The United States and The War

President Wilson's Notes on the Lusitania and Germany's Reply

Diplomatic Correspondence Between Germany, England and the United States

On Events Preceding the Sinking of the Lusitania, with Decrees and Incidents Affecting American Lives, Property and Rights in the War Zone

A COMPLETE OFFICIAL RECORD

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GERMAN WAR ZONE AND AMERICAN PROTEST

Decree and Memorandum Explaining War Zone—American Note of Protest and the German Reply

GERMANY'S WAR ZONE DECREES.

The following is the official text of the German war zone decree, issued on February 4, 1915:

PROCLAMATION.

1. The waters surrounding Great Britain, including the whole English Channel and all the seas between the United Kingdom and the continent of Europe, are hereby declared to be war zones. All vessels, armed or unarmed, proceeding towards the coast of the United Kingdom, within the limit of the war zone, are bound to halt, to give in their crew and to submit to the inspection and search of the authorities of the United Kingdom. All vessels proceeding towards the coast of the United Kingdom, within the limit of the war zone, are bound to halt, to give in their crew, and to submit to the inspection and search of the authorities of the United Kingdom.

2.北洋海軍 is a fleet of warships belonging to the Imperial German Navy, which has been employed by Germany contrary to international law in intercepting neutral maritime trade with Germany.

3. The German Government has declared that its war zone decree is not intended to interfere with the right of nations to navigate the high seas, but to prevent the export of goods to Germany, and to prevent the import of goods from Germany, in order to ensure the safety of the lives of seamen and passengers on board neutral vessels.

4. The German Government has declared that its war zone decree is not intended to interfere with the right of nations to navigate the high seas, but to prevent the export of goods to Germany, and to prevent the import of goods from Germany, in order to ensure the safety of the lives of seamen and passengers on board neutral vessels.

Neutral Powers

The neutral powers have been exceedingly cautious in adopting measures to prevent the importation of goods to Germany, and to prevent the exportation of goods from Germany, in order to ensure the safety of the lives of seamen and passengers on board neutral vessels.

GERMAN MEMORIAL.

Memorial of the Imperial Government respecting retaliatory measures rendered necessary by the measures employed by the English Government contrary to international law in intercepting neutral maritime trade with Germany.

Since the commencement of the present war, Great Britain's conduct of commercial warfare against Germany has been a mockery of all the principles of justice and humanity. The British Government has by several orders declared that its war zone decree is not intended to interfere with the right of nations to navigate the high seas, but to prevent the export of goods to Germany, and to prevent the import of goods from Germany, in order to ensure the safety of the lives of seamen and passengers on board neutral vessels.

The British Government has declared that its war zone decree is not intended to interfere with the right of nations to navigate the high seas, but to prevent the export of goods to Germany, and to prevent the import of goods from Germany, in order to ensure the safety of the lives of seamen and passengers on board neutral vessels.

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NOTE TO GERMANY ON WAR ZONE

Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at Berlin.


American Ambassador, Berlin:

Please address a note immediately to the Imperial Government to the effect that the following is an American note of protest of the following effect: The Government of the United States, having had its attention directed to the proclamation of the German Admiralty issued on the Fourth of July, 1915, that all enemy merchant vessels found in waters after the thirtieth of January, 1915, will be destroyed, although it may not always be possible to save crew and passengers, and that neutral vessels may not be always excepted, to state that the United States, with sincere respect and regret at the sentiments so cordially and

...
earnestly, to the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated under that proclamation.

The Government of the United States views these possibilities with such grave concern that it feels it to be its privilege, and indeed its duty in the circumstances, to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relations between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreseen in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens. It is of course not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which this Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. 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. The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized.

United States Not Open to Criticism.

This Government has carefully noted the explanatory statement issued by the Imperial German Government at the same time with the proclamation of the German Admiralty, and takes this occasion to remind the Imperial German Government very respectfully that the Government of the United States is open to none of the criticisms for unneutral action to which the German Government believe the governments of certain other neutral nations have laid them.

Shaded portion of the Map shows the German War Zone. Crosses indicate locations of sinking of the Lusitania, the torpedoing of the Gulfstream and the attack upon the Cushing. The American S. S. Nebraska was torpedoed or mined, May 25, at a point a little southwest of where Lusitania sank.
selves open, that the Government of the United States has not consented to or acquiesced in any measures which may have been taken by other belligerents in the present war which operate to restrain neutral trade, but has, on the contrary, assumed the position which warrants it in holding those governments responsible in the property and goods of American citizens which are in their ports and hands, and which are charging upon American shipping which the accepted principles of international law demand and which are, therefore, regardless of the presence or absence of the良 relations with the United States, the United States, all the more because the action announced by the Imperial German Government was directed as well at the merchantmen as the high seas.

The Government of the United States has decried the view of the consideration, which it urges with the greatest respect and the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstanding may arise and no circumstances occur that might even cloud the intercourse of the two governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the Imperial German Government, and that representations have been made to the Imperial German Government in respect to the unwarlike use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.

GERMAN REPLY TO OUR NOTE.

German Minister for Foreign Affairs to the American Ambassador at Berlin:

Berlin, February 16, 1915.

In reference to the note of the twelfth instant, Foreign Office, dated twenty-first, to the German measures respecting the theater of war in the waters surrounding England, and in reply to His Excellency the Ambassador of the United States, James W. Gore, the German Government have examined the communication of the Government of the United States in respect to the spirit of good will and friendship which seems to have prompted this communication. The Imperial German Government are in entire accord with the Government of the United States that it is in the highest degree desirable for all parties to avoid the misunderstanding which might arise from the measures announced by the German Admiralty and to avert the intrusion of events calculated to justify the most friendly relations which have so happily existed between the two Governments up to this time.

On account of the course of action the German Government believe that they may depend on full understanding on the part of the United States, all the more because the action announced by the Imperial German Government was directed essentially at the merchantmen on the high seas.

The Government of the United States is of the view of the consideration, which it urges with the greatest respect and the sincere purpose of making sure that no misunderstanding may arise and no circumstances occur that might even cloud the intercourse of the two governments, expresses the confident hope and expectation that the Imperial German Government will give assurance that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the Imperial German Government, and that representations have been made to the Imperial German Government in respect to the unwarlike use of the American flag for the protection of British ships.

GOTTLIEB VON JAGOW

German Secretary for Foreign Affairs

the legitimate trade and navigation of neutral states, but merely represents an act of self-defense which Germany's vital interests force her to take against England's method of conducting maritime war in defiance of international law, which no pretext on the part of neutrals has availed to bring into accordance with the legal status generally recognized before the outbreak of hostilities. In other words, all possible doubt on this cardinal point the German Government beg to set forth once more in actual situation.

Up to now Germany has scrupulously observed the existing provisions of international law relative to maritime war. In particular she assented without delay to the proposal made by the American Government directly after the war began to ratify Declaration of London and embodied the contents therein, without change in her own, even without formally binding herself in this direction. The German Government have adhered to these provisions, even where they conflicted with military interests. Our Government at the same time have permitted the United States to send goods by Deputy Merchant to England until the present, although they could well have precluded the arrangement, and their neutrality. In direct opposition to this, England has not shrunk from grave violations of international law wherever she could thereby cripple Germany or paralyze neutral countries. It will not be necessary for the German Government to go into great detail of the facts, especially since the American note to the British Government dated December 19th has brought to their knowledge, that has dealt with this point very fully. The course of the experiences of months.

Purpose Stauation of Germany.

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with Germany, acknowledged to be legitimate by international law, whereas they make unlimited use of the neutral status to obstruct contraband with England and our other enemies. Conceded that it is the form of neutrals not to present their legitimate trade with Germany and even to allow themselves knowing to be handled by England to restrict such trade, it is on the other hand not less their right, although unfortunately not enforceable, to keep trade in contraband, especially the trade in arms, with Germany's enemies.

Germany to Take Up the Gauntlet.

In that situation, the German Government see themselves compelled after six months of patience and watchful waiting to meet England's murderous methods of conducting maritime war with drastic counter measures. If England invokes the powers of famine as an ally in its struggle against Germany with the intention of leaving a civilized people in a state of misery or submitting to the yoke of England's political and commercial will, the German Government is today determined to take up the gauntlet and to appeal to the same grim ally. They rely on the neutrals not to have hitherto tacitly or under protest submitted to the consequences detrimental to themselves of England's war of famine to display not less tolerance toward Germany, even if the German measures constitute new forms of maritime war, as has hitherto been the case with the English measures.

In addition to this, the German Government are determined to suppress with all the means at their disposal the supply of war material to England and her allies and assume at the same time that it is a matter of course that the neutral Governments which have hitherto undertaken no action against the trade in arms with Germany's enemies do not intend to oppose the forcible suppression of this trade by Germany. Proceeding from these points of view, the German Admiralty has declared the zone prescribed by the seat of war. It will obstruct this arbitrary war of famine by mines wherever possible and also endeavor to destroy the merchant vessels of the enemy in any other way. It is very far indeed from the intention of the German Government to make use in obedience to these compelling circumstances ever to destroy neutral lives and property, but on the other hand they cannot be blind to the fact that dangers arise through the action to be carried out against England and the neutrals. Therefore without discrimination all trade within the area of maritime war. This applies as a matter of course to war mines which place any ship approaching a mined area in danger even if the limits of international law are adhered to most strictly.

The German Government believe that they have the means to prevent neutrals not to present themselves modern war. In the hope that the neutral powers will become reconciled with this, just as they have with the other minor concessions, the German Admiralty will see, as far as by England's measures, because it is their will to do everything in any way compatible with the accomplishment of their purpose for the protection of neutral shipping even within the area of maritime war. Otherwise, they have the means to prevent the German Government and the Imperial Government. They are not willing to waive the right to establish the protection of neutral shipping in the cargoes of neutral ships and, in cases requiring it, to take any action in due course of law.

Finally the German Government are prepared to accord, in conjunction with the American Government, the most earnest consideration to any proposal that might be made to ensure the safety of legitimate shipping of neutrals within the seat of war. They have already overlooked the fact that all efforts in this direction are considerably hampered by circumstances, such as the misuse of the neutral flag by English merchant vessels, which in the meantime has been established beyond a doubt by the American Government. Therefore, by the American Government and the United States Government ventures to hope that the American Government upon reconsideration will be agreed to. As regards the secret order of the British Admiralty has already been communicated to the American Government. It recommends English merchant vessels to use neutral flags and has in the meantime been confirmed by a declaration of the British Foreign Office which refers to the municipal law of England and characteristics such as quite unobjectionable. The English merchant marine has followed this counsel without delay. As is probably known, the American Government, from the cases of the Lusitania and Laertes. Moreover, the British Government have armed English merchant vessels and instructed them to resist by force of arms. In those circumstances it is very difficult for the German submarines to recognize neutral merchant vessels as such, for which search will not be possible in the majority of cases, since the attacks to be anticipated in the case of a disguised English ship would expose the commanders conducting a search and the boat itself to the danger of destruction.

The British Government would then be in a position to render the German measures illusory if their merchant marine persists in the misuse of neutral flags and neutrals are not marked in some other manner admitting of no possible doubt. German neutral merchant vessels in the exigency in which she has unlawfully been forced, make her measures effective at all events in order to comply to the necessity to conduct maritime warfare in accordance with international law and thus to reestablish the freedom of the seas, which she has ever advocated and for which she is fighting jointly with the German Government. Therefore, welcomes the fact that the American Government have made representations on the part of the German Government relative to the use of their flag contrary to law and give expression to the expectation that this action will cause England to respect the American flag in future. In this expectation the commanders of the German submarines have been instructed, as was already stated in the note of fourth instant, to refrain from violence to American merchant vessels when they are recognizable as such.

ALFRED F. von TIRPITZ
Head of the German Admiralty

Recommends American Convoy.

In order to meet in the surest manner all the consequences resulting in America for a hostile merchant vessel the German Government recommended that (although this will apply only to the danger from mines) the United States
their ships carrying peaceable cargoes and traversing the English seat of maritime war in order to make them recognizable. In this connection the German Government believe it should be made a condition that only such ships should be convoyed as carry no merchandise which would have to be considered as contraband according to the interpretation applied by England against Germany. The German Government are prepared to enter immediate negotiations with the American Government relative to the manner of convoy. They would, however, be particularly grateful if the American Government would urgently advance vessels to seal the English seat of maritime war, at any rate until the flag question is settled.

The German Government resign themselves to the confident hope that the American Government will recognize the full meaning of the severe struggle which Germany is conducting for her very existence and will gain full understanding of the reasons which prompt Germany and the aim of the measures announced by her from the above explanations and promises. The German Government repeat that in the scrupulous consideration for neutrals hitherto practiced by them they have determined upon the measures planned only under the strongest compulsion of national self-preservation. Should the American Government at the eleventh hour succeed in removing, by virtue of the weight which they have the right and ability to throw into the scales of the fate of peoples, the reasons which have made it the imperative duty of the German Government to take the action indicated, should the American Government in particular find a way to bring about the observation of the Declaration of London on the part of the powers at war with Germany and thereby to restore to Germany the legitimate supply of food-stuffs and industrial raw materials, the American Government may consider the American Government may recognize this as a service which could not be too highly estimated in favor of more humane ends of war and would gladly draw the necessary conclusions from the new situation thus created. Through the undersigned, the Ambassador of Germany is requested to bring the above to the attention of the American Government and avails himself of the opportunity to renew, "(Signed) VON JAGOW."

AMERICA SUGGESTS BLOCKADE MODIFICATIONS

This Government’s Note to Belligerents Proposing a Basis of Agreement to Relieve Neutral Shipping, and the Replies of Germany and Great Britain

NOTE TO BELLIGERENTS.

Secretary of State to the American Ambassador at London.—Identical message sent to the American Ambassador at Berlin on the same date.

Washington, February 20, 1915
You will please deliver to Sir Edward Grey the following identical 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 Government, 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 same may be one in which it and the people of the United States are directly and deeply interested. It is merely submitting to take the liberty which it believes may be accorded a sincere friend desirous of embarrassless neither nation involved and of service. If it may be the common interests of humanity. The course outlined is offered in the hope that it may.

WALTER H. PAGE
American Ambassador to Great Britain
draw forth the views and elicit the suggestions of the British and German Governments on a matter of capital interest to the whole world, 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 narrow range of harbors for defensive purposes 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 agents 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 authorizing them to receive such food and foodstuffs to non-combatants 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 whatever 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 shipment of all commodi ties will not be interfered with or detained by British authorities if con-
THE SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA

Official German Report—Denial That Vessel Was Armed—German Embassy Warning, Note of Regret and Policy Toward Neutral Ships

GERMAN OFFICIAL STATEMENT. Official communication issued in Berlin, May 9:

The Cunard liner Lusitania was yesterday torpedoed by a German submarine and sank. The Lusitania was naturally armed with guns, as were recently most of the English mercantile steamers. Moreover, as is well known here, she had large quantities of war material in her cargo. Her owners, therefore, knew what danger the passengers were exposed. They alone bear all the responsibility for what has happened. Germany, on her part, left nothing undone to repeatedly and strongly warn them. The Imperial ambassador in Washington even went so far as to make a public warning, so as to draw attention to the danger. The English government, on the other hand, in its heart felt sympathy for the loss of American lives, cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises rather than to pay attention to the warnings from the German side.

DENIALS THAT SHE WAS ARMED.
The British government made the following announcement on May 8:
The statement appearing in some newspapers that the Lusitania was armed is wholly false.

Dudley Field Malone, Collector of the Port of New York, made the following official statement regarding the charge that the Lusitania was armed when she left this port:

This report is not correct. The Lusitania was inspected before sailing, as is customary. No guns were found mounted or unmounted, and the vessel sailed without any armament. No merchant ship would be allowed to arm in this port and leave the harbor.

GERMANY'S NOTE OF REGRET.

German Foreign Office to the German Embassy at Washington, May 10.

Please communicate the following to the State Department: The German Government desires to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the Lusitania. The responsibility rests, however, with the British government, which, through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany, has forced Germany to resort to compulsory measures.

In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, British merchant vessels are being generally armed with guns and have repeatedly tried to ram submarines, so that a previous search was impossible. They cannot, therefore, be treated as ordinary merchant vessels. A recent declaration made to the British Parliament by the Parliamentary Secretary in answer to a question by Lord Charles Beresford stated that there present practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.

Besides, it has been openly admitted by the British press that the Lusitania on previous voyages repeatedly carried large quantities of war material. On the present voyage the Lusitania carried 5,406 cases of ammunition, while the rest of her cargo also consisted chiefly of contraband.

If England, after repeated official and unofficial warnings, considered herself able to declare that she ran no risk and thus light-heartedly assumed responsibility for the human lives of other people, on board with whose vessel, without any armament and cargo was liable to destruction, the German government, in spite of its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of American lives, cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises rather than to pay attention to the warnings from the German side.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

GERMAN EMBASSY'S WARNING.

Advertisement inserted in American newspapers warning travellers of war zone dangers:

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY

Washington, D.C., April 22, 1915.

GERMANY'S NEUTRAL POLICY

Text of an official declaration by the German Government received by Secretary Bryen from Ambassador Gerard at Berlin and made public on May 11. The time required by transmission makes it apparent that this declaration was formulated before the sinking of the Lusitania.

This declaration was handed to Mr. Gerard by the German Foreign Office, which explained that it was being issued as a "situational statement" in regard to "mistaken attacks by German submarines on commerce vessels of neutral navies." It reads:

First—The Imperial German Government has naturally no intention of causing to be attacked by submarines or aircraft such neutral ships of commerce as in the zones of naval warfare, more definitely described in the notice of the German Admiralty staff of Feb. 4th, as having the character of an hostile act. On the contrary, the most definite instructions have repeatedly been issued to German war vessels to avoid attacks on such ships under all circumstances. Even when such ships have contravened the law on board they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare.

Second—Should a neutral ship nevertheless come to harm through German submarines or aircraft on account of an unfavourable (X) mistake? In the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare, the German Government will unreservedly recognize its responsibility and will redress, in such a case, it will express its regrets and accord damages without first instituting a prize court action.

Third—It is the custom of the German Government as well as of that of all other neutral states, to treat a neutral ship in the above-mentioned zone of naval warfare as desirous to German war vessels to institute an immediate investigation into the cause. If grounds appear whereby to be given for association of such a hypothesis, the German Navy places itself in communication with the interested neutral Government so that the latter may also institute an investigation. If the German Government is thereby convinced that the ship has been destroyed by Germany's war vessels, it will not delay in carrying out the provisions of Paragraph 2 above. In case the German Government, contrary to the viewpoint of the neutral Government, is not convinced by the result of the investigation, the German Government has already on several occasions declared itself ready to allow the question to be decided by an international investigation commission, according to Chapter 3 of the Hague Convention of Oct. 13, 1899, for the peaceful solution of international disputes.
SECRETARY BRYAN'S RESIGNATION.

Note of Retiring Cabinet Member, President Wilson's Acceptance of Resignation and Mr. Bryan's Formal Statement

LETTER OF RESIGNATION.
Secretary Bryan's letter tendering his resignation follows:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Washington, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. President—It is with sincere regret that I have reached the conclusion that I should return to you the commission of Secretary of State with which you honored me at the beginning of your Administration.

Obeyed to your sense of duty and actuated by the highest motives, you have prepared for transmission to the German Government a note in which I cannot without violating what I deem to be an obligation to my country, and the issue involved is of such moment that to remain a member of the Cabinet would be as unfair to you as it would be to the cause which is nearest my heart, namely, the prevention of war.

I therefore respectfully tender my resignation to take effect when the note is sent, unless you prefer an earlier hour. Alas! already of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchantmen, we find ourselves differing irremissibly as to the methods which should be employed.

It falls to your lot to speak officially for the nation; I consider it to be none the less my duty to endeavor, as a private citizen, to promote the ends which you have in view by means which you do not feel at liberty to use.

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

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

W. J. BRYAN.

THE PRESIDENT'S ACCEPTANCE.

The President's acceptance of the resignation follows:

The White House, June 8, 1915.

My Dear Mr. Bryan—I accept your resignation only because you insist upon its acceptance; and I accept it with much more than deep regret—with a feeling of personal sorrow.

Our two years of close association have been very delightful to me. Our judgments have accorded in practically every matter of official duty and of public policy until now; your support of the work and purposes of the Administration has been generous and beyond praise; your devotion to the duties of your great office and your eagerness to take advantage of every great opportunity for service it afforded has been an example to the rest of us; you have earned our absolute admiration and friendship.

Even now we are not separated in the object we seek, but only in the method by which we seek it.

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

Sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson.

MR. BRYAN'S STATEMENT.

The following is Mr. Bryan's formal statement, given to the press after leaving office:

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

Two of the points on which we differ, each conscientious in his convictions, are:

First, as to the suggestion of investigation by an international commission, and

Second, as to warning Americans against traveling on belligerent vessels or with cargoes of ammunition. I believe that this nation should frankly state to Germany that we are willing to apply. In this case the principle which we are bound by treaty to apply to disputes between the United States and thirty countries with which we have made treaties, providing for investigation of all disputes of every character and nature.

These treaties negotiated under this Administration, make war practically impossible between this country and those with which we have made treaties, and among the nations with which we have treaties are Great Britain, France and Russia. No matter what disputes may arise between us and these treaty nations, we agree that there shall be no declaration and no commencement of hostilities until the matters in dispute have been investigated by an international commission, and a year's time is allowed for investigation and report. This plan was offered to all the nations without any exceptions whatever, and Germany was one of the nations that accepted the principle, being the twelfth, I think, to accept.

Stands for Arbitration.

No treaty was actually entered into with Germany. We see that should stand in the way when both nations intoned the principle. I do not know what way would accept the offer, but our country should, in my judgment, make the offer. Such an offer, if accepted, would at once relieve the tension and silence all the plagues who are demanding war.

Germany has always been a friendly nation, and a great many of our people are of German ancestry. Why should we not deal with Germany according to this plan to which the nation has pledged its support?

The second point of difference is as to the course which should be pursued in regard to American citizens traveling on belligerent ships or with cargoes of ammunition.

Why should an American citizen be permitted to involve his country in war by traveling upon a belligerent ship, when he knows that the ship will pass through a dangerous zone? The question is not whether an American citizen has a right, under international law, to travel on a belligerent ship, but the question is whether he ought not, out of consideration for his country, if not for his own safety, avoid danger when it is possible.

It is a very one-sided citizenship that compels a man to go to war over a citizen's rights and yet retains the citizen's obligations to consider his own safety. I do not know just how far the President can legally go in actually preventing Americans from traveling on belligerent ships, but I believe the Government should go as far as it can, and that in case of doubt it should give the benefit of the doubt to the Government. But even if the Government could not legally prevent citizens from traveling on belligerent ships, it could, and in my judgment should, earnestly advise American citizens not to risk themselves or the peace of their country, and I have no doubt that these warnings would be heed.

Should Warn Americans.

President Wilson has decided to warn Mexico when insurrection broke out there, and President Wilson has repeated the advice. This judgment was eminently wise, and I think the same course should be followed in regard to warning Americans to keep off vessels subject to attack.

I think, too, that American passenger ships should be prohibited from carrying ammunition. The lives of passengers ought not to be endangered by cargoes of ammunition whether that danger comes from within or from possible attacks from without. Passengers and ammunition should not travel together. The lives of American citizens from incurring these risks is entirely consistent with the effort which our Government is making to prevent attacks from submarines.

The use of one remedy does not exclude the use of the other. The most familiar illustration is to be found in the action taken by municipal authorities during a riot. It is the duty of the Mayor to suppress the mob, and to prevent violence, but he does not hesitate to warn citizens to keep off the streets during the riots. He does not question their right to use the streets, but for the public protection and in the interest of order he warns them not to incur the risks involved in going upon the streets when men are shooting at each other.

The President does not feel justified in taking the action announced. That is not to say that he felt justified, first, in suggesting the submission of the controversy to international inquiry for, second, in war risk. The people not to incur the extra hazards in traveling on belligerent ships or on ships carrying ammunition. And he may be right in the position he has taken, but as a private citizen I am free to urge both of these propositions, and to call public attention to these remedies in the hope of securing such an expression of public sentiment as will support the President in employing these remedies. If in the future, he finds it consistent with his sense of duty to favor them.

STATUS OF THE DECLARATION OF LONDON.

Notes Relating to the Application of Laws of Naval Warfare as Laid Down in 1909

INQUIRY OF MR. BRYAN.

The Secretary of State to Ambassador W. H. Page. Same mutatis mutandis to American Embassies at Petersburg, Paris, Berlin and Vienna and the American Legation at Brussels.

Department of State, Washington, August 6, 1914.

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 1906 shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe provided that the governments with whom Great Britain is at war 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 recognizing 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.

On August 13, Ambassador Penfield notified the Secretary of State that the Austria-Hungarian Government had instructed their forces to observe stipulations of Declaration of London as applied to naval as well as land warfare during the present conflict condition on the observance on part of the enemy. The German Government, on August 20, notified this Government by Ambassador Gerard, that it would apply the Declaration of London, pro-