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UNITED GERMANY

Her People Are as United for War as They Are for the Peace Which They Are Determined is to Follow the War—Opinions Differ But Principles Are Practically the Same.

(By William English Walling.)
Germany is united as to the war and the peace which it is determined shall follow the war. The German nation is not seriously divided either as to foreign policy, peace terms, or anything that concerns its relations to other nations. The German nation is divided only as to purely internal questions—the method of conducting the war, the division of foreign funds and taxes, and the degree of free speech that should be allowed.

Of course there are a few extremists at both ends of the social scale who advocate a peace policy at variance with that of the overwhelming majority of the nation. But all these extremists together probably do not represent ten per cent. of the German nation, and certainly do not represent twenty per cent.

The leaders of the revolutionary socialists—Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others—are nearly all in prison. They are not even in the least important, having only one member of the reichstag out of 400. Nor is their power increasing. They are to be sharply distinguished from the minority socialists, who have a considerable following, but are neither revolutionary nor effective in their opposition to the kaiser. And the peace policy of this minority does not differ in any essential particular from that of the other parties, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the German people.

Other Extramurals.
At the other end of the social scale is another body of extremists, who can lay no claim to represent the nation, but have exercised a very considerable and sinister influence over the kaiser and the government. This is the group of junker extremists headed by the crown prince. In the reichstag they can rely upon the support only of the conservatives and of a handful of members of other parties. They are not even able to secure the entire support of the junkers or conservatives, and probably do not constitute more than fifteen per cent. of the nation as indicated by election returns. This group is in favor of a military dictatorship, and believes in centralizing the power of the reichstag. Naturally, its support in the reichstag is not great. Many junkers and bureaucrats, like Bethmann-Hollweg, oppose this group, and even the kaiser has only followed its advice intermittently. The fact about these reactionary extremists is that they can not and do not claim to represent the nation, but only endeavor to control the kaiser and the government, which is solely responsible to him in war time.

All the rest of the nation is thoroughly united as to the war and the peace terms that are confidently expected to follow within the next few months. These parties include both wings of the social democrats, minority and majority, the radical party, a part of the national liberal party, and the center or Catholic party—only to mention the most important. These parties alone secured over eighty per cent. of the votes at the last election (in 1912).

It is not necessary to compare the peace program of all five of these groups; it is sufficient to compare the most radical and the most conservative of the five, namely, the center party on the one hand and the minority socialists on the other. The position of the center may be defined by their almost universal sympathy with the peace policy of the Austrian kaiser and the pope. It is this group also that stood behind the so-called peace resolution of the reichstag and the German government's reply to the pope. At the other extreme we find the German minority socialists, whose position we can obtain from their own statement issued early in the program of the Stockholm conference and the Russian Council of Workmen and Soldiers. These last-mentioned programs were issued in October, after consultation with the German minority, and are endorsed by them.

Practically identical.
If we rapidly compare the peace policy of the German center and that of the minority socialists, we find that they are practically identical, and the intervening parties, the radicals, the center and the so-called radical party, of course take a similar position. All these parties agree in the claim that they are in favor of "peace" and that the democratic nations, England, France, and America, are in violation of the war. All agree in supporting the German government in its empty talk of "disarmament." All reject the idea of a league to enforce peace or a society of nations, as favored by nearly all parties in America, France and Austria. The Germans favor a so-called disarmament, because their victories in the war have been due mainly to their immensely superior capacity for producing armament, when compared with the other nations of Europe. If all existing supplies of armament were destroyed, the Germans, with their superior military organization and higher degree of industrial organization and greater producing power, could overwhelm Europe even more easily than they did this time. It was by a similar process of reasoning that certain German militarists before the war proposed that the term of military service in such a society of nations be reduced to one year. The argument was that the German military machine could produce good soldiers in less space of time than the other military machines, and that such a method would increase the relative military superiority of Germany.

The overwhelming majority of Germans of all these parties are opposed to a league to enforce peace and a society of nations, because in such a society Germany would be in a minority. There is no method of reckoning by which she would count for something more than one-sixth of the total voting power. Even with her allies and the little neighboring nations under economic and military domination the forces against her would be more than two to one in any such organization. In this, as in all other important points, the minority socialists are in absolute agreement with the center and even with most of the national liberals.

Substantial Agreement.
All these parties are in substantial agreement also on nearly all the most important territorial questions. They all stand for the restoration of the territorial status quo ante with certain modifications. They all reckon upon the continued economic domination of Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland and Holland by Germany after the war. They all demand the restitution of the German colonies. They all demand that German and Austrian Po-

land shall remain German and Austrian. On the question of plebiscites in disputed territories, there are many shades of opinion, but the prevailing opinion is that plebiscites may be safely demanded under such conditions as will make a pro-German decision absolutely certain. For example, the Stockholm conference wishes a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine on the basis of "the preceding lists of the latest election in Alsace before the war." There is no reason to suppose that any of these parties will refuse to accept this principle both for Alsace and for certain other territories, where non-Germans have been driven out and sufficient Germans substituted in recent years to assure a German majority.

On the other hand, the refusal of the right of self-government in the case of the subject peoples of Germany is not only demanded, but also by the demand for complete independence in the case of Finland and Russian Poland and other entente territories. We find these demands asserted not only by the German liberals, but also by the Stockholm conference and the Russian Workmen's council. The former body has added a demand for independence for Ireland, while the latter demands the "re-establishment of Persia." The Stockholm conference even endorses the demand of the German junkers that Belgium be divided into two autonomous provinces. The Russian Workmen's council does a similar service for the junkers in demanding the "neutralization of the Suez and Panama canals as well as the Dardanelles. We saw what neutralization amounts to in the case of Belgium, but this does not disturb the self-appointed agents of German socialism in Russia.

There are also several shades of opinion about indemnities. There have been well-substantiated reports that a number of influential groups in the German government are prepared to grant a nominal pseudo indemnity to Belgium in order to quiet the international clamor about the wrongs done to that country. All the German parties mentioned favor this diplomatic subterfuge. The Stockholm conference and the Russian Workmen's council agree that the exclusively insignificant part of the wrongs done which can be defined as "contributions levied during the war" shall be indemnified. No further indemnities are to be paid by Germany; all other wrongs, destruction, and wrongs to civilians done by German armies are to be repaired from an international fund, to which Germany's victims and their defenders are to contribute equally with Germany. These two principles, certainly unobjectionable to the majority of German liberals and centrists, are to be applied generally as well as in Belgium.

Haase and Ledebour and other leaders of the German socialist minority have secured a certain prestige in the entente countries because of the strong verbal opposition they occasionally offer to the kaiser when home affairs are up for discussion in the reichstag. It is assumed by innumerable editors and publicists in this country that because these men represent the German socialist minority their view of the war and their peace terms are probably the opposite of those of the German socialist majority. The truth is that the two peace programs are 90 per cent. the same, and that on all the most essential points they are identical.

The underlying motive psychology of the minority may be shown by the following sentence from their

July peace manifesto: "National and social liberation can not be achieved by the governments at war; it can only be done by democracy." This is the phrase by which this party covers its unwillingness to demand self-government for such of the subject nationalities of Germany and her allies as desire it—as an essential condition of the coming peace. But while deferring the demand for national independence to the coming democracy, this same party refuses to allow that the demand for democratization should be made part of the peace terms. Together with all the German political parties above mentioned the socialist minority denies that democracy is in any way an issue of the war!

Loyal to Kaiser.
That the leaders of the German socialist minority are absolutely loyal to the kaiser in the war they have repeatedly demonstrated. Perhaps the most conclusive evidence may be gained from speeches made by the two most important leaders in the reichstag since the Russian revolution. Both Haase and Ledebour advocated in the reichstag a separate peace with Russia, with the full knowledge that such a peace would leave the kaiser as absolute dictator of peace terms. There is not an intelligent and honest individual in Russia, America, or any of the entente countries who does not know what such a separate peace would have meant. Haase and Ledebour are both intelligent and entirely well informed. They were willing last summer, and are still willing today, that the war should be immediately settled with a complete victory of kaiserism.

The time has arrived when Americans should understand that at the present period of the war when no stunner—defeat of Germany has yet occurred—there is no important political party in the German empire which has the slightest sympathy either with the democratic peace policy and peace of President Wilson or with any other just or democratic peace program.

We can see now why the socialist revolutionaries of Russia who speak for the peasants and for the vast bulk of the nation reject the peace program of the Workmen's council. For it is the program of the German advocates of a separate peace, which the Russian nation, including the council, has pledged itself to repudiate. Katherine Breshkovsky, "Babushka" (the little grandmother of the revolution), has clearly voiced their understanding of the fact that the world's democrats are at present fighting not merely the kaiser but a united Germany.

"The Russian army, the sentiments of which I know," she declared, "also stands for war. The spirit of the army is fierce and severe. That is because the soldiers who formerly believed that only the German emperor was guilty, while the German nation was innocent, now see that the German nation is solidly for aggression, and therefore the punishment of Emperor William is not sufficient—the nation itself must suffer the stings of defeat."

Russian democrats still believe, with the democrats of all other countries, that the day will come when the world's democrats will be united and the German people will overthrow autocracy and militarism. But that day will not come until the German people have suffered the stings of defeat, or have seen that they can not insist upon the German autocracy—or any part of that will—upon the united free peoples of the earth.

SOME FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN DEALING WITH THE KAISER

Napoleon's Famous Statement at St. Helena Is Recalled.—Prussia Has Always Believed in the Might of the Sword and in Taking What Was Wanted. . .

(By W. H. Gardner.)
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Truly, Napoleon the Great had vision when he said in St. Helena after his fall: "I made the mistake of my career, when I had not remove the Hohenzollerns from the throne of Prussia. As long as this house reigns and until the red cap of liberty is erected in Germany, there will be no peace in Europe. In reviewing the progress that has been made in the present day world's war by the kaiser of the German empire it is well to review the historical progress that the Prussian Hohenzollerns have enjoyed.

The German empire is really an offshoot of the Frankish empire, founded on Christmas Day, A. D. 800, by Charlemagne, whose realm included France, the Lowlands, North Germany, South Germany, Switzerland and, in Austria, the areas of what is today known as the western part of the German empire and a majority of Austria-Hungary.

In the middle ages, under the Hapsburgs, the Germanic empire comprised a vast empire, stretching from the eastern front of the German empire as well as that section later known as Poland, the Polish territory between them and their present boundary between Austria and Hungary. The northeastern boundary of the Germanic empire was just east of Berlin, where until 1525 the Hohenzollern dukes of the pagan Brandenburg fought off "the pagan Prussian and Lithuanian hordes." By 1525 the Hohenzollerns had conquered about all the territory bordering on the Baltic sea, the Polish territory between them and some of that bordering on the North sea, this all having become the Prussian kingdom, and the Hapsburgs who still controlled the now eastern front of the German empire as well as that section later known as Poland.

In 1804 Prussia, with the support of the emperor Napoleon, drove the Danes out of Denmark, and in 1806 turned upon her own allies, drove the Hapsburgs out of Germany, absorbed North Germany and conquered the South German confederation.

Primarily to divorce these South German states from the Hapsburgs and weld them to Prussia, Bismarck forced them to join Prussia in conquering France in 1871, from whom Prussia proceeded to take Alsace-Lorraine in 1,000,000,000.

Then at Versailles the Prussian king was crowned emperor of the new-born German empire and Prussia made secure her most important objective in the Franco-Prussian war—her permanent dominion over South Germany.

Truly the chief industry of Prussia-making war—had paid handsome dividends to the Prussian Hohenzollerns, who had first got all Eastern Germany, then in three three-cornered wars, in less than ten years (1847-71) had kicked the Hapsburgs out of Germany, conquered the South Germans and then the French.

But note that the North Germans, the South Germans and the Austro-Germans are of kindred blood and had been under a common rule for over a thousand years—since Charlemagne in A. D. 800; whereas the Prussians were an alien race of pagans only 400 years ago when they came under the leadership of the Hohenzollerns. Note that while Prussia's dominion has been strong in North Germany for a hundred years, Prussia's dominion over South Germany is but fifty years old; nor is Bavaria's wound of 1866 yet healed, although again kicked by Prussia she is forced to fight France.

Some years ago at a table in the Munich Hofgarten were some of the Bavarian army staff. Some Prussian army officers went by, and the head of the Bavarian army spoke of them by the term usual in Bavaria—i. e., "Stinkprussien," that is, "Stinking Prussians!" (General von der Tann made this remark to the writer who was sitting with him.) In 1914 a pamphlet was published in Munich advocating the abdication of the Hohenzollerns in favor of the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria, in order to secure peace!

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many, the Hapsburgs have been similarly employed in Austria, which for a thousand years has been the battlefield between German, Magyar, Slav and Turk.

The Techo-Slovak kingdom of Bohemia antedated Charlemagne and for one year extended north to the Baltic sea. But after three hundred years the Hapsburgs have held this foreign race under harsh military dominion, so that today, in Austria's time of trial, there is a suppressed revolution seething among the 5,000,000 Techo-Slovaks.

Between 1650 and 1700 the Austrians drove the Turks out of Magyar Hungary, and then the Magyars and Austrians conquered the Roumanians of Transylvania to the west of Roumania, which latter, having endured as a nation for over 1,500 years, completely regained her national independence from Turkey only in 1878, but has never been able to liberate her 3,000,000 brother Roumanians in Transylvania.

Only in 1908 did Austria-Hungary take Bosnia and Herzegovina, pure Jugo-Slav provinces linked by every tie of blood and custom to Serbia. And all this is held by the domination of 12,000,000 Austro-Germans over 10,000,000 alien Magyars, who in turn dominate over 3,000,000 Roumanians and over 5,000,000 Jugo-Slavs, while jointly they hold in subjection 5,500,000 Ruthenes, who are of Slavonic blood, and nearly 1,000,000 Italians.

How firm today is the "ramehackle empire?"

In 1848 the great Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, the idol of America, would have won the independence of Hungary from Austria, except for the autocrat, Metternich, whose diplomatic ability almost surpassed that of Bismarck.

Today in Hungary there is a very strong Magyar party working for independence from Austria. They want Magyar independence for themselves, but they won't hear of their subject Roumanians and Jugo-Slavs being in turn free to join themselves to their brothers in Roumania and Serbia, and to the Austro-Hungarian empire, a conglomerate of conquests, with revolt seething in three-quarters of its population, is what the kaiser trapped into declaring war on Serbia and so bringing Russia down on Austria, thus enabling Germany to declare war on Russia, which opened the latter's ally, France, to Germany's attack through Belgium, and thus brought Great Britain in and finally Turkey and Bulgaria with the Teutons and Austrians, Italy, Roumanians, Portugal and the United States against them.

Thus Prussia merely repeated on a grand scale the war politics which she used when she forced South Germany to fight France with her, so that she herself could get permanent control of South Germany. By diplomacy, which forced Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria to join her in a war against others, she now has established her own absolute military control over them, and is now seeking to make this control permanent by obtaining peace before they are conquered by the allies and set free from her? If the kaiser can get such a peace Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria will permanently bear the same relation to Prussia that South Germany has for the past fifty years. Then the Middle-European empire will succeed the German empire, and the Hohenzollerns, instead of having only 70,000,000 subjects, will have over 170,000,000 subjects wherever they carry out their plans for future conquests.

But note that this Austro-Hungarian empire of 45,000,000 is controlled by the Hapsburgs, who were beaten and driven out of Germany just fifty years ago by the Hohenzollerns.

Like the Bavarians, undoubtedly the Austro-Germans would gladly share victory with the Prussians. But now it is evident to them that if Germany wins, the Hapsburgs and Bulgaria will become appendages of Austria-Hungary, and if Germany loses, Berlin, and if Germany loses, knowing all this, and volumes more, the allies replied to President Wilson's peace note of Dec-18-18.

"The civilized—did know that the aims of the allies include . . . the reorganization of Europe guaranteed by a stable settlement. . . . But all this is in vain unless the principle of nationalities and upon the principle of all peoples, which is the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development."

In turn President Wilson, referring to Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, addressed Russia as follows when the latter tendered a pacific treaty:

"Government after government has, by its (Berlin's) influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but can not be broken unless wrongs already done are undone, and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being renewed or repaired. . . . We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undisturbed development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. . . . Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will, and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made."

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future of the work and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples."

When Germany or Austria-Hungary or Bulgaria or Turkey talk peace terms we must remember that as long as they are united the will and the terms will be that of Berlin no matter whose mouth speaks. We must remember Prussia's centuries of faithful intrigues and ruthless aggressions crowned by her devilish deceptions and barbaric cruelties of this last war of her aggression.

We shall see her offer to free and indemnify Belgium, to free Poland, to return Alsace-Lorraine to France. But always the kaiser will evade the freeing of the Jugo-Slav and Roumanians simply because the integrity of Austria-Hungary is the necessary link between the European and the Asiatic parts of the middle European empire.

When peace talk is loud remember that Prussia's essential purpose in the present war is to clinch her present hold on these vast and continuous domains of Austria-Hungary, the Balkans and Turkey. If the kaiser can do this he will really have won the war, even though he retire from France, Belgium and Poland and indemnify them.

While Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey are dominated by Berlin, we should see them only as slaves to the kaiser's will and fight them as such. When they cast off his dominion or when the allies shake free his grip on them—not one of their people should be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live—this for the kaiser's tools, and including not only the Austro-Germans, but also their blood brothers, the south Germans and the north Germans, who jointly may grasp their chance to cast off the shackles Prussia has riveted on them in the last 100 years.

Then to the Prussian autocrats and to their kaiser, who have caused the war and endeavored all the people of the middle European empire in order to enslave the world, to them:

Unconditional Surrender

This is essential not only for the sake of our democracies, but for the freed . . . of north Germans and of the south Germans and of the Austro-Germans and of all their subjugated nationalities from the yoke of the Prussian kaiser.

Under him they are as one, decide to his will for war and peace, and as one middle European empire we must war on all of them until they revolt or we free them from the kaiser, to whom our terms must be unconditional surrender.