injury—and a gentleman resents insult more quickly than he does injury.

Here we stand—in war, not in peace. The Kaiser, not we, has settled that question. Oh, Mr. President, a little common sense goes a long way in a wide, wide, desolate world.

"Gentlemen speak of peace when there is no peace." There is no peace except that analogous to a man whom another man kicks and who fails to notice the kick because the part kicked is paralyzed. If the American people can not be aroused to righteous indignation now and to a degree of patriotic fervor and passion, they are degenerate sons of noble sires who fought the War of the Revolution and who fought the Civil War on both sides.

Tell me that the American Congress is "about to involve the American people in war"! The man who says that is a knave or a fool. He is a knave if he knows better and says it anyhow, and he is a fool if he does not know better. We are involved in war, not by the American Congress, but by the orders of the

German Kaiser and by the German Kaiser's military and naval advisers.

Tell me that I have got to be kicked twice, and then kicked the third time, and then notified that I am going to be kicked the fourth time in order to constitute a state of hostility between me and the man who is proposing the fourth kicking!

A little common sense goes a long way, my friends. The common sense of this situation is that a man who is talking about "Congress bringing on war" has not ordinary intelligence. The war is here, and Congress has not brought it on, and the President has not brought it on, and the American people have not brought it on. The Junkerthum and the Kaiserthum of Germany have brought it on in contempt for you and me. Why, they have exactly the same contempt for us that Napoleon had for the English—"a nation of shopkeepers." He never knew any better until Elba and Waterloo and St. Helena came.

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad," and this is not the first Hohenzollern who was mad. Old Frederick Wilhelm I, the father of Frederick the Great, was a lunatic, substantially, and to this fellow on this throne now I say: "Thou art in the same fix." Yes; as Lord Bacon said to Essex, "I thou thee." I call him a fellow and a very common fellow, too—a half-insane fellow with a notion away down in the bottom of his brain that he and God are partners. Well, of course, God is a partner with all of us. He is in partnership with all of His children; but the Kaiser seems to think that he and God are special partners, and the balance of us are subordinates by divine ordinance to him and God. The man—the fellow—absolutely believes, in the twentieth century, in the medieval doctrine of divine right of kings.

There are two things about this situation that I face. One is the necessity of it. I face the necessity because I must. The other is the opportunity of it, and I face that because I will. I am glad that I and the American citizenry shall have the opportunity of fighting on the side of liberty and democracy and free speech and free institutions against Prussian militarism and autocracy.

I join the President in having no hostility to the German people. I spent two and a half years of my life with them, and I love them, a whole lot of them. The man who inhabits the borders of the Rhine, the man who inhabits Bavaria and Württemberg, easily moved to tears and easily moved to laughter and easily moved to rage, is a man whom I have learned to love; and I have always believed that this war in Europe, brought on by the obstinate refusal of the Kaiser to leave either to a tribunal of arbitration or to a concert of Europe the question at issue between Austria and Serbia, inspiring Austria to refusal, is not the fault of the German people, but is a proof of what I said a moment ago, "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

There is nothing in the world like sea power. It starved the South. I heard the Senator from Wisconsin talking a moment ago, and if I could have been amused by the recollection of the tragedy of my own people I would have been amused. He talks of the English fleet starving the German people. You not only did not let us have food, but you would not even let us have quinine; you would not even let us have medicine. You would not even let medicine go through the ranks to be administered by your own surgeons to your own soldiers. And why? Because the war had to be concluded and peace had to be established, and you felt that was the quickest way to do it. We pled no baby act.

Now, a little bit more common sense, Mr. President. The Senator from Wisconsin spent a whole lot of time talking about the violations of the rights of neutrality by Great Britain, and he labored in extenso in trying to establish an identity of purpose and an identity of act between the violations by Great Britain and the violations by Germany of our neutral rights. He proved thereby—to cite a paragraph in a funny paper not long ago—that he did not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo.

Great Britain has murdered none of our citizens. Great Britain has drowned none of our women and children. Great Britain has seized our merchandise and carried it into port and had its court sit upon it, to adjudicate whether or not it was subject to confiscation. She has gone further than any nation ever went before, because when she seized our cotton and our wheat to keep them from going to the enemy and pronounced them contraband, she has paid for them at the market price.

I am a little tired, Mr. President—I do not know whether you are or not—of utterances like that of the Senator from Wisconsin in denouncing the entente powers. Who are the entente

powers? France, La Belle France, sunny France, sweet France—the most companionable people on the surface of the earth; the country of Lafayette and Rochambeau and De Grasse; the country of Victor Hugo and Molière and Racine; the country of the men who imitated the American example when they flung to the breeze banners with "Equality, fraternity, and liberty" inscribed upon them, although they carried the banner to a bloody end that was not justified.

Does the Senator hope to make me hate France or Frenchmen because I love some Germans—most of them—nearly all of them I have ever seen?

Then the gentleman undertakes to "twist the British lion's tail." We have had a whole lot of demagogues who habitually do that. It absolutely started soon after the Revolution, but not with those of us whose forefathers fought under George Washington in the Continental line to establish American independence. The War of Independence was really carried on against the will of the English people, against the German king who happened to be then the King of Great Britain, with hired Hessians, who were also Germans, against the leadership of that greatest Englishman that America ever produced—George Washington.

Can the gentleman tell me that so many thousand Germans helped to overcome the South in the war between the States? Of course they did, but the Senator did not hope to get my sympathy upon that proposition. They were hirelings, as the Hessians were during the Revolution, as they came in in every immigrant ship, enlisting to fight the South, a section of which they had no knowledge whatever of what was going on or what the question was. They could not read the American Constitution in English and never read it in German. The Senator does not arouse my admiration in that quarter, beginning with the Hessians in the War of the Revolution and every war we have ever had. With the exception of a few German-American citizens, natives of Missouri and other States, who served with patriotism and with a high spirit of liberty, with the idea that slaves ought to be emancipated—with the exception of a few of them, the great majority of Germans who fought the South were mere hirelings who landed at Castle Garden and served at \$13 a month plus the bounty.

Mr. President, the man who does not know the difference between a prize court and a torpedo submarine's shot without warning against a merchant ship ought not to be a Member of the United States Senate, and a man who will indulge in a labored argument to prove that they are identical ought not to be a Member of the United States Senate.

The gentleman tells us that Thomas Jefferson said that when you grant to one power a given right you must grant the same right to the other or else you violate neutrality. Of course, Thomas Jefferson was nearly always exactly right, and nobody can torture out of what he said anything that was wrong. But the major premise being established the minor premise is that Germany and Great Britain have done the same thing to us. They have not. The minor premise happens to be absolutely false. It just happens that way historically. They have not done the same thing. The statement that they have is a lie.

Then the Senator goes on and tells us that "if we sell to one power and do not sell to the other, or refuse to sell to the other, Thomas Jefferson said we violate neutrality." Of course; but have we ever sold one thing to France, England, or Russia that we have refused to sell to Germany, or were not willing to sell to Germany, at any time if Germany was ready to receive the goods and ready to take the responsibility of their receipt? The Senator from Wisconsin knows that any insinuation to that effect is false. It is historically untrue.

Is it our fault that while Germany was commanding the land with almost supreme power England commanded the sea?

One more word of common sense, Mr. President. Which would you rather do—fight Germany now, with France and England and Russia to help you, or fight her later, when she is ready, by ourselves? You have got to do one or the other.

A whole lot of people tell me that the entente are bound to win the war in Europe. I tell you they are not. I tell you that with that line almost like a right-angle triangle, with a salient here, with Robert E. Lee behind that line with a capacity to reinforce one part of it to the other while the enemy had to go all around, he would win that war.

I tell you, furthermore, that the Italian barrier can not be protected if there are enough German people put in, and when once broken France will be attacked upon the south—unfortified and undefended—on the Italian side.

I tell you, moreover, that if Germany does win that fight upon the Continent of Europe, with Belgium already a vassal State, Holland to become one, France by defeat one, with

all their forts and naval stations and shipyards open as well as her own, she will begin to get ready to whip us unless England's fleet prevents it.

Now, Great Britain can, by sea power, defend herself almost indefinitely, defend herself long enough for us to get ready to help her to defend us. You can put it in your pipe and smoke it, the fact that you must choose whether you are going to fight Germany now with assistance or whether you are going to fight her later; you have got to fight her.

Mr. President, I know of but one way to fight anybody. You can not always whip him, but there is but one way with a hope of success, and that is to hit him just as soon as the provocation comes, and as quickly as you can and as strongly as you can. That is what we have got to do.

Mr. President, there is a lot more; and it is very difficult to make a reply to the speech of the Senator from Wisconsin, because he scatters so you have got to scatter in reply. You can hardly keep track of your own intellect when you are trying to follow his supposed intellect. We had from him a long, labored eulogy of German policy and of her methods; a long, labored defense of her use of submarines in a way unknown to civilization. He made a long, labored criticism of the President of the United States, who is just as much your President right now as he is mine, although I helped to elect him and you did not.

But what was true when McKinley sent his message to us in the Congress of the United States? I happened at that time to have something to do with that in the Foreign Affairs Committee. I made a speech which was one minute long in favor of what McKinley wanted. CHAMP CLARK said it was the only one-minute speech he ever heard, and that one-minute speech was this: "I have talked too much about the tyranny and the oppression by Spain in Cuba and about the disorganized condition there to oppose now any measure proposed in favor of putting an end to it, and when I speak for myself I think I speak for the Democratic Party." That is not a literal quotation but it is substantially correct.

I had a quarter of a minute left. We Democrats gave him the \$50,000,000 he wanted and asked no questions.

Now, what are you going to do? I will tell you what you are going to do. You are going to imitate our example as well as you know how, because you love this country as well as I do. Lots of you north of the line have more cause to love it than I have, but I have cause sufficient. The Senator from Wisconsin says that with the European war carried on over there "we have nothing to lose." Have we not? Have we no honor that we might lose? Have we no regard for the sovereignty of the American Nation that we might be compelled to dispense with? Have we no regard for the flag floating from the flagstaff of our ships that were sunk without warning upon the high seas? Is sentiment rot? Is patriotism rot? Is there nothing that a man has which he either possesses or possesses him that is precious to him except money and material advantage?

The Senator in another part of his speech said the poor man would have to bear all this expense of war. I need not refer to that, because we all know that under the scheme of Democratic Federal taxation it is the rich man who is going to pay the taxes upon inheritance and upon income, both graduated to suit his fortune. According to the private opinion of a great many people—I am not one of them—it is graduated too much.

He wants to persuade us that it is the rich man's war and the poor man's fight. I heard all that gammon and demagoguery in the South after the Civil War. It was a lie then, as it is now.

By the way, now I am getting tired of another thing. This does not come from the Senator from Wisconsin; it comes from some other Senator who spoke. I am getting very tired of somebody saying this is a "Wall Street war." It is a lie.

Mr. OVERMAN. A Wall Street lie.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Probably a Wall Street lie, as the Senator from North Carolina has said. Wall Street and the money power of the capitalists did not sink the *Lusitania* and send to the judgment of God those men, women, and children unshriven. Wall Street did not sink the *Arabic*. Wall Street did not sink the *Sussex*. Wall Street did not sink the *Algonquin* with the American flag on her main staff, nor did Wall Street sink the last three American ships with flags flying that were sunk in the same way. I am tired of lies like that.

I think it is the duty of American Senators and Representatives and the American people to brand them lies, as they are.

One Senator said something about "putting the dollar mark upon the flag." That struck me as peculiar. I am the son of a father whose mother said to him, "Kit, you are a Whig; you are opposed to secession; let the Yankees and the secessionists fight this war." And his reply was, "Mother, the time has passed

for a gentleman to determine whether he shall fight or not. The only question is which side shall he fight on. I can not help kill Anne's kinsfolk." Anne was my mother.

I have a hearty contempt for the man who does not know his environment and his kindred and his friends and his country. It may be narrow, but I love my plantation better than any other plantation, my county better than any other county, my State better than any other State in the Union, and my country better than any other country in the world, and my race—the English-speaking race—better than any other race. That reminds me; coming back to twisting the British lion's tail, it is a performance very seldom indulged in by those whose forefathers fought for American freedom and independence. It is generally indulged in by somebody else.

Whence do we get our laws? Whence do we get our literature? Whence do we get our ethical philosophy? Whence do we get our general ideas of religion? From the people who sired our fathers before they came here.

I am tired of men telling me, Welshman, Scotchman, Englishman in blood, as I am, that the hereditary enemy of the United States is England or Wales or Scotland—that it is Great Britain. Magna Charta, the Declaration of Rights, the Bill of Rights included in the Constitution in its first 10 amendments—the very principles embodied in the Constitution derived from colonial experience under English rule—all come from England, a country whose high priest is John Milton, whose sweet singer was Burns, whose great intellect was Shakespeare, whose great warriors for liberty were Hampden and Sidney and Simon de Montford.

I would rather have heard the Senator from Wisconsin eulogize the best offshoots of that branch and those offshoots right here in Canada and Australia and in South Africa. They are the branches of the old stock that had the courage to leave the neighborhood and environment and seek out a new habitat and adapt themselves to it, and who won the fight. Men who, like our ancestors, plowed the field with the rifle on their shoulder while they held the plow with the other hand. They were English and Scotch and Welsh and Irish.

It was an Englishman of the Englishmen, as far as his blood is concerned—George Washington, of Mount Vernon—who preferred to have the people speak of him as George Washington, of Mount Vernon—his plantation name—rather than by some other name, who led the American forces that fought against the dictates of a German-blooded king backed up by Hessian hirelings. George Washington warned against entangling alliances and warned against another thing—an infuriate and insensate hatred of some particular people, because a man with that in his blood is incapable of being a real good American citizen in a country where the melting pot will finally operate.

I do not like the arraignment which the Senator from Wisconsin made of the English people or the English Government, even more democratic than our own. I do not like it because it was not correct historically, because it was not true in sentiment, and because it was an insult to the gentlemen from whose loins I sprang when they themselves fought against people of like blood who wanted to oppress them. What did they fight for? They fought for this—Thomas Jefferson and old Samuel Adams were pretty nearly the only ones of them who then took a larger vision—George Washington and Lincoln and Greene and the balance of them fought for "the inherited rights of Englishmen belonging," as they contended, "to Englishmen in America as well as to Englishmen in England." Those inherited rights of Englishmen were afterwards expressed in the Constitution of the United States. Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Adams had a bit broader vision and view; they went a bit further; and Thomas Jefferson's vision went to the Declaration of Independence, which includes not only the rights of Englishmen but "the rights of man," which were later embodied in the Declaration of the French Republic.

Somebody said to me the other day, "You seem to be angry and in a passion about this German question," and I said, "I am." Next to the indignation of God is the righteous indignation of a true man with a soul in him and red blood, instead of bluish milk, in his veins, against the German assumption of German superiority and against German arrogance and injury and insult; but, above all, insult. You know it will sound to a lot of you curious, but the thing I believe that I resent most is what Germany said to us about painting our ships like the display window of a barber shop, when we could go, by her allowance, once a week into one port in one country, more than I do even the sinking of our ships and the drowning of our citizens. I think nearly every gentleman resents insult more than he resents injury. A man who comes upon my place and goes through

a pathway that is not a public highway or who incidentally destroys some property that is growing, I can forgive; but one who comes up to me and tells me that he is going to do it whenever he pleases, because he is stronger than I am, is a man whom I can not forgive.

Germany thought she was stronger than we are; and she is right just now. These ready nations assume a great deal in connection with the unready nations. We two branches of the English-speaking race—across the sea and here—have always been unready for war, thank God, and shall remain so, because we think it is better to call out the full power of the people when the emergency comes than it is to keep them weighted down for 20 years in order to do one year's fighting. As a rule, people do one year's fighting out of each 20 years of their actual existence. We have done less, of course.

We are not declaring war here. Gentlemen who prate about peace when there is no peace make me tired. The war is here and the German Kaiser brought it. Instead of appealing to me and to you not to defend ourselves, let them, if they have any influence with their patron saint, appeal to him—the Kaiser—and get him to quit this game right here. We have called the limit, and we called the limit upon the sinking unwarned of merchant ships belonging to us or belonging to other people with our noncombatant citizens aboard in violation of every precedent of international law that was ever known. They reply, "We can not use submarines otherwise"; and we reply to that, "If you can not do so, do not use submarines; that is your affair." Then they reply, "It is a matter of necessity; we can not whip Great Britain otherwise." Our reply is, "We have nothing to do with the question of your whipping Great Britain; you whip her all you please or can, but do not undertake to whip us while you are about it."

The Senator from Wisconsin referred to "this European war" which we are about to enter. We are not about to enter any European war; we are about to enter an American war, which has been forced upon America by German military authority. It is not any European war at all, so far as we are concerned.

Then the Senator went on in a very platitudinous way and read one of those wonderfully exciting and curious letters from some female farmer out in the Dakotas, I believe it was. I have forgotten just what she did say, but she goes on to say—yes; here it is—that she had "patched her boy's breeches"; she had patched her boy up, and she had been taking care of him for she did not know how long, and asks "Is he to be now sent to a slaughterhouse?" and all that cowardly nonsense. Oh, what platitudes all that is. "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier," and all that nonsense. If you raised your boy right, you raised him to do whatever he had to do for his own honor or for his country's honor. You also raised him to keep from being a soldier just as long as he could abstain with honor.

There are some things worse than war and there are some things worse than death. Death is not such an awfully bad thing. You do not know and I do not know whether you or I will be worse off or better off if we wake up in another state of existence. There is a certain lot of inconvenience and pain accompanying it as you are dying, or just before you die, for I have stood by the bedside of many friends, and just as they died they all seemed to be contented and happy and peaceful and a sweet expression came upon their faces; but a little before it there was great pain. Nobody wants it, and the man who says he is courting death or courting danger is generally either a liar or a fool.

But there are worse things than death, and one of them is to live forever coupled with your other self while your other self tells you that you are a pusillanimous, degenerate coward. It is worse than death to have self-contempt. I mean a total self-contempt. We have all got it now and then about things; I know I have. We all do things now and then that deserve our contempt for ourselves as far as the act is concerned; but to live in a continuous and habitual state of self-contempt is very much worse than death. I imagine that that woman raising her boy and "patching his breeches" so that he could not be "sent to a slaughterhouse" and indoctrinating him with the idea that his other and better self ought to look down upon his real earthly self as a contemptible, degenerate coward never thought about the fate to which in false motherly love she was condemning him.

Then that platitude of the reply of the Senator from Wisconsin to the platitudinous letter that he received really aroused more curiosity than edification. By the way, it is the first time I ever heard a man declaim his own letter.

Now, Mr. President, I suppose this debate is pretty nearly closed. I fancy it is from the fact that the Senator from Wis-

consin has already spoken. [Laughter.] As a rule the Senator from Wisconsin does not speak until the curtain is about to fall upon the drama and until he can pose as the last, if not the chief, actor in the scene. I have my doubts as to whether or not I have committed an act of wisdom or stupidity in talking at all. I am a little bit inclined to think I would have been wiser if I had kept my seat instead of taking to my feet, but I did want to emphasize these two ideas: The first one is that men who are talking about peace are talking about nothing that is existing. The men who tell you that "after war is declared" they will line up and be as brave as Julius Caesar had better tell us that war is here and that they are already lined up and as nearly as brave as Julius Caesar as they know how to be. [Laughter.]

That is one idea, and the second idea, I repeat, is that the man who can not distinguish between the character of the violations of our neutral rights committed by Great Britain and by France and the character of violations committed by Germany has not sense enough to distinguish between a prize court and a torpedo. [Laughter.] That is the common sense of the situation. What is the use of standing here and reading the declaration of London? What is the use of my standing here, if I wanted to, and showing that the people of the North during the Civil War did just exactly what Great Britain is doing now, only they went further? What is the use of it all? The question is this: I am kicked; I have been kicked three times; I have received a written notice that I am going to be kicked again, and unless the part of my anatomy that I am to be kicked upon is paralyzed I must resent it, and so must you. [Laughter.]

The Senator from Wisconsin speaks of "the demands of the Executive." My Lord! The poor Executive! "The demands of the Executive!" Has President Wilson issued any demand to you or to me? He has given us a little advice, and I think it is very good advice, although I think he was a little bit slow about giving it. I will tell you the demands that are calling me and you to vote for this resolution. They are the demands of honor, of safety, of liberty, of justice, and of equality. Those are the demands that are compelling and propelling and impelling me; and I suppose you—I might go further and say the demand back of all that is the insensate and insane demand of the Kaiser of Germany.

Then the Senator says that "the other neutral nations are not taking the course that we are taking." No; they are not. But why? There is Norway, the land of the free and the brave and the true country whence the Normans came and whence almost all the blue blood of Europe to sit upon its thrones came. Why does not Norway resent these insults? Oh, Mr. President, it is a sad and tragic thing, but Norway is too weak. Why does not Denmark act? Because her very hands are in the mouth of the mad dog. Why does not Holland act? Again, because she dares not. German troops are lined across her border, ready to walk over her prostrate body as they walked over the body of Belgium; to shoot her civilians if they express sympathy for themselves against the German enemy; to burn down her schools, her libraries, and her cathedrals, as the Germans burned down those in Belgium. Holland is cowed. A brave race are the Dutch. They faced Spain in its pride and power with the help of England. They fought and died for liberty to speak and to worship. But, Mr. President, almost any people in the world, no matter how brave, now and then can be cowed and for a time act like whipped slaves. It is the most tragic and pathetic thing in all history when that happens either to a man or to a nation.

Why did not Switzerland act? There are other reasons in her case. She has no sea rights to defend; she has not been injured or been troubled; but she is the only one of the neutral powers that would not spring into the arena to-morrow, in contradiction of what the Senator from Wisconsin says, if they were at freedom to speak and to act, except possibly Sweden, whose great hatred of Russia might overbalance her hatred of Germany.

The entente allies the Senator wants to excite our enmity against I have referred to. I have spoken of France; I have spoken of Great Britain. How about Russia? Up to a short time ago, so far as Russia is concerned, any animadversions that the Senator chose to make would have met with a good deal of sympathy upon my part; but once more I see a people throwing off their shackles who have at least declared that they are free. Time will test the question whether they can prove that they are worthy to be free or not; but they have at least expressed the desire and the intention to be free, and, as a rule, where the desire and the intention go the fact exists.

I doubt whether I ought to say this or not, but we have got to go into this war now, and we are going into it for all we are

worth, for all our capital is worth, for all our bodies are worth, for all that we have and all that we are; and I for one, although I may subsequently perhaps regret saying it—maybe I may change my mind—but I say now that, feeling as I do now, I hope that we will never make peace until the universal decree of the civilized world has gone forth to the effect that the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns have ceased to reign, just as Napoleon uttered the decree that "the Bourbons had ceased to reign." They are not fit for modern civilization.

The Hohenzollerns have been able; they have been efficient; they have been all that; but a race infected with the poisonous idea that it is ruling by Divine ordinance is crazy. The Hapsburgs never were anything except a lot of thick-lipped, stupid fellows who married Hungary and then married Bohemia and then later on married Upper Tyrol, when they started out as grand dukes. They never had been anything and are not anything now. They ought to have been put aside years ago, like "the unspeakable Turk," to use the phrase of Mr. Gladstone. By the way, we have got it in for "the unspeakable Turk," too, who is oppressing not only the Armenians but American citizens, and I hope this war will never end until he is thrust into Asia to stay there.

Now, Mr. President, I believe—I know—I have spoken long enough, and I am afraid I have said too much.

Mr. HUSTING. Mr. President, I would not feel like taking up the time of the Senate this evening were it not for the fact that things have been said here that I feel called upon to try to answer. What I have to say will be more in the nature of a reply to the remarks that have been made upon the floor of the Senate this afternoon and this evening than to offer anything in an affirmative way.

I recognize the right of every Senator—nay, I recognize it as his duty—to have a mind of his own, to formulate his own judgment, and not to surrender it to the Executive or to anybody else; and at the same time I recognize it as a practical proposition that every citizen as well as every Senator should give his own Government the benefit of the presumption that it is in the right in its matters of difference with foreign countries. I think every Senator will agree, and I hope it will be subscribed to by every citizen of this country, that this Government of all governments is actuated by no motives of aggression, of ambition, or by anything other than a desire to do justice and to exact justice for itself in return. We must ignore the history of the United States, we must ignore the actions of our Presidents during all its history, we must forget all about the traditions of this country and of its statesmen, if we want to assume that every act of our Government in its present crisis was done from a sinister motive or was inspired by a desire not only to do injustice to friendly nations but to conspire with other nations to undo another.

I want to say that, as far as I am concerned, I am going to proceed upon the presumption that this Government is now acting, as history shows it has always acted, in the interest of right and justice to ourselves and to other nations. Not only that, but I am going to take for granted that President Wilson, whose record and character are beyond dispute, has acted honestly, fairly, patriotically, and in accord with the best and highest traditions of American statesmanship.

There has been some talk here by Senators to the effect that there has been much intolerant language used throughout the land in the discussion of this question. I agree with the statement, but I want to say that most of it has been used by those opposed to the Government. It has been used mostly by the traducers of the President of the United States and slanderers of the Government of the United States. The President has been criticized by citizens, oftentimes of very recent origin—and newspaper scribes began it—as a betrayer of his country and as a tool and ally of a foreign country. He has been held up as a man who is attempting to betray his Government into the hands of a foreign Government and it has been said that we have lost our independence, and that upon our hands and knees we are servilely serving a foreign master.

Such words as those deserve strong words in reply, and those who start the argument in such a manner must expect to receive it back in kind; only in giving it back in kind those that use the words are merely attempting to vindicate their own Government, to defend its honor and good name, while those who attack the Government and the President are all doing it in behalf of a foreign Government at the expense and to the degradation of our honor and good name.

Now, I am aware how many of our people feel toward war. I heard read here this afternoon the results of some votes that were cast in the State of Wisconsin. I do not know under what auspices these elections were held. I do not know what the qualifications of the voters were, if any. I do not know who

engineered the elections or supervised them, and I do not know in what way they were safeguarded. Neither do I know whether those who feel differently refused to participate in the election, which I think is quite likely. My information is that no qualification and few safeguards, if any, were thrown about the elections, which in the main were not held under the auspices of civil authority, but were in reality personally conducted as a rule by German sympathizers and initiated and promoted by them, and that in these elections, generally, the citizens who support the Government refused to take part. Be that as it may, even so I am not surprised at the result, the question put being, Shall we enter the European war? I believe that if the people of the United States were asked to vote for war or no war their preference would be against war. I am for no war. The people want no war if they can avoid it, and so I venture to say that if the vote were purely one of peace or war, not only those of the 100,000,000 of people who are old enough to vote, but the President and the Congress, would all vote for peace and against war.

But that is not the question, Mr. President. The question is, Shall the people of the United States suffer Germany to make war on us without defending ourselves? Shall the people of the United States support the President and the Congress of the United States—that is to say, their Government—in whatever course it is concluded best to take in the interest of the people's welfare and safety, even to the extent of going to war? Put this question and I venture to predict that the vote will be overwhelmingly in the affirmative. I want to go on record as saying that I believe if these questions were put to the people of Wisconsin, whom I have the honor in part to represent—namely, whether they will sustain their Government in the course it concludes best to take in defense of the welfare and safety of our people, even to the extent of war—the verdict would be an overwhelming one in favor of sustaining the Government. I know that the people of Wisconsin are loyal to the Government. Their loyalty has been emblazoned in imperishable letters upon the pages of history. The brave deeds of our gallant boys in the Civil War are a source of pride and joy to all Wisconsin men. In the Spanish War and again on the Mexican border Wisconsin troops stood at the head of the forces in respect to efficiency and soldier-like qualities generally. I know that the people of Wisconsin are loyal, and God forbid that their loyalty should ever be brought into question. God forbid that anyone who loves Wisconsin should cite the votes taken at Sheboygan and Monroe as evidence that their citizens would refuse to support their Government. I for one refuse to believe that these votes thus taken were evidence of a desire or purpose not to support the Government in its efforts to protect the welfare and safety of our own people, even to the extent of war.

Surely every citizen can not have it his own way. Take this body; they must agree upon some line of action; they must agree with the Executive upon some line of action. There are 96 Senators in this Chamber. I venture to say that no two of them, offhand, would agree upon exactly the right way to wage this war or would agree exactly, without counsel with one another, upon what we should have done in all the crises that we have passed through.

"Many men, many minds." Is it not impractical to say that each man for himself can decide what this country must do in an international crisis? Is it not manifestly absurd to suggest that we can follow many different men with many different minds in an international crisis?

There is only one way in which we can act, and that is to act in unison. We have got to have a leader, and we have got to agree with that leader when we are dealing with a foreign nation; otherwise we are not a country, but a mass of individuals that will fall easy prey to any united force such as any large country in Europe can bring against us.

I say that while we do not have to ask any man's judgment and take it for our own, yet within reason and within bounds, if this country is to be perpetuated, if it is to continue to exist, we must have teamwork, we must act together, we must pull together whenever a foreign foe raises its head against us. "United we stand, divided we fall." The danger now is right at our door.

I wish that I could vote against this war. It would ease my mind and my conscience to vote against any war. I doubt if there is anyone here who would not feel easier if he were not called upon to settle this question. It would be pleasant to evade responsibility and let things drift and trust to luck to save us. But the question is not whether we want war; the question is, "Shall we suffer war to be made upon us without defending ourselves?" We are not the aggressor. We are not attacking anybody, but we are being attacked. Our ships are

being attacked, our citizens and our ships carrying our flag are being sent to the bottom of the sea. In other and even more sinister ways our country has been warred upon for a period of more than two years by agents in the pay of a foreign Government.

Plots have been hatched, conspiracies have been formed, propaganda has been scattered through our country, and the minds of our people have been poisoned against their own Government until they have almost been led to believe that they can not trust their own Government. Men have been led to believe that other and foreign Governments are the abused Governments, and that instead of being in the right we have been in the wrong. Many men and many newspapers, many societies and conferences and leagues, and what not, have, through the press and upon the forum, attacked the Government of the United States in everything that it has said or done in its controversy with Germany, and justified everything that Germany has done against the United States. According to these pretended loyal supporters of America, America has done nothing that is right, but everything that is wrong, and Germany has done nothing that is wrong, but everything that is right. America can do no right and Germany can do no wrong, according to them. Yet they claim to be loyal, and point with pride to what their brave ancestors or heroes in blood have done for their country in the past.

They tell us that men of German blood fought in the War of the Rebellion and aided us in that great conflict. That is true. I join in every tribute that has been paid the German-American soldier. I can not subscribe to what the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS] has said, because the men of German blood who fought in the Civil War whom I know (with one or two exceptions) are themselves and their children and their grandchildren preaching loyalty to-day to the German-Americans that have come over since the war. They were gallant, brave old boys, and many of them were as good soldiers as ever carried a musket in defense of the flag. We know that. All honor to them. We have erected statues in their honor. But these men have been honored not because of what they have done against the United States but because of what they have done for the United States. The men who are disloyal—and there are some, but I am glad there are only a few, proportionately—these men who point with pride to the patriotism of the soldiers who fought in the Civil War are the ones that are loudest, sometimes, in denunciation of the United States and in exaltation of the German Government. Why do not they follow the worthy example set by their sires or by their fellow countrymen who, instead of carrying on propaganda against the flag in the dark days of the Civil War, went out and risked and laid down their lives in defense of the flag?

My idea of loyalty, Mr. President, consists in aiding and supporting the Government, not in attacking and abusing it. It is my idea of those who now are raising their voices against the Government, if they want to emulate the example of their progenitors in the Civil War, to encourage and support their Government, and not harass it nor obstruct it.

Now, I want to get down to a discussion of some of the questions that were raised by Senators who have spoken this afternoon and evening. In the first place, it is charged that this Government has been unneutral. It is charged that we have done certain things; that we have tolerated certain things from England that we have not tolerated from Germany. They say that we tolerated a blockade on the part of Great Britain, and it is now said that we should have stopped these violations by Great Britain at the very outset when she first proclaimed her blockade of the North Sea.

Why did we suffer Great Britain to maintain the blockade of the North Sea? Why did we suffer Germany to establish her first blockade? I claim now, as I have always claimed, that these blockades, at least in part, were illegal. I am sorry they were not stopped. Perhaps that would have ended it all. But, Mr. President, if we are going to go back and consider what should have been done two years ago, then let us go back to the perspective of that time, when these judgments had to be formed. The judgments had to be reached, not in the light of what has happened since but in the light then obtaining.

In passing, let me ask why some of the Senators who now claim that we should have stopped England did not then advise the breaking of relations with England or going to war with her if she refused to lift blockades? Why did Senators quite generally favor protests only instead of delivering ultimatums?

The reason why this Government did not deliver ultimatums was because the Senators and Representatives who are against war generally and the people of the country, and particularly those people who believe in peace at any price, would not let the Government put itself in the attitude of delivering an ultimatum.

Why? Because every ultimatum carries with it the possibility of war, and when we once adopt the doctrine that we must not have any war, no matter what the provocation, then we have taken the punch out of our diplomacy in situations of this kind. The time may come when nations engaged in a death grapple may listen to reason and justice for reason's and justice sake, but that time is not yet here. Diplomacy in times like these carries force with it only when backed by a united, resolute, and determined Government.

We can not expect nations to respect ultimatums or respect requests unless they are assured that if they refuse to respect the claims they will involve themselves in hostilities.

Going back then to two years ago, we all remember how we hoped to keep out of this war and how everybody wanted the Government to keep out of this war if possible. We argued to ourselves, something like this: Here are several countries at war. This war will not last very long. Europe has gone war mad. These nations do not respect international law any more. The war will soon be over. Whatever they are doing now against us can be paid for in money. Let us not use our Army and our Navy to collect bills; let us not shed the blood of our boys for a few paltry dollars. Let us not put ourselves in a position where we will have to fight with war-mad Europe just because we have lost some business.

So in response to a national sentiment and public opinion, including the approval of those who abhor war and who think war is unjustifiable and inspired with the hope that the war might end soon, and that we might avoid being drawn in, we adopted the settled policy, which has been adhered to to this day, that we would not make or threaten war on any nation invading our rights in this war so long as the damages we suffered thereby could be compensated in money. Therefore, we filed claims in the nature of suits for every such wrong suffered by us either at the hands of the entente or the Germanic allies, expecting, of course, to recover damages when peace returned. Now, it seems to me that this is the reason why Great Britain was suffered to do things against us that she had no right to do and why Germany was suffered to do things against us that she had no right to do. Thus, we adopted the policy of suffering Great Britain and Germany to commit acts upon us that were in violation of international law which we considered susceptible of settlement by way of damages. Now, thus far, in that respect there was no difference in our treatment of Great Britain or Germany. It has been argued here, however, that the wrong suffered at our hands by both belligerent allies was of equal gravity, and that we had as much reason to war on Great Britain as we had on Germany. It has even been argued that if we felt it necessary to declare war on Germany, we could do no less than to declare war on Great Britain. I have received a great many letters and telegrams along the same line. It is astonishing to find that men who are opposed to war suddenly become so war mad that they suggest that if we enter into war at all we should make war on the whole of Europe. Of course it is absurd to suggest even that we should declare war against the Germanic allies, on the one hand, and the entente allies, on the other, at the same time and thus make it a three-cornered affair.

If these injuries had been confined to pecuniary losses we would not have warred against Great Britain or Germany; we would not have warred at all. We would have remained at peace. Right here the analogy ceases. On February 4, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, a war zone, and it was further indicated at that time that they intended to ignore the rules of international law requiring visit and search and proposed to sink merchantmen without warning and without providing for the safety of passengers and crew. To this proclamation the United States, on February 10, 1915, protested, pointing out that such action on the part of Germany would endanger the lives of our citizens and it would be in violation of the principles of international law. Notwithstanding this protest Germany proceeded to carry out her threat, resulting in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, where more than 100 Americans lost their lives and many hundreds of noncombatant men, women, and children were sent to a watery grave without warning and without any attempt being made to safeguard their lives. History records no more infamous act than this! The world was horror stricken; the United States was stunned with grief and horror; the people were aflame with wrath. We protested; our protests have not been heeded to this day. Again and again boats were sunk without warning, and again and again men, women, and children went down to their death defenseless and undefended. So, in all, 310 American lives have been ruthlessly and wantonly taken. Many American ships, carrying American cargoes, bound from neutral port to neutral port, carrying American mails, are floating phantoms below the surface of the sea, aimlessly and

helplessly dragging the bedraggled Stars and Stripes into the depths of the ocean and still carrying the bones and bodies of noncombatant men, women and children, innocent victims of piracy and assassination.

To those who ask what the difference in offenses is, I answer that it is the difference between men and money—the difference between that of life and property. That tells the story. Great Britain says: "We shall stop and seize your ships entering the blockade zone." Germany says: "Here is a dead line. If you cross that line we will kill your people; we will sink your ships; we will destroy your cargoes and your mails. This is a line over which you can not pass and live." Now, not only has Germany said that but she has made good her threat over and over again.

Now, it is said that we have permitted Great Britain to sow mines in the sea, and that there is no difference in principle between laying the mines and the torpedoing of a vessel by a submarine without warning. In addition to her other offenses, let me point out right here that it was Germany who first sowed the mines.

On August 7, 1914, three days after the war began, Germany notified all neutral countries that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines.

It has been argued here this evening that Great Britain established mine fields and that we did not make formal protest against it, and having made no formal protest against it, it is contended that we lost our status as a neutral nation. Let me say, in answer to this, first, that the German Government itself never made that argument against us. She recognized our status as a neutral for two years thereafter because it is only recently that diplomatic relations have been severed, and then severed, not by Germany, but by us. It would seem difficult, therefore, to understand why any of us should question our neutrality when Germany herself never questioned it.

Now, reverting once more to the statement I made that Germany first sowed mines in the sea and that Great Britain retaliated by the order in council of November 3, 1914, and the argument made that no protest was filed against Great Britain's violation, I want to say that this was the subject matter of controversy and correspondence almost continuously for more than two years, and culminated eventually in the filing of formal protest in February, 1917, against all the sowing of mines by Great Britain. I here want printed as part of my remarks a part of a memoranda which was prepared by the Department of State and submitted to me.

That the United States took "no notice of the declaration by Great Britain on November 3, 1914, that the entire North Sea was to be considered as a military area, the British having laid mine fields."

ANSWER.

The illegal use of mines in the present war has not been confined to any one belligerent. Both sides have violated the rights of neutrals and have sown large areas of the high seas with mines, the result of which has been the destruction of a number of neutral vessels.

On August 7, 1914, the German Government notified all neutral countries that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines.

In a note dated August 11, 1914, the British ambassador alleged that Germany had scattered contact mines indiscriminately about the North Sea and informed this Government that in view of this fact the British Admiralty held themselves at liberty to adopt similar methods in self-defense.

On August 13 the Secretary of State protested against such action on the part of Great Britain, stating that even "if an enemy of His Majesty's Government, has, as asserted, endangered neutral commerce by an act in violation of the Hague Convention, which can not be justified on the grounds of military necessity, this Government saw no reason for Great Britain adopting a similar course, which would add further to the dangers to peaceful navigation of the high seas by vessels of neutral powers."

On November 3, 1914, Great Britain alleging that during the past week the German Government had scattered mines indiscriminately in the open seas and on the main trade routes from America to Liverpool via the north of Ireland; that peaceful merchant ships had already been blown up; and that the mines were laid by some merchant vessels flying neutral flags; declared the North Sea a military area, and that all ships that did not follow an indicated course would be in grave danger from the mines it had been necessary to lay.

On February 4, 1915, Germany in retaliation for various alleged illegal acts on the part of Great Britain, notified neutral nations that "the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole English Channel, are hereby declared a war zone." It was indicated at the same time that they would ignore the rule of international law requiring visit and search and would sink merchantmen without first ascertaining whether they were neutral or enemy ships and without making provisions for the safety of passengers and crew.

To this proclamation the United States, on February 10, 1915, protested and pointed out that such action on the part of Germany would endanger the lives and property of citizens of neutral and friendly nations and would violate the principles of international law. In its note the United States stated that—

"The Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by the other belligerent nations in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, taken in all such matters a position which warrants it in holding those Governments responsible in the proper way for any unlawful effects upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law do not justify, and that it there-

fore regards itself as free in the present instance to take, with a clear conscience and upon accepted principles, the position indicated in this note."

On February 20, 1915, the United States, in the interest of neutral commerce, sent identical notes to Germany and Great Britain in which the hope was expressed that these two belligerents "may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement which will relieve neutral ships engaged in peaceful commerce from the great dangers which they will incur on the high seas adjacent to the coasts of the belligerents," and outlined a course of action with regard to the sowing of mines and the importation of foodstuffs into Germany to which it was hoped they would agree. Unfortunately, it was not possible to secure the consent of the two Governments to the proposal.

On February 19, 1917, the Secretary of State addressed the following note to the British Ambassador:

From time to time during the present war, as your excellency is aware, the Government of His Britannic Majesty has given notice of certain delimited areas of the high seas, designated as "military areas" or "danger areas," within which merchant shipping of all kinds, fishing craft, and all other vessels were warned that they would be subject to the gravest dangers from mines laid by His Majesty's Government and from hostile operations and that they would enter such waters at their peril. The matter was referred to in the department's memorandum of August 13, 1914, and has been the subject of subsequent correspondence between the American Ambassador at London and the British Foreign Office.

As a question of appropriating certain portions of the high seas for military operations to the exclusion of the use of the hostile areas as a common highway of commerce has not become a settled principle of international law, assented to by the family of nations, it will be recognized that the United States must, and hereby does, for the protection of American interests, reserve generally all of its rights in the premises, including the right not only to question the validity of these measures, but to present demands and claims in relation to any American interests which may be unlawfully affected, directly or indirectly, by virtue of the enforcement of these measures.

ROBERT LANSING.

It will be noted here that notwithstanding that Germany had given notice of the mining of the sea on August 7, 1914, and that complaint was made against her by the British ambassador on August 11, 1914, yet on August 13, 1914, the first protest against the mining of the sea was directed against Great Britain, and this certainly was sufficient to reserve our rights without formally protesting against each additional similar violation.

At this point I also wish to offer a memorandum prepared by the State Department at my request, showing protests made against Great Britain for the laying of mines and other offenses up to and including May 24, 1916:

August 13, 1914. Department protested against Great Britain's announcement that she would lay mines in North Sea in retaliation for those alleged to have been already sown by Germany.

(NOTE.—The German Government on August 7, 1914, notified all neutral nations that the trade routes to English ports would be closed by mines. No protest made by United States to this.)

October 22, 1914. United States advised Great Britain that it would insist that rights and duties of the United States and its citizens in present war be defined by existing rules of international law and treaties of the United States, irrespective of the provisions of the declaration of London (which Great Britain would not agree to observe in its entirety).

December 26, 1914. United States protested against seizure and detention in English ports of vessels laden with American goods destined to neutral countries.

(NOTE.—In note dated February 16, 1915, German Government refers to this protest and states that the American Government has dealt with this point very aptly.)

March 5, 1915. United States protested against declaration of Great Britain of March 1, 1915, that British and French Governments would hold themselves free to detain and take into port ships carrying goods of presumed enemy destination, ownership or origin, without confiscating such vessels or cargoes unless they would otherwise be liable to condemnation. The United States pointed out that proposed course of action previously unknown to international law.

March 30, 1915. United States protested against regulations to be applied by Great Britain and France to prevent all supplies reaching Germany and pointed out that proposed measures could not be considered a legal blockade and that if enforced many interferences with our legitimate trade would occur which would impose upon the British Government heavy responsibility for acts of British authorities clearly subversive of the rights of neutral nations on the high seas, and that this Government would expect of the British Government full reparation for every act which under the rules of international law constitute a violation of neutral rights.

July 14, 1915. United States advised Great Britain that it would not recognize validity prize court proceedings taken under restraints imposed by British municipal law in derogation of the rights of American citizens under international law.

October 21, 1915. United States again protested to Great Britain against violations of international law authorized by orders in council, pointing out that the methods employed to obtain and use evidence of enemy destination on cargoes bound for neutral ports and to impose contraband character upon such cargoes and without justification: (2) that the blockade upon which such methods are partially founded is ineffective, illegal, and indefensible; (3) that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation for an international injury is inherently defective for the purpose; and that (4) in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the laws of nations and insisted that the relations of the United States and Great Britain be governed not by a policy of expediency but by established rules of international law.

January 25, 1916. Department protested against British trading with enemy act.

July 26, 1916. United States vigorously protested against application of blacklist to American citizens, stating that it was arbitrary, inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize dealings of friendly governments with one another.

January 4, 1916. United States instructed American ambassador at London to make formal and vigorous protest and press for a discontinuance of unwarranted interference with inviolable mails by British authorities.

May 24, 1916. United States again protested against continued interference with letter mail by the British and French authorities.

Now, it is plainly evident that we permitted Great Britain to sow mines in the sea no more than we permitted Germany to place mines in the sea. Both placed them there, but against our protests. So much for that.

Now, it is further said that there is no difference in principle between the sinking of a boat by contact mines and the torpedoing of a vessel by a submarine; and therefore that because Great Britain laid the mines in the North Sea she is equally culpable and that we have as strong a case against her as against Germany. While in the first place no American lives have been lost in the manner charged (although it is claimed that one or two lives were lost because of contact mines), yet it is manifestly impossible to know whether these mines were Germany's or Great Britain's, both having sown them in the same sea. Moreover, it happened once (if at all) and never again. But there is another and greater difference that is quite obvious to me—to lay a mine unlawfully in a sea traversed by boats may or may not sink ships. It may sink a ship if accidentally brought in contact with it. It is not designed to destroy any particular ship, but only such as may accidentally come in contact with it. To torpedo a boat by a submarine is a willful, deliberate, and wanton attempt to sink a particular boat at a particular time and at a particular place. A man may put a set gun in the woods and warn men of the danger. It is an unlawful and dangerous thing to do, but in the category of offenses no one would place it alongside with that of the man who sits in ambush and deliberately, maliciously, and wantonly takes the life of every person who passes by. One is doing an unlawful act, it is true, but the other one is committing foul, deliberate murder in the first degree; one is a trespasser upon our rights, the other is an assassin of men.

Now, as I said before, Germany not only served notice of her intent to engage in submarine warfare, but she proceeded to carry out her threat. On March 27, 1915, the *Falaba* went down, and on May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk without warning, carrying over 100 Americans—men, women, and children—to a terrible death. I am not going to recount all the horrid deeds that have been done since, but I am here going to put into the Record a memorandum from the State Department, giving the names and the dates of the boats that have been ruthlessly destroyed.

In the numerous cases of vessels sunk by submarines, there has been, it may be pointed out, an interference with and total loss of the mails sunk with the torpedoed vessels. While this Government has protested against flagrant cases of destruction of American vessels, or cases in which vessels have been attacked in violation of rules of international law, resulting in loss of American lives, no protest has been made to Germany or her allies against this destruction of mails.

Among the cases of illegal attack on merchant vessels by submarines, resulting in loss of American lives, are:

The *Falaba*, sunk March 28, 1915.

The *Lusitania*, sunk without warning May 7, 1915, resulting in loss of over 100 American lives.

The *Arabic*, torpedoed August 24, 1915.

The *Sussex*, torpedoed without warning March 24, 1916, with loss of 80 lives, among whose passengers were a number of Americans.

All of the above were attacked by German submarines, while on November 7, 1915, an Austrian submarine attacked the Italian merchant vessel *Ancona*, resulting in loss of American lives.

In addition to these cases, the following American ships have been attacked:

April 28, 1915, *Cushing*, attacked by German aeroplane.

May 1, 1915, *Gulftide*, sunk by German torpedo, killing two of crew and resulting in death of captain.

May 25, 1915, *Nebraskan*, fired upon by German submarine.

July 25, 1915, *Leelanaw*, sunk by German submarine.

December 3, 1915, *Communiaw*, fired on by submarine.

December 5, 1915, *Petrolite*, fired upon and damaged by Austrian submarine; one member crew injured and supplies taken.

June 16, 1916, *Seaconnet*, damaged by mine or torpedo.

August 14, 1916, *Oswego*, reported fired upon ten times by submarine.

October, 1916, *Kansan*, destroyed by German submarine.

October 28, 1916, *Lanao*, destroyed by German submarine.

November 7, 1916, *Columbian*, destroyed by German submarine.

November 26, 1916, *Galena*, fired on by submarine.

November 26, 1916, *Chemung*, sunk by Austrian submarine.
 December 10, 1916, *St. Helene*, attacked by submarine.
 December 14, 1916, *Rebecca Palmer*, fired on by submarine, damaged slightly.
 January 9, 1917, *Sacramento*, fired on by submarine.
 February 3, 1917, *Housatonic*, sunk by submarine.
 February 13, 1917, *Lyman M. Law*, burned by submarine.
 March 12, 1917, *Algonquin*, sunk without warning by German submarine.

On April 16, 1916, in presenting the case of the *Sussex* the United States advised Germany that unless its indiscriminate and relentless warfare against vessels of commerce by use of submarines without regard to the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity ceased, this Government would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. In response to this the German Government on May 4, 1916, notified this Government that the German naval forces had received orders that in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

This assurance was withdrawn by the German note of January 31, 1917, and memoranda transmitted therewith, in which the German Government announced that it would forcibly prevent all navigation "that of neutrals included" in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the Mediterranean; that "all ships met within that zone will be sunk," and that "From February 1, 1917, all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in certain delimited zones."

In view of this withdrawal of the solemn assurances contained in German note May 4, 1916, this Government on February 3, 1917, notified the German Ambassador that it had no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course it explicitly announced in the *Sussex* note of April 18, 1916, and sever diplomatic relations.

This Government had protested again and again. It must be remembered that the taking of American lives in the manner and form it was done of itself constituted sufficient grounds for war against Germany, but the President was anxious to avoid war if possible. The people clamored for peace each time a new outrage was suffered; a roar of indignation swept over the country only to be quieted down by the calm and patient voice of the President counseling peace. On April 16, 1916, as will appear from the memoranda, in presenting the case of the *Sussex*, the United States advised Germany that unless its indiscriminate and relentless warfare would cease this Government would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. You will all remember that then, as now, the cry again was raised, "Keep us out of war." Hundreds of thousands of telegrams poured into Washington praying for peace. These senders did not tell the President how he was to keep us out of war. We had not been the aggressors; we had invaded no rights of any country; we were neither destroying the property nor the lives of the citizens of any foreign country. How, then, did these senders of telegrams want the President to keep us out of war? Clearly, it was only by yielding up our rights and running away. It will be remembered that these telegrams were financed by the "embargo conference," so called; financed by German sympathizers, if not by German money, the purpose of which evidently was not to maintain American rights but to shield German wrongdoing. But the President, standing firm upon the ultimatum which he had sent, found the American way to keep the peace, and that was by persuading Germany to cease her unlawful acts and respect American rights. Wrong yielded to right instead of right yielding to wrong, and it appeared then that the sunshine of peace was to prevail in this country.

Now, like a bolt out of a clear sky, on January 31, 1917, Germany served notice upon this country that she proposed to renew her infamous acts of piracy and assassination upon the high seas and that she intended to extend the dead zone so that it now includes, without counting the forbidden waters of the Mediterranean Sea, an area of no less than one million and a half square miles. Not only that, but she has proceeded to carry out her threats, and American boats manned by American seamen and flying the American flag have been sunk without warning and without attempting to save the lives of Americans on board. Now, what does this mean? It means that we must suffer this and similar outrages in the future in silence, in shame, in cowardice, or we must fight.

Now, Mr. President, in view of the past wrongs that we have suffered and in the face of the threat to commit further murder upon our people are we going to quit? Are we going to turn

tail and abandon our rights to traverse the high seas? If threats will make us relinquish rights, where will the threats stop? Are we justified in waiving the rights of our people upon the high seas? Is it consistent with national honor now to turn tail and run away when trouble threatens?

Again and again our Government has warned Germany that any repetition of the offense of which we complain would result not only in the severance of diplomatic relations, but that we would hold her to "strict accountability" and would omit no steps necessary to defend our rights, or words to that effect.

With these solemn words ringing in her ears, with full knowledge of what her actions meant, repudiating her solemn promise made to us, repudiating the laws of nations and of humanity, the laws of God and man, in defiance of the nations of the world and the opinions of mankind, in defiance of the United States, of her President, and of her people, Germany again threatened to resume and has resumed her ruthless, unrestrained, and barbarous submarine warfare. She is not afraid to do wrong. Shall this great Nation be afraid to do right and to maintain its own rights? Shall we condone or indorse another country's wrong against us and repudiate our country's right? No; we will not do that! We must not do that! Our honor, our rights, our lives—nay, our very safety and welfare will not permit us to do that. No nation can long endure which permits its rights to be deliberately, wantonly, defiantly, and insultingly trampled upon. No nation can long endure or should endure which fails or refuses to defend the lives of its defenders!

So the nation that will permit itself to be deprived of its rights or will permit its citizens to be destroyed, that will permit its honor to be assailed, that will permit itself to be swerved from the path of right, will soon find itself without rights and will soon learn that it is on the highway to destruction.

If Germany to-day, with the fingers of her enemies at her throat, does not hesitate in the perpetration of wrong or to defy the United States—if Germany, I say, does not at such a time as this hesitate to warn us, upon pain of death and destruction, to keep off more than one million and a half square miles of sea—if she does not hesitate in the pursuit of the commission of this wrong against us to warn us practically from all intercourse with Europe, then, I ask, what will Germany not hesitate to do when (or if) she emerges as victor in this war? You tell us to keep out of this death zone until war is over. Why only until the war is over? There is nothing in the "decree," which we are ordered to obey on pain of death, which sets a time limit upon the force and effect of this decree! We are not told when our privileges are to be restored to us, and so far nothing appears in the decree itself that prevents it from remaining in force and effect after the war is over. You say that Germany will revoke her mandate when the war is over. What assurance have we that it will be revoked? Is there anyone who can speak with assurance on this point? Is anyone of those who are urging us to keep our citizens and our ships at home in a position to guarantee to their country that her rights will be restored to her by Germany when the war is over?

If Germany wins this war she "will bestride this narrow world like a colossus." She will be all powerful, all dominating. If our great Nation shrinks now from asserting and maintaining our honor and our rights, will we not, when Germany shall have swept her enemies from land and sea (in the event that she be successful), shrink from engaging this colossus should she then still continue to bar us from the present sea zone of death or when, perchance, it shall be her pleasure to bar us from all the seas and oceans of the world?

Experience has shown that the sufferance of repeated wrongs by one country at the hands of another and the corresponding abandonment of its rights does not insure peace. It rather invites the commission of another wrong upon the nonresident nation and the consequent yielding of another right, until at last its very sovereignty is challenged. So that the nonresistant nation eventually will find itself in a position where it must either fight and defend its rights in order to maintain its sovereignty as a nation or in the end become subservient to the dominant nation and regulate its conduct in obedience to its mandate.

Not only that, but the first wrongful acts patiently borne are afterwards cited by the offending country as a precedent justifying further wrongful acts. It is perfectly natural among nations as it is among men that a mere license predicated not upon right but upon mere acquiescence, uninterruptedly enjoyed and not resisted, ripens into what finally is claimed by the licensee to be a vested right.

So President Wilson wisely deemed it his duty to demand of Germany that she desist from her ruthless submarine warfare. Germany finally did recognize that our demand was a just one, and so on May 4, 1916, she solemnly pledged herself to respect our rights and to abandon her ruthless submarine warfare. But

it is said here now that her promise was a conditional one, which she might withdraw at any time. Let me say that when the German note was served upon the United States containing words that might have been construed as a condition, the President immediately sent a reply note of the following tenor:

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it can not for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

The President's note is plain. It served notice on Germany that her note would not be accepted by us with any condition whatsoever attached. Now that was nearly a year ago. If Germany intended to insist upon her alleged condition, then she should immediately have said so, with a result that diplomatic relations would have been severed, Mr. Bernstorff would have been sent home, and if Germany persisted in a continuance of her lawless submarine warfare we would have gone to war with her then. Germany knew this, and knowing this, she not only acquiesced in the note of the President and not only took notice that we accepted her promise unconditionally, but that we would not accept it otherwise and, so knowing, she acquiesced.

Now, it has been argued here upon the floor that we, by acquiescing in the placing of mines in the sea (I deny that we did so acquiesce, but assuming it to be true for the sake of the argument), thereby surrendered our right to protest against the continuance of these mines. Well, then, applying the same reasoning in this instance to Germany, did she not surrender her rights when she acquiesced in the President's note, in which he said that we accepted her promise as "single, not joint; absolute, not relative?" Now, Germany, by her acquiescence, can no longer claim that she only pretended to acquiesce; that she accepted the President's note with a mental reservation. I say she can not do this in good faith. By so arguing she must confess, and those who so argue must admit, that she was intending to deceive us and to resume her lawless acts when it suited her convenience. In fact, the German chancellor, in his speech before the Reichstag, after the notice of January 31 last, stated that the reason that Germany had temporarily ceased her submarine warfare was because the time was not then ripe for her to continue it in all its fury. But moreover, Mr. President, how could Germany reserve any right to renew her submarine warfare?

In answer to that let me say, the original act being illegal, how can Germany reserve a right to repeat it? Germany acknowledged that her submarine warfare was illegal when she promised to quit it. That is, in fact, the only ground upon which she did quit it. She most assuredly would not have agreed to stop doing an act which she believed she could do as a matter of right. Then how can she now claim a right to renew it? How can a nation reserve a right to do a wrong? Now, since a nation possesses no inherent right to do wrong, it must follow that she can not create or reserve a right in her note to do something which she had no right to do in the first instance. In short, she had no right to torpedo our boats with submarines without warning, or without visit and search, or without providing a place of safety for the passengers and crew, or to sink the boats, the mails and the cargoes, and therefore she agreed to quit it. Then how, in God's name, in promising to quit and to respect our rights, can she reserve any right to resume a practice infamous and wrong per se?

So there is a very broad distinction between the things that England has done against us and those which Germany has done against us. The difference is as great as that between human life and money, as great as that between property rights and human rights, and all the sophistry, all the refinement of arguments, all the specious pleading can not change the fact, and fact it is, that Germany has destroyed lives, has committed murder upon our citizens and piracy upon the high seas. The wrongs that we have suffered at Great Britain's hands can and will be compensated for in money.

The President has been charged with vacillation. An analysis of this whole question will show that he has steered a straight and steady course. So long as the wrongs we suffered were capable of being adjusted by the payment of money, though protesting, we refused to go to war about it. From the moment that American lives were being taken and wrongs were being

inflicted upon us and upon our honor, which could not be compensated by the payment of money, he served notice upon Germany and upon the world that these wrongs would not be tolerated and, unless abandoned, would mean war.

Mr. President, it has been said upon this floor to-day that this war would put the dollar sign upon the flag. It has been said that this would be a war by the munitions makers and Wall Street. It has been said that we are a money-mad nation. Let me say that the facts show that for two and one-half years we have been suffering money and commercial losses at the hands of both groups of belligerents. Did we go to war for that? No. It has been only since American lives have been taken that this country has aroused itself and is ready to take the sword in defense of American lives and American honor. This country has refused to use its Army and its Navy or to sacrifice a single American life for the purpose of protecting commerce or property rights either in Mexico or even upon the high seas, but it now shows itself ready to spend its treasure and to sacrifice its blood to protect the lives of its citizens. Are we a money-mad people?

We have poured our millions into Belgium and Poland to alleviate the misery and suffering wrought by those with whom we are now in controversy. If we are a people that is simply money mad what prompts us to alleviate suffering not wrought by us and which under the ordinary interpretation of our duty as a people we were not bound in any way to help or to alleviate.

When has the world ever called upon the generous people of the United States to help want and suffering in the remotest part of the globe that our people were not ready to upturn their horn of plenty into the waiting lap of want and suffering? This country has ever put human rights and human lives above property and money rights. In the Civil War we did not hesitate to sacrifice a million men and millions and millions of dollars to right a wrong involving human rights and human happiness. Although suffering many aggravating things at the hands of Spain in Cuba, it required the taking of the lives of the sailors of the *Maine* to prompt us to draw the sword against Spain. This country will not go to war or sacrifice lives for paltry dollars, but it will never hesitate as long as this Nation shall be "the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave," and remains fit to live in, to defend the lives of her humblest citizens with the last drop of blood in the veins of her citizens or the last farthing in the vaults of her treasury. Now, of course, it is true, alas, that in every war some men will make profit. It is true that when war is on, the buzzards of the air will hover about the corpses in the field, but I am sure that no American, whether he resides in Wall Street or is engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war or who will profit by a war in any way, is so lost to all sense of humanity and all decency, is so devoid of all instincts of human kind, that he would either directly or indirectly cause the shedding of a single drop of blood of his fellow men or who would even mentally calculate the profit he might make should war come. There may be such men but I do not know them nor do I want to know them. These men, if such men there be, are not human but are fiends. I say I do not know of such a man nor can I conceive of Americans of that kind.

However, this war, if war comes, will be a war by the American people against the German dynasty. It will be a war, not for profit or pelf, but for the rights, the lives, the honor, the welfare, and the safety of this Nation. It will be a war for the democracy of the world.

As the President says, this war is not directed against the German people, but against Prussian militarism and autocracy. Our citizens of German ancestry while fighting for our country will also be fighting for democracy and for the liberation of the German people. They will be assisting in doing for Germany what the Revolutionary fathers did for us.

It also has been said that we are war mad. Mr. President, this feeling that exists in the United States to-day against the German Government is not a one-day's growth. For over two years the wrath of the American people has been slowly but surely rising against a country that raised its hand against society and the world. The sinking of the *Lusitania* over two years ago kindled a horror and a wrath against Germany in the mind of every right-thinking American. If we had been a war-mad people, or rather if we had been anything but a peace-loving people, we would have wreaked summary vengeance on a Government for the foulest act ever perpetrated by a civilized nation and one which will forever be a foul blot upon the pages of German history. To imply, therefore, that this war, if war should come, will be one waged by a war-crazed people, a money-mad people, inspired by greed and avarice for the purpose of gain, is in my judgment a foul slander upon the American people.

and upon their Government. Let this talk cease, I pray! Let no American so befoul his own nest!

It has been said here this afternoon that the destruction of the lives of our citizens was a mere incident only. Do you call that an "incident" when the *Healdton*, the other day (and this is only one of a series of incidents of the kind), flying the American flag, plying from one neutral port to another neutral port, was torpedoed and sunk without warning in the sea? That was no "incident." That was a direct and deliberate act.

It has been argued here, however, that the torpedoing of our boats was a mere incident and that the offense was not one directed against us, and that, consequently, the offense was no more serious than the accidental destruction of a boat by contact with a mine.

But we need not, however, talk about that sort of incident. What do you call it when you "draw a bead" on a man and shoot down the man at whom you are aiming? That is murder, is it not? That is what they did to the *Healdton*. The American flag was painted on its side; they knew that they were aiming at it, did they not? They knew it was an American boat, did they not? And they deliberately shot down the boat they were aiming at, to wit, an American ship, and they destroyed American lives. That is not an "incident," is it? That is a direct act aimed at us which the German Government deliberately ordered its navy to do. That is the thing, in fact, that they threatened to do in their last note. Germany's note of January 31 last served notice of her intent. Her act carried out her intent and purpose. So there is neither any room for doubt as to her intent and none as to the fact. How, then, can anyone stand here and argue that our injuries at Germany's hands are accidental when it is clear that her acts are premeditated and willfully and wantonly directed at us?

Now, it is further argued that Germany must do these things and is justified in so doing because of "necessity." That is the defense of the outlaw.

There is no plea made by Germany that can not be made by an outlaw. If I am an outlaw and I set my hand against society, of course I put my life in jeopardy, because society will turn against me to protect itself. It may be an excuse or justification sufficient to satisfy me for me to say that because I want to live any man that comes within my sight I will shoot and kill for fear he will kill me. I must eat and live, of course, and so when I hunger I will kill and rob any man who possesses that which I need so that I may live and eat. That is the plea of the outlaw. When Germany says she is doing these things as a matter of necessity it may in her own eyes justify herself to herself. If an outlaw kills a man and takes his bread away the fact that the outlaw needed to commit this act may be sufficient in his eyes and satisfy his own conscience if he has one. But is Germany's and the outlaw's defense a good one before the bar of the civilized world? Is Germany's necessity our law and the law of the world?

What does the law of necessity imply? Who is the judge of that law? Who makes that law? Why, Germany. If she says it is a necessity, according to her, that is the law. Consequently there is no law but her law. When she puts that law into operation and sets it against us if we subscribe to it, then her law is our law and we have surrendered to her law. That is to say, then, that her necessity as construed by her is our law from which we have no appeal. That is the situation in which Germany and the world is in to-day. She tells the world, "I have drawn a girdle through the ocean 500 miles into the sea covering a million and a half square miles—an imaginary line only—but anyone crossing that line is a dead man." Is the world going to stand it? If it does, then there is no law but that of Germany's necessity. How long that will continue will depend upon Germany's pleasure, unless the world will soon cease taking its laws from Germany and German necessity and compel Germany to respect the law of the world instead.

Now, it is said that we have been unneutral in other, and in fact in many, respects, and if I may be pardoned for taking the time in the Senate I propose to take up some of the most persistent of them. A great many of these charges and arguments have been most assiduously distributed throughout the length and breadth of the land and have been reiterated over and over again notwithstanding many of them are without substantiality. Now, for instance, it is charged that we should have placed an embargo on munitions of war. Germany herself has never made the claim that we were unneutral in permitting our citizens to do what her citizens have felt free to do since time immemorial without reproof from their Government. At the Hague Convention, before the beginning of the war, it was proposed by many nations, some of whom are now belligerents, to forbid neutral nations from shipping arms to belligerent countries. Why did not Germany favor and support the proposition?

She not only did not aid and support it, but she defeated it. Therefore, it does not lie in her mouth nor in the mouth of any of her spokesmen, either here or abroad, to complain of unneutrality on the part of our Government in permitting its people to exercise a right which Germany by her vote at the Hague Convention refused to deprive them or her own citizens of. The rules of war were fixed when the war began and every nation if it did not wish to abandon its rudder and its compass was obliged to insist that the law in force at the opening of hostilities should remain the law for the purpose of this and other subsequent wars until by the consent of the nations making the law, these same should either be modified or abrogated.

Now, some of those people who have been insisting all the time that Germany is always right and the United States is always wrong, while admitting that we have a legal right to permit such shipments, nevertheless argue that the moral law forbids such traffic. The answer to this is that international law, as agreed to by all of the nations, including Germany, is presumed to embody the requirements of justice and morality in so far as nations with conflicting interests permit justice and morality to dictate or influence international law. In other words, the provisions of international law are the last expressions that we have of the composite judgment of the nations of the world as to what is legally and morally right or wrong. This should be sufficient at least for our citizens, but, as I said a little while ago, if we once depart from the text of the law, expressing as it does the last word spoken upon the subject by the nations of the world, we depart from a fixed and definite statement of the law to embark into the sea of conjecture and speculation, each nation, each individual, each official trying to inject into the international code his own idea of law and morals. This means, just as the law of necessity means, that there is no law except that which exists in the mind of each individual and each individual nation at some particular moment or because of some particular exigency.

Besides all this, we have just had an election. While there was a great deal of talk a year ago on the part of some that an embargo should be placed upon shipments abroad, yet the political conventions came, platforms were framed, men went out upon the stump, the election was had, and no party, either the Progressive, Republican, or Democratic Party (and I believe not even the Socialist Party), had a plank in its platform urging the enactment of an embargo law. In other words, those who had contended for an embargo abandoned their position, and having abandoned their position, I must assume that they abandoned it because their position was untenable. I thought that that question had been settled. That question is settled in the mind of the American people.

Complaint is made, nevertheless, that Germany was unable to get at our ports while the entente allies were. That, of course, is true, but that is no fault of ours; that is the logical result of the military situation. When the *Deutschland* came here this Government plainly showed its neutrality by giving her ingress and egress from our waters by permitting her to take on a cargo of absolute contraband of war. She would have been permitted to send over thousands and thousands of these and could have repeated the operation ad libitum, but the fact that she did not, or perhaps could not, can not be charged against this Government.

If during any part of the past two and one-half years Germany's fleet had overcome the British she, instead of the British, would have enjoyed the same liberties and the same rights, and our markets would have been open to her to the same extent and with the same limitations as Great Britain.

Now, Mr. President, in view of these facts, I submit that this contention is founded neither on facts nor reason. When Germany herself does not protest, when no man in or out of this body can arise and support his argument by any rule of law, when all the political parties have refused to put their organizations back of this movement for an embargo, it would seem to me that our own people, at least, ought to be satisfied and should not again impeach the good faith or neutrality of their own country.

Mr. President, let me here pause to say that it is difficult for me to understand why Americans should charge their Government with being unneutral by omitting to place an embargo on munitions of war or by refusing to warn our citizens to keep off of the high seas. Why should an American be more jealous of Germany's alleged rights than Germany herself? Why should an American be quick to charge his own country with wrong against another country when that other country does not raise its own voice in protest? Are Americans better expounders of German rights than Germany herself? Can an American citizen take better care of German interests than the Kaiser himself or his ambassador? We are told that German

blood is upon the hands of this Government for not stopping the shipment of munitions of war. Why are Americans quick to bring this awful indictment against this country? Why do they charge this country with the misery and suffering of a war about which they were not consulted; that is not of their making, but which is a result of differences of those Governments or their rulers who voluntarily entered into this bloody conflict for reasons best known to themselves? We have violated no law in permitting our citizens to do that which citizens of all countries had a right to do since time immemorial, and that is to go about their own business in their own way. The world was made not for the brawler and the fighter but for the peaceful and the law-abiding. International law was not made to enlarge belligerent rights but to safeguard the rights of neutrals. And I say that it does not lie well in the mouths of any of our own people to charge us with the commission of an offense which a foreign country admits is no offense at all.

It seems to me intolerable that any government should be able to use our citizens as their mouthpieces to charge us with alleged wrongs of which the foreign country itself has not had the effrontery to complain.

Another argument advanced is that this Government did not insist upon our boats breaking the British blockade. It must be remembered that the United States has no merchant fleet. When the war broke out and the first English blockade was established boats attempted to reach the German ports. I presume some flying the American flag attempted to do business with Germany. But, of course, the British blockade, in one respect at least, had the semblance of a legal blockade in this, to wit: that it was sufficiently effective to intercept and seize most if not all of the boats heading for German ports. The result of this was that prudent shipowners no longer attempted to do business with Germany, not because they were against Germany or against her people or because they were unneutral, but solely because they could not get their goods to a German market. Consequently the lines of trade followed the path of least resistance and the shipowners began to do business with such ports as were still open to them. This Government could not compel them to do otherwise if she had wanted to because these boats are privately owned and this Government has no control upon their movements or their destination. Moreover, the Government has never told them they should or should not attempt to get into German ports, or should or should not go into British ports, or should or should not go into neutral ports.

No attempt was made by the United States to convoy, direct or protect, any vessels plying from an American port to any other port until Germany had begun to destroy American lives and then only when the policy of "armed neutrality" last month was put into effect. Now that I have touched upon the subject of "armed neutrality," let me say something in reply to the argument that was made here that the armed-neutrality policy was futile. It being further argued that those opposing this armed neutrality were justified in opposing it because it has since proven futile. On January 31, Germany notified us of her purpose to resume her lawless submarine warfare. On February 3, the President at a joint session brought to the attention of Congress the note of Germany, and further brought to its attention his purpose to sever diplomatic relations with Germany. Many at that time thought the President should have asked for a bill authorizing a policy of armed neutrality and many thought that war should then and there have been declared.

Those who have followed the President in the weary, patient steps that he has taken in our national controversies with Germany since the *Lusitania* went down, will notice that each step was as short and as reluctant a step in the direction of war as could be possibly taken. Why was this? He has ever harbored the hope from time to time, from incident to incident, that Germany would yield to our just demands, and not compel us to war with her. Now, after the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, the sinking of ships went on and on until on February 26 he addressed Congress, again reciting still more aggravating and outrageous wrongs committed on our citizenship, and then asked for armed neutrality. This was but six days before the adjournment of Congress. Many then thought that instead of asking for armed neutrality he should have recommended a declaration of war. Why didn't he do it? Because he did not want to take the last and final step without giving Germany one more opportunity to refrain from carrying out her sinister threats and purposes. Among other things the President in his message of February 26 said:

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should under-

stand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace, and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able. I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people who are at peace, and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

These words, spoken with deep feeling and anxiety, clearly show the hope, though remote, which the President entertained that armed force would not be necessary.

Now, I say that the message delivered February 26 and a bill providing for the carrying out of the President's recommendations was introduced in the Senate February 27. The bill was read a first time and unanimous consent was asked for a second reading, but upon objection on the part of those opposing the bill consideration of the bill was delayed 24 hours. Thus, 24 hours' precious time was lost. To those opponents of the bill who complain of lack of opportunity for speaking, it seems to me a sufficient answer to point out that they deprived themselves of at least 24 hours of debate.

Now, in reply to the criticism of those who contend that the President should have come to Congress sooner than February 26 for authority to arm ships, let me again point out that the President on February 3 severed diplomatic relations. He hoped that Germany would take heed and quit. We know now that this hope was vain. On February 13, 1917, the American ship *Lyman M. Law* was burned by a submarine. As soon as the facts could be ascertained and the matter considered at all, the President did go before Congress on February 26, as before stated. Surely no one will blame the United States because Germany did not see fit to change her mind until January 31, nor that she chose to wait until February 13 before sinking the ship *Law*. The President is not responsible for these events and he can only bring them to the attention of Congress after they occur.

Let me also say in passing, answering the criticism that the Army and Navy bills were reported into the Senate only the last week of the session. The reason is perfectly plain and easy of comprehension. In the last session, which began only in December and which was interrupted by the holiday recess, January arrived before much work could have been done. That left but a few weeks for the committees of both Houses to hold hearings and consider and report the bills. And so it is nothing out of the ordinary for appropriation bills to accumulate and pile in at the closing days of each short session. This has been the case since time out of mind. Now, in addition to this, the severing of diplomatic relations and the increasing acuteness of the crisis, suddenly made it necessary in the last weeks of the session to increase, modify, change, and amend our preparedness plans. And this also accounts for the large increases in expenditures for the Army and Navy, which have been bitterly criticized, but which in the light of recent events no one can justly claim were not fully justified.

Now, reverting again to the contention that the opponents of the armed-neutrality bill were justified in opposing it and preventing its passage because subsequent events have proven that the arming of ships was futile, it is only necessary to say that the facts do not support the argument. The armed-neutrality bill was asked by the President not only for the purpose of protecting the ships, but was for the primary purpose of giving Germany one more opportunity to relent and to warn Germany that the sinking of any more of our boats would force us into the last step—war. Many wanted the President to declare war then and there, but he chose rather to make one more attempt at peace before a declaration of war should be made, and consequently he came before Congress asking for the armed-neutrality bill, not to wage war, but to protect our ships and to give Germany one more opportunity and to convince her that any further acts on her part must lead to war. By the defeat of this bill, it appeared to the world that the President was not sustained by Congress and gave color to the oft-repeated claims and charges made by men in public as well as in private life that this country would never go to war with Germany, and thus confirmed the German belief that we could not be provoked into hostilities with her. Secretary Zimmerman publicly proclaimed that the United States would not dare to go to war with Germany because its citizens of German extraction were so powerful and influential that they would not permit this country to go to war with Germany. The President of the United States was hampered, and, as it now seems certain, defeated, in his attempts to preserve the rights of this country without war because of the facts stated. While admitting the right of our peo-

ple to hold and express opinions of their own on foreign relations, I say it was extremely unfortunate nevertheless that any serious differences of opinion on this subject ever obtained here. It is my firm belief that if we had presented and maintained a united front to Germany we would not now be on the brink of war. If Germany had not permitted herself to be persuaded that this country could not be provoked into war with her no matter what the provocation, she would not have committed the stupendous crime and blunder of resuming her infamous submarine warfare. Thus, by the irony of fate, it would seem that the frantic and misdirected efforts of many of our people may prove after all to have brought about that which these were intended to avert and prevent, viz: war.

Now, another argument is made that if American boats had forced the British blockade then Great Britain would have also sunk our boats and destroyed the lives of our citizens. This is, of course, a mere assertion not based upon any facts or even threats on the part of Great Britain that she would do anything of the kind. But, of course, if Great Britain had committed the same offenses against us as Germany, then we would have taken the same means to stop her as we are now about to take against Germany. And I venture to say that many of those who have been clamoring against war with Germany would then have been the most insistent that we make war on Great Britain. I will say for myself that I favor the maintenance of our substantial rights against any nation on the globe, and so I also would, in such an event, have counseled the taking of the same course by our Government against Great Britain or any other offending nation that I have counseled it to take in this emergency. But, Mr. President, the facts are that many boats have tried to run the British blockade since the blockades were established and not one boat, whether flying the American flag or the flag of any other neutral nation, has been sunk at all and no cargoes have been destroyed or any lives taken by Great Britain. On the contrary, as everyone knows, many ships have been seized and taken into port and held there subject to proceedings in the prize courts of England. Now, we all know that, and we know from the facts that ships and cargoes have been seized and thus treated after boats have tried to run the blockade; and we further know from the facts that the boats were taken into port and there held subject to prize-court proceedings; that she did not do what Germany did, viz: sink the boats and destroy the cargoes and the human lives aboard the boat. Had Germany maintained a blockade in like manner (although illegal as we contend the British blockade is) we would have treated her exactly in the same way and we would be on the same terms with her to-day as we are with Great Britain.

Complaint is made further of the loan of American financiers to the allies. Germany floated the first loan in the United States, and England only did, in a larger way, just exactly what Germany had done first. That Germany was not able to float as large a loan as the entente allies is no fault of the American Government. The loaning of money by bankers and individuals is a matter pertaining to their private business and our Government has neither counseled nor forbidden the loaning of money by our bankers to belligerents, in consequence of which both Germany and Great Britain have floated loans here. I might add, however, that only recently the Federal Reserve Board, for reasons which they considered sufficient, took such action as, in its effect, was prejudicial to the floating of loans by Great Britain and her allies. This, again, goes to show that there was certainly no discrimination on the ground of loans to Germany and her allies.

Now, it is further claimed that we should have warned our citizens to keep off the high seas because Canada, it is pointed out, has also forbidden her women and children to enter Great Britain. No one as yet has had the temerity, however, in connection with this line of argument to say that Canada has forbidden her women and children to cross the ocean to Great Britain to maintain her neutrality, because even they will admit that Canada is in the war herself, and being a part of England, her status is that of a belligerent. There is one reason why Canada has made this order and one only—Canada is sending soldiers to England and not women and children, because the women and children can better be fed at home, and it would be a poor war policy both on the part of England and Canada to send over women and children and thus increase the drain upon the food supply of England.

There are a great many other things that have been said here to which I would like to reply but I fear I am taking up too much time. But before taking up some other line of argument, I just want to reply to one more argument that is constantly being reiterated, viz: that having warned our citizens out of Mexico, we should warn our citizens from traveling on the

high seas. The reply to this is that Mexico is and has been in a state akin to anarchy. Our citizens were warned out of that unhappy country because of the want of a responsible government in Mexico which we could hold to strict accountability. Moreover, we warned them from Mexican, not American, territory. Our people have not the right in Mexico that they have upon the high seas because on the high seas we are tenants in common with all the nations of the world, and our citizens have as much right to be upon the high seas as they have upon the ground on which we stand. By warning our citizens out of Mexico, we were not asking them to surrender any rights they hold as American citizens but to warn them off the high seas would be asking them to abandon almost as great and cherished a right as to ask them to abandon their homes in the United States. By commanding them to keep off American boats on the high seas would be tantamount almost to ordering them off American soil. With Mexico aflame, with life and property unsafe, we were justified in warning our citizens to keep away from there as we are justified in warning our citizens not to traverse the blood-soaked and shell-torn battle grounds of Europe.

I submit, then, sir, that we have been neutral, and that the President has scrupulously and painstakingly steered the true course of neutrality. But how about Germany? How has she treated us in return? Has she been friendly? Has she observed the laws of neutrality? Has she, while demanding the rights of neutrality on our part, practiced neutrality in return?

Mr. President, the conduct of Germany toward this Government during the past two years, aye, for many years prior to the beginning of the war, was not the conduct of a friend. I had it stated to me on pretty fair authority that about 25 years ago Germany changed her attitude toward her immigrants. Formerly she looked upon them as backsliders, as people that were not worthy of the consideration of the German Government, but since that time many persons leaving Germany have still kept in touch with the old country. It has been claimed that thus a sphere of German influence has been formed in the United States. I do not know whether this is true or not. There are some things that seem to bear out the charge, or at least lend color to it; but one thing is sure, and that is since the war in Europe began a German ambassador, German agencies, and German money have carried on a campaign of intrigue and conspiracy calculated to divide the people of this country into racial groups, calculated to array one group of citizens against another, one church against another, race against race, and conspiracies have been formed to commit acts of violence against property and the law and order of this country, calculated, through the medium of numerous societies, leagues, alliances, conferences, newspapers, churches, and other organizations, by means of propaganda and agitation, to prejudice our people against their own Government and to implant in them mistrust, hatred, and contempt for the President, his advisers, and Congress—in short, of the United States Government. Newspapers have been established, others have been subsidized. The German Embassy here at Washington, behind its cloak of privilege, encouraged, if indeed it did not actually inspire and direct, this movement which was aimed at the very integrity and sovereignty of this country. An ambassador should carry on the business of his Government through the medium of our State Department; but Germany's ambassador talked through the newspapers and over the heads of our authorities and tried to influence public opinion against this Government through American newspapers, and held conferences with Members of Congress and with sympathetic citizens of the country, with heads of societies and alliances. This ambassador presumed to advise, through the medium of advertisements, in the newspapers what American citizens should or should not do. This ambassador revealed secrets of the State Department to newspaper men under pledge of secrecy not to divulge the source of their information. This ambassador disbursed money to newspapers carrying on German propaganda—newspapers which vilified and foully slandered the heads of our Government. Other agents of the German Government—Von Papen, Von Igel, and the like—were detected and apprehended while attempting, pursuant to a conspiracy, to destroy property, public and private, and to commit other acts of violence against the law and order and decency in this country. Newspapers, some printed in the German language and some in the English language, in one way or another were persuaded to take up a campaign of infamy against the President and this Government that is without precedent in the history of this country.

According to these newspapers in every matter of controversy which we had with Germany America has been in the wrong. As a fitting corollary to this Germany has invariably been

in the right. No matter what Germany has done, no matter how infamous her conduct, from the sinking of the *Lusitania* down to the Mexican plot, these papers and many of our citizens with them have lustily applauded and approved. When the *Lusitania* was sunk they loudly shouted that "it served them right," "they should have stayed at home," and "they should have heeded the German warning and German advice." When our crisis was on with Germany last May and it was a question as to whether we were to back down or whether Germany was to back down, they flooded us with a quarter of a million telegrams in which, together with these newspapers and sympathizers generally, they unhesitatingly, boldly, and brazenly asked their country to back down. They thought the idea absurd that Germany should back down because, forsooth, she had told us that she would not back down. They unhesitatingly counseled their Government to abandon a right in order that a foreign country might enjoy a wrong.

On the eve of the late adjournment, when the President, in a last desperate effort to stave off war, asked for authority to arm ships, this chorus loudly protested on the ground that Congress alone had the power and that it should not delegate such powers to the President. Now, when it seems that action by Congress is inevitable and apparently not in accordance with their desires, a deafening chorus again wells up, charging that Congress is about to declare war contrary to the sentiment of the American people. The only instance where a kind or friendly word has been heard in favor of the President and the Government in this entire affair was when the President was endeavoring to cooperate with Germany to bring about a peace without victory. Here, of course, when it appeared that the President was endeavoring to do something that appeared to be in Germany's interest it was promptly approved.

Not only this, but the President has been cartooned, lampooned, vilified, and denounced at every turn, and Germany and her chancellor and her undersecretary, Zimmerman, have been lauded, have been praised, have been glorified, and have been approved at every turn. Nothing was too infamous to say about the President. Nothing too good to say about the Kaiser and his Government. These same men, newspapers, societies, and organizations have brazenly proclaimed themselves as the exponents of true Americanism. They say they love their country; that those for whom they speak would die for their country. But they argue that does not mean that you should necessarily support the Government. They then charge that this Government is not a true representative of America; that the President is a traitor and a tool of England; that he is betraying this Government into the hands of Great Britain and that he is a hypocrite and a puppet that responds obediently when King George pulls the string. Therefore they insist that it is patriotic to oppose and obstruct and defeat the Government. Yet they love America they say. Beware of one who while pretending to be your friend finds nothing that is good in you but only that which is bad—who commends you in nothing but damns you in everything. Friendship is made of different stuff than this, and love of country reveals and manifests itself in other ways than this.

I hope that the evidence that is in the hands of the State Department and the Bureau of Investigation will be published soon, so that the people may get a fair idea of what has been going on in this country, some of the evidence of which has already been adduced at the trials of some of the German agents in this country. I hope that all will be published, together with the names and activities of men calling themselves American citizens, who have lent themselves to help carry out some of these infamous things.

I shall not go into the question of the violation of Belgium or the deportation of its citizens from Belgium into Germany. We have all we can do, I take it, to look out for the Monroe doctrine. I have never believed that we owed any duty there, either through treaty or otherwise, which would have justified us in intervening in this war, no matter how strongly our sympathies have been moved in her behalf. You will have to go back a good many centuries, I believe, in history to find a counterpart for the things that were done there—treaties violated, humane practices ignored, men taken from their families, deported into Germany, and put to work in the fields to act as substitutes for enemy soldiers, so that these might be released to kill their brothers.

But Germany's treatment of Belgium, if it did nothing else, has taught the American people the worthlessness of Germany's word and Germany's treaties. It was sufficient notice to us so that it should have prepared us for what has since happened.

So recently, while Germany was still proclaiming her feeling of friendship for us, she in the shadow of the White House was secretly plotting to set Mexico and Japan upon

us. While holding a vivid picture before the eyes of our German-American citizens, for whose welfare and safety she pretended to have so much solicitude, portraying the horror of arraying themselves against their brothers in blood in Germany, the Imperial German Government was at the very moment conspiring to incite the Mexicans and Japanese to war upon us.

Mexico was invited to join with Japan to attack the United States, one on the south and the other on the western coast. I presume the east was reserved for Germany herself as soon as she could get foot loose. Now, it has been said that she was justified in doing that because it was conditioned only upon the event of our going to war with her. She went to war with Belgium, first she said on the grounds of military necessity, afterwards she said because she had discovered that Belgium had entered into a treaty with England to resist Germany in the event of war with Germany. She said that alone justified her in warring on Belgium. It is a poor rule that will not work both ways. If that alone justified her in warring on Belgium, because of the treaty or understanding she had with England, why does that not apply in our case, where she tries to justify her treaty upon the ground that her secret compact with these nations was conditioned only also upon our going to war with her? If her warring on Belgium was justified because Belgium was negotiating a treaty with England, operative only upon condition that Germany made war on Belgium, why was Germany's proposition in the premises to Mexico and Japan by the same token not a sufficient justification for our declaring war on Germany? According to her logic that act alone causes just war.

But here she was plotting and conspiring against us through our guest, Ambassador Bernstorff, who has never failed to tell us how friendly his Government felt toward us. I ask you, how you would like to have a guest in your house who was secretly plotting to assassinate you, and divide up your property in case he should find you would not submit to the murder of members of your family? Now let us revert to the time when all this happened. This was just exactly the time when President Wilson was trying to carry out the idea of universal peace. I think it was on the 15th day of January that his great note was issued, and I think the 19th of January is the date of the note to Mr. Carranza, asking him to help Germany and Japan in making war on the United States. It was just at the time when Mr. Bethmann-Hollweg called in our ambassador, and lauded our President as the greatest peacemaker in the world. While they were thus lauding the President of the United States, while they were pretending to want a world peace, here they were trying to incite war with us because they were going to renew their campaign of frightfulness against us and were afraid that we might object with force to a renewal of the slaughter of our citizens. So, while they were scheming to return to their campaign of submarine warfare, they were plotting, as I say, in our own house, to take our life and to take our property, and divide it up amongst the nations whom they were inviting to war against us, one of which is now at war. Germany was ready to conspire with one of her own enemies (Japan) to destroy a friend. There is usually some sense of decency observed in dealings between people and nations, but it seems in this instance that all sense of decency was wanting entirely.

Not only that, but Germany was going to divide up our country. Mexico was to have Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. It does not appear what Japan was to have, but I presume Germany was willing to give her California, Washington, and Oregon. We could have what was left, I presume, providing, forsooth, that Germany did not decide to take a slice herself off the Eastern seaboard. Such was the conduct of Germany toward a friendly and neutral country—our country. She claims to-day that her negotiations are still going on in Mexico and promise to be successful, and there is no reason to believe that she has ceased her efforts to do what she can in every other direction to make war upon us. I am sure, of course, that her efforts to involve us with Mexico and Japan will be fruitless. Surely Japan will not forget her long friendship with this country and permit herself to be made the cat's-paw of an unscrupulous nation with which she herself is now at war. It will be difficult for Germany, as now ruled, to make friends or treaties with anybody anywhere, when her conduct gives the lie direct to her professions of friendship and her treaty obligations. However, her animus is not lacking and her attempt makes her as culpable as though successful.

But she has only done to us what she has done or is trying to do to every other country. It is claimed, and I think truthfully, that her spies are busy everywhere trying to array people against their country. There is no question that in this country many of the departments of government contain spies who have

been let in here unknowingly. I am glad to see in the papers that a thorough weeding-out process is going to begin, so that we will have no people in office whom we can not trust.

These have been some of the doings of Germany. I consider these things that I have mentioned almost as serious (in some respects even more serious) than her offenses upon the high seas. When one country will go into a friendly country with whom it is at peace and begin to set in motion various secret forces for evil directly aimed at the very integrity and sovereignty of the nation itself, it is clear that she is not a friend, but an enemy in disguise. How long would Germany tolerate an American intrigue such as she has carried on here? How long would she tolerate an ambassador that had done the things that Mr. Bernstorff did? The friends of Germany complain that the world is fighting Germany. The reason is plain—Germany is fighting the world! Is Germany right and the world wrong? Or is the world right and Germany wrong? The reason to me seems plain why Germany has few friends among the nations of the earth. She does not try to win them by mutual helpfulness and the cultivation of ties of friendship, mutual respect, love, and sympathy. No; her method is to try to *compel* nations to obey her and to be with her. Her trump cards are intrigue, force, and duress! No self-respecting nation and no self-respecting man will servilely respond in friendship to such methods or such advances. Her warfare is patterned after her diplomacy—ruthlessness, frightful, terrorizing, and brutality. She has set out to make the world afraid of her and afraid to fight her. Her treatment of Belgium and her citizens in the levying of tribute on her cities, the deportation of her sons, the Zeppelin attacks at night, the murdering of women and children in their beds, the destruction of churches and art buildings, the use of gas and liquid fire in the trenches, and last, but not least, the torpedoing of helpless and noncombatant boats upon the high seas, and the resulting frightfulness of it all illustrate the methods of Germany and the purpose of Germany to frighten, terrorize, and tyrannize the whole world!

So I ask, What are we going to do?

I wish there would be no war. I had hoped that President Wilson would achieve his heart's desire in keeping this country out of war and in helping to bring the world again to peace. It would have been indeed a proud distinction for a self-governing people to have restrained himself, even in the face of great provocation, so that it might become the peacemaker of the world and be the go-between or the happy influence to bring these unhappy peoples all together. But it seems that it was not to be. The failure, however, can not be charged up against President Wilson. The history of the past two and a half years makes plain that one of the greatest forces for peace in the United States, if not in the world—President Wilson—has been frustrated, not by any fault or act of his own, but by the fault and acts of those who are not within his control.

Some people would have us believe or think that we have as President of the United States a man who is blood-thirsty, a man who is so anxious to involve his own country in trouble that he would do things that were contrary to the interests of our country and contrary to international law. I have heard men charge the President—men who have hardly been in this country long enough to get out their second papers—with being wanting in fidelity to his country and wanting in patriotism. It is not necessary to defend the President or a President of the United States when the indictment is filed against him by men like these—I mean men who have been here hardly long enough to breathe in the atmosphere of freedom. It is not necessary to defend him against the insinuation of attacks from anybody, however high in station they may be. His record speaks for itself. He has been the rock around which the waters of the mad and turbulent seas have been raging for two and one-half years. When Congress adjourned in March, 1915, and everybody went home, and the *Lusitania* went down, and all these other ships went down, who was the man that kept us from war?

Why the President of the United States? The very fact that this country is not prepared as it should be conclusively shows that he had no desire for or, indeed, even expectation of war. He bore the burden all alone clear up to the next session of Congress, and he stood for peace in spite of repeated provocations, and in the face of crises that seemed almost insurmountable he still maintained peace here. Some are now blaming him for it. Some are now blaming him for not having intervened against Germany when she first invaded Belgium, others when she sunk the *Lusitania*. Some who blame him now for our not being better prepared voted consistently against appropriations that would have put us in a proper state of preparedness. I say he simply fought the surging waves of indignation time after time that threatened to sweep us into war, and he did so by his own calm poise and by his sincere and zealous desire for peace.

I believe that no man occupying the presidential chair has in many, many years won the confidence of the people so completely as the President has, and now when, after doing all this, he finally comes to the conclusion that his fondest hope is shattered and his fondest ambition gone awry, and that war has become a necessity, not only for our honor but for the very safety and welfare of the Nation itself, it does not well become any man to question his honor or patriotism. Men may differ from him, one may think he might have done this or that better, but I say no man has any right to question the patriotism of the President of the United States, his integrity, his wisdom, his zeal, and his sincere desire for peace, nor his sense of justice either.

Some say the President was elected because "he kept us out of war," and they insinuate that now after having been thus elected he throws off the mask, changes his front, and is trying to force this country into war against the will and wishes of the people.

The people of the United States elected Woodrow Wilson by a referendum vote last November on his record as President, and because they had faith in him and in his wisdom and judgment. One thing above all others which brought to him the support that he received was because he had maintained peace with honor. Bear in mind that as long ago as last May the President had served an ultimatum on Germany declaring in effect that unless she ceased her unrestricted submarine warfare, we would sever diplomatic relations and omit nothing necessary for the protection of the lives of American citizens. If Germany had not acceded to this ultimatum, it would have meant war last May. The people of this country all knew that, and they were back of the President and Congress was back of the President. But Germany acknowledged the justice of our demands and promised to desist. The people showed their approval by electing him and the Congress to support him. His election must be construed as a vote of confidence and a desire for him to continue the policy pursued by him in his first administration and a continuation of his foreign policy, the most conspicuous and important part of which was, of course, his policy against the use of German submarines. Germany broke her pledge to us on January 31, however. Germany by her note repudiated her promise and put us back in the status we were in on May last, when she agreed to accede to our demands. Who is responsible for this change? Certainly not the President! The President has not changed his position. He stands to-day where he stood last May, and this country stands to-day where it stood last May when it demanded that Germany cease her lawless submarine practices. So the President to-day is only renewing the same demands that he made last May, and he is not responsible for this change, but Germany is. His policy now after election is the same as it was before election. And if Germany yielded to our demands to-day, he would be able to keep us out of war in exactly the same manner that he kept us out last May, that is, with honor and safety to our people. He would not, if he could, preserve peace otherwise then, and he can not and will not now. The people did not expect nor want him to preserve peace without honor then—they neither expect nor want him to preserve peace without honor now!

Some have said that we should try to arbitrate these things with Germany. In view of our experience with her in the matter of this very question which is precipitating us into war, in view of all the other circumstances to which I have alluded, we know that she does not respect her own pledges and solemn obligations. How, then, I ask, can we expect or even hope that she would respect an award of a board of arbitration which she felt was against her interest or her rights?

Mr. President, we are face to face with a serious condition and not a mere academic theory. The question is not presented to us whether we like war or not. The question is whether we are going to continue to permit war to be made upon us without defending ourselves. Whether we are going to protect American lives and American rights. Whether we are going to preserve our own national honor and our self-respect—whether we are going to fight back now or wait until an ambitious, merciless, and ruthless autocracy shall have placed its iron heel upon the prostrate democracy of the world before we awaken to our own danger. And so it is clear that this is not a mere question of whether we desire or like war or whether we would like to avoid it. Vital matters and principles that every true American holds dear are involved in the consideration of this resolution—our honor, our rights, the lives of our citizens, our national safety, our sovereignty. Yes, democracy itself is at stake! The perpetuation of this country and its institutions is the most important thing in the world to us, to the people of the whole world, and to posterity. Our Government is an experiment destined to

prove whether or not men are capable of self-government. The permanent success of this experiment means the eventual emancipation of all mankind—its failure spells the doom of freedom everywhere.

When a nation like Russia throws off the yoke of centuries, when every sign points to the advancement of democracy's standard in other oppressed lands, shall America, to whom all nations are now looking for aid and encouragement, shrink from protecting and defending itself from the one thing in the world that is a menace to real democracy, viz, the Imperial German autocracy and Prussian militarism? This is no time for America, to whom all the oppressed nations are looking for aid and encouragement, now to shrink or hesitate from protecting and defending her own sacred rights which are no less than the rights of humanity itself. As the President has said:

We are asking for ourselves nothing that we have not a right to ask in the name of humanity.

For all these reasons I feel it my solemn duty to support and vote for the resolution now before us, declaring that a state of war exists between us and the German Government. In so doing I am not placing myself with those who favor the arbitrament of disputes by war—I am only so declaring because it is the last resort of a peace-loving people who refuse longer to have war waged against them without provocation or reason without defending themselves and their institutions. A country that will not defend the lives of its citizens or its rights or its honor will not long endure. When the country is in danger men are called to the colors to defend the Nation and the flag. They can not refuse; their very life is subject to its call and need. Shall it be said, then, that when their lives are menaced or taken that their country is not in duty bound to defend its defenders? No man can long command the respect of his fellow men or even of himself who does not let principle set a standard of conduct for himself and who does not at all times and at all hazards to himself defend his own rights when threatened or invaded. And so no nation can long command the respect of the people of the world or of its own people, or expect to have its rights or treaties respected, or can long endure which permits expediency, or cowardice, or selfishness to control its actions or its policies. What has America's policy been in the past? Has it been one of expediency or has it been one of right? We have never yet stopped to count the cost of defending our honor, our rights, or our institutions. In 1812, when we were a struggling Nation, we declared war against powerful England—yes, even in the face of the proximity of her colonies—for reasons that shrink into insignificance compared with the offenses that we have suffered at the hands of Germany.

I say no nation can surrender its substantial rights without in the end embroiling itself and in the end losing itself. American lives and American rights must be held and kept sacred against the acts of any foreign nation the world over and the flag must be a protection and shield to every American wherever he may be while in the pursuit of a lawful and proper business. If we expect and demand that every American shall love his country, we must in return be ready at all times to prove that his country loves him. If the time ever comes when this shield and protection shall be withdrawn, then, indeed, the flag is a mockery and the name of America will become a shame and a byword.

I am going to vote for the pending joint resolution. I wish that the crisis which now confronts us was such that I might find it compatible with what I conceive to be my duty as a Senator to vote for peace instead of war. But our desires are often incompatible with our plain duty, and that is the solemn situation I find myself in to-day. I have advocated and supported preparedness measures, have persistently urged the merging of differences, and have stood for unity of thought, action, and purpose in the belief that we could thus impress the Great Imperial Government that the people of the United States are a united people and would act as a unit against her if she persisted in a line of conduct which Germany well knew no Government that is fit and able to defend itself would long endure, and thus avoid war in the only way it could be avoided if at all.

I wanted to help impress Germany with the thought that this powerful country was ready, prepared, and determined to use all of its power and might to protect our honor and our rights. I have always believed, and I believe now, that this (being the only argument which she herself uses) is the only kind of an argument to which she will listen, which she will respect, or which she will heed. Those who use force to work their will are the ones who can be persuaded only by force. I repeat that I regret that we were not able to present that potent and convincing argument to her. Consequently, having failed thus to persuade her, there is but the alternative. It is disgraceful and

disastrous submission on the one hand or the use of armed force on the other. To me this presents but one possible choice. The President has said that there is one thing that the American people will not do and that is to submit to continued wrong. I am sure he has properly interpreted the spirit and the sentiment of the American people, and I subscribe to that.

The step that we are about to take and which we take reluctantly and sorrowfully will, nevertheless, be taken hopefully, firmly, patriotically, courageously, and resolutely. Let us all stand together, united in spirit, purpose, and determination, and let us rise to meet the issue with the same faith, courage, devotion, and resolution that has sustained, inspired, and distinguished the American people always.

Mr. HARDWICK. Mr. President, I realize that the Senate has had a long and arduous day and is anxious to come to an early vote on the pending resolution, and it is not my purpose to delay such action for more than a very few moments. I think every Member of this body—indeed, every Member of the American Congress—realizes the full and deep solemnity of this hour and the heavy and weighty responsibility that rests upon each one of us.

During the closing hours of the last session of Congress it was manifest that our foreign relations, particularly those with the Imperial Government of Germany, had reached such a state that it was necessary for us to arm our ships to defend our rights as neutrals. Since then, Mr. President, the sinking of unarmed American ships that were not carrying contraband of war, indeed that were not carrying cargoes of any description, by the navy of the German Empire has put before the Congress and the people of the United States a very different question.

The resolution pending must pass, not because the Congress of the United States or the American people desire war but because war under the circumstances which confront us is an imperative and absolute necessity. We go to war not for fine-spun theories, not for any other purpose or any other cause upon the earth except one, and that is that peaceable American citizens engaged in their peaceable and legitimate business upon the high seas have been murdered in cold blood by the organized agencies of an established Government. This Government will be unable to live among the nations of the earth unless it vindicates its right to do so by discharging the first duty that rests upon a nation, and that is to protect its citizens.

So it seems to me that every Senator of the United States called upon to vote upon this question should have one question and only one that he need necessarily consider, and that is this: Are American citizens engaged in peaceful and legitimate business now being murdered on the high seas? If so, by what Government? By whose orders? Upon whose responsibility? If the answer is, as it is in this case, by that of the German Government, then it is as clear as the noonday sun that the German Government must answer to the American Government and to the American people for the American lives they have taken and the American citizens they have murdered.

Mr. President, I realize as fully as does any Senator in this Chamber on either side of it the great desire of the American people to preserve and maintain friendly and amicable relations with all the nations of the earth. I know that constant prayers have gone up from millions of American homes, Christian homes, that God might preserve peace for us, that He might give us continued peace—that peace on earth and good will to men that He Himself has ordained.

But, Mr. President, I deeply mistake the temper of American manhood, the mettle of American citizenship, if the prayers from those homes are for peace at any price. They want peace, but not peace at the expense of the national honor. They want peace, but not peace at the expense of the national safety. They want peace, but not peace at the price of having our national honor sullied by giving up peaceful American citizens to be murdered on the high seas, by permitting the very name American to become a term of derision and reproach, of scorn and contempt among men. If we can have peace only at such a price, then I say "Welcome war, though it came full panoplied out of the very bowels of hell, rather than craven peace purchased at such a price."

Mr. President, this war is upon us; we simply declare it; the die is cast; the issues are made up; there is no need to elaborate the issues or prolong the argument. There is indeed room for no argument.

Ah, Mr. President, the German Government and the German people, and whoever else in this world, in America or elsewhere, has ever believed or has ever said that this American Nation is a group of heterogeneous elements, without nationality, without unity, and without harmony, is, in my judgment, doomed to a speedy awakening. They will find in the prosecution of

this war, which is demanded by the national honor, behind our President and behind our Government a united and militant Nation—a Nation that knows no North, no South, no East, no West, no Republican, no Democrat, no capitalist, no laborer—nothing but plain Americans, all and everywhere; men who love this land the Lord, their God, has given to them, and who are willing to fight for its honor and to die for its glory.

When the Battle Hymn of the Republic shall rise from every nook and corner of our land, until its swelling chorus shall sweep from ocean to ocean, and then across the broad seas, summoning to the Stars and Stripes the Nation's best and the Nation's bravest, Senators, you will find that the sons of Dixie will occupy once more their old proud place, the post alike of honor and of danger, the front rank in the Republic's far-flung battle line.

Mr. CUMMINS. Mr. President, for reasons which I hope are obvious, I intend to confine the expression of my views upon the pending question within the briefest possible limits.

I was opposed to the bill which was under consideration in the Senate during the expiring hours of the last Congress because it attempted to give to the President of the United States the power to make war at his own discretion. I would still oppose with equal earnestness an effort of that kind if made at the present time. The Congress of the United States, however, is now engaged in exercising its rightful, constitutional function, in determining what the attitude of our country shall be toward Germany. When Congress has determined our relations to that country every loyal American will yield instant, undivided, unlimited obedience to its decree. There will be no division in the United States after Congress has acted. We are neutral now, but if Congress declares that Germany is our enemy, Germany will be an enemy for every man and woman who loves the honor, the dignity, the perpetuity of our institutions; and no man will be permitted to outrun me in the attempt to make America strong and victorious in the struggle before us.

I have believed, and I still believe—I would be uncandid were I not so to declare—that there is another, a better, and a more effective course than the declaration of war involved in the resolution now before us. If I believed that there was fair opportunity to fight for that better way I would not hesitate to consume the time of the Senate in submitting my reasons for its adoption. But I know—every man knows who is at all familiar with the purpose of Members of Congress—that war is to be declared, and I intend to give evidence of unity among the people of the United States, for I believe, after sore perplexity, it to be my duty—and it is high evidence of my desire that there shall be but one mind, one heart, one purpose, from one border of this great country to the other. I intend to subordinate my judgment not to the judgment of any other department of the Government, but to the judgment of my fellow Members of Congress; for, although they have not recorded their views, their intent is as well known as though the roll had already been called.

I want the world to know that, when this Government has acted through its constitutional authority, every man, and every woman, too, who loves the Old Flag, who is proud of its history, and who is determined to support and defend its dignity and its glory, will stand by the Government, will stand by the country of which he or she is a citizen. And in this subordination of my own hope to your judgment in the deep desire that all the countries of the world shall know that henceforth America speaks with but one voice, is true to one purpose, and is determined to achieve that purpose, I shall vote for the resolution reported by the committee. [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, I do not feel that I can add anything to this debate to-night. I am perfectly satisfied with the declarations that have been made so ably and so fully by the President of the United States; I am satisfied with the arguments that have been made by the able Senator from Virginia [Mr. SWANSON], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. WILLIAMS], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], and the Senators from other States who spoke in favor of the resolution; but as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, and one who voted in favor of reporting this resolution, I am unwilling simply to cast my vote and let it stand in the future that I did not raise my voice in support of this cause.

Mr. President, while I have no patience with the position taken by the Senators on this floor who have opposed this resolution, I have the deepest sympathy and consideration for those loving women who have written letters to various Members of this body, and whose letters have been read. They feel more deeply than I can ever feel the loss of a dear one; they have borne the burdens of war during all time; they will bear the burdens of this war; and if I thought for one moment that their

burdens in future would be lightened by peace at this time I might waive the insults that have been cast against us and vote against war; but I can not conceive how there can be peace.

I know that some of the distinguished citizens of our country have been carrying on a propaganda throughout the Nation, presenting arguments to the people in support of the cause, not of peace, but of keeping out of this war. They say, "Appoint conciliators; have the neutral nations join together and intervene, and see if they can not bring about peace," and, in the end, they say, "Submit the question to a referendum of the people of this country." All of that has been done. Why, the President of the United States made an effort to draw all the neutral countries of the world together for the purpose of appealing to those warring countries to ascertain if there was a basis upon which peace could be considered—not the terms of peace, but just the basis upon which peace could be considered. In answer to that, one of the great warring groups stated unequivocally that there was nothing to arbitrate; that the thing they were fighting for was not a subject of arbitration; that on one side they were fighting for Prussianism, and on the other side they were fighting for democracy, and that those questions could not be arbitrated.

Let me say again, a judgment of arbitration is nothing more than a treaty; it is nothing more than an agreement, and what does the world to-day expect out of a treaty with a government that calls a treaty "a scrap of paper"? Would you rather have Germany's word to-day than at the time Belgium accepted it? If Germany was false to her promises to Belgium, why should any nation trust her on a future promise? Is not a nation that has violated not only all the laws of nations but every law of humanity, that has torn up treaties, and violated its sacred word of honor as a government, beyond the pale of arbitration? What *modus vivendi*, treaty, or agreement will bind Germany when she recognizes no law save the law of necessity and no force except the might of military power? Aye, they have all been tried, tried in vain, by the greatest pacifist of the age.

Again, they come to us and say, "Delay this matter; put it off longer while the murder goes on, so that we may have a referendum among the people of this country." I do not know whether the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE] knows what the people of his State think; but I know what the people of my State think, because they have spoken through their legislature unequivocally in favor of every declaration that the President of the United States has made, and, in addition to that, they have pledged every resource of that State, both men and money, to the full limit to carry out any policy he may propose or any declaration he may make.

Ah, yes; and that is not the only State. There has been a referendum in every State in the United States. All, possibly with the exception of one or two States, through their legislatures, have declared in favor of the position taken by the President of the United States at the time he dissolved diplomatic relations with Germany, and have gone further and pledged the people and the resources of those States to the upholding of the President's hands in every effort he may make to protect the life, liberty, and honor of the American people.

What else is there to do? What else can we do? "Ah," but they say, "do not slaughter thousands of young men in this country. Do not leave the widows out in the little homes to take care of the orphans."

God knows that that is a picture that appeals to any man with a heart. That is a picture that no man wishes to hold before him. But I would rather that we lose a few hundred thousand men, if necessary, in a few months of war in cooperation with the allies at the present time, than to lose millions of men in a war that we alone might have to fight. We have got to fight Germany. We will either fight Germany now or we will fight Germany later on. We will either fight Germany in cooperation with the allies or we will fight Germany alone. If we can not conquer Germany now in cooperation with the allies, then Germany will soon conquer us.

Oh, it is a desperate thing to lose the lives of our citizens—yes, the life of one citizen of this country; but I believe just as surely as I stand here that the allies to-day need the assistance of this country. I tell you, we can not disguise the fact that that battle is hanging in the scale. We realize to-day that the result in Russia may be the result of the war. It is too late for us to back out of the fight. Yes, it has been too late to back out of this fight since the very first moment that this democratic country opposed the Prussianism of the Kaiser. Do not think for one moment that by cowardly surrendering at this time we would make ourselves immune from the inhuman wrath of that militant power.

What did Belgium do? Belgium has not done half what this country has already done to anger Germany. The people of poor little Belgium—a country which never in all of its existence harmed any country in the world, a peaceable, friendly people, a people on the very best possible terms with Germans—have been treated as slaves; have been murdered; have been tortured; have been treated as never before have even prisoners of war been treated in the most barbarous times. And why? Was it because of any great wrong that Belgium did to Germany? Oh, no. It was because little Belgium had the honor and the bravery to attempt to protect its rights against an inevitable defeat. And for that the German hatred has continually vented itself, not only on the soldiers but on the non-combatants, on the women and children and the old people.

Do you tell me that you can curry favor with a Government of that character and kind? Tell me that to-day, by submission, by surrendering our rights, by acting the coward, by kneeling and crawling to the German Empire, we can gain her friendship? Why, it is just as certain as that the day follows the night that if Germany wins the war that is going on there now we will suffer as Belgium suffered. Yes; we will suffer a hundred thousand times more than Belgium has ever suffered. Oh, yes; Belgium has been punished, and it is a little, helpless nation. The Belgians, women and children, have been punished because their husbands and fathers did nothing but defend their rights. Tell me that the hate of the German autocracy is not greater toward the American people than toward the Belgians! You know it is, and you know if they have done that to the Belgians what they would do to the American people.

We are faced with this condition now, both from a physical and from a political standpoint, that Prussianism must be stamped out in the world forever or democracy will be. Prussianism must go down in Germany, and there must arise in its stead a democracy such as ours, or this grand Republic of ours, which is our heart and our soul, and for which we have such great hope, will cease to exist.

I have been referring to the cold-blooded possibilities of this war. I want to say this to you, and I want to say it in all seriousness, that I believe, as has been said here to-day, that irrespective of the political situation that is facing us there are principles involved; that nations do have principles; that nations do have what we call honor; that those principles and that honor are the very soul of that nation, and when those are destroyed the nation ceases to exist.

We remember the history just a short time back. We remember when this country was a little colony of a few million people. Then there was imposition upon the people of this country, not any greater than the imposition that is being practiced upon our people to-day—no; not half as great. Then they imposed upon us and took away from us the liberties to which we were entitled; and to-day the German Government is taking away the lives of our citizens. There were people in 1775 and 1776 who spoke just as these distinguished Senators opposing the resolution have spoken here to-day. There were men who felt just as they feel to-day. There were able men and sincere women who, during those trying times, argued the futility of this little handful of people fighting the most powerful nation of the earth, with almost certain destruction ahead, with almost certain defeat ahead, and with the loss of many of those poor little lives. Yes; the question hung before the American people then, as it hangs now, whether the right to rule ourselves, whether the right of liberty of action which we are fighting for on the high seas to-day, whether the rights recognized by the world, should be sustained by the death of some of our citizens.

Do you not hear them now, as in your imagination you heard them then, saying, "Oh, we will lose our sons, we will lose our brothers, and we will lose our fathers. There will be thousands of graves out on that hillside, and why should we bear the burden of this war? Why should we bear this suffering just for the little right that we are claiming here?" But the men who had vision, the men who had patriotism in their souls, the men who loved their country better than their own lives and better than the lives of their boys, said, "These rights must be preserved if all of them must die, and we must die and the people of this country must be destroyed."

Is there a man here to-day who regrets that war? Is there a man here to-day who would say that that was a barbarous and an inhuman war? Do you think to-day that if one of those gallant soldiers who died to give us the extraordinary liberty that the people of this country enjoy could speak he would say, "I regret that I died on the field of battle for the cause that then existed"? Do you think that if there were a mother living to-day who gave her boy in that cause, she would stand here and say, "That was a brutal and inhuman war. I regret that war. I regret that I ever gave my son to it"? Oh, I think

not. I do not believe the opponents of this resolution think so. Why, the very glory of this country dates from that grand achievement. It dates from the great vision of those men and the glory and the sacrifice of the women of that age.

Here we stand to-day, not a mere handful of people, but the most powerful Nation in all the world; a Nation that is recognized to-day as the most powerful and enlightened government of the world, and we are asked what? We are asked to submit; we are asked to surrender without a fight; we are asked to give up the rights for which our forefathers have fought. Why? Because some one must suffer. Because some life will pass out. Surrender this right, and the next right will be demanded of us, and then each and every right will be demanded from us, until there will be no rights essential to a free people. It has been the history of the world, and I fear it will be the history of many years to come, that no nation that was afraid to die for its rights ever maintained those rights.

We all love peace. We all hope that the time is coming when the great international questions, and these questions of human right, can be decided without the arbitrament of war. But it is useless, it is senseless, to say that that time has arrived. Why, look at the war that is now sweeping across half of the world. Was there any just cause for that war? Are they fighting for anything that can be definitely granted to anyone? Is it subject to arbitration? Is there any hope of determination except by war? What would you think, what would some of these citizens of ours throughout this country think, if the Crown Prince of Germany should be traveling through this country of ours and should be murdered, and Germany, having the power to do so, should say:

We demand that you surrender your sovereignty; that you surrender the right to try your own people within your borders by your own courts, and allow us to establish our courts in your country to try crimes committed within your borders?

Would we agree to it? Would we stand for it? And yet that is exactly what Austria demanded of Serbia.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Mississippi?

Mr. PITTMAN. I do.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I want to ask the Senator a question, because it is necessary to do that in order to make what I have to say parliamentary according to the rule. I hope the Senator has not forgotten that England, Italy, and France, all three, agreed, in a communication to the German court, that the question between Austria and Serbia should be submitted to the court of The Hague, and that if Austria and Germany did not want to do that it could be submitted to the concert of powers, as they call it, in Europe, consisting of Russia and Germany and Austria and Great Britain and France and Italy.

Mr. PITTMAN. I thank the Senator for the suggestion.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Now, does not the Senator think that while Austria was entertaining that proposition and had pretty nearly agreed to it, the action of the German Kaiser in declaring that any further efforts at mobilization on the part of Russia would be regarded as an act of war, followed the next day, 12 hours afterwards, by a declaration of war, stamps to all humanity, for all time, the present Kaiser of Germany as the real actor in this controversy?

Mr. PITTMAN. I have no hesitancy in saying that it is my opinion that the whole course of action of Germany from the very beginning—not only by its deceptions but its concealments—has demonstrated that it was the intent of Germany to create an excuse for a war solely for the purpose of conquest, and that it might carry out its scheme of military expansion and domination.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And, if the Senator will pardon just a little bit more interruption, her idea was to create a highway, to compel a grant from Belgrade to Saloniki from across the Mediterranean on her way to Bagdad, so that the German Junkerdom and Kaiserdom cry "Germany all powerful from Berlin to Bagdad" might be realized.

Mr. PITTMAN. There is not any question in my mind as to the correctness of that statement. I want to say this, that it is because there is only one issue, and that is the issue of Prussianism on one side and democracy on the other side, that we must go into this fight now.

Why, Mr. President, I would not give a human life for any property on earth, and yet I could see where I could give my life, and a thousand like it if I had them, and would consider that I had accomplished more than I will ever accomplish in my brief span, by raising the prestige that gives security to our citizens in foreign lands.

I am ashamed as an American citizen to-day that our citizens do not have the same protection, that they do not command

the same respect, that they do not have the same security as the subjects of the other powerful nations of the world in all foreign countries possibly except our own. That fact stands to-day admitted. It is not disputed. It is because we love life, too, often more than we love principle. It is because the world has come to know that there is a propaganda in this country of cowardice, because the world has come to believe that we will not fight unless we are on the defensive; that we will not fight to protect the lives of our citizens and that we will not fight for them wherever they have got a right to be; that we will fight for them only on our own soil. But let me say to these self-proclaimed pacifists, let me say to those whom I believe to be sincere, that they are building up a thousand deaths for the one death that they fear to-day; that they are building up a thousand days of suffering for the one day of suffering that they now fear. Why, let this country demonstrate to the world that it will not fight, let it demonstrate to the world that it is an aggregation of cowardly people, and there is not a little nation in all this world that will not murder with impunity the citizens of this country if it but has the desire.

I want to say to you this: In your supposed security here, in your isolation from this great war you are but having a dream. Let Germany defeat Russia to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow it is our turn.

I want to say to you that while we glory in the great democracy of Russia, while we look forward with the greatest hope to the building up there of a great democratic government, we can not but have fear that some of her people may not understand this great opportunity. We can not but have a fear that before they grasp solidly the reins of government there may be some other disturbance that will break up the discipline of the Russian Army. If that discipline is once broken, then Russia is gone, and autocracy will again be placed in command of that country, an autocracy that will be obedient to Prussianism. If unfortunately that thing should happen, and it is possible—it is within the range of possibility—then Germany would rule Europe. Germany would have the navies of Europe, and Germany ruling Europe with the navies of Europe would have no trouble on our north or our south, and instead of having to have a standing army of three or four hundred thousand men, we would have to have a standing army of 15,000,000 men, if they could be found in this country to serve.

Those are the facts and possibilities you face. As I said before, I would rather lose 100,000 or so of our men now than a million of them later on. I would rather have several months of war, if necessary, in cooperation with the allies than to have years and years of war unassisted by any great power. Now is the time to strike, now is the time to act, and not to act in a hesitating manner, not act in a niggardly way but to act with all the great force of the Government, a power that no nation or no group of nations on earth ever could overcome. I hope to God, when that power is shown to them, that the German people who have so long been misruled by Prussianism, the German people who have not been told the conditions, the German people who have been taught by the Prussians that victory is sure, will awake and will see that the defeat of Prussianism is inevitable, and that they will rise in their new understanding and in their patriotism and follow the example of the Russian people by establishing a democratic government that the allies and this country can and will treat with.

We have no war against the German people. The minute that Prussianism is stamped out in Germany, whether it is stamped out by us or by the German people themselves, all those countries who are warring against the German Government to-day will most gladly meet the new German Government half-way—yes; meet them more than half-way—and not only sign a treaty of peace with them and not only help to build up a great democracy for Germany but they will do everything in their power to alleviate the tremendous suffering that is in that country. To-day it is in the power of this Government to stamp out Prussianism, autocracy, and absolute monarchy throughout the whole world, and thereby make peace without war a possibility; and pray God that the opportunity be accepted by the American people in the spirit that gave birth to our own glorious freedom.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President, if I understand correctly this resolution, not only in its terms but in its import, its meaning is simple and single, and it is not subject in any way to misconstruction. It is the ordinary declaration of a state of war and pledging the resources of this country to prosecute war against those who are waging war against us. In other words, Mr. President, it commits this Government to a policy of war in defense of American rights, for the protection of American citizens, and for the security of the American Republic. That

being both the import and the express terms of the resolution, I do not find it possible on my part to vote against it. The resolution does not commit this country to a war of aggression but to a war to be prosecuted in defense and for the protection of the rights of the American people, against those at whose hands our people have suffered death.

Mr. President, when this war broke upon the peace of the world, we all realized, in part at least, what it meant. Language was inadequate to express our feeling and our astonishment or to convey to one another our views; but we understood that we were witnessing the most stupendous conflict of the world's history, and that in its far-reaching effect, in its engulfing force, it would, in all probability, involve our own people. We understood that the most advanced, the most powerful nations of the earth could not long continue their conflict without affecting most substantially the conditions upon the Western Continent. The affairs of the world are so closely interwoven, politically and economically, that it seemed from the beginning that, in all probability, we should not be able wholly to escape the disturbing and demoralizing effect of the fearful catastrophe. Naturally, therefore, the thought of everyone here turned to his own country—what should be her course, what policy would best conserve her interests and the happiness of her people, what was best calculated to preserve unscathed our institutions and unchanged our cherished principles of government and of civilization.

It was not mere selfishness; it was not base and inconsiderate fear; it was not a pusillanimous contemplation of sacrifice or the forfeiture of ease that drove our thoughts back upon ourselves and sent the mind in search of a policy which would best conserve and perpetuate our happiness and the welfare of our people. That charge has been laid at our door, but it is unjust. It was rather, in my belief, the inestimable and, I trust, the imperishable principle and feeling of nationality; it was the love of home; it was devotion to our own; it was the passion of patriotism, the most sublime passion which stirs the heart of man, save that which binds him to his Maker.

The President, the Congress, and the people felt in the beginning that this was not our affair; that it was not of our making; and that the blessed inheritance of the fathers should be kept from out the path of its frightfulness, if we could be so fortunate as to find the way by which to achieve that end.

Actuated, therefore, by the hope—by the just and righteous hope—that our people might be spared participation in this war, and in harmony with the strong and universal passion of our people for peace, we drew back in every way from the contest. We announced that we intended to be neutral and desired peace. We were even chary in urging the ordinary rights which belong to a neutral power. We were conciliatory in everything save our desire for peace. We appealed to old historic incidents to revive the memory of friendly days, and to old friendships that present friendships might be prolonged. We did everything that a self-respecting nation could do. We did more than any other nation of prestige and of power ever did do to remain out of the conflict and to signify to the world our desire for peace. We even put aside prudence—the ordinary prudence of a nation—and, as if in fear of creating the suspicion that we desired to enter the war, we refused to prepare even for defense.

Now, sir, in the midst of peril and in the midst of the world's turmoil, we stand here unprepared and unequipped—the strongest assurance that this people could give that we wanted to be at peace with the world.

I do not propose at this time, certainly under the peculiar conditions which surround us, to enter the field of speculative discussion and to inquire what might have been the result had a more decisive and more aggressive policy been pursued. I only know that the policy which has been pursued in its results has convinced me that whatever may be said as to the past the future demands a different course.

We must prepare both in policies and in purpose; we must announce to the world once and for all that the patriotism and the courage of the American people have not departed, but have simply been in patience resting until the last ounce of prudence should have been exhausted.

Look about us for a moment, listen to the warning which comes to us from every quarter as to what lies beyond in case we pursue this policy of indifference to our rights. May I recur for a moment to the fact that more than 500 of our citizens, men and women, have been assaulted, ravaged, murdered, or assassinated within the very sight of the flag, within the call of the Stars and Stripes, and within hearing distance of our own border? We have submitted in patience. A few years ago we went to war with that same country for territory. Shall we now be charged with impatience if we serve notice

now, when our citizens have been slain, that when the challenge comes or the right is invaded the American Republic will protect its own?

Our commerce has been destroyed; our ships have been driven from the ocean; our people have been drowned or left to perish upon the midnight sea. What more could a people do to evidence to the world their desire for peace than to do what this Nation has done for the last few years? I repeat that, whatever may be said in justification of the course which has been pursued in the past, it must be evident to every mind that a different policy is not only essential to the protection of our people but is of itself the best guaranty of peace.

Under the condition in which the world is moving to-day we can not hope for protection for ourselves unless first we give evidence of our intention to protect, and, secondly, our determination and our capacity to protect. Indecision and timidity under these conditions are invitations to aggression, invitations to further loss of life. Therefore, Mr. President, believing, as I do, that the first and primary obligation of government is to protect its own and to give absolute guaranty to those who owe it allegiance, I can not vote against a resolution which commits this Government to no other proposition than warring against those who war against us, to using force against those who use force against us. Further than that this resolution does not go.

Mr. President, there is one feature of this matter which I can not in candor pass over without a single word. This is not the time to discuss incidental questions or irrelevant questions; and yet some things have been said in connection with this situation, in the President's message and by Senators, which warrant me in the statement that in voting for this resolution it must be understood that I do not even tacitly indorse some of the propositions with reference to the manner in which this war is to be carried on. Those matters will reach us hereafter, at a later day of the Congress, and then it will be my privilege, absolutely disembarassed by this vote, to deal with them as in my judgment I should.

Suffice it to say now that there can, to my mind, be but one sufficient reason for committing this country to war, and that is the honor and security of our own people and our own Nation. I have no more right, because of my personal sympathy for other nations, to plunge my country into war than I would have, out of malice toward some other power, to send them to slaughter. I hold fast and firmly to the doctrine that our own national security, our own national honor, the rights of our own people, and the lives of our own citizens are alone, when challenged and assailed, sufficient to justify me in voting for a declaration of war. I join no crusade; I seek or accept no alliances; I obligate this Government to no other power. I make war alone for my countrymen and their rights, for my country and its honor.

Mr. President, there is one class of people in the United States to whom my heart goes out in special sympathy to-night, and that is the great class of citizens of German extraction scattered throughout the United States. They will receive many a wound from ill-judged words during this unfortunate situation; and yet, in my judgment, 98 per cent of those citizens born in Germany, or whose parents may have been born in Germany, will be perfectly loyal to this country during the entire conflict. I doubt them not at all; I trust them fully, along with all our people.

It was natural, it was human, indeed it would have been inhuman in them had they not sympathized with the fatherland during the contest between that country and other powers; but when the tocsin of war shall sound in this country and the President of the United States calls for assistance from the citizens of this country, in my judgment they will not only demonstrate their loyalty as citizens in civil life but in the most conclusive way in which it is within the power of man to demonstrate his loyalty—upon the field of battle. Let us be very careful not to challenge the citizenship and the loyalty of those who have come here to make their homes, who regard it as their country, and who have demonstrated their loyalty in the past upon our fields of battle, and will do so again.

Some time ago I read that wonderful biography of Stonewall Jackson, written by a distinguished military critic of England. Not only was Stonewall Jackson one of the great men of this country, but the book to which I have referred is one of the greatest biographies which has ever been penned of any American. In that volume I read a telegram, sent about the time that Stonewall Jackson was operating most effectively in the valleys of Virginia. It was supposed that he was in retreat. It afterwards turned out that he was not; but at the time when he was supposed to be in retreat Gen. Shields sent this telegram in substance to the War Department: "Stonewall Jackson is

in retreat, but 10,000 Germans hang onto his rear like bloodhounds." They were not hirelings; no shadow of disloyalty rests upon them and theirs; they were fighting and dying for the Union; they were suffering and sacrificing for the Republic; and you will find when this war shall have closed that the 10,000 suspicions which have been thrown out against these people were unfounded; that charges of disloyalty were unjust; and that they, having cast their fortunes with us, and devoted to our Government, are willing with us to make every sacrifice for the Government and for their adopted country.

We have at this time not only no division, in my judgment, among the great rank and file of our citizens, but fortunately we have no division in our country. There is no longer any North or South or East or West, but one united country, meeting, as we fully understand, a perilous and tremendous situation. We enter this war, therefore, not disunited, not discordant, but as men who believe that their rights have been invaded, their privileges assailed, their Government attacked, and who are willing to meet the situation, not as they have made it, but as others have made it for them.

Mr. President, we will not vie with one another here as to our individual horror of war. I think I share with my colleagues in the contemplation of all that war may mean to the American people. We must not underestimate the strength of those against whom we are to wage battle—the most thoroughly united, the most efficient, and the most powerful unit among the nations of the earth to-day. Do not underestimate their strength. Nevertheless, here are a hundred million people united in spirit and in purpose, determined to enter the struggle, not for territory or for power but for their rights and their honor, without which we as a Nation must perish. All factions, all sectionalism, all difference of opinion, yea, for the time being, all partisanship will have been burned and purged away, and we will have established once and for all as a security for our children and our children's children that there comes a time when even the American people, with all their love of peace, will take up the gauntlet of war.

Mr. HARDING. Mr. President, I am conscious of the impatience of the Senate to reach a vote on the pending joint resolution, and I do not find myself impelled to enter into any extended discussion of the matter pending; but I do realize the gravity of the moment, and I want to say for myself at least a few things that will help to avoid a wrong impression coming from the action to be taken by this body.

I want those whom I am seeking to represent in this body to understand that I am not voting for war in response to the alleged hysteria of a subsidized or English-owned press. I want to take this opportunity of resenting the charge that the press of the United States is either owned or subsidized by any foreign power. I do not hesitate to say that I think the American press is the best safeguard we have to the American spirit, and the best advocate we have of our American liberties.

I want it known also that I am not voting for war in response to the campaign of the munition makers, for there has been none.

I want especially to say, Mr. President, that I am not voting for war in the name of democracy. I want to emphasize that fact for a moment, because much has been said upon that subject on this floor. It is my deliberate judgment that it is none of our business what type of government any nation on this earth may choose to have; and one can not be entirely just unless he makes the admission in this trying hour that the German people evidently are pretty well satisfied with their Government, because I could not ask a better thing for this popular Government of the United States of America than the same loyal devotion on the part of every American that the German gives to his Government.

I am not unmindful, Senators, that the great Julius Caesar fought the battles of the Roman Republic, and his assassins saw him bequeath an empire to Augustus. I am not unmindful that the great Bonaparte fought his battles in the name of the first French Republic, and his ambition left an empire that faded at St. Helena. It does not matter so much, Senators, what the form of government may be if the people existing under that government are content therewith. More depends on the human agency that administers the government; and it is my deliberate judgment to-night that it is up to us to demonstrate the permanency of a republic before we enter upon a world-wide war to establish democracy. We may well leave that to the other nations concerned.

I want it known to the people of my State and to the Nation that I am voting for war to-night for the maintenance of just American rights, which is the first essential to the preservation of the soul of this Republic. Why, Senators, perhaps it has

been an obsession with me, but in watching the trend of events since the outbreak of the European war and the endeavor to influence popular sentiment in this Republic I reached a stage where I doubted if we had that unanimity of sentiment which is necessary for the preservation of this free Government. We had reached a stage where seemingly we were without a soul. Somehow or other we had deadened the fires under the American melting pot, and it looked as though we were a divided people. On the floor of this Senate, where above all else we ought to preach American unity and the maintenance of American rights, I have heard doctrines preached which indicated divisions and selfish interests, which suggested that these United States of America, instead of going on to the fulfillment of the splendid destiny that the fathers must have had in mind, were becoming a mere collocation of States rather preferring to live in ease and comfort and selfish attainments than to know the spirit that becomes this boasted, popular Government.

And so, Mr. President, to-night, in the grave situation that I full well realize, with the understanding of every responsibility that goes with the vote, I vote for this joint resolution to make war—not a war thrust upon us, if I could choose the language of the resolution, but a war declared in response to affronts; a war that will at least put a soul into our American life; a war not for the cause of the allies of Europe; a war not for France, beautiful as the sentiment may be in reviving at least our gratitude to the French people; not precisely a war for civilization, worthy and inspiring as that would be; but a war that speaks for the majesty of a people popularly governed, who finally are brought to the crucial test where they are resolved to get together and wage a conflict for the maintenance of their rights and the preservation of the covenant inherited from the fathers.

Why, Mr. President, not so very long ago, in the mail which comes to me as it does to every Member of this body, a constituent wrote me asking: "Why seek to preserve American rights? There is no distinctly American nationality," said he. "We are a mixture or a blend or an aggregation of all the peoples of the world, and we have been surrendering our rights, notably in Mexico. Why insist upon them now?" I said to him, as I say to the Senate now: "The momentary suspension of American rights, or the temporary toleration of an attack on American rights, does not mean their surrender." I said to him further: "If there is no one who is distinctly American, then, in the name of the Republic, it is time that we find one." I hope that out of this great tumult of the world, and our part therein, there will spring from Columbia's loins the real American, believing in popular government, and willing to suffer and sacrifice, if need be, to maintain the rights of that government and the people thereunder. I believe that this is the great essential to the perpetuity of the American Republic—the maintenance of rights in confidence, absolutely without selfish interest.

We have given to the world the spectacle of a great nation that could make war without selfish intent. We unsheathed the sword some 18 years ago, for the first time in the history of the world, in the name of humanity, and we gave proof to the world at that time of an unselfish nation. Now, whether it is fate or fortune or the travail of destiny, it has come to us to unsheathe the sword again, not alone for humanity's sake—though that splendid inspiration will be involved—but to unsheathe the sword against a great power in the maintenance of the rights of the Republic, in that maintenance which will give to us a new guaranty of nationality. That is the great thing, and I want it known, Mr. President and Senators, that this is the impelling thought with me for one when I cast my vote.

I have been told, and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. LA FOLLETTE], who stood here to-day, gave us the warning, that we were taking up a perilous cause. He made the argument that the nation which was willing to follow the submarine warfare could probably assert itself against the combined powers of the globe. Mr. President, not since the world began, not since civilization wrote its first page in history, has it been given to any one nation to dominate the earth. World domination is not of man. That is of God, the Creator. It has become the fortune of this Republic to cry "Halt!" to a mad-dened power casting aside the obligations of civilization and the limitations of that which we look upon as highest humanity. I know that the task will be undertaken by the American people not originally committed to the cause of war, but a people who will understand that when the Congress speaks after due deliberation, after the patience which this body and this Government have exercised, the voice of the United States Congress is the voice of the Nation, and one hundred millions of people will commit themselves to the great cause of the maintenance of just American rights—a thing for which the Nation can well afford to fight, and while fighting for it put a new soul

into a race of American people who can enthusiastically call themselves truly and spiritually and abidingly an American people.

Mr. SMOOT. Mr. President, I rise to make this simple but earnest appeal:

God bless and approve the action to be taken by the Senate this day. Oh, Father, preserve our Government and hasten the day when liberty will be enjoyed by all the peoples of the earth.

Mr. GRONNA. Mr. President, I have already, in the briefest possible time, expressed my views. I do not desire to delay the Senate further; but I have a number of telegrams from some of my constituents upon this momentous question, and I ask unanimous consent to have them printed in the RECORD.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The telegrams are as follows:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., April 2, 1917.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senator from North Dakota, Washington, D. C.:

Unless an embargo is promptly placed on grain and foodstuffs, it is more than likely there will be riots in nearly every large city.

JOHN H. BLESSING.

TROY, IDAHO, April 2, 1917.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Fully 80 per cent here approve your stand against war.

J. W. SCHLOSSER,
Troy News.

PORTLAND, OREG., March 30, 1917.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The plain people want you to continue as their champion and work for peace. Only the munition makers and those who are willing to sacrifice this country to assist a foreign power want war. Approve your fight against changing this Nation from a democracy to an autocracy.

EDW. KENYON,
P. J. SAMMON.

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 30, 1917.

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senator from North Dakota, Washington, D. C.:

You were right in insisting on Congress retaining control over peace or war. More than anything else, this is the people's right. Any decision other than by a referendum will not portray the people's wish, but that of powerful and interested individuals or groups.

E. E. POTTBERG.

JASPER, MINN., March 31, 1917.

United States Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SENATOR: We admire the efforts and stand you have taken in trying to keep the United States out of war.

D. Anderson, E. J. Aslesen, E. J. Johnson, C. Holvig, Otto G. Friedrichs, H. V. Zender, Rev. H. Amend, Rev. J. D. Swalestuen, Steven Jacobs, J. M. Johnson, Ed. Devos, F. W. Bock, James Williams, H. J. Hansen, John Schlapohl, G. Frederick, Carl Kroll, Walter Jurgense, Tosten Pollen, Henry Solsaa, O. H. Flatberg, J. K. P. Studt, A. O. Rogen, W. P. Lee.

GACKLE, N. DAK., March 31, 1917.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

I have mailed you to-day a peace petition, protesting against war, signed by 75 citizens of the village of Gackle and vicinity.

J. H. MEYERS.

GREAT BEND, N. DAK., March 31, 1917.

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

In meeting assembled we unanimously expressed the opinion that there is no sufficient cause for war, and we therefore earnestly appeal to you to do your utmost to preserve peace. We also protest that our Government give any of the belligerents financial or any other aid.

LUTHERAN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY.

WHAHPETON, N. DAK., March 31, 1917.

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Keep us out of war.

E. Anderson, Thomas Dundon, Gordon Bader, Anton Stukel, Olaf Olson, Herbert Youngquist, Mark Peschel, Frank Simmer, Joseph Friederichs.

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 31, 1917.

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Please continue to the very last your patriotic endeavors to keep us out of war. Let us avoid entangling alliances. The time may yet come when we can act as peacemakers for a war-ridden world.

S. G. ROSENBAUM.

DEVILS LAKE, N. DAK., April 1, 1917.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
The St. Regis, Washington, D. C.:

The women voters of North Dakota beseech you to do your utmost to keep us out of war.

Mrs. E. O. GREENLEAF,
Treasurer Red Cross Hospital Aid, Devils Lake.

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Seventy-six citizens ask you to keep us out of war. Congratulations on your stand.
Rev. AUG. HOEVER.

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
If every honest man would fight the good fight as you have done and as you will do this country would be saved from a perfectly unnecessary and cruelly unfair war against a country which is already fighting nearly the whole world.

CLARA and CLARE BENEDICT,
Jefferson Hotel.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:
We the undersigned emphatically protest against declaration of war without referendum except in case of invasion, against any measure abrogating the right of free speech and a free press, and against any conscription or compulsory military training bill. Prussianism has no place in a democracy.

S. H. E. Wildfang, D. C. Poindexter, P. Randon, R. K. Random, J. H. Smith, R. E. Sherman, M. Beal, H. E. Edgely, M. Hanson, Geo. Manly, Geo. Olson, Vernon Rice, A. E. Olson, Max Lang, Paul Lang, Emil Lang, J. L. Loomis, F. E. Rice, Wm. P. Langley, Chas. Swanson, P. Neiman, M. Bensemiller, P. Youngeren, C. H. Lindquist.

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Resolution adopted unanimously by St. Johns Lutheran congregation April 1. We urge you in the name of God and Christianity and in the interests of humanity to do all in your power and use all honorable means at your disposal to keep our Nation out of war.

A. B. WILHELM, President.
E. C. HESS, Secretary.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Keep us out of war.
Math J. Kraker, Henry Reigh, Peter A. Peschel, William Sandera, Thomas A. Fischer, Theodore Lamusga, John Ambrosich, Anton E. McMichael, Herbert Hodel, Peter Diederich, Jake Steffens, Herman C. Rieke, Nick Rischard, Frank Tryba, Wm. Junge, John Junge, Jr., John Junge, A. H. Miller.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Senator from North Dakota,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:
People back you for peace. Beat Wall Street.

GEO. SHUTTINGER,
Ex-Captain, Union Guard, Brooklyn.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:
We strongly urge that Congress, before declaring war with any nation, submit the question of war to a referendum of the people of the United States, who will have to do fighting and bear the burdens. We also emphatically protest against the enactment of conscription or compulsory military training or any form of involuntary service. The spy bill and the censorship bill as advocated in their present form we believe are iniquitous and protest against their passage. In case of actual invasion, referendum on war not to be applicable.

S. C. W. Clarke, Walter Dietzman, S. C. Hauberg, C. E. Crain, H. Glum, Wm. Baker, G. N. Varnum, A. Sherman, O. H. Holson, A. H. Klippstein, F. W. Nelson, J. W. Kendall, R. A. Johnson, Louis Olson, R. Allinson, C. J. Roberts, O. C. Kendall, Paul Eddie, Abe Huggins, Glen H. Baker, L. E. Norton, L. J. Agnew, Theo. Warner, C. D. King, J. H. Salter, Chris Degroot, John Olson, S. V. Wilson, A. V. Fisher, Joe Wilken, Park Wood, D. A. Olson, M. Sherman.

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:
The welfare of our country demands that we use every effort to prevent the flower of our Nation from spilling its life blood on the European battle fields. Let us keep cool. The people of Europe and of this country want peace. The Europeans can not have peace, because they have gone insane. We have peace. Let us retain it and remain sane.

W. KNAUTH.

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
As citizens of the United States, I and my people protest most emphatically against any action that may bring this country into the present European war. Do all you can to prevent it.
J. M. PERSENUIS,
Pastor Swedish Lutheran Church.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Please vote against any measure leading to war with Germany.
THE LUTHERAN CHURCH,
By Rev. C. J. FYLLING, Pastor.

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Golden Valley Lutheran Church, 52 voting members, hereby protest against any act of war with the belligerent nations.
JOHN A. BJERKE, Pastor.

Senator A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Hope that you use all your endeavors to keep this country out of war. Let the European nations fight their own battles.
THOMAS MIKLAUTSCH.

United States Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Wish to express my appreciation of your stand against war as outlined in associated press dispatches published in the morning papers.
JOHN J. EAGAN.

A. J. GRONNA,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:
Congratulations on splendid statement against war. Please continue this patriotic attitude.
CONSTANCE DREXEL.

Hon. ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
We heartily indorse Pinchot plan as safe, sane, loyal, just method of distributing burdens and costs of war. In behalf of patriotic Christian Americans in all sections, who are loyal to the Government, the Christian Herald appeals to you in this crisis to stand fast for this high ideal.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD.

A. J. GRONNA, Washington, D. C.:
We, the Lutherans of Edgeley, 250 souls, protest against a declaration of war or any action leading to war. Also against a war loan by our Government to any foreign powers.
H. ZIMMERMAN,
H. E. VOMHOF, Secretary.

Senator ASLE J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
I want to assure you from my observation I am convinced the majority of the people are against war. Vote to keep us out of war.
ARTHUR BOHN.

A. J. GRONNA, Washington, D. C.:
Avert war by all means. We believe it unjustified and unnecessary for preservation of national honor. American people do not desire it nor consider provocations sufficient to warrant United States in engaging in war. We, the undersigned, earnestly pray you avoid this war if possible.

D. L. CAMPERELL,
E. E. THULIN,
M. C. STAND,
T. E. TUFT,
B. A. JOHNSON,
GUSTAF FROUNERK.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Members of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Richland County, N. Dak., wish to congratulate you on the patriotic stand you have recently taken to overthrow the plans of the war howlers. We implore you to do all in your power to avert the crisis which confronts our Nation. We are for peace.

E. MEIRE.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
Resolutions in protest of the United States entering the war in armed hostility, signed by citizens of Williston, are being forwarded you on to-night's mail.

L. N. SHELTON.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:
The people of North Dakota are patriotic and loyal to the National Government, yet they favor armed neutrality rather than war, and pray that all honorable means may be used to avoid further trouble.
LYNN J. FRAZIER, Governor.

Hon. A. J. GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the undersigned voters of Newburg and vicinity, do hereby indorse Senator GRONNA'S stand in the last Congress in regard to the war question.

MICHAEL EGAN,
GEORGE HASTINGS,
HENRY BACH,

Committee Representing 90 per cent of the Voters.

GRAND FORKS, N. DAK., April 2, 1917.

Senator GRONNA,
Washington, D. C.:

Lutheran pastor conference of Grand Forks humbly and earnestly petition your honorable body in behalf of church, State, home, and posterity that Congress takes no action which will appear as declaration of war, but maintain neutrality, rather suffering injustice than doing injustice. Please communicate this to the Senate.

N. J. LOHRE.

Mr. JAMES. Mr. President, I desire to make a like request to have printed in the RECORD certain telegrams, one from the Newark, N. J., annual convention of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The telegrams are as follows:

NEWARK, N. J., April 3, 1917.

WOODROW WILSON,

President of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

The Newark annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, composing 300 churches and 60,000 members, passed the following: The committee on the state of the country recommend the following as our declaration of principles at this critical hour: The war which has deluged the world with blood has been marked by atrocities and violations of international law which we fondly hoped our race had long since outgrown. In our splendid isolation the United States had ministered to the sufferers under all belligerent flags, and confidently hoped to be kept out of the conflict. We desired as a Nation to be a ministering angel to the suffering and a just and kindly arbiter when the bruised and bleeding nations should be willing to make peace. With a patience unexampled among strong nations we have submitted to countless acts of injustice and cruelty. We have remonstrated, we have petitioned, we have mildly threatened, while those who have enjoyed the hospitality of our shores have plotted to destroy our cities, massacre our citizens, dismember our country, and make our defense impossible. Though suffering these atrocities we have devoutly prayed that if it were possible this cup of war might pass from us. But we have only prayed against and reasoned with a power obsessed by a sense of its own importance and made frantic by its fearful extremity. The days of parley are past. The time has come when we must not count too carefully, either in gold or even in blood, the debt we owe to democracy and to the people of the earth. The hour of action strikes. There is no longer any middle ground; it is swallowed up in seas of blood. Henceforth every man is either a patriot or a traitor, a hero or a coward. Even the patient Christ, whose ambassadors we are, in time of extremity, when pacific measures had failed, said, "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." In such an hour of national crisis, with malice toward none, with charity for all. We call upon the President and Congress, the Army and Navy, the men and women of our land, to unite in a great and holy movement to protect our country from barbarous invasion, and to safeguard American men, women, and children in all lands and on all seas. We do not enter lightly into this conflict. Some of our cities may be devastated by an enemy deaf to the behests of humanity and international law. Thousands of our best young men may lay down their lives for our altars and our fires, but the issue is not in doubt. Trusting in a righteous God, and speaking for those we represent, like our fathers of old, "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Resolved, That inasmuch as our national flag is the sacred symbol of liberty and justice, we recommend that it be displayed in and upon our churches and in our homes and places of business.

W. E. PALMER,
W. C. SNODGRASS,
W. V. MALLABEN,
FREDERICK BLOOM,

Secretary, Woodbury, N. J.

To the PRESIDENT,

Executive Mansion, Washington, D. C.:

I have been flooded with requests to telegraph you and Representatives protesting against declaration of war. For fear silence might be taken as acquiescence in such protests, I telegraph my earnest request that you and Congress declare the fact that war exists and make adequate preparation for protection from dangers without and within. Believe we should immediately join with allies in their fight for freedom from Prussian militarism. Want this country to aid democracies of Russia, France, and England and help to restore Belgium not by money alone but by moral, spiritual, and physical aid. Believe every man owes same obligation of military service as obligation to pay money to support Government by payment of taxes. Overwhelming sentiment of people of this section indorses these views.

DESHA BRECKENRIDGE,
Editor Lexington Herald.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. President, I make a similar request to have printed in the RECORD a number of telegrams.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The telegrams are as follows:

BLOOMINGTON, IND., April 3, 1917.

MORRIS SHEPPARD,

Sovereign Banker, Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved, That the Woodmen of the World of the State of Indiana, in head camp assembled at Bloomington, Ind., being composed of men of the blood of all of the warring nations of Europe yet now being of one common blood, and that blood American, do hereby pledge

their entire and undivided support and loyalty to our country and to our President, Woodrow Wilson, in every action which he may take to uphold the honor of the United States.

LOUIS OEHLMANN, Head Clerk.

BEAUMONT, TEX., April 3, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

At a regular meeting of Beaumont Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 311, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Be it resolved, That in this critical hour we pledge ourselves anew to loyal service to our country."

HILTON J. DEUTHER,
Exalted Ruler,
SAM H. SOLINSKY,
Secretary.

EL PASO, TEX., April 4, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the employees of Wilson & Co., El Paso, Tex., 25 in number, stand squarely behind our President in demanding respect for our flag, both on land and sea, and we believe in universal compulsory military training, and we urge you to use all the power of your high office in passing a bill embodying this principle.

THE EMPLOYEES OF WILSON & CO.

FORT WORTH, TEX., April 3, 1917.

Senator MORRIS SHEPPARD,
Washington, D. C.:

At a meeting of the Fort Worth Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, to-night, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas loyalty to the flag is a fundamental test of Elkdom, and to the true Elk it is a cardinal duty to protect the national emblem from insult and desecration; and

"Whereas it is moreover the prime duty of every American to give unswerving allegiance to the Government of the United States at all times; and

"Whereas the national colors have been subjected to insult by an alien enemy who at this moment is conducting an inhuman and ruthless warfare upon our country; and

"Whereas President Wilson has called upon Congress to declare that a state of war exists between this Nation and Germany, and to authorize him, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, to use all and every means to carry forward a war against Germany to a successful conclusion: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, Fort Worth Lodge, No. 124, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, indorse unqualifiedly the President's patriotic decision; that we express our absolute confidence that Congress will act speedily and with comprehensive thoroughness, not only in formally accepting the rôle of belligerent, in the name of the Nation, but in providing every and all means necessary to prosecute the war with vigor; that we go on record in favor of universal military training as a necessary and democratic means of putting the Nation into a condition of adequate preparedness; and that we pledge to the President our undivided and individual support in this crisis, and express our unswerving fealty to the principles of freedom enunciated by him in his address to Congress, to the end that the honor of our Nation be vindicated and American ideals upheld."

GEORGE A. KLING,
Exalted Ruler,
R. D. HUNTER,
Secretary.

Mr. McCUMBER. Mr. President, I shall not ask for a roll call upon the amendment which I have offered. I simply desire to say that if the joint resolution reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations should pass both Houses of Congress to-day we would be in war to-morrow, even though Germany to-morrow should say that she would cease her present method of warfare against American ships and against American lives. If the joint resolution which I have offered as a substitute should become the law instead and Germany should declare to-morrow that she would immediately cease her present methods of warfare, or would cease them against the United States, there would be no war.

That is the only difference between the two propositions, and I am ready for a vote upon the matter. As the substitute has already been read, Mr. President, it will not be necessary to read it again.

Mr. WARREN. Mr. President, I send to the desk for the RECORD, and not for reading, a telegram just received from the Society of Sons of the American Revolution of the State of Wyoming.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, the telegram will be printed in the RECORD.

The telegram is as follows:

CHEYENNE, WYO., April 4, 1917.

Hon. FRANCIS E. WARREN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Resolutions of the Wyoming State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Whereas the notorious brutality, terrorism, and murder performed upon the high seas at the behest of the German Imperial Government against American property and American men, women, and children in contravention of treaty rights and international law having been brought to our knowledge through the public press, and our President having taken a strong stand for national defense and asked Congress for a declaration of a state of war: Be it

Resolved, That the Wyoming State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution in convention assembled with emphasis and unanimity

indorses the acts of President Wilson in this crisis, urges Congress to give united support to the executive department in carrying on the war, and that our Government shall strike with all the energy and power at its command in order that hostilities shall be brought to a speedy termination and that American rights, property, lives, and honor shall be preserved upon the seas, the legitimate highways of the nations, and in every land throughout the earth; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be wired to Senator FRANCIS E. WARREN, a member of this society, for presentation to Congress, the Wyoming delegation therein, and the President.

MAURICE GROSHON, *President*.
W. E. CHAPLAIN,
W. B. D. GRAY,
J. H. WALTON,
Committee.

Mr. POMERENE. Mr. President, I have a number of resolutions adopted by citizens of several cities in Ohio. I ask that they be incorporated in the Record without reading.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be done. The Chair hears no objection.

The resolutions are as follows:

OHIO SOCIETY OF NEW YORK,
NEW YORK.

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

At the regular meeting of the Ohio Society of New York, held in its rooms in the Waldorf-Astoria on the evening of March 12, 1917, the following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas after exhausting the resources of diplomacy in an effort to avert war, the President of the United States has now taken the only course consistent with national self-respect; and

"Whereas whatever honest doubt exists respecting the cause of war in Europe, the awful responsibility for extending war to this hemisphere now rests upon Germany and upon Germany alone:

Resolved, That the act of the Executive in severing diplomatic relations with Germany is one to be approved and commended by all who have the best interests of the United States at heart;

"That the German declaration of January 31, 1917, represents an unjustified and unjustifiable attempt to destroy the freedom of the sea and to abridge the commercial liberty guaranteed to us by established law and custom; and that if the Government of the United States were to acquiesce therein such action would be resented by all good citizens as inconsistent with the spirit and traditions of a free people;

"That the request of the President to Congress for authority to take any and all measures necessary to protect life, liberty, and property should be granted without question; and that it is our duty and that of all other loyal citizens to tender immediately to the Government all the service of which we severally and collectively are capable and that such individual and collective service is hereby tendered; and further

Resolved, That while all should stand ready to volunteer if voluntary service is called for, yet Congress, in providing for our common safety, should not adopt emergency measures only, but should definitely recognize the principle that the duty of defending the Nation rests equally upon all citizens capable of service;

"That the burden of safeguarding the country should no longer be cast exclusively upon the loyal National Guard and upon other patriotic, military and naval volunteers, but that Congress should exercise its constitutional power 'to raise and support armies' by establishing immediately a permanent and democratic system of national defense based upon universal service and training under direct and exclusive Federal control.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of War and to other members of the Cabinet, and to the members of both congressional Committees on Military Affairs."

In accordance with the above this copy is sent.

CHAS. P. BRUCH, *President*.
ERNEST K. CUTLER,
Secretary.

LONDON, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

Senator ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

The citizens of London, Ohio, in mass meeting assembled, believing that not only our rights but also the system of government to which our people are devoted have not only been assailed but also seriously threatened, do hereby resolve, first, that we declare our loyalty to our institutions bequeathed to us by our forefathers; second, that we express full confidence in those who represent us and pledge them in this time of danger our hearty support.

JOHN R. TANNER,
T. J. DWYER,
IDA F. WHITE.

ALLIANCE, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Resolved, That we, the members of Alliance, Ohio, Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, No. 467, in special session assembled, do hereby appeal to our President and Congress to use the resources of our Nation to oppose the arrogant, despotic, and cruel course laid down and followed by Germany in her attempt to dominate the world, and that we, with the patriotic lessons of our order well learned, pledge the assistance and loyalty of our membership to yourself and Congress in whatever action is deemed expedient to maintain the honor and dignity of the United States of America in the crisis now upon us.

GEORGE SHEETZ, *Secretary*.

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO, April 3, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Springfield (Ohio) Rotary Club at noon to-day warmly indorses the President's message and urge and promise loyal cooperation.

JOHN L. BUSHNELL,
President.
JAMES S. WEBB,
Secretary.

DAYTON, OHIO, April 3, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We have the honor to submit to you for your consideration the following resolution adopted by the citizens of Dayton on April 2, assembled together in the largest and most enthusiastic meeting ever held in our city:

"Whereas the Nation is on the verge of war; and
"Whereas the sacred rights of our liberty-loving citizenship, guaranteed to us by treaties and international law, have been shamefully disregarded on land and sea; and

"Whereas American lives have been ruthlessly sacrificed and plots disclosed that threaten our national existence; and

"Whereas the Congress is now assembled in solemn session to consider with the President the course our country is to follow in this great crisis: Therefore we, the citizens of Dayton, Ohio, in mass meeting assembled, 'With malice toward none, with charity for all, but with firmness in the right,' do hereby

Resolve—
"First. That we approve the action of our President in severing diplomatic relations with the German Government for the ruthless destruction of American lives and property and for the shameful plots that threaten our national existence.

"Second. That we as loyal Americans, irrespective of the country of our birth or of our former allegiance, and irrespective of our political affiliations, hold the enemies of our country to be our enemies and the flag of our country to be the only flag that can claim our allegiance.

"Third. That the entire resources of our city, even to the last drop of our blood and the last penny of our wealth, we hereby pledge to the support of any action the President and the Congress shall take to vindicate the national honor, protect the sacred rights of Americans, and preserve for us and the world the great blessings of democracy.

"Fourth. That we do not seek war, but if war must come to preserve to us and to our posterity these sacred rights and blessings, we favor that all necessary steps be taken to enlarge, strengthen, and equip our Army and Navy for the present and the future to the highest possible efficiency and to conduct war with all the power of the Nation.

"Fifth. That the chairman of this meeting appoint a committee to present these resolutions to the President, to the Congress, and to our Representatives in the Congress.

JOHN A. McMAHON,
WM. J. WHITE,
JAMES M. COX,
HENRY M. WAITE,
EDWARD E. BURKHART,
Committee.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is confined in its membership to citizens of the United States, and among its chief teachings are patriotism and love for the Stars and Stripes. At such a time as this it is fitting that this order should proclaim its patriotism, and not only in words but in deeds if need be. Therefore be it

Resolved by Cincinnati Lodge, No. 5, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, That we favor a national preparedness to meet any contingency that may arise.

Resolved further, That we hereby tender to President Woodrow Wilson our confidence in his judgment and our reliance upon his wisdom in handling the great international crisis now confronting the country.

Resolved further, That we assure him that this lodge and its members stand ready to follow and support him in any action that he may take, and we ask him to command our loyalty and service at all times.

Resolved further, That we tender to the President our united and hearty support in any step that he may recommend or desire to take for the protection of our country and the preservation of its honor.

Resolved further, That we call upon the Congress of the United States to stand by and support the President in any and all his requirements to meet the situation which the Nation is now facing.

Resolved further, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the President of the United States, to the United States Senators from Ohio, to the Representatives in Congress from the first and second districts of Ohio, and to our grand exalted ruler, Edward Righter, of New Orleans.

CINCINNATI LODGE, No. 5, B. P. O. ELKS,
By ERNEST VON BARGEN, *Exalted Ruler*.

Attest:

J. S. RICHARDSON, *Secretary*.

NEWARK, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,

Washington, D. C.:

Newark's Chamber of Commerce directors, representing a membership of over 600 men, to-day unanimously adopted resolutions commending President Wilson's attitude and placing united and unqualified support in whatever action he deems necessary to preserve the integrity, honor, and self-respect of the American people.

FRANK L. BEGGS, *President*.

KENT, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

Hon. ATLEE POMERENE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We expect you to support our President even to declaration of war.

MEN'S CLUB UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, April 1, 1917.

Senator POMERENE,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The Harvard Club of Central Ohio wishes to go on record as supporting the President in the upholding of American honor and protection of American rights, and urges its Congressmen to stand loyally behind him in whatever measures may be deemed necessary.

HARVARD CLUB OF CENTRAL OHIO,
CHAS. S. KELLY, *Secretary*.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, April 1, 1917.

Senator POMERENE,
Washington, D. C.:

Jefferson Grange requests you to sustain the administration during crisis.

C. BART. CHAPMAN, *Secretary*.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

HON. ATLEE POMERENE,

United States Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C.:

Delegates from 51 clubs, representing 300,000 automobile owners of Ohio, at the annual State automobile convention in Springfield unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we, the delegates of the Ohio State Automobile Association in convention assembled, representing 300,000 citizens of the State of Ohio, do hereby express our firm conviction that the honor and dignity of the United States and the lives and rights of its citizens must be maintained and defended at whatever sacrifice and cost; that we hereby pledge our unreserved support to the President and Congress in their efforts to adequately arm and prepare our country for a state of hostilities; and that in the event of war we will render every possible service in the defense of our Nation and its flag."

This resolution was adopted with cheers and the entire convention on its feet.

THE OHIO STATE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION,
RICHARD H. LEE, President.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

HON. ATLEE POMERENE,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At mass meeting of citizens held to-night, attended by largest gathering ever assembled in Memorial Hall, while thousands fought vainly for admission outside doors, in a spirit of unprecedented enthusiasm, after memorable addresses by leading citizens, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas for more than two years past the Imperial German Government has outraged the rights of the United States of America, has ruthlessly killed Americans while engaged in the peaceful and lawful exercise of their vocations upon the high seas, and has ignored and evaded the demands of the Government of the United States for the cessation of the murder of Americans and other neutrals and noncombatants and of the destruction of American ships and property, and through both official and unofficial channels fomented and directed plots and outrages against the lives and property of Americans on our own soil, thus betraying our hospitality and violating our sovereignty, and while professing friendship and esteem for the United States has sought to engage Mexico and Japan in a joint war with Germany against the United States: Therefore we, American citizens resident in the city of Columbus, Ohio, and assembled in mass meeting this 2d day of April, 1917, do resolve as follows:

"First. Recognizing that the time has come for vigorous and aggressive action by the President and Congress, and the entire power of the Nation, to uphold the dignity and integrity of the United States as a sovereign power, whose paramount obligation it is to protect American rights and the rights of humanity and to promote international justice, liberty, and democracy, therefore we pledge ourselves jointly and severally to support the President of the United States and the national administration in whatever steps may be necessary to these ends.

"Second. That inasmuch as by the belligerent actions of the Imperial German Government a state of war with Germany now actually exists, therefore Congress should immediately declare war against the Imperial German Government.

"Third. We declare ourselves in favor of universal military service as the only just democratic and efficient measure of national defense.

"Fourth. That immediate steps should be taken to mobilize the industrial, financial, military, and naval resources and the man power of the Nation effectively to defend on both sea and land the rights and sovereignty of the United States, the rights of humanity, and the principles of free and democratic government."

THE COLUMBUS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, April 2, 1917.

HON. ATLEE POMERENE,

Washington, D. C.:

Be it resolved, That we, the trustees of the Youngstown Chamber of Commerce, hereby approve national universal military training as an institution to be inaugurated immediately and maintained indefinitely, in accordance with the policy of the fathers of the Republic as embodied in the law of 1792, and petition our representatives in Congress to work and vote for the now pending universal military training bill, known as the Chamberlain bill; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of this chamber be, and he hereby is, instructed to transmit by wire copies of this resolution to both President Wilson and our representatives in Congress.

ROBERT WADSWORTH,
Secretary Youngstown Chamber of Commerce.

Resolution of the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Hamilton County, Ohio.

This is no time to palter; it is a time when every American citizen must elect to either be a patriot or a traitor. There is no middle ground; there can be no divided allegiance. Those who are not ready to rush to the defense of our flag and, if necessary, to die for the things it represents are unworthy of that hitherto respected name.

In such an hour when the safety of the country is in jeopardy and its honor is to be preserved, he who hesitates to proclaim his devotion to the causes of justice and humanity is a dastard. He is unworthy to be a partaker of the liberty and freedom, the priceless heritage of our citizenship.

Affirming our devotion to the precepts of our heroic forebearers who established on this continent a Government whose corner stone is equal opportunity, a Government which is also a protest against the so-called divine right of kings and emperors; and further affirming our devotion and belief in the principle that the will of the people is the true and only source of power, we, the members of the Federation of Democratic Clubs of Hamilton County, Ohio, therefore do, and be it solemnly and patriotically

Resolved, That the conduct of the cranks and partisan marplots who are seeking to embarrass and stay the hand of President Wilson in his efforts to preserve unimpaired the rights of American citizens to the freedom of the seas merits the severest condemnation: And further be it

Resolved, That we heartily approve the stand the President has taken to uphold the rules of international law. And we desire to place ourselves on record as approving whatever measures he may take

to enforce the rights of our country as against the ruthless and murderous practices that are being employed by the mailed hand of a savage and brutal military autocracy, a system of warfare, if successful, will mean the overthrow of liberty and the triumph of tyranny.

THE FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC CLUBS
OF HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO,
By THORNTON R. SNYDER, President.

LOCAL COLLEGE WIRES LOYALTY TO GOVERNMENT—MOUNT UNION CONDEMNS BRUTAL SUBMARINE WARFARE OF GERMANY—URGES CONGRESS TO PREVENT OUTRAGES—PLEDGES SUPPORT TO PRESIDENT IN UPHOLDING NATIONAL HONOR.

Mount Union College faculty and students to-day showed their loyalty to President Wilson and their country by adopting a resolution at chapel service condemning the ruthless submarine campaign of the Germans and offering to aid the Government "in whatever way we can" in preventing a continuance of further outrages.

After its adoption it was telegraphed to President Wilson. The resolution follows:

"Resolved, That we, the students and faculty of Mount Union College, in chapel assembled, do hereby urge the Government at Washington to take immediate steps to oppose the brutal and defiant attitude of Germany as seen in the long list of crimes against civilization, culminating in the outrageous and tyrannical undersea warfare, and that we, true to our past position of loyalty and sacrifice, do hereby pledge ourselves to support in whatever way we can the action to be taken by Congress in maintaining the cherished honor of the Nation."

A copy of the resolution was also wired to Senator POMERENE.

Mr. SMITH of Georgia. I desire to send to the desk, to be incorporated in the RECORD, the action of the student body of the University of Georgia.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The matter referred to is as follows:

GEORGIA UNIVERSITY PLEDGES LOYALTY IN SUPER-CRISIS—STUDENTS AND FACULTY HOLD MASS MEETINGS AND ADOPT RESOLUTIONS PLEDGING SUPPORT.

The resolutions as adopted in full follow:

"Resolved, first. That the University of Georgia, the first established of the State universities of America, throughout its history has constantly stood for the Christian virtues of peace on earth and good will toward men.

"For a century and a quarter it has consistently, so far as its teaching and its influence might avail, upheld the sanctity of law and mutual respect and fair dealing among men. Founded by patriots just emerged from the historic conflict by which our great Republic was established, it has as constantly endeavored to promote that love of freedom, truth, and justice which is the invaluable heritage of the American people.

"Whilst eagerly desiring the blessings of peace, within the borders of the Commonwealth and in the world at large, it has not scrupled to place larger emphasis on honor, truth, and righteousness.

"At this present time of stress, when the liberties of the people seem threatened, when the honor of the Nation is at stake, when righteous dealing among the nations seems imperiled, the university hereby offers to the State and to the Nation its loyal, patriotic, and unstinted services for whatsoever it may be able or be called upon to do.

"Resolved, second. That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the governor of the State, the President of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from Georgia in the Congress of the United States, and also to each member of the board of trustees of the university."

INDORSE UNIVERSAL TRAINING.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously by the faculty and by the student body of the University of Georgia yesterday afternoon:

"Be it resolved, That the faculty of the University of Georgia believe thoroughly in a sound military policy founded on mandatory training and equal obligation, and furthermore we do hereby indorse any step or action taken by the President of the United States and Congress toward the promotion of universal training and equal service, and pledge ourselves to support the administration in the event of any crisis."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on the substitute offered by the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER].

The substitute was rejected.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is as in Committee of the Whole and open to further amendment.

Mr. HITCHCOCK. Mr. President, Nebraska has been perhaps too much in evidence to-day; but in justice to my State I shall send to the desk and ask to have read, before the vote is taken, a telegram giving the text of a resolution upon this subject passed by both houses of the Nebraska Legislature.

Before I take my seat, Mr. President, I desire to say that, as far as I am concerned, I shall not ask for a roll call upon this joint resolution while it is in Committee of the Whole, but upon the final passage of the joint resolution in the Senate a roll call will be asked.

I ask for the reading of the telegram.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The telegram will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary read the telegram, as follows:

LINCOLN, NEBR., April 3, 1917.

HON. G. M. HITCHCOCK,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Both houses of the legislature to-day passed the following resolution by unanimous votes:

"In this time of national crisis we, the members of the thirty-fifth session of the legislature, without regard to party affiliations, renew our allegiance to our country and our President. We rejoice that the honor of representing the President at this critical period in the great-

est of all legislative bodies, the United States Senate, has fallen upon a distinguished Nebraskan—Senator GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK. We pledge Nebraska's manhood and resources to the end that our country's honor be maintained and its prestige undiminished."

EARL B. GADDIS.

Mr. KELLOGG. Mr. President, I send to the desk telegrams embodying resolutions passed by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota indorsing the address of the President and the joint resolution pending before the Senate. I ask to have the telegrams placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ST. PAUL, MINN., April 3, 1917.

HON. FRANK B. KELLOGG,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Sullivan, G. H., offers the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope and does hereby request that every Senator and Representative of the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and request set forth in said message; and be it further

"Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message, and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take such action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further

"Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby instructed immediately to wire the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution."

GEO. W. PEACHEY, Secretary.

ST. PAUL, MINN., April 3, 1917.

Senator F. B. KELLOGG,
Washington, D. C.:

Messrs. Nolan and Pratt offer the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and requests set forth in said message. Be it further

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take such action during this legislative session, so that all of the resources of the great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States. And be it further

"Resolved, That the chief clerk of the house of representatives is hereby instructed immediately to wire to the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution."

OSCAR ARNESON, Chief Clerk.

Mr. JONES of Washington. Mr. President, I have received a great many telegrams signed by several hundred citizens of my State, some of them protesting against our going into war and some of them urging that we do so. I have here simply a few of the telegrams, which are typical of many that have been sent to me, which I ask may be printed in the RECORD, and in lieu of any remarks that I might desire to submit I ask permission to have printed in the RECORD a letter which I wrote yesterday and sent to those protesting against war.

There being no objection, the telegrams and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEATTLE, WASH., March 31, 1917.

HON. WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

The Women's Democratic Club of King County, 300 strong, urge your patriotic support of the President's policies.

Mrs. M. B. HARKER, President.

SEATTLE, WASH., March 31, 1917.

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

We, the executive committee of the Woman's Wilson-Marshall League, protest against a declaration of war. The press of the country may want war, but the people do not. There are no munition plants or war bondholders in the West.

WOMAN'S WILSON-MARSHALL LEAGUE,
Mrs. A. JEFFERSON NELSON, President.
Miss HELEN BYRNE, Secretary.

WENATCHEE, WASH., April 1, 1917.

Senator W. L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

At largely attended mass meeting held in public park to-day practically all churches, fraternal organizations, and commercial bodies unanimously passed strong resolutions in favor of upholding the rights

of American citizens upon land and sea, and pledge undivided support to you. Copy of above sent President Wilson to-night. Resolutions mailed.

W. W. GRAY, Mayor.
SEATTLE, WASH., March 31, 1917.

Senator WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

Our State forcibly expressed our opinion on subject of war declaration by electing President Wilson on slogan "Kept us out of war." Newspapers insisting on war are betraying this Nation. Referendum would prove this claim. God give you strength to remain steadfast for peace.

Mrs. GEO. A. SMITH,
President Suffrage Association and
Aikai Improvement Club.

VANCOUVER, WASH., April 2, 1917.

HON. WESLEY L. JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, with membership of 650 patriotic Americans, have passed to-day the following resolutions:

"Resolved, That Vancouver Lodge, No. 823, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, pledges the President of the United States its unanimous support in upholding the honor and dignity of our country and in protecting the lives and property of our citizens at home and abroad, and especially upon the high seas; be it further

"Resolved, That we favor a strong preparedness program." These resolutions reflect the unanimous sentiment of the people of the West.

JOS. J. DONOVAN, Exalted Ruler.
C. A. PASSON, Secretary.

TACOMA, WASH., April 2, 1917.

W. L. JONES, Washington, D. C.:

Federated Women's Christian Temperance Unions of Tacoma, Pierce County Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Friends' Church of this district unite in demanding that there be no war, with its horrible butchery of our boys. We are opposed to universal enforced military training or creation of large armies.

FEDERATED PEACE SOCIETIES,
NETTIE HOLENECK, Chairman.

SEATTLE, WASH., April 3, 1917.

HON. W. L. JONES,
Senate, Washington, D. C.:

We, the committee representing nearly all civic and fraternal organizations of the city of Seattle, in executive session, hereby adopt the following resolution, instructing the chairman and secretary to forward copies of the same immediately to the President of the United States and to Congress:

"Whereas this Nation is passing through a world crisis and needs the united and loyal support of all of its people, we deem it a privilege as citizens of this great Republic to extend to the administration and Congress our unqualified confidence and support to the end that we retain our rightful place among the nations of the earth; that we courageously and honorably demand recognition of the freedom of the high seas with all other nations; that we will brook no interference of those rights, and, if necessary, employ force of arms to meet the issue of a free people not for conquest but to sustain and continue advancing civilization and our principles until they encircle the world. To that end we pledge anew our fortunes, our lives, and our sacred honor."

LOUIS WILLIAMS, Chairman.
RICHARD SEELEY E. JONES, Secretary.

SEATTLE, WASH., March 30, 1917.

HON. WESLEY L. JONES,
Senator from State of Washington:

What are you going to do about the war question? We young women of Washington are depending upon you to do what you can to protect us from this catastrophe. War—no.

Annette Schafer, Katherine Stewart, Jesse Cobb, Ver Lewis, Eula Walker, Mary Cobb, Burnadette McCarthy, Violet Hansen, Blanche Emerson, Ethel And-Resen.

NORTH YAKIMA, WASH., April 3, 1917.

Senator WESLEY JONES,
Washington, D. C.:

Whereas a crisis now exists in the affairs of our Nation: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Yakima Michigan Society commends President Wilson's war message and approves and urges the immediate adoption of the resolutions now before both Houses of Congress. We hereby renew our pledge of allegiance and loyalty to our country.

GEO. F. MCCAULAY, President.

SEATTLE, WASH., April 1, 1917.

HON. WESLEY JONES,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIR: Will you please bring to the attention of the United States Senate the following resolution passed unanimously by the members and pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Zion's Church at their house of worship:

"Resolved, That we, the members and pastor of the said church of Seattle, all citizens of the United States, respectfully petition Congress not to hurl our country and people into the horrors of the European war, but if the Members of Congress are not against the war to let the people of the United States, who would suffer from the war, vote whether or not they are willing to shed their blood and pay the expense of such a war."

H. P. OLAF, Pastor.

EVERETT, WASH., April 2, 1917.

Hon. WESLEY L. JONES,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

Everett Spanish War Veterans unreservedly support President in maintaining American honor and protecting citizens at home or abroad. We know what war means, but face it again rather than tolerate murder and piracy. This is reply to Emergency Peace Association advertisement.

CHAS. A. TURNER,
Adjutant Camp 9, Spanish War Veterans.

SEATTLE, WASH., April 2, 1917.

W. L. JONES,

Senate, Washington, D. C.

HONORABLE SIR: Believing that a way out of the present crisis can be found without loss of honor and without resorting to war, we, the undersigned citizens of the United States, beg that you do all in your power to avert war.

Yours,

A. W. Kraatz, F. A. Gepner, H. Roescher, Anna Gepner, Julia Roescher, Fred Gepner, L. Muth, Lena Gepner, Minnie Muth, M. Sender, E. Ziegler, Kate Sender, Ernestine Ziegler, A. K. Engel, I. C. Ritscher, Alma Engel, Caemelia Ritscher, H. Mollenstadt, Minnie Kraatz, A. Korman, E. Frank, Louise Korman, Louise Frank, O. Fedder, Thomas Ehlers, Florence Fedder.

ELLENSBURG, WASH., April 1, 1917.

Senator WESLEY L. JONES,

Washington, D. C.:

Fifteen hundred people in mass meeting to-night unanimously passed resolution urging Washington's Senators and Representatives in Congress to stand by the President in program to fully protect American honor and American lives.

J. C. KAYMOR.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA,
WASHINGTON.

Your communication urging that we be kept out of war at hand. I have hoped that we would not be drawn into it and have done what I could to keep out of it. I have believed that there is more real, true patriotism in trying to save our country and its homes from the horror of war than in hastening it toward such a calamity. The die is cast. The President has spoken in such a way that war can not be avoided without humiliation and dishonor.

Heretofore there has been room for patriotic differences of opinion and action. I am not a censor of other people's conduct, but to me there is now only one patriotic duty, and that is to support in unstinted measure the course which accords with the judgment of the duly constituted governmental agencies. To try to direct the Nation along a proper course is patriotic, to resist its decree and authority is not.

The supreme test of our citizenship is at hand. There should be no divided allegiance from any of us. This Nation should have our supreme loyalty and the Stars and Stripes should command our undivided support.

Our naturalized citizens will be tested as by fire. I am sure but few of them will be recreant to their oath or disloyal to their country of adoption. I pray that we may emerge from this conflict a better and more united people, and that our Government may be a controlling factor in securing a just, honorable, and lasting peace.

Mr. PHELAN. I have received telegrams from the Lodge of Elks of Santa Cruz, and from the Faculty Club of the University of California at Berkeley, in the State of California, approving the stand taken by the President in our relations with Germany. I ask that they may be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegrams were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SANTA CRUZ, CAL., April 2, 1917.

Hon. JAMES D. PHELAN,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

The following telegram has this day been sent the President:

"The officers and members of Santa Cruz Lodge of Elks at a meeting this day held strongly indorsed the stand you have taken in preparing the country for any emergency which might arise, and the patriotism you have shown in your endeavors to uphold, defend, and perpetuate the dignity of our flag and the honor and integrity of our Nation. We wish to express our fullest confidence in your wisdom and in the judgment of Congress, pledging you our humble assistance at this time in our country's crisis."

CLAY E. PETERS,
Exalted Ruler.

BERKELEY, CAL., April 2, 1917.

JAMES D. PHELAN,

Washington, D. C.:

As indicating attitude of our university community, I beg to call your attention to following telegram sent President Wilson March 30:

"At an open meeting of the Faculty Club of the University of California, attended by 126 members, the following resolution was adopted by an affirmative vote of 105: 'Since the Imperial Government of Germany has, according to the express declaration of the President of the United States, violated the fundamental rights not only of Americans but of humanity, rights of life and liberty upon which all law, justice, ordered government, and international sanction are based, and without which there is no civilization; and since that Government has, in spite of his warnings, specifically and wantonly sunk our ships and done to death our fellow citizens while they were engaged in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we hope the President and Congress of the United States will take prompt and appropriate action to fulfill the manifest duty of the United States of America to vindicate American honor, and what is fundamental and much more vital to reassert by force and with all resources at our command against the Imperial Government of Germany, and in harmony with those peoples whose liberal ideals and allegiance to rights are identical with ours the mandates of international law and the rights of humanity."

LINCOLN J. HUTCHINSON.

Mr. THOMPSON. I have received resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of citizens of Fort Scott, Kans., which I desire to have printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To President Wilson and to the Members of the Kansas Congressional Delegation:

Whereas it seems from reports that reach us that sooner or later we must engage in the great world war that is now raging in Europe; and

Whereas we deplore the necessity of such action, but we have elected you to look after our national and international interests, and we trust you and will follow your directions in this great crisis. We hope that if war does come that we can enter it on such terms that every citizen will be on an absolute equality.

Therefore we request that a law be enacted providing for the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors within the United States of America and its possessions during the time we are preparing for and are engaged in war.

That, as it requires money and property to prepare for war, laws shall be passed calling for volunteers of money and property of every kind necessary for successful preparation for war and for sustaining life while the war is in progress; that all mines, mills, farms, factories, railroads, workshops, stores of every kind and character, and every species of productive property, including money, which is not voluntarily turned over to the United States Government upon call for the same for use in preparing for and sustaining war shall be taken over by the Government, and when the war is over such portion of such property so taken as remains unused or undestroyed shall be returned to its former owners without compensation of any kind.

Provided, however, That if any person's property is totally destroyed in its use for the purposes above mentioned, and such person is destitute or needy, then he or she, as the case may be, shall have the same pension allowed by the United States Government as is allowed at the time for soldiers, their widows and orphans.

That no person shall be allowed within the jurisdiction of the United States to make any profit out of war or preparations for such war, and if any person is found making or attempting to make profit out of the same he shall, upon conviction, be disfranchised for life and sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor during the war.

Provided further, That when steps have been taken to provide the money and property necessary to prepare for and carry on the war, as herein indicated, a call for volunteers shall be made for all able-bodied men and women within the United States of America above the age of 18 years to enlist, and in case anyone refuses to so enlist under such call for volunteers they shall be conscripted and forced and compelled to enter the service of the country.

That when the full citizenship of the country has been thus recruited the governmental authorities shall apportion them in the places where they are needed and where they are best calculated to do service, either in the Army, the Navy, or the industries taken over.

KANSAS IS LOYAL TO THE CORE.

STATE OF KANSAS,
Bourbon County, ss:

J. I. Sheppard, being duly sworn, says that he is a resident of Fort Scott, Kans., and has been such resident for 30 years last past; that he was present on the evening of March 29, 1917, at a mass meeting of the citizens of Fort Scott, Kans., in the First Baptist Church at Fort Scott, and that he was the mover of the foregoing resolution, and that the same was adopted by the people present at said mass meeting. Affiant further swears that Hubert Lardner, a resident of Fort Scott, Kans., and chairman of the Democratic State central committee of Kansas, was delegated to carry said resolution to Washington, D. C., and present the same to the President of the United States and to the members of the Kansas delegation in Congress.

J. I. SHEPPARD.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of March, 1917.

[SEAL.]

J. C. MITCHELL.

Notary Public.

My commission expires January 16, 1921.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there is no further amendment to be offered as in Committee of the Whole, the joint resolution will be reported to the Senate.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendment was concurred in.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading and was read the third time.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is, Shall the joint resolution pass?

Mr. POINDEXTER. I ask for the yeas and nays upon the passage of the joint resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered; and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. UNDERWOOD (when Mr. BANKHEAD's name was called). I desire to state that my colleague [Mr. BANKHEAD] has been unavoidably detained from the city. If he were present, I am informed that he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. DILLINGHAM (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Maryland [Mr. SMITH]. He has caused to be stated to me that if he were present to-night he would heartily support the joint resolution. Unfortunately he is detained from the Senate by serious illness in his family. Therefore, being at liberty to vote, I vote "yea."

Mr. SUTHERLAND (when Mr. GORF's name was called). I desire to announce that my colleague [Mr. GORF] is prevented from being present by serious illness. He has authorized me to state that if he were here he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. REED (when Mr. GORE's name was called). The senior Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. GORE] is unable to be present on

account of serious illness, which has confined him to his home for some weeks.

Mr. SAULSBURY (when Mr. HOLLIS's name was called). I was requested to announce that the junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HOLLIS] is unable to be present to-night, and if present he would vote for the joint resolution.

Mr. McCUMBER (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS], who is absent on account of sickness. I am, however, informed that if he were present he would vote the same as I would, and I will therefore vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. PITTMAN (when Mr. NEWLANDS's name was called). The senior Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] is necessarily absent. If he were present, I am informed that he would vote "yea."

Mr. SHAFROTH (when Mr. THOMAS's name was called). I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague [Mr. THOMAS] and to state that he is paired with the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER], and that if he were present he would vote "yea."

Mr. LEWIS (when Mr. TILLMAN's name was called). The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] was called from the Chamber by illness. He requested me to inform the Senate that he is paired with the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. GORF] and to announce that the Senator from West Virginia would vote the same way as would the Senator from South Carolina. The Senator from South Carolina desires me to announce that if he were here he would vote "yea" on the passage of the joint resolution.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I wish to state that the Senator from Colorado [Mr. THOMAS] is absent because of illness, and if he were present he would vote for the joint resolution.

The result was announced—yeas 82, nays 6, as follows:

YEAS—82.

Ashurst	Harding	Martin	Smith, Ariz.
Beckham	Hardwick	Myers	Smith, Ga.
Borah	Hitchcock	Nelson	Smith, Mich.
Brady	Hughes	New	Smith, S. C.
Brandeggee	Husting	Overman	Snoot
Broussard	James	Owen	Sterling
Caldor	Johnson, Cal.	Page	Sutherland
Chamberlain	Johnson, S. Dak.	Penrose	Swanson
Coit	Jones, N. Mex.	Phelan	Thompson
Culberson	Jones, Wash.	Pittman	Townsend
Cummins	Kellogg	Poinexter	Trammell
Curtis	Kendrick	Pomerene	Underwood
Dillingham	Kenyon	Ransdell	Wadsworth
Fall	King	Reed	Walsh
Fernald	Kirby	Robinson	Warren
Fletcher	Knox	Saulsbury	Watson
France	Lewis	Shafroth	Weeks
Frelinghuysen	Lodge	Sheppard	Williams
Gallinger	McCumber	Sherman	Wolcott
Gerry	McKellar	Shields	
Hale	McLean	Simmons	

NAYS—6.

Gronna	Lane	Stone	Vardaman
La Follette	Norris		

NOT VOTING—8.

Bankhead	Gore	Newlands	Thomas
Goff	Hollis	Smith, Md.	Tillman

So the joint resolution was passed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendments of the Committee on Foreign Relations to the preamble will be stated.

The SECRETARY. In the preamble, after the word "Whereas," it is proposed to strike out the words "the recent acts"; after the words "the Imperial German Government" to strike out the word "are" and insert in lieu thereof the words "has committed repeated"; and after the words "United States," in the third line of the clause, to insert the words "of America," so as to make the preamble read:

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America.

The amendments were agreed to.

The preamble as amended was agreed to.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. I present petitions signed by 7,555 citizens of California, praying for a referendum on the question of war before war is declared. These petitions have just reached me by mail or I would have presented them before. I move that they lie upon the table.

The motion was agreed to.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

H. R. 12. An act making appropriation to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1917, and prior fiscal years, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

Mr. PITTMAN submitted the following concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 2), which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the United States of America congratulates the people of Russia on their assumption of the powers, duties, and responsibilities of self-government, and expresses the confident hope that, in the adoption and maintenance of a democratic form of government, the rights, liberties, and happiness of the Russian people will be secure and the progress of the country assured.

ADJOURNMENT TO FRIDAY.

Mr. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Friday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 11 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Friday, April 6, 1917, at 12 o'clock meridian.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, April 4, 1917.

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Take us, O God, our Heavenly Father, into the Holy of Holies, and arouse the better angels of our being, that they may dominate our thought and direct our acts in the duties of the hour; that we may be good and faithful servants unto Thee and to our fellow men, in the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE.

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD two resolutions adopted yesterday by the Minnesota Legislature.

The SPEAKER. About what?

Mr. MILLER of Minnesota. About the President's message and the declaration of war.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD by printing some resolutions adopted by the Minnesota Legislature concerning the President's message and the declaration of war. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Following are the resolutions referred to:

ST. PAUL, MINN., April 3, 1917.

Hon. C. B. MILLER,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Sullivan, G. H., offers the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative of the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and request set forth in said message. Be it further

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained and to take such action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate is hereby instructed immediately to wire the President and to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State a copy of this resolution.

GEO. W. PEACHEY, Secretary.

ST. PAUL, MINN., April 3, 1917.

C. B. MILLER, M. C.

Washington, D. C.:

Messrs. Nolan and Pratt offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly approve and indorse the President of the United States and his message to Congress, given on Monday, April 2, in which he advises the Congress of the United States to declare that a state of war exists between the Imperial Government of Germany and the United States. Be it further

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby confidently express the hope, and does hereby request, that every Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States from the State of Minnesota will vote to sustain the President in the advice and requests set forth in said message. Be it further

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota does hereby solemnly pledge its support to the President and to Congress in the policy set forth in said message and in the measures necessary to carry out the declarations therein contained, and to take action during this legislative session so that all of the resources of this great State in men and material, so far as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying out such war, be unreservedly placed at the disposal of the Government of the United States; and be it further