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President Wilson Makes Address To Congress

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last, I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the imperial German government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought either to approach the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coast of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war but since April of last year the imperial German government had somewhat restrained the commanders 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. The precautions taken as was proven in distressing instances after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business but a cruel and unmanly business but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of the belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity. They 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 that I hitherto 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 seas, where no nation had right of domination and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stages after stages has the law been built up with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This maximum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapon which it could use at sea except those which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all principles of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have

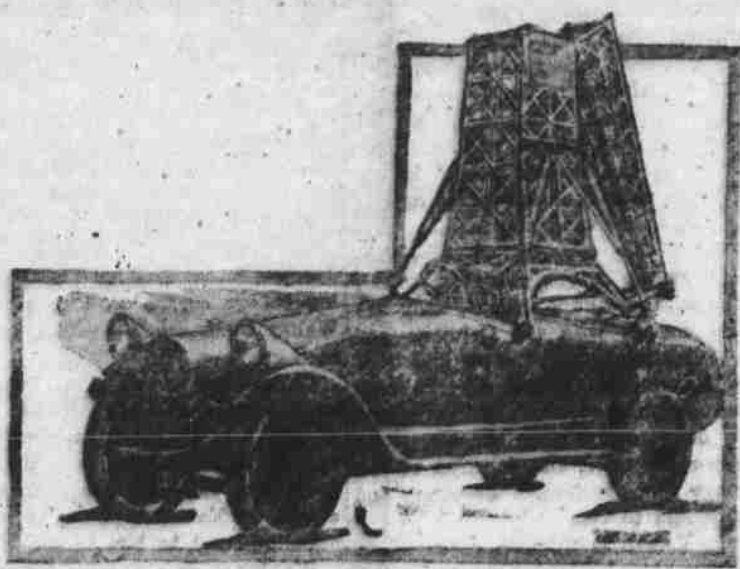
been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperance of judgment benefiting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation but only the vindication of right, or human rights of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the congress on the twenty-sixth of February, last, I thought that it was sufficient to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, 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 privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intentions. 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 prescribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern nation has even 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. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the right or the effectiveness of belligerents. 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 ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all of its resources to bring the government of Germany to terms and end the war.

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 financial credits; in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incident and needs of the nation in the most abundant, yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by



The United States Army is now equipped with an automobile which carries a wireless apparatus with it in the form shown in the illustration. This car would be able to dash up

and down a line of battle receiving and sending messages to all parts of the line. The War Department has not stated just how many of them have been ordered.

law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force as soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own reparations and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government for the consideration of your committees measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deep momentous things, let us be the world what our motives and our the work what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-sixth of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February.

Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principle of peace and justice into the life of the world, against the selfish and autocratic powers and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, as the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

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 in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue 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, unbidden, 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 confidence of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands an insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocracy can be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It may be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free people 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.

Does not America feel that assurance has been abandoned to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that make their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character or purpose, and now it has been shaken off by the generous Russian people have been in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world for justice and for peace. Here is a fit paragon of a league of honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, or peace, within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its 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

us have been made to the negroes according to federal agents, were separate train-freedom and political of social equality. If the negroes desired themselves to aid Germany in event of war with the United States.

The Senate Passes War Resolution 82 To 6

THE FATE OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE IS IN THEIR OWN HANDS

The United States has never gone to war but to establish or vindicate a principle of human liberty. So we fought and won in 1776, in 1812, in 1898. So we will fight in 1917.

American citizens of German birth or ancestry should remember that it was to escape a monarchy, tyranny and lack of opportunity that they or their forefathers came from Germany to America. In the war between the United States and Germany it will be their opportunity to do their part to release their own kinsmen from the autocracy, the tyranny, the lack of opportunity which drove them or their ancestors from Germany.

Fighting under the flag of their adopted country in this war they will be fighting to free the German people, to make possible the continued existence of the German nation.

Let no one overlook this—it must be the determination as it is the plain duty of the democracies that are fighting Germany to continue to fight until Germany is democratized or utterly ruined.

Nothing less will insure the future safety of the world. Autocratic Prussian militarism need hope for no mercy or consideration from the nations that have had to war to establish or vindicate the sense of the world's liberties.

It must and will be crushed so completely that it will disappear forever from the face of the earth.

The world will no longer tolerate the existence of a nation that permits itself to be governed by a caste which is without conscience and which refuses to subscribe to those human and divine laws which are the keynote of the arch of modern civilization.

It rests entirely with the German people themselves whether or not they go down to destruction with their government.

So long as the German people continue to give slavish loyalty to and make common cause with their false leaders they will be doomed to be overtaken by the same fate which eventually always overtakes the outlaw.

The nations that are fighting Germany can make no distinction between the ruthless military autocrats who rule Germany and the German people so long as the German people themselves make no distinction.

The enemies of Germany, including the United States, cannot consider making peace with Germany until the German people have repudiated the government which has enslaved them.

The German nation as it exists today is a menace to the rest of the world.

It violates its sacred pledges; it is the terrorism of the most savage character as a weapon; murders women and children in furtherance of its military plans; treacherously abuses the confidence of friendly nations; is obsessed with the ambition to dominate and enslave the rest of the world.

It is obvious that this would not be the character of a democratized self-governing Germany.

Such a Germany would give expression to the ideals of justice, progress and peace, which are the only necessary through the

of Germany would have nothing to do with them, other nations because other nations would have nothing to do with them. (Bureau Nat.)

LOCATED AT 110 GREET ST.

THE INDEX is now located in the Evans building at 110 Green Street and while all of the machinery is up and ready to run it will take some days to get everything straight, but after this week the paper will be on time and carry the local happenings as well as the latest foreign news.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4.

The resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany was passed in the Senate tonight by a vote of 82 to 6. It goes to the House, where debate will begin tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to continue until action is taken.

Senators who cast the negative votes were: Gronna, North Dakota; LaFollette, Wisconsin; Norris, Nebraska; Lane, Oregon; Stone, Missouri; and Vardaman, Mississippi.

The resolution drafted after consultation with the State Department and already accepted by the House Committee, says the state of war thus upon the United States by Germany is formally declared, and directs the President to employ the entire military and naval forces and the resources of the government to carry on war and bring it to a successful termination.

Action in the Senate came just after 11 o'clock at the close of a debate that had lasted continuously since 10 o'clock this morning. The climax was reached late in the afternoon when Senator John Burleigh Williams denounced a speech by Senator LaFollette as more worthy of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg than of an American Senator.

Senators Show Deep Emotion

The passage of the resolution was not marked by any outburst from the galleries, and on the floor the Senators themselves were unusually grave and quiet. Many of them answered to their names in voices that actually quivered with emotion.

The galleries were filled to overflowing, and on the floor back of the Senators' seats were almost half the membership of the House. In the diplomatic gallery was Secretary Lansing, Counselor Post, of the State Department; Minister Calderon, of Bolivia, and Minister Ekengren, of Sweden. Earlier in the evening Dr. Ritter, the Swiss Minister in charge of German interests in this country, had been there.

Secretary McAdoo was on the floor during the last few hours of the debate.

As the last name was called and the clerk announced the vote 82 to 6, there was hardly a murmur of applause.

The great crowd was awed by the solemnity of the occasion, and sobered by the speeches they had heard.

After the vote was announced, the Senate remained in session only a few minutes. The galleries began to empty at once, and the Senators themselves, tired out by the long day, left quickly.

The Senate adjourned until Friday to await action of the House.

All six of the Senators who voted against the resolution were members of the group of twelve which defeated the armed neutrality bill at the last session. There was no attempt to filibuster this time, however, and most of the thirteen hours of debate was consumed by champions of the resolution. Of the other six opponents of armed neutrality, Senators Connors, Kenyon and Kibby voted for the resolution tonight, Senators O'Gorman, (Ipp and Work), the remaining three, retired to private life at the end of the last session.

EVIDENCE OF ACTIVELY BY THE GERMANS TO INFLUENCE NEGROES IN FAR SOUTH

NEW ORLEANS, La., April 4.—Federal authorities here admitted today that they have discovered evidence in the last few weeks indicating the existence of an organized German movement to incite negroes in parts of Louisiana and Mississippi against the United States Government.

Among the promises alleged to have been made to the negroes according to federal agents, were separate train-freedom and political of social equality. If the negroes desired themselves to aid Germany in event of war with the United States.