

**JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR WITH THE IMPERIAL  
GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY BY THE UNITED  
STATES.**

**SPEECH**

OF

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JUSTIFICATION OF THE WAR WITH THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF  
GERMANY BY THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. OWEN. Mr. President, a few days since I received a letter from a well-known lawyer in Oklahoma advising me that many of the people in his neighborhood were opposed to war with Germany, and saw no reason for it, and asking me, gravely, what justification I could offer for it. It is clear from my correspondence that some of our citizens do not fully understand some of the most important facts which justified the United States in accepting the repeated challenge to war by the Imperial German Government. Some of our people seem moved by the obvious truth that war is deplorable and to believe we ought not to engage in this war.

Mr. President, certainly war is deplorable, but abject cowardly submission to tyranny, to persistent wrong, to brute force, is more deplorable—it is despicable. America is incapable of such submission.

Submission to the brute force of Germany by France, by Russia, or by England in the last two years would probably have ended the democracies of the world; would have put the United States in the most deadly peril; and for us to submit to her brute force now would put both our present and our future in jeopardy.

I rejoice that the President of the United States has pointed out the danger to the world and to the civilization of the world of the triumph of the Imperial Government of Germany in this European conflict. I rejoice that on entering this conflict the mighty powers of this great Republic will be used alone in defending and preserving liberty; not in a spirit of malice or hatred of the German people, but against the house of Hohenzollern; to assist in taking from the hands of William II the power to further brutalize the great German people who have infinitely deserved a better fate.

I have always admired the German people. I have admired their sturdy common sense, their industry, their virtues, and their home-loving qualities. I have admired their intellectual attainments, their internal democratic development, their

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progress in the sciences, in the arts. I have loved their music and enjoyed their poetry and their literature. Notwithstanding their confessed good qualities, their natural peace-loving qualities, the actual governmental control of the German people has since 1870 been under the directing hand of the Prussian military machine, that subordinates every other interest of statecraft—agriculture, factories, commerce, school, church, home—to military power and to the aggrandizement of the house of Hohenzollern and of the smaller allied German kings and princes.

The Prussian King, ex officio Emperor, claims to rule by "divine right," without the consent of the German people, and he does rule them without their consent.

Any citizen who criticizes the Government, the Emperor, or the King of Prussia is guilty of a crime, lese majeste, subject to instant imprisonment. The citizen is a subject; he is not free.

The press is not free, and the educational system, from kindergarten, gymnasium, and high school to university, is controlled by the dominant power of the Kaiser, and the people have been taught systematically and thoroughly that obedience is the first duty of a subject of the Kaiser and that the doctrine of the military powers is right; and, unhappily, the doctrine of the military powers of Germany is that might makes right; that military necessity is not bound by treaty, by moral law, or by any other law; that terrorism or frightfulness is a lawful weapon in the hands of the military machine; that when a soldier makes himself terrible by wholesale slaughter and destruction, regardless of the laws of humanity, he shortens the war by intimidating those who would oppose.

Thus it is that the German people have been led to their doom by this ungodly, vicious military machine; thus it is that they have alienated the sympathy of the whole world, and those Americans who have loved the German people see no way to protect the world or to protect the German people except by overthrowing Prussian militarism, overthrowing the Hohenzollerns.

While the people of Germany are by nature democratic and peace loving; nevertheless, their order, obedience, industry, their very virtues, their efficiency, as subjects of the Kaiser, have been made an instrumentality in the hands of the military machine which threatens the peace of the whole world, which threatens our peace, and has waged war on us in spite of every effort on our part to prevent it.

Mr. President, while Bismarck made many concessions to the development of local democracy in Germany and developed a great democratic efficiency in Germany as a concession to the constantly increasing intelligence of the German people; as a concession to the constantly increasing demand for democracy in Germany, nevertheless in framing the German Empire he and the Hohenzollerns so framed it as to put that Empire under the practical domination of the Kingdom of Prussia, whose King claimed to govern mankind by the "*divine right*" and in partnership with Almighty God Himself, a doctrine descended from Frederick II, sometimes called "the Great," but who did not believe in God at all in the affairs of men except in so far as the affectation of that belief served his selfish ambitions.

The control of the German Empire by Prussia and the control of Prussia by the house of Hohenzollern left William the Second the master of the army and navy, of the war machine, with the power to declare war. The consent of the subordinate Bundesrath, composed of appointees of the Kings and princes of Germany was not necessary. He and his military captains have been moved by the principle of the Hohenzollern family, *ambition*, first, last, and all the time; *ambition*, wrapped in the cloak of pure patriotism, parading as Germany, as the fatherland; but always beneath has been the determined purpose to aggrandize the house of Hohenzollern and the army. Hence arose the military slogan "Deutschland Uber Alles," which being interpreted meant "The house of Hohenzollern and the military autocracy—Uber Alles." Hence the greatly exploited notion of "Weltmacht," which meant power over the world by the Hohenzollerns and their military autocracy. Hence that mysterious toast "Der Tag," which meant THE DAY when the house of Hohenzollern and the military autocracy would rule all mankind, the day when autocratic military power would rule mankind under the blasphemous claim of "divine right," and should impose its will over the liberties of the civilized and uncivilized nations of the world through brute force and terrorism or "schrecklichkeit." The world is compelled to teach the Kaiser and his subject soldiers the folly of trying to terrorize the world.

In some things this Government may well profit by the glorious example of the German Government. They have magnificently developed vocational industrial education, have established innumerable cooperative democratic societies, State insurance against old age, accidents, and so forth, and have thoroughly cared for the unemployed man and made him self-supporting, and have wonderfully developed municipal ownership, and so forth. Organized industrial democracy has been made the helpless tool of political military autocracy, and the Germans in large measure seem not to see this.

In August, 1914, when the ambitious Hohenzollerns had artfully contrived to prepare their war machine with an overwhelming supply of cannon, powder, shells, machine guns, rifles, transportation material, and all the accouterments of war; when they found France inadequately protected, Russia without war supplies, England with no army, Luxemburg and Belgium incapable of defense, they threw suddenly this desolating war machine of terrorism like an avalanche on the fair fields of Luxemburg, Belgium, and France, intending to seize Paris, force a treaty with France, impose a giant indemnity, as it did it 1870, then dominate Russia, and establish throughout the world "Der Tag," "Weltmacht," "Deutschland über alles," and establish the house of Hohenzollern as the military autocratic rulers of mankind in the sweeping destruction of the liberties of the world.

The Hohenzollerns under Frederick William of Brandenburg and Prussia, under Frederick the Second and his successors have always followed the doctrine that—

Might makes right.

They have always despised the American doctrine of Abraham Lincoln, who had "the faith to believe that right would make might."

The Hohenzollerns always believed in the doctrine of *absolute monarchy* as against limited monarchy or *democracy* in any form. Under them Prussia has been an armed camp, an army for over a hundred and fifty years, glorifying war and military power and for 50 years keeping Europe in a state of constant suspense and apprehension of the blow which all Europe feared but believed would some time surely fall. The Hohenzollerns believed in the false monarchical doctrines of the Bourbons, whose principles you will find cast in bronze on the cannon we took from Spain in 1898, now mounted at the north end of the War Department in Washington City.

On the mouth of one of these cannon, called de Mareschal Le Duc de Humieres, you will find these words—

“Le passe par tous”—

The passway through everything. That is, the cannon's mouth is the passway through broken treaties, through the boundaries of undefended neighbors, through justice and righteousness, through industry and honor—the pathway to the so-called “*glory*” of kings and the ruin of peoples. On the base of that cannon you will find the words—

“Nec pluribus impar”—

Not unequal to many. That is, the cannon is not unequal to many people—to very many people. It can slay people; it can dominate people; it can tax millions without the consent of the people. This is the doctrine of autocracy against democracy.

On the body of that Bourbon cannon you will find the phrase—  
“Ultima ratio regum”—

The final argument of kings. When the people argue for self-government, when the people argue that justice is justice, that right is right, that their conscience is the whispering of the spirit of God, then the people hear the final argument of kings, the final argument of the Hohenzollerns and of military autocracy—the *cannon's roar*—who would teach the world the pernicious doctrine that *might makes right*.

These are the real principles of military autocracy when moved by the royal family pride; by cold selfish ambition, playing upon the prejudices, the weaknesses, the ignorances of mankind. Yes; playing upon the most sacred sentiments of mankind; playing even upon the trust of mankind in the Divine Spirit. These vicious military autocratic forces which are now assailing the liberties of mankind under the grossly false pretence of protecting the German people against their supposed enemies are the same in spirit that established the “*Holy Alliance*” signed by “Alexander the First,” Emperor of Russia, of the Romanoff family; by Francis the First, Emperor of Austria, of the Hapsburgs; by Frederick William the Third, King of Prussia, of the Hohenzollerns, in 1815, in which they pledged themselves—

“to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion (the Savior taught), namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, peace”;

Pledged themselves—

“by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated; to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence

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to govern three branches of the one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom—that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life."

The *Holy Alliance* had for its sinister, deceitful purpose the misleading of the people of these great countries, through the piety and good will of the people, into the belief that their leadership was actually moved by these high *holy* sentiments.

The history of Europe demonstrated that they were moved by nothing of the kind but alone by their own selfish ambitions, and that they made this pretended treaty for the purpose merely of establishing themselves in the confidence of their people and of neighboring religious peoples, while in reality they were constantly engaged in enriching themselves and their court favorites and their own families at the expense of the people, and never hesitated to sacrifice the poor people, their subjects, their quasi slaves, on the field of battle or in exile in order to further the family interests of the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns. It was an autocratic military combination intended to promote the selfish interests of these families by military force and to enable them in concert to prevent the people of Russia, Prussia, and Austria making any headway in self-government, and to prevent the self-government of men making progress in any other part of the world. This blasphemous combination—I say blasphemous, because they pretended to have a charter from the Throne of Grace and to govern by Divine right under the special sanction of the Almighty, when they well knew the corruption of their own courts and of their own selfishness—amended this self-serving declaration of 1815 of their own "*holiness*" by adding several articles to this treaty of peculiar interest to all democracies.

In 1822 the "*Holy Alliance*" added certain articles known as the Secret Treaty of Verona, as follows:

"ARTICLE 1. The high contracting powers being *convinced* that *the system of representative government* is equally as *incompatible* with the *monarchical principles* as the maxim of the *sovereignty of the people with the divine right*, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known.

"ART 2. As it can not be doubted that *the liberty of the press* is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures to suppress it, not only in their own States, but also in the rest of Europe."

Here we find the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, who still dominate Germany and Austria, making a solemn covenant with the Romanoffs of Russia and with the Bourbons, through King Louis XVIII, of France, whom they had placed upon the French throne, and solemnly engaging in—

A deliberately prepared and deadly compact to destroy all the democracies of the world;

To stamp out the liberty of the press in all Europe, even outside their own dominions; and thus—

To keep all mankind in ignorance, in order that they and their families, who were constantly intermarrying with other like families, might continue to dominate mankind by military force.

This blasphemous "Holy Alliance" by this very treaty furnished 20,000,000 francs annually to Louis XVIII to wage war on the limited monarchy of Spain, which the people of Spain had by painful revolution established and to reestablish an absolute monarchy in Spain under the same prince, in order to discourage and break down any right whatever of the people of Spain to govern themselves. They did not hesitate to cause the murder of the people of Spain to carry out their "Holy" Christian purposes.

This blasphemous "Holy Alliance" then sent an Austrian army into Italy and accomplished the same identical purpose, murdering the Italian people for the same "Holy" Christian reasons. This wicked "Holy Alliance" then proposed sending other armies and navies to North and South America for the purpose, as they said, of "reducing the revolting colonies of Spain and Portugal on the Western Hemisphere" and thus strangling all representative governments at their birth throughout North and South America. What they really meant was that they intended to send an army into Brazil to destroy a republic in Brazil, to send an army into the Argentine, into Chile, into Colombia, into Peru, into Venezuela, into the Central American States, and into Mexico, to suppress the freedom of the people, to prevent their governing themselves, to put them again under an absolute monarchy, so that the monarchical principle should govern all mankind, and democracy never should be permitted to establish its foot upon the entire earth. That was their purpose.

Canning, of Great Britain, notified this detestable conspiracy, known as the "Holy Alliance," that Great Britain would oppose such an assault on the former colonies of Spain and Portugal, for Great Britain, though a limited monarchy, was already a great representative government, loving liberty and justice.

President Monroe, advised of this conspiracy of the houses of Hohenzollern and of Hapsburg to invade the liberties of North and South America, sent his message to Congress in December, 1823, in which he made the following statement of principles known as the "Monroe doctrine."

He said:

"It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference."

He said:

"With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have, on great con-

sideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This firm stand taken by Great Britain and the United States prevented representative government and the democracies of the Western Hemisphere from being destroyed by the unlimited rapacity and cold-blooded ambition of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburg, and their "holy" associates.

Mr. President, this same group attempted to set up a monarchical government in Mexico, when the United States was embarrassed and in the throes of the Civil War, by sending Mexico an emperor—Maximilian, an Austrian gentleman of the Hapsburg family—who quickly had some unhappy dealings with the democracies of the Western Hemisphere. Let him repose in peace. The action of the United States overthrew Maximilian and ended an overt act of the Hapsburgs against our national peace.

Mr. President, those who have observed the development of this great war machine in Germany as an instrumentality by which the Hohenzollerns might dominate mankind will see quite clearly the attitude of the military autocracy set forth in the book, *Germany and the Next War*, by its mouthpiece, Gen. von Bernhardi, October, 1911. Von Bernhardi is fairly a spokesman of the military autocracy of Germany. He glorified war. He insisted in that volume—and it was sent all over this country, by hundreds of thousands—that the German people must be awakened and *compelled* to show their *military strength*. He praised to the skies the great elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg, the first important member of the House of Hohenzollern. Listen to Von Bernhardi praising this wonderful Prussian general, ruling by divine right a population of two and a quarter millions, with a hundred thousand armed men trained to the last degree of efficiency and better supplied with munitions of war than any other army in Europe. Listen to his praise of the great elector:

"The great elector laid the foundations of Prussia's power by successful and *deliberately incurred* wars. Frederick the Great followed the example of his glorious ancestors. He noticed how his State occupied an untenable middle position between the petty States and the great powers, and showed his determination to give a definite character (*decider cet être*) to his anomalous existence; it had become essential to enlarge the territory of the State and *corriger la figure de la Prusse*, if Prussia wished to be independent and to bear with honor the great name of KINGDOM. The King made allowance for this political necessity and took the bold determination of challenging Austria to fight. *None of the wars which he fought had been forced upon him*; none of them did he postpone as long as possible. *He had always determined to be the aggressor.*"

Frederick II followed him, idealizing war, waging war on defenseless people, as when he first took his place as King of Prussia he violated the treaty with Maria Theresa of Austria, broke faith, treated the treaty as a scrap of paper, threw 50,000 highly trained, seasoned, skilled soldiers upon Silesia, undefended

because relying upon his good faith, and he kept all Europe in turmoil for years and years and years, and at that time waged seven years of continuous warfare.

It might be said that his opponents in France and in Austria were no better than he, as far as keeping faith was concerned, because the house of Bourbon and the house of Hapsburg occupied the French and the Austrian thrones, and were represented by those who were just as deceitful as was Frederick himself.

Frederick the Great is now the ideal of the Prussian military autocracy. Only a year or two ago the United States was presented with a statue of Frederick the Great, and it is standing down before our War College now. My own opinion is that the statue of Frederick the Great ought to be gently and quietly removed from its spot and dropped in some quiet place in the Potomac River where it will no longer serve to give dignity and honor to this cruel and unscrupulous prince.

The Imperial German Government presented us with its ideal in the statue of Frederick, the embodiment of war and rapacity and broken treaties.

France presented us with the French ideal, Bartholdi's wonderful conception, standing guarding the entrance to our greatest port—New York—where all the world may see "Liberty enlightening the world."

God bless France and speed her prophecy.

Once too often the Hohenzollerns have been the aggressors of the world's peace, and now this world-wrecking spirit will be terminated forever by the indignant power of the whole world. In that respect I am rejoiced to see Brazil following the United States; first of all, little Cuba declaring war on Germany, and following her father, the United States, who gave her peace and gave her liberty against a prince of the Hapsburg family. Here comes Brazil; the Argentine will follow; Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and the Central American States may be expected to follow; and I expect to see even Mexico show her sympathy with the democracies of the world, and with this great struggle to put down forever the irresponsible ambitions leading armed military forces that have no conception of human liberty, whose one idea is obedience and to rule the world by military efficiency and by terrorism.

Mr. President, I rejoice to believe that this war which we shall now wage with all the resources of 100,000,000 people; with all the financial power of the richest Nation on the globe; with all the vast equipment of material, of factories, of American inventions on the Imperial Government of Germany, will render the most gigantic service to the German people which it is possible for one people to render to another in delivering them from the military tyranny and the political control of the Hohenzollerns and their military clique, who have taxed and driven the German people beyond all human endurance; who have kept all the nations of Europe trembling under the load of universal military preparation for 50 years. It was Germany that prevented disarmament a few years ago at The Hague. Even Nicholas II proposed it, and Germany, of all the nations, prevented it.

This German military autocracy have finally driven the people of Germany to overwhelming slaughter on the battle fields of Europe, and have compelled the liberty-loving, God-fearing democracies of the whole world, in defense of liberty and

righteousness, to turn their guns on the unhappy Germans led to the shambles by the heartless ambitions of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns.

No man who has studied the history of recent Europe questions for a moment the bloodguiltiness of the Hapsburgs, who in avenging the wicked assassination of the Crown Prince of Austria-Hungary imposed 10 demands on Serbia, to everyone of which Serbia submitted save the relinquishment of her sovereignty and the violation of her constitution. (See chap. 4, *Obstacles of Peace*, by S. S. McClure.)

The gist of the Austrian demands, of which there were 10, was as follows:

- "1. Serbia shall suppress all anti-Austrian publications.
- "2. Dissolve the Narodna Odbrana and all similar societies, confiscate their funds, and prevent their re-forming.
- "3. Remove from public education in Serbia all teachers and teaching that are anti-Austrian.
- "4. Remove from military and civil service all officers and officials guilty of anti-Austrian propaganda; Austria will name the persons.
- "5. Accept collaboration of Austrian representatives in the suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda.
- "6. Take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot against the archduke; Austrian delegates will take part in the investigations.
- "7. Arrest Maj. Voijsa Tankositch and the individual named Milan Ciganovitch.
- "8. Prevent and punish the illegal traffic in arms and explosives.
- "9. Send to Austria explanations of all unjustifiable utterances of high Serbian officials at home and abroad.
- "10. Notify without delay that the above measures are executed. Reply before 6 p. m. on Saturday, July 25."

The answers to the 10 points may be summarized thus:

- "1. Yes; will suppress all anti-Austrian publications.
- "2. Yes; will suppress the Narodna Odbrana and similar societies.
- "3. Yes; will expel all anti-Austrian teachers and teaching as soon as evidence is given.
- "4. Yes; will expel all anti-Austrian officers and officials, if Austria will furnish names and acts of guilty persons.
- "5. Yes; will accept collaboration of Austrian representatives in these proceedings, as far as consonant with principles of international law and criminal procedure and neighborly relations.
- "6. Yes; will take the judicial proceedings; will also keep Austria informed; but can not admit the participation of Austrians in the judicial investigations, as this would be a violation of the constitution.
- "7. Yes; have arrested Tankositch; ordered arrest of Ciganovitch.
- "8. Yes; will suppress and punish traffic in arms and explosives.
- "9. Yes; will deal with the said high officials, if Austria will supply evidence.
- "10. Yes will notify without delay.
- "If this answer not satisfactory, Serbia will abide by decision of The Hague Tribunal."

Everybody felt that the Hapsburg note did not seek or contemplate honorable adjustment, but arbitrarily imposed impossible conditions and really meant war, as indeed it did, for in 48 hours Serbia was actually invaded.

The record shows that every possible effort was made by the authorities of England, through Lord Grey, by the authorities of France and of Russia, to reach an adjustment, and that it was the refusal of the German Emperor to cooperate with Lord Grey which led to the failure to avert the war on Serbia by Austria, which was instantly followed by the German Emperor issuing an order to mobilize and then declaring war on Russia and on France and the sudden and violent invasion of Belgium, Luxemburg, and France, and Russia; and the German and Austrian Emperors and their armies were prepared. Luxemburg was not prepared. Belgium was not prepared. France was not prepared. Great Britain had no army. Russia had no materials of war, had no factories, no adequate means of waging war. The fact that all the invaded countries were unprepared, and that the German Army had reached the highest point of its efficiency and preparedness, is the damning answer of all history to the shameless contention of the German leaders that they did not bring on this war, but that it was thrust on them. Let us thank God Himself that they have the decency to pay tribute to the love of justice and righteousness in the hearts of mankind by pretending, at least, that they are not responsible for this gigantic cataclysm in which all mankind is involved and the blood of all nations is being shed.

Here is a case where the house of Hapsburg and its military bureau, regardless of the Parliament of Austria-Hungary, regardless of public opinion of the people of Austria-Hungary, took a step to precipitate war on Servia on a few hours' notice, knowing it threatened a general European war, which, indeed, instantly followed.

Here is an example of where the house of Hohenzollern and its military bureau refused to cooperate in reaching an adjustment of the threatened war of Austria against Servia, which the leading powers of Europe earnestly endeavored to avoid in the hope of avoiding a general European war.

"ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS."

The German and Austrian Imperial Governments stand forever condemned by the judgment and conscience of mankind.

And then Germany, violating her plighted faith to Luxembourg for protection of neutrality, swept with violence the treaties aside, treated them as "scraps of paper," and drove her soldiers through Luxembourg in violation of the law of nations and of good faith. The same thing is true of Belgium. The German Government violated its faith to the nations of all the world. I have always regretted that the United States did not on that instant raise a strong protest against this violation of international law, although under the treaties and under the understandings of The Hague we were not called upon or expected to do it.

It will be remembered that it was the ambition of the house of Hohenzollern which led to the war between Prussia and France in 1870. The Hohenzollerns nominated a hereditary Hohenzollern prince to be King of Spain.

They wanted to be on both sides of France for "friendly" purposes, so that they could embrace France conveniently when the time was opportune. France naturally objected, and because of the excitement which it created in France the foreign office of France indicated to the King of Prussia, William I, that they would like to have an assurance that the French peace would not in the future be threatened in that way by the nomination of a Hohenzollern prince to take the Spanish crown. They had a right to ask that. Bismarck, the head of the military machine, the adviser of William I, changed the dispatch sent from the court of William I to Paris in such a way as to leave the impression of an insult to France, and in that way, by artfully playing upon the passions of the French King and upon his pride he was led to take the initial step. It is exactly as though a trained duelist would step on the foot of an innocent man and then, when the innocent man resented it, shoot him on the spot. That was the act of Bismarck. The French at that time were utterly unprepared; there was no order; there was perfect confusion. The Prussian military machine, in good working order, under Von Moltke, up to the last ounce of working efficiency, pounced upon France, besieged Paris, starved the people of Paris to utter exhaustion and surrender, and imposed an indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs on the French people, and then, through the prestige gained by overwhelming unprepared France in that way, and through this gigantic fund, established the German Empire, with the hereditary absolute King of Prussia as the official Emperor of the German Empire. That is what occurred.

The Hohenzollerns have been active in putting princes of Hohenzollern blood on the thrones of adjacent kingdoms, as in Greece, and just as they proposed to do recently in establishing a kingdom of Poland.

They have been aiming to get control of the whole world. That is their real purpose.

Just as in recent times the peace of Europe has been overthrown by the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, so in the days of Frederick the Great Europe was kept in a turmoil by Frederick the Great and his military bureau.

The first act of Frederick's reign after writing his famous book "Anti-Machiavel," in which he denounced the dishonest doctrines of statecraft of Machiavelli, was to practice the craft of Machiavelli and violate the treaty of Prussia with Austria by invading and secretly entering the unarmed Province of Silesia with a large army. During the conquest of Silesia Frederick made a treaty with France, which he secretly betrayed by sending an authorized agreement to Austria, and which was accepted by Austria, in contravention with his obligations to France. Frederick then, having by this ruse obtained the evacuation of Silesia by Austria, promptly denied having authorized the agreement which Austria had accepted and by which he obtained the retirement of the Austrian troops.

The house of Hohenzollern should not be regarded merely as a dynasty; it is a dynasty interwoven with a gigantic military machine under the domination of the King of Prussia, who is ex officio Emperor of Germany and active commander in chief of the army and navy.

Germany is governed substantially by the military powers, who may illtreat the German subject with perfect impunity.

The German youth and the German citizen are taught from their childhood to regard their obligations to the army and the Kaiser as the first duty of good citizenship, and the ideals of the army have been in this way grafted in a large measure into public opinion of the German people, who have been led to believe that loyalty to Germany and the German people and loyalty to the Kaiser and his war machine are identical.

When William, therefore, under the pressure of his war machine, gave the order of mobilization, the citizens of Germany had no alternative except death but to seize their rifles and go to the trenches in an assault upon their neighbors.

There were 4,000,000 socialist voters who were thus forced into the ranks against all their principles of international brotherhood. They were driven through Belgium against their socialist brothers of Belgium, with unspeakable atrocities committed by the German soldiers; they were driven against France and Italy and Russia, against their socialist brethren, without any regard to their long-taught principles of international brotherhood. They could not help themselves. They had no power of organization. They dared not, under penalty of death, take the first step toward liberty. They were unhappily under the irresistible domination of Prussian militarism; under a monarchical autocratic structure of government which they had never been strong enough to change into a democratic government of the German people, by the German people, and for the German people.

Under a democracy or under a limited monarchy, with a responsible ministry and a parliament in control of government, this enormous disaster to the German people, to the Austrian people, to the people of all Europe, and to the people of America, and to the people of the world would not have occurred.

The world ought not to permit the recurrence of this gigantic disaster at any future time, and the only way in which to prevent its recurrence is that the world shall demand, as England is demanding, as England has demanded, as France has demanded, as Italy has demanded, as Russia and America are now demanding, the end of the warlike and irresponsible government of Prussian militarism, the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns, and the establishment of a government truly responsible to the German people.

Mr. President, these considerations are far more important considerations justifying war against Prussian militarism by the people of the United States and by all the Republics on the face of the earth than even the murder of our citizens and the submarining of our ships, because the house of Hohenzollern and the house of Hapsburg are sworn and deadly enemies to the democracies of the world, and if they succeed in overthrowing the democratic people of France, England, Italy, and Russia this military machine would immediately make war on us, and with their millions and millions of trained and seasoned soldiers they might devastate America before we could organize our armies in adequate resistance.

I do not underestimate or ignore the tragedy upon tragedy which has attended the invasion of our international rights.

On the *Lusitania*, without warning, we had 114 American citizens murdered on the high seas in cold blood, in violation of international law.

On the *Gulflight* we had two Americans killed without warning.

Mr. President, it is one thing for an American citizen to be killed in a street fight in a foreign country, to be murdered in a foreign country by some irresponsible citizen or subject of a foreign country, and it is another thing when the responsible head of that Government commits murder on a single son of this Republic by or through executive, military, or naval orders.

On the *Armenian* we had 23 Americans killed;

On the *Iberian* we had 3 Americans killed;

On the *Anglo-Californian* we had 2 Americans killed;

On the *Hesperian* we had 1 American killed;

On the *Arabic* we had 3 Americans killed;

On the *Persia* we had 2 Americans destroyed;

On the *Ancona* we had 7 Americans killed;

On the *Englishman* we had 6 Americans killed;

On the *Sabota* we had 1 American killed;

On the *Marina* we had 8 Americans destroyed;

On the *Russian* we had 17 American citizens destroyed;

On the *Eaveston* we had 1 American destroyed;

On the *Vedamore* we had 10 Americans killed;

On the *Turino* we had 1 American killed;

On the *Athos*, 1 American killed;

On the *Lacona*, 8 Americans were lost;

On the *Sjostad*, 1 American killed;

On the *Vigilancia*, 5 Americans killed;

On the *Healdton*, 7 American were lost;

On the *Crispin*, 19 Americans were lost; and 18 of our American ships have been torpedoed, sunk, or burned by this submarine warfare, not to mention innumerable ships—over 700 ships—belonging to other neutral nations, and numbers of citizens of other neutral nations destroyed, because they had the courage to maintain their international rights on the high seas.

Our citizens have been ordered to keep out of and not to dare exercise their international rights on the high seas within an arbitrary zone a thousand miles long and fifteen hundred miles in the opposite direction surrounding Europe, where four-fifths of the commerce of the world must pass. We have been ordered that we shall not pass this line under penalty of death. That is military autocracy in action. Over 700 ships of neutral unoffending nations have been destroyed in violation of international law and neutral citizens innumerable murdered without notice to intimidate Great Britain and the world to a profitable peace for the Prussian military autocracy.

Under the international law the failure to maintain our neutral rights on the high seas under the threat of the Prussian military machine would be a violation of our neutrality, indeed, with other nations, who have the right to buy goods from us and have a right to ask the delivery of such goods in accordance with international law.

The United States has made every effort that it is possible for a self-respecting nation to make in the endeavor to avoid this war, and we have been unable to do it except at the sacri-

face of our national rights, our national dignity, and our national honor.

It will be remembered that in the Spanish War the Imperial German Government furnished Spain with munitions of war and undertook to interfere with us in Manila Bay through her armed men-of-war.

It will be remembered that Germany attempted to interfere with Dewey in Manila Bay.

It will also be remembered that the battleships of Great Britain interposed and stopped interference of Germany with the rights of this great Republic, although I think that Dewey could have taken care of himself.

It will be remembered the German Government sent munitions of war to Mexico to be used against America.

It will be remembered the German Government undertook to invade Venezuela in violation of the Monroe doctrine.

It will be remembered that the Imperial German Government has distinguished itself by maintaining a fixed hostility to the Monroe doctrine.

It will be remembered that we were compelled to send the Austrian ambassador home, representing the Hapsburg war machine, for his conspiracies against our peace in the United States, when he, in conjunction with the agents of the Hohenzollern machine, were promoting the blowing up of American factories, filling our country with spies, promoting disloyalty in the United States, and stirring up the hostility of citizens of German extraction against our peace, and stirring up the activities of hundreds of thousands of German subjects, permitted by courtesy to reside in the United States, to interfere with our peace at home.

It will be remembered that the German agents have been stirring up disorders in Mexico, in Central and South America, and promoting war on our borders, and are now doing so at a very great expense to the United States.

That pernicious activity of the agents of Prussianism will go far to account for the things we have found difficult to understand; why the South American Republics did not feel more friendly to us in view of our sincere friendship for them; why little or no reciprocity. It was because the Hohenzollern agents persuaded those people that we had designs upon their peace and upon their property.

Perhaps the crowning offense against the United States was disclosed in the proposal of Zimmermann, representing the Prussian military machine, to make an alliance with Mexico at a time, January 19, 1917, when we were still at peace with the Imperial German Government, in which Zimmermann proposed to Mexico that Germany and Mexico would make war together on the United States and make peace together; that Germany would give Mexico general financial support and that Mexico should reconquer the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona; and that Japan should be invited to join Germany and Mexico in this war on the United States.

There was no alternative for the President of the United States, charged as he was with the protection of the people of the United States, informed as he was of all the things I have mentioned, and very many other things equally sinister and cor-

roborative of the evil intent of the Imperial German Government against the United States, except to sever relations with the German Empire and to take up the gauge of battle flung into our teeth.

I agree with the President of the United States that it is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, and I "also appreciate that the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our heart—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of every peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

No treaty and no agreement with the Prussian military government or with the house of Hohenzollern is worth, or ever will be worth, the paper it is written on except where those who have the pledge have the military power to compel obedience to the promise. Their treaties are "scraps of paper." If they succeed in this war, they will attack us at their convenience.

I am pleased now that we join with those who are determined to establish liberty in the world. Together we shall establish the peace and happiness of mankind.

The world can not allow the Prussian military machine to succeed, otherwise their brutality would dominate the world.

I insert as an addenda to my remarks the brutality shown by the official orders of the German military machine in dealing with the peaceful, unoffending people of Belgium, whose neutrality they violated in willful disregard of their plighted faith to the people of Belgium.

Mr. President, I fervently pray with all my heart that the great, liberty-loving German people, who in their local affairs have developed such a high degree of representative self-government, will overthrow the house of Hohenzollern, whose wicked leadership has led them to this ruinous war and to the shambles. Whenever the German people establish a democracy—a representative "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—the democracies of the world will no longer be unwilling to trust the Government of the German people. Treaties with republics are sacred; treaties with the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs are "scraps of paper." No assurances which the Hohenzollerns or the Hapsburgs can give to the democracies of the world are worthy of any faith or credit whatever, when against their fancied interest, as the history of the Hohenzollerns prove from Frederick the Second, of Prussia, down to the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium.

Mr. President, the American people wish the happiness and the welfare of the German people and of the Austrian people as Americans wish the happiness of the British and the French and the Russian people. We wage our war not on the unhappy German people but on the military autocracy and on the house of Hohenzollern and the war machine that knows no conscience, no justice, no mercy, but can only be persuaded at the cannon's mouth. May the Lord of Hosts bless our arms and protect the liberties of mankind.

Mr. President, I found in a western paper a few days ago an editorial in the Muskogee Phoenix, Muskogee, Okla., written by Tams Bixby, Esq., former chairman of the Dawes Commission. It breathes a high, pure note of Christian patriotism, which I think deserves a place in our annals at this time. I wish to read it. It is very short. It is entitled:

ONWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!

The United States of America, given to the world by the Pilgrim Fathers, through their love and devotion to the Omnipotent Ruler of the destinies of men, has declared war on the anniversary of our Savior's crucifixion.

It is altogether fitting and proper that it should be as it is. Loyal Americans will go forth to war not only as the champions of liberty and freedom and humanity but as soldiers of the cross. As He died upon the cross nearly 2,000 years ago for the salvation of mankind Americans will die upon the field of battle to make this a better world.

Through America's blood the world is to be purged of a barbaric, heathenish dynasty that in its lust has forgotten the teachings of our Savior. It is a noble thing to die and to suffer that men may be brought nearer to God.

America, unafraid, girded with the armor of righteousness, strides forth to battle. There is no hatred in our hearts; we bear no malice toward our enemies; we ask no conquest nor material reward. America, true to the traditions that gave her birth, is to wage a noble, Christian war. We are willing to die if need be to bring to all men once more the message of peace on earth, good will. And in this sacred hour America offers for her enemies the prayer of the cross. "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do."

The call to arms has been sounded. America, champion of righteousness, of civilization, and of Christianity, with a clear heart and willing hand, marches forth.

Amid the clamor and the cries of battle come the strains of the hymn of the united allies of mankind:

"Onward, Christian soldier!"

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