

PRESIDENT PILLORIES GERMAN GOVERNMENT AS FOE TO MANKIND

In Dramatic Address Made
Before Congress Wilson
Advises War on Kaiser.

U. S. NOT AFTER REVENGE

Only Vindication of Human Right Is
Sought, of Which Nation Is
One Champion.

(Continued From Page One.)

served. The new policy has swept
every restriction aside.

No flag or errand respected.

Vessels of every kind whatever

their flag, their character, their car-

go, their destination, their errand,

have been ruthlessly sent to the bot-

tom without warning and without

thought of help or mercy for those

on board, the vessels of friendly

neutrals along with those of belliger-

ents. Even hospital ships and ships

carrying relief to the sorely believed

and stricken people of Belgium,

though the latter were provided with

safe conduct through the prescribed

areas by the German government itself

and were distinguished by their mis-

takeable marks of identity, have

been sunk with the same reckless

lack of compassion or of principle.

"I was for a little while unable to

believe that such things would in fact

be done by any government which had

hitherto subscribed to the humane

practices of civilized nations. Inter-

national law had its origin in the

attempt to set up some law which

would be respected and observed upon

the seas where no nation had right

of domination and where lay the high-

ways of the world. By painful stage

after stage has that law been built up

with meagre, enough, results. Indeed,

after all was accomplished, that could

be accomplished, not always with a

clear view, at least, of what the heart

and conscience of mankind demanded.

Zives Cannot Be Paid For

"This minimum of right the German

government has swept aside under

the plea of retaliation and necessity,

and because it had no weapons which

it could use at sea except those

which it is impossible to employ as

it is employing them without throw-

ing to the winds all scruples of hu-

manity or of respect for the under-

standings that were supposed to un-

derlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of

property involved, immensely serious

as that is, but only of the wanton

and wholesale destruction of the lives

of noncombatants, men, women and

children, engaged in pursuits which

have always, even in the darkest

periods of modern history, been

deemed innocent and legitimate. Prop-

erty can be paid for; the lives of

peaceful and innocent people cannot

be.

Is War Upon Mankind.

"The present German submarine war-

fare against commerce is a warfare

against mankind. It is a war against

all nations. American ships have been

sunk, American lives taken in ways

which have stirred us very deeply to

learn of but the ships and people of

other neutral and friendly nations have

been sunk and overwhelmed in the

waters in the same way. There has

been no discrimination. The challenge

is to all mankind. Each nation must

decide for itself how it will meet it.

"The choice we make for ourselves

must be made with a moderation of

counsel and a temperateness of judg-

ment befitting our people and our mo-

tives as a nation. We must put excited

feeling away. Our motive will not be

revenge or the victorious assertion of

physical might, but only the vindica-

tion of right, the human right of

which we are only a single champion.

Armed Neutrality Useless.

"When I addressed the congress on

the twenty-sixth of February last I

thought that it would suffice to as-

sert our neutral rights with arms, our

right to use the seas against unlawful

interference of our right to keep our

people safe against unlawful violence.

But armed neutrality, it now appears,

is impracticable. Because submarines

are in effect outlaws when used as

the German submarines have been

used against merchant shipping, it is

impossible to defend ships against

their attacks, as the law of nations

has assumed that merchantmen

would defend themselves against pri-

vateers or cruisers, visible craft, giv-

ing chase upon the open sea.

Neutral Rights Denied.

"It is common prudence in such

circumstances, grim necessity, indeed,

to endeavor to destroy them before they

have shown their own intention. They

must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt

with at all. The German government

denies the right of neutrals to use arms

at all within the areas of the sea which

it has proscribed, even in the defense

of rights which no modern publicist

has ever before questioned, their right

to defend. The intimation is conveyed

that the armed guards which we have

placed on our merchant ships will be

treated as beyond the pale of law and

subject to be dealt with as pirates would

be.

We Will Not Submit.

"Armed neutrality is ineffectual

enough at best; in such circumstances

and in the face of such pretensions, it

is worse than ineffectual; it is likely

only to produce what it was meant to

prevent; it is practically certain to

draw us into the war without the

rights or the effectiveness of belliger-

ents. There is one choice we cannot

make, we are incapable of making; we

will not choose the path of submission

and suffer the most sacred rights of

our nation and our people to be ig-

nored or violated. The wrongs against

which we now array ourselves are no

common wrongs; they are to the very

roots of human life.

Advances War on Germany.

"With a profound sense of the sol-

emn and even tragical character of the

step I am taking and of the grave re-

sponsibilities which it involves, but in

the face of the alternative, I deem

my constitutional duty, I advise that

the congress declare the rebuff course

of the imperial German government to

be in fact nothing less than war against

the United States; that it formally accept

the status of belligerent which has

thus been thrust upon it, and that it

take immediate steps to put the

country in a more thorough state

of defense, but also to exert all its

power and employ all its resources to

bring the government of the German

empire to terms and end the war.

Financial Help for Allies.

"What this will involve is clear. It

will involve the utmost practical co-

operation 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 and equal credit facilities

of our government. Each nation must

decide for itself how it will meet it.

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