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## PRESIDENT SENDS ULTIMATUM TO GERMANY; LAYS WHOLE U-BOAT ISSUE BEFORE CONGRESS

### IMMEDIATE CHANGE ONLY CAN PREVENT BREAK IN RELATIONS

Communication Does Not Contain Time Limit,  
but Berlin Is Expected to Make Prompt  
Answer to Representations.

### PRESENT METHODS OF SUBMARINE WARFARE AGAINST LAW OF NATIONS

If Berlin Suggests Any Means of Complying  
With Demands, United States Will Entertain  
Them, but as Condition Precedent There Must  
Be Affirmative Declaration That Campaign  
Now in Progress Will Be Suspended—Copies  
of Note Delivered to Representatives of All  
Neutral Nations, but Not to Other Belligerents.

[Special to The Times-Dispatch.]

WASHINGTON, April 19.—President Wilson has said his "last word" on the submarine controversy.

He has told Germany he will break off diplomatic relations unless present methods of submarine warfare are immediately abandoned.

Congress was so informed to-day when the President went in person before the assembled House and Senate and told them what he had done.

An hour later the State Department received word that the note had been delivered to the Foreign Office in Berlin. It was then given out for publication.

The best obtainable official and diplomatic opinion is that the situation to-night between the two governments is as follows:

The note to Germany is an ultimatum so far as the question of severing diplomatic relations is concerned. It is not an ultimatum on any question relating to war between the two countries.

The United States rests its case for the present on this note, expecting a reply from Germany within a reasonable time, probably a week.

If the German government suggests any means of complying with the demands, the United States will entertain them. But, as a condition precedent to any such suggestion, there must be an affirmative declaration that present submarine methods will be suspended. The United States wants no more boats sunk in violation of international law, an administration official said, while it is discussing the issue with Germany.

### MUST END DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS IF GERMANY DOES NOT YIELD TO DEMANDS

If Germany refuses to declare its science of overcoming apparently insurmountable obstacles, it was suggested that Germany may be able to give assurances with honor to herself and satisfaction to this government.

Whether war followed would depend on the future submarine operations of Germany.

This statement was made at the State Department.

"Unless Germany declares an abandonment of present methods of submarine warfare, diplomatic relations will be broken off. We ask an immediate declaration of this abandonment."

At the White House it was said:

"Up to the present time Germany has practically been judge of her own actions. Henceforth the United States will be judge. No further explanations will be sought, but the government will act in accordance with the note." No hint came from Berlin to-night as to Germany's probable action. In diplomatic quarters here, however, where officials are skilled in the

### President Tells Congress, in Joint Session, He Has Given Final Warning to Germany

WASHINGTON, April 19.—In his address before Congress, in joint session to-day, the President said:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

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

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

The law of nations in these matters, upon which the government of the United States based its protest, is not of recent origin or founded upon merely arbitrary principles set up by convention. It is based on the contrary, upon manifest and imperative principles of humanity, and has long been established with the approval and by the express assent of all civilized nations.

CARRIES OUT ITS POLICY  
DESPITE OUR PROTEST

Notwithstanding the earnest protest of our government, the imperial German government at once proceeded to carry out the policy it had announced. It expressed the hope that the dangers involved, at any rate the danger to neutral vessels, would be reduced to a minimum by the instructions which it had issued to its submarine commanders, and assured the government of the United States that it would take every possible precaution, both to respect the rights of neutrals and to safeguard the lives of noncombatants.

What has actually happened in the year which has since elapsed has shown that those hopes were not justified, those assurances insusceptible of being fulfilled.

In pursuance of the policy of submarine warfare against the commerce of its adversaries, thus announced and entered upon by the imperial German government in despite of the solemn protest of this government, the commanders of German undersea vessels have attacked merchant ships with greater and greater activity, not only upon the high seas surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, but wherever they could encounter them, in a way that has grown more and more ruthless, more and more indiscriminate as the months have gone by, less and less obedient of restraints of any kind; and have delivered their attacks without compunction against vessels of every nationality, and bound upon every sort of craft, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Some of the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes passengers or crews have been vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take to the ship's boats before she was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. What this government foresaw must have happened. Tragedy has followed tragedy on the seas in such fashion, with such attendant circumstances, as to make it grossly evident that warfare of such a sort, if warfare it be, cannot be carried on without the most palpable violation of the dictates alike of right and of humanity. Whatever the disposition and intention of the imperial German government it has manifestly proved impossible for it to keep such methods of attack upon the commerce of its enemies within



PRESIDENT WILSON.

the bounds set by either the reason or the heart of mankind.

In February of the present year the imperial German government informed this government and the other neutral governments of the world that it had reason to believe that the government of Great Britain had armed all merchant vessels of British ownership and had given orders upon the seas, and that the imperial German government felt justified in the circumstances in treating all armed merchantmen of belligerent ownership as auxiliary vessels of war, which it would have the right to destroy without warning. The law of nations has long recognized the right of merchantmen to carry arms for protection and to use them, to repel attack, though to use them, in such circumstances, at their own risk; but the imperial German government claimed the right to set these understandings aside in circumstances which it deemed extraordinary. Even the terms in which it announced its purpose still further to relax the restraints it had previously professed its willingness and desire to put upon the operations of its submarines carried the plain implication that at least vessels which were not armed would still be exempt from destruction without warning, and that personal safety would be accorded their passengers and crews; but even that limitation, if it was ever practically to observe it, has in fact constituted no check at all upon the destruction of ships of every sort.

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

### EXAMPLE OF INHUMANITY OF SUBMARINE WARFARE

One of the latest and most shocking instances of this method of warfare was that of the destruction of the French cross-channel steamer Sussex. It must stand forth, as the sinking of the steamer Lusitania did, as so singularly tragical and unjustifiable as to constitute a truly terrible example of inhumanity of submarine warfare as the commanders of German vessels have for the past twelve months been conducting it. If this instance stood alone, some explanation, some dis-

avowal by the German government, some evidence of criminal mistake or willful disobedience on the part of the commander of the vessel that fired the torpedo might be sought or entertained; but unhappily it does not stand alone. Recent events make the conclusion inevitable that it is only one of the most extreme and distressing instances of the spirit and method of warfare, which the imperial German government has mistakenly adopted, and which, from the first exposed that government to the reproach of thrusting all neutral rights aside in pursuit of its immediate objects.

The government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy, in which its own citizens were involved it has sought to be restrained from any extreme course of action or of protest by a thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of this unprecedented war, and actuated in all that it said or did by the sentiments of genuine friendship which the people of the United States have always entertained and continue to entertain towards the German nation. It has, of course, accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the imperial German government as given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would be possible for the German government to so order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has been willing to wait until the significance of the facts became absolutely unmistakable and susceptible of this one interpretation.

### FACTS SUSCEPTIBLE OF BUT ONE INTERPRETATION

That point has now unhappily been reached. The facts are susceptible of but one interpretation. The imperial German government has been obliged to put any limits or restraints upon its warfare against either freight or passenger ships. It has, therefore, become painfully evident that the position which this government took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, that the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed, and the very methods of attack which their employment, of course, involves, incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the imperial German government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law, and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue—and that unless the imperial German government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, this government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the government of the German empire altogether.

### ARRIVED AT DECISION WITH KEENEST REGRET

This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances, the responsible guardian of the rights of humanity, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals to the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness.

I have taken it, and taken it in the confidence that it will meet with your approval and support. All sober-minded men must unite in hoping that the imperial German government, which has in other circumstances stood as the champion of all that we are now contending for in the interest of humanity, may recognize the justice of our demands and meet them in the spirit in which they are made.

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### ASKS NO ACTION, BUT TELLS OF STEPS LEADING TO CRISIS

Will Break Off Diplomatic Relations If Illegal  
Submarine Campaign Is Continued  
by Kaiser's Government.

### NOTE AND ADDRESS FINAL, MARKING END OF DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES

Continuance of Long-Standing Friendly Relations, It Is Made Clear, Depends Alone Upon Conduct of Berlin—Only Tense Silence and Reflection of Gravity of His Words Greet Statement Concerning Unavoidable Break Unless Indiscriminate Warfare Is Stopped. Representatives of Allied Countries Fill Diplomatic Galleries of House.

WASHINGTON, April 19.—President Wilson's long-expected final warning to Germany that the United States will break off diplomatic relations unless she abandons her present methods of submarine warfare, and immediately declares her intention to do so, was delivered to-day in a note to Berlin, and was announced by the President in an address to a joint session of Congress. The President demands nothing less than the abandonment of submarine warfare against commerce.

Both the President's address and the American note declare in unequivocal terms that only by Germany acceding to the demand can the breaking off of relations be prevented.

The President considers that the next step depends solely upon Germany, and that three or four days constitute a reasonable time for a reply. He is willing to discuss how submarine warfare may be conducted within the limits of international law and humanity after Germany abandons her present methods.

Diplomatic history records but one instance as yet where a breaking of relations between two first-class powers has not eventually brought war—that which now exists between Germany and Italy.

Congress received the President's declaration of his course with mixed evidences of concern and approbation. Most of the leaders, Democrat and Republican, thought the President hardly could do less, and some expressed the opinion that his action would not lead to war.

### REPUBLICAN LEADER MANN ONLY ONE WHO OPENLY ATTACKS PRESIDENT

Republican Leader Mann alone, of the opposition leaders, openly attacked the President for his stand. He characterized it as a political play.

President Wilson's words leave no opportunity for double meaning. In his address to Congress he said:

"I have deemed it my duty to say to the imperial German government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, this government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the government of the German empire altogether."

Copies of the American note were sent to representatives here of neutral nations on the assumption that they are as much interested as the United States in the protection of neutral rights. The document was not given to any of the belligerent diplomats, as the controversy is regarded as being solely between the United States and Germany.

Count von Bernstorff already has reiterated to Secretary Lansing that under no circumstances will Germany give up the submarine as a weapon of submarine warfare, because, he contends, it is a retaliation for Great Britain's food blockade. The ambassador has declared, however, that his government will attempt to bring their operations within the law of nations. This the United States is willing to discuss after Germany has abandoned her present methods—not before.

### DECLARATION AGAINST USE OF SUBMARINES

Against that possibility stands the declaration in the American note that the United States has considered from the first that the employment of submarines for destruction of commerce by its very nature "utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of non-combatants."

Clearly the President's demand is that the use of the submarine should be restricted to operations against warships. Upon that rock the friendly relations between the two countries may be rent.

The crisis now resolves itself into the waiting stage, during which Ger-

many will have opportunity to accede to the American demands. Before another week begins settlement of the long-standing issue either will be assured or Count von Bernstorff probably will have his passports and Ambassador Gerard will be leaving Berlin.

The President had guarded his plans with the closest and most effective secrecy until 10 o'clock this morning, when he disclosed them at a conference with Chairman Stone and Senator Lodge, the ranking Republican of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Chairman Flood and Representative Cooper, ranking Republican of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. He outlined to them what he had said in the note dispatched to Berlin last night and what he purposed to say to Congress to-day.

When the President had finished reading he looked up and, seeing Senator Stone's grave face, said:

"You look as sad as I feel."

The chairman's response was to inquire of the President if he had told them all he had to say. The conference thus ended.

WORD OF PLAN SPREADS  
QUICKLY THROUGH HOUSE

The word of the President's plan spread quickly through Congress, and when he took his place at the clerk's desk in the hall of the House promptly at 1 o'clock he was confronted by a committee of grave Senators and Representatives, who greeted him with applause and later hung intently upon every word he uttered.

The President asked nothing of Congress; he came only to inform it of his action. He did it in fifteen minutes, and Congress went back to work solemnly impressed with the situation which confronts the country. The scene had been dramatically human; the President's demeanor reflected his state of mind, and an impartial observer would readily say the demeanor of Congress as a whole reflected its sympathy.

The first actually crucial moment toward which the relations of the United States and Germany had steadily been drifting nearly a year had come and passed, and the President had returned to the White House to await the next one. America counts the hours while Berlin decides.

REPRESENTATIVES OF ALLIES  
FILL DIPLOMATIC GALLERIES

Representatives of the allied countries filled the diplomatic galleries of the House.

Women ruled in the public galleries.

## HOME ECONOMICS

Buy-Right Hints for  
the Thrifty Housewife

Prepare Now for Easter  
Study T-D Advertising

Preparedness is a favorite theme now-a-days. A subject that has inspired a new impulse and awakened a new spirit of resolution in every line of activity, from the weighty problems of national government on down to the acquisition of Easter dresses. Preparedness is only another term for anticipation. Putting off your needs till you need them involves hasty decisions in the end and unpremeditated obstacles in providing them that could have been avoided entirely by giving heed to the need, instead of pursuing a course of procrastination, or, as

it is now popularly expressed, "watchful waiting." Procrastination is not only the "thief of time," but robs initiative of its true value. Expediency now is a well-advised suggestion in selecting your Easter apparel. The big stores and the many smaller shops are now carrying their largest volume of advertising news in The Times-Dispatch; and their efforts in so doing is to impress preparedness; to buy now, while stocks are complete, and not hazard the advantage of getting the choicest things by waiting until the eleventh hour.

NOTE—The Times-Dispatch guarantees a marked saving on every purchase made in Richmond stores that advertise their lowest prices in these pages.

### Monthly Reports Ordered.

WASHINGTON, April 19.—Telegraph, telephone and cable companies in the United States with annual operating revenues above \$50,000, were ordered to-day by the Interstate Commerce Commission to make monthly reports to the commission of revenues, expenses and capital changes.

Baltimore Easter Excursion.  
\$2.50 round trip. Sat. April 22, via YORK RIVER LINE. Return limit April 26. Delightful water trip.

### THAW GRANTED DIVORCE

Recommendation of Master Appointed to Take Testimony Accepted by Court.

PITTSBURGH, APRIL 19.—John W. Thomas, master appointed to take testimony in the suit of Harry K. Thaw against his wife, Evelyn Thaw, to-day recommended to the court that Thaw be granted a divorce, and the decree was ordered by the court.

Carolina Easter Excursion.  
14 Days. \$4.50 Greensboro, 5 Winston-Salem, Salisbury and Statesville. \$5.50 Charlotte. \$6.50 Asheville. Sat. April 22. SOUTHERN R.W.Y. Return limit April 26.

### \$200,000 Fire at Elliott City.

BALTIMORE, April 19.—Fire of unknown origin destroyed to-day the grain elevator of the C. A. Gambrell Manufacturing Company at Elliott City, together with 15,000 bushels of wheat. The loss was estimated at \$200,000.

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