

WILSON WARNS CENTRAL POWERS

Answers Hertling and Czernin By Declaring It War of Emancipation.

ADDRESSES THE CONGRESS

Shows Willingness to Give and Take Somewhat.

Washington.—There can be no peace based upon the German position outlined by Count von Hertling, the German chancellor, in his recent address to the Reichstag committee, President Wilson today told a joint session of Congress.

The President reiterated in the strongest language that the German position makes for continuation of the war. The Austro-Hungarian attitude is directly the opposite of that of Germany, the President declared, and he praised the address of Count Czernin, but made it plain that Germany's control and dominance of Austria has prevented Austria being as frank as it must be.

The President's address follows: Gentlemen of the Congress:

On the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our principle conceived them. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar tones on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German Chancellor replied on the 24th and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of view on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

"Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address of the eighth of January, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statements a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand, and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them, but in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Hertling's Reply Confusing.

"Count Von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk. His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions. He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement.

He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the 23 states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms.

"He seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objections to a limitation of armaments. That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia what disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces, with no one but the government of France the conditions under which French territory shall be evacuated, and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland.

In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by individual barter and concession, he would have no objection, if

I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steadily against external disturbance.

"It must be evident to everyone who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace, no peace worth the infinite sacrifices of these years of tragical suffering, can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that; doesn't grasp it; is, in fact, living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace; not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state.

The peace of the world depends upon the just settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my recent address to Congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unbiased justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

"Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind; that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The Reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent.

"Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

"The United States has no desire to interfere in European affairs or to act as arbiter in European territorial disputes. She would disdain to take advantage of any internal weakness or disorder to impose her own will upon another people. She is quite ready to be shown that the settlements she has suggested are not the best or the most enduring. They are only her own provisional sketch of principles and of the way in which they should be applied. But she entered this war because she was made a partner, whether she would or not, in the sufferings and indignities inflicted by the military masters of Germany against the peace and security of mankind; and the conditions of peace will touch her as nearly as they will touch any other nation to which is entrusted a leading part in the maintenance of civilization. She cannot see her way to peace until the causes of this war are removed, its renewal rendered as nearly as may be impossible.

"This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiances and their own forms of political life. Covenants must now be entered into which will render such things impossible for the future; and those covenants must be backed by the united force of all the nations that love justice and are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves most directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, why may not economic questions also?

"It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade. Count von Hertling wants the essential basis of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by com-

mon agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be determined by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way as items in the final accounting.

"He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

"Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland, made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a matter of European concern and must, of course, be conceded that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind.

If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more nearly than they touch those of Austria only, it must, of course, be because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassment of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

"After all, the test of whether it is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

"First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

"Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, no forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

"Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival states; and

"Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

"A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative, except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected the objectors have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible.

"The tragical circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently willing and able to send millions of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

"I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety.

"Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war of emancipation—emancipation from the threat and attempted mastery of selfish groups of autocratic rulers—whatever the difficulties and present partial delays. We are indomitable in our power of independent action and can in no circumstances consent to live in a world governed by intrigue and force. We believe that our own desire for a new international order under which reason and justice and the common interests of mankind shall prevail is the desire of enlightened men everywhere. Without that new order the world will be without peace and human life will lack tolerable conditions of existence and development. Having set our hand to the task of achieving it, we shall not turn back.

"I hope that it is not necessary for me to add that no word of what I have said is intended as a threat. That is not the temper of our people. I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America—that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation of people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of its own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom."

GERMANY WILL GET LITTLE HELP

As Washington Officials Regard Ukrainian Peace

IT HAS ITS DRAWBACKS, TOO

Release Of Prisoners Will Not Give Germany So Many More Men, As Most Of The Prisoners Are Austrians.

Washington.—With the opening of the great campaign of 1918 on the western front apparently within sight military men here examined with profound interest the situation created by the signing of a peace pact between the Central Powers and the new Ukraine Republic and the decision of the Bolshevik Russian government to stop fighting and demobilize the army.

Their conclusions were not discouraging. These events on their face would appear to set free enormous German forces for the impending battle in the west and also to furnish new sources of food supply for the Teutonic allies, but many factors detract from the advantages the Central Powers may derive.

One of the threats against the western front dwelt upon in public discussion is the fact that presumably 1,500,000 prisoners of war held in Russia would be released to strengthen the German Army. The fact is said to be, however, that the great majority of the soldiers captured by the Russians are Austrians, not available for western front operations by present indications. Most of the others are civilians or camp followers of one kind or another and so far as known only a small number of German troops were captured on that front. Any men from the prison camps are regarded as of doubtful military value for some time to come, as the Russians, unable to feed their own soldiers, hardly have improved the health of captives.

There is doubt here, also, as to the extent to which the agricultural resources of the Ukraine or of Russia can be brought to the aid of the German people in the near future. Failure of the Russian transportation system worked in Germany's interest in undermining the fighting power of the Russian armies. The same agency now, necessarily, works against the Central Powers in its desire to get out food supplies. Moreover, the best wheat regions which may be opened to the Germans are in such poor condition that the agricultural system may have to be made over, a difficult process with the confusion that prevails throughout the region.

Demobilization of the Russian army will not mean that the Austro-German-Bulgarian forces on the frontiers can be wholly withdrawn. There will be a constant threat of renewed hostilities and the Teutons must see to it that ample force is always at hand.

ATTACK RUSSIAN MATERIALS.

Creditors Swoop Down On Huge Masses Of Supplies.

New York.—Hard on the heels of the announcement of Russia's definite withdrawal from the war, creditors of the former Czar's government are swooping down upon the huge amount of materials bought in this country and which is still stored on piers in Brooklyn. There is \$200,000,000 worth of munitions.

The appraisal follows the serving of a writ of attachment on \$45,000 worth of the material last Saturday. The appraisers found the piers piled with rifles, machine guns, motor-trucks and other material.

A swarm of other attachments are about to be obtained by a host of creditors.

The representatives of the Russian Government all have dropped out of sight and the materials will go back into normal trade as private property.

EIGHT INJURED IN GALE.

Three Others Missing When Part Of Wheeling Plant Is Razed.

Wheeling, W. Va.—Eight men were injured, two seriously, and three others believed to have been in the plant at the time are missing, as the result of a terrific gale which destroyed a section of the Wheeling Steel and Iron Company plant here. All the injured are residents of Wheeling. The accident occurred when five large stacks, ripped from their guy wires, fell on the shearing mill section of the plant.

TOBACCO OFF FOR FRONT.

Thirty Carloads On Way To American Troops In France.

Durham, N. C.—A train of 30 cars loaded with tobacco destined for the American troops in France was given a rousing send-off here as it started on its way. Mayor Newson made a patriotic address to a large number of people who gathered to see the large consignment of local product start for the front.

U-BOATS DEFIED BY U.S. TRANSPORTS

Troopships Are Honeycombed With Airtight Cells

ANNOUNCED BY NAVAL BOARD

Confidence Both In America And England That The Submarine Will Be Either Curbed Or Entirely Wiped Out.

New York.—Means have been found to make troops transports unsinkable by submarine, according to a statement made by William L. Saunders, vice chairman of the Naval Consulting Board, in an address at a dinner of the University of Pennsylvania Alumni in this city.

Mr. Saunders said that one of the ships recently commandeered by the Government "now lies at an Atlantic port and in such shape that she cannot be sunk by an exploding torpedo." "I can conceive of no reason why this information should be withheld," he added. "On the contrary, I believe it is well that the enemy may come to realize that the time has been reached when American transports are ready for the transportation of our troops, which that enemy cannot sink. This ship may have a hole 30 to 40 feet in diameter blown in her side and she will remain afloat. Such a hole would waterlog but one-tenth of the honey-combed airtight cells."

Mr. Saunders described in detail the plan to keep ships afloat after they had been torpedoed, and the manner in which it had been developed by William F. Donnelly, a New York marine engineer, working under authorization of the naval consulting board.

"Of course it will take some time to equip similarly the large number of transports we have," continued Mr. Saunders. "It is my belief, however, that nothing will be left undone by the administration to safeguard the lives of large troop contingents to be moved across the Atlantic."

Bears Out Statement.

Washington.—Announcement by Vice-Chairman Saunders, of the Naval Consulting Board, that means had been found to make troops ships practically unsinkable lends new meaning to the air of confidence with which both American and British naval authorities are facing their task of clearing the seas of U-boats. Recently by Admiral Jellicoe, formerly First Sea Lord of the British Admiralty, by Secretary Daniels and other officials have indicated that a campaign has been mapped out and the instrumentalities developed which are expected to curb, if not to eliminate, the submarines entirely within the next few months.

Discussion of the devices developed is deplored by officials here. Investigations and experiments have been guarded closely. High officials have been free to assert privately, however, their belief that the U-boats would be checked sufficiently by early summer to insure a steady flow of American troops and supplies to Europe with few incidents such as that of the Tuscania to be anticipated.

GAINS MANY NEW MEMBERS.

Red Cross Adds Approximately 17,500,000 In The Recent Big Drive.

Washington, D. C.—Figures now available on the Red Cross Christmas membership drive show a total enrollment of 23,475,000, or 22 per cent. of the population of the United States.

Of this total the Red Cross had about 6,000,000 members before the Christmas drive started, so that the gain from the drive was approximately 17,500,000 new members. The central division, of which Chicago is the headquarters, leads the other twelve divisions of the country in the number of new members enrolled Christmas week.

By divisions, the gains were as follows: Atlantic, 2,800,000; Central, 3,600,000; Gulf, 384,000; Lake, 2,300,000; Mountain, 276,000; New England, 670,000; Northern, 658,000; Northwestern, 693,000; Pacific, 327,000; Pennsylvania, 1,600,000; Potomac, 250,000; Southern, 370,000; Southwestern, 3,250,000.

From the fourteenth division comprising all of the territorial insular and foreign possessions of the United States the new members added numbered 48,000.

Unprecedentedly unfavorable weather prevailed during the drive so that the showing is considered exceptionally good. Final figures are not expected to change the foregoing estimates to any considerable extent.

USES PRISONERS AS SHIELD.

Germany Packs Stuttgart To Prevent Allied Air Raids.

New York.—The German authorities are packing Stuttgart, in Southwestern Germany, with prisoners of war in an avowed attempt to discourage air raids in reprisal for those made by the Germans on London and other Entente cities.

170 SOLDIERS LOST ON THE TUSCANIA

Not More Than That Number Believed to Have Perished

VICTIMS REST IN SCOTLAND

Countryside Is Raising Funds For Permanent Memorial—Villagers Pay Tribute At Funeral.

Washington.—War Department advices indicate that very few American soldiers lost their lives in the destruction of the liner Tuscania in addition to the 164 reported as buried on the Scottish coast. The latest reports place the American loss at not more than 170 of the 2,179 who were on board the ship, although the list of rescued still is far from complete.

Seven additional survivors were officially reported, reducing the department's list of those not recorded as saved to about 260.

The War Department is exchanging daily long cablegrams with the embassy at London in an effort to complete the survivors' roll and untangle names garbled in transmission. In spite of the fact that only some 260 of those on the passenger list are officially unaccounted for, the department has more than 270 names of survivors which it has been unable to decipher. About 40 of these are supposed to be duplications and as many more are names of men of whom there is no record.

Of the 164 Americans buried in Scotland it was not possible to identify 53 who were disfigured beyond recognition.

Praise for efficient co-operation by the British War Office in the rescue of survivors is given by General Pershing in a cablegram received at the War Department. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Red Cross also are cited for valuable assistance.

Last 17 Are Buried.

A Scotch Seaport.—Up to Tuesday night, a week after the disaster, 171 victims of the ill-fated Tuscania had been laid to rest at different points on the Scottish coast. These were divided as follows: Americans, 131 identified and 33 unidentified; crew, 4 identified and 3 unidentified.

The last 17 bodies, all Americans, were buried Tuesday afternoon, villagers again coming many miles in a downpour of rain to pay their simple tribute to the American dead. The bodies were brought to the burial place on one big motor truck, which was followed along the route several miles long by the squad of 25 khaki-clad American survivors and the village mourners. One of the villagers carried the Union Jack, while an American soldier held aloft the Stars and Stripes.

At the graveside the Americans sang the "Star-Spangled Banner," followed by the natives singing "God Save the King." The usual military salute was then fired, ending the ceremony.

DRYS GAIN 88 COUNTIES.

2,374 In U. S. Now Bar Liquor And 615 Still Wet.

Washington.—The Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of the Methodist Church announced that a survey it has just completed shows that there are 2,374 dry counties and 615 wet counties in the United States, a dry gain for the year 1917 of 88 counties. The District of Columbia was made dry by act of Congress, while New Hampshire, Utah and Indiana were added to the prohibition states by legislative action and New Mexico by vote of the people. New York added 137 towns to its dry list and Illinois closed saloons in its state capital.

100 POUNDS PER MAN A DAY.

That Is What It Takes To Keep A U. S. Soldier In France.

Chicago.—To maintain the American Army in France one hundred pounds of gross tonnage a day must be landed at French ports for each man, according to Captain Earl J. Zimmerman, executive officer of the depot quartermasters' department here. "The American people have no conception of the quantity of supplies needed for the men 'over there,'" said Captain Zimmerman, "nor of the difficulty of getting it to them. For example, it takes 23,000,000 pounds of frozen beef each month to feed a million soldiers."

U-BOATS MAKE BIG HAUL.

Thirteen British Ships Over 1,600 Tons And Six Smaller Sunk.

London.—Nineteen British merchantmen were sunk by mine or submarine in the past week, according to the Admiralty statement. Of these 13 were vessels of 1,600 tons or more and six were under that tonnage. Three fishing craft also were sunk.