

BAD WEATHER UNFAVORABLE TO EARLY VICTORY IN FIELD

SIMONDS' BELIEF IS CAMPAIGN IN 1919 INEVITABLE

War Expert Says Present Allied Offensive Means Germany Has Lost Initiative, Not Whipped.

HUNS STILL VERY STRONG

Teutons Have All Winter to Recover Strength and Reorganize; Have Little to Gain Now.

(Continued from Page One)

Belgium, abandon all claim for indemnity or for the return of any of her lost colonies. Meantime, in the East, the victory of the army of the Orient has eliminated Bulgaria and broken the German edifice of Mitteleuropa into fragments. Coincident with this disintegration has been the defeat of the Turk in Palestine and the creation of a situation which must inexorably lead to the surrender of Turkey on Bulgarian terms and the final liquidation of the empire of Germany's eastern allies on the terms of Germany's allies.

Conditions Are Altered

At no distant date all of Serbia will be free, all of Bulgaria will be in our hands, the Turks will have surrendered or be at our mercy; Mitteleuropa, which October 6 reached the Euphrates and the Jordan, will end at the Carpathians and the Danube. Germany has only one chance left, and that is to win the war by a surprise attack on the west, while she has now to guarantee her Austrian ally against Roumanian as well as allied attacks at the south. And unless she can do this she must expect to see Austria at no distant time make a separate peace or fall into anarchy or ruin.

At the present moment, then, Germany and her Austrian ally must and unquestionably will make peace if they can, on the basis of 1914. But we are all of us in America and Europe agreed that the basis of 1914 is not to be restored. We mean to erect a stronger Roumanian, a greater Serbia, to bar forever Teutonic expansion toward the south; we have recognized the Czechs and Slovaks in Bohemia, we have given unmistakable pledges with respect to Poland, we have in a very large measure committed ourselves to a program which, in liberating the Slavs of Austria and the Poles of Russia, insures the dissolution of the Hapsburg empire and the erection of a Polish barrier to Teutonism in the East.

Must Lay Aside Dreams

In the present mood of the world it seems to me unmistakable that any peace conditions which reached the Baltic at Danzig and comprehended France as well as Western Galicia. In the same fashion we have accepted the view that the Jugo-Slavs shall occupy all of the Adriatic littoral save for the portions which belong rightfully to Italy. We have determined that Alsace-Lorraine shall return to France, and we have resolved that Germany shall pay dollar for dollar and brick for brick for the terrible devastations of her army in Belgium and in France. All of this means but one thing. It means that the Germany which emerges from this war will be weakened, no other nation at war will be weakened. It means that the Germans will have to lay aside all the dreams which they have cherished for half a century, dreams of world power, and accommodations growing out of their conduct of the war which will for a generation

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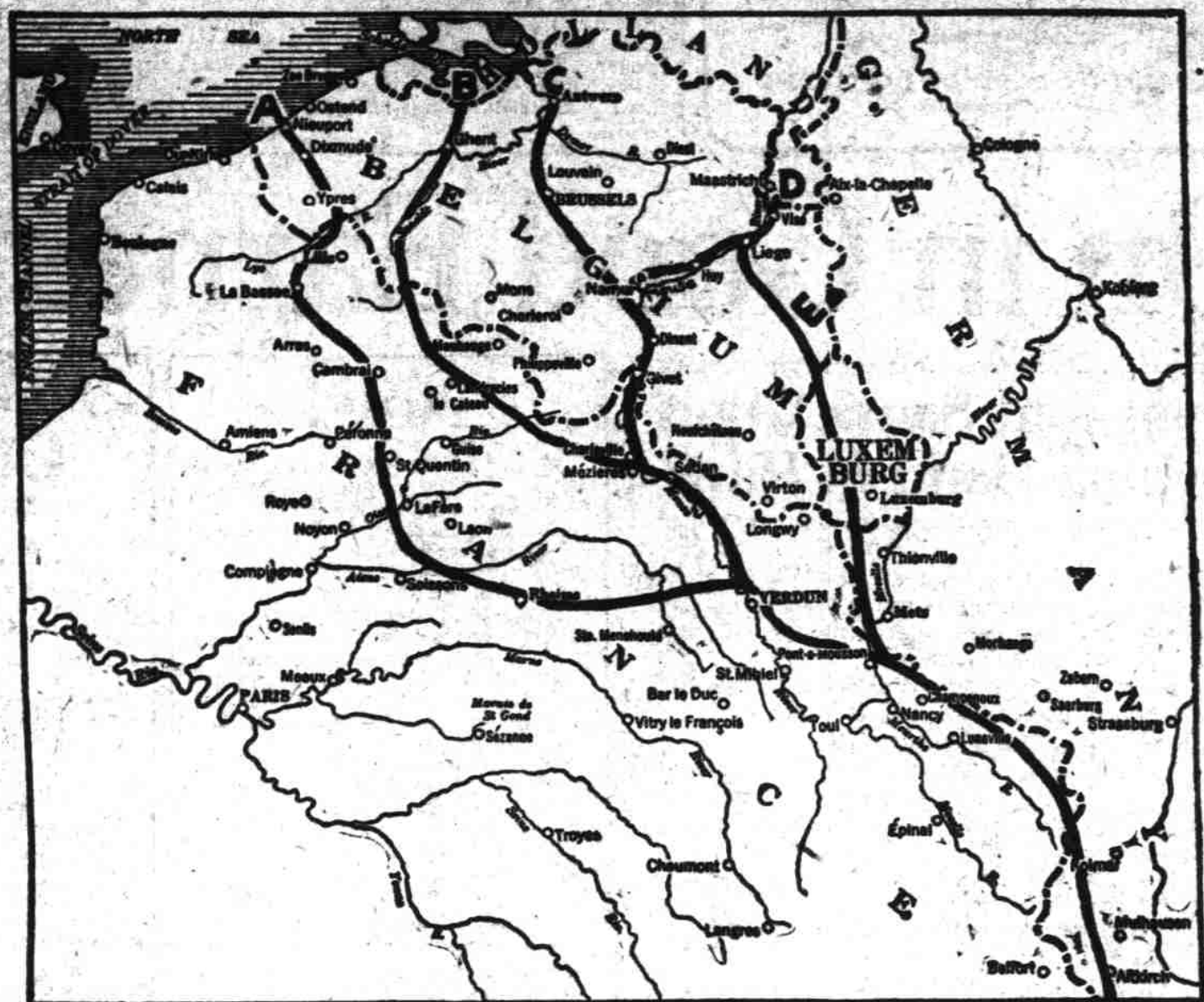
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GERMAN DEFENSE SYSTEMS



A—Hindenburg line. B—Meuse and Scheidt line. C—Antwerp-Namur-Metz line. D—Line of the Meuse. E—Line of the Ardennes.

leave Germany crippled. I do not think there is a single one of the conditions which I have sketched above which is not consonant with the conscience and the sense of justice of civilization. I do not think any one of them is non-essential to the making of a safe peace and an honorable peace, a peace which shall guarantee the world against another tragedy. But granted all this, is the German military situation so bad that Germany will accept such terms?

German Army Still Powerful

I do not believe this is the case. On the contrary the German armies, despite great reverses, are still numerous, powerful, capable of sustained resistance. They have before them a whole winter for recuperation after a few weeks of fighting, and they have behind them admirable lines of resistance still far outside of German territory. If we conceive that the Germans will halt at the line of Antwerp, Namur-Metz, at the end of the present campaign, we may see them standing on the far shorter and stronger line of Antwerp, Brussels, Namur-Metz in the spring, and even at the line of the Meuse from Holland to the front north of Verdun, and behind this line is the line of the Ardennes. East of all these lines the Rhine, strong, as we all know, and certain to be strengthened in the next months.

It is not conceivable that the German general staff will calculate that it can break the line of allied attack between the Scheidt and the German frontier by the end of one more campaign and that an exhausted world will at last consent to peace by negotiation, which will save for Germany not only the conquest of 1914-1918, but her position of August, 1914, her position when she set forth on her great and tragic adventure? As it stands, peace on such terms is conceivable means the surrender of all Germany's aspirations, ambitions and not a few of her actual assets.

Is Like to Napoleon

The military situation of Germany is bad, but it is not yet sufficiently bad to lead German rulers and leaders to accept the only terms on which peace is to be had from the enemy. Napoleon refused better terms than William I. can now obtain. The alternative was the sacrifice of his dreams of European domination. For many months Napoleon believed that he could wear out his foes, that he could separate them by playing upon their mutual rivalries; he believed that France would rise against the invader in 1814 as it did in 1792. His calculations were wrong, but the German general staff is not likely to see more accurately.

It seems to me that the decision of the world, of the allied world, with respect to Germany is so clear, so definite and so fatal to German hopes, to German future, that those who rule Germany are bound to fight on, because between the terms which are now obtainable and those which would be obtainable after military defeat, complete defeat, there is no great margin of difference, and there is still, for the chance, remote but real, that they may escape the decisive defeat and endure until war weariness and domestic unrest in allied countries make peace by negotiation inevitable. And peace by negotiation means the salvage for Germany of much, of very much, from the wreck.

Peace Offensive Expected

As I see it, the situation is this: The German general staff expects to escape any decisive defeat this year and to stand with its main mass of armies still unbroken on some strong defensive system when bad weather closes the campaign of 1918. Despite its losses of men, material and territory, it will then claim that it has defeated the allied effort to win a decision and that it has demonstrated that no decision is possible and that the war must go on indefinitely at a terrible cost unless it is ended by negotiation. Then will begin a period of reorganization by the German armies for the next campaign and the fortification of new lines on the basis of the lessons of the present campaign.

Meantime Berlin and Vienna will launch a tremendous peace offensive designed to separate the rulers of the various countries—that is, the leaders from their people. They will make every conceivable verbal concession, put aside all claims for profit themselves and argue that only the imperialistic ambitions of their foes prevent the making of peace. Such an offensive will certainly have a great effect in Germany; we shall have to be on our guard to prevent its making progress in our own countries.

We may assume that the peace offensive will fail; we may assume that the allied nations will stand firm and insist upon a complete surrender as the only

condition of peace. Then, when spring comes, Germany will have made her plans for another campaign; she will retire to her selected positions, leaving devastated districts behind her, and strive to break our first offensive blows as she broke those of Nivelle and Haig in 1917. All of her still considerable resources will go into this first effort, and the German leaders will calculate that they prolong the fighting for another whole summer and see the campaign end with the Germans at last within their own boundaries, out of Alsace-Lorraine.

Living Is Hope

In such a situation Germany may hope and will hope that peace can be had without surrender, with her position with respect to Russia unshaken and with the essential integrity of Austria assured. This would be a far better ending to the war than is now obtainable. And there is always the possibility, certain to be counted upon by Germany, that some allied nation would weary; that, for example, the new election in Britain might turn out a victory for pacifism.

Short of a military victory this year, wholly improbable, I believe that there will be a campaign of 1919, because the only conditions on which we are willing to make peace with Germany are conditions which the mass of the Germans will not accept until their capacity for military resistance has been exhausted, and that is far from the case at the present moment. Frederick the Great and Louis XIV successfully defied Europe after terrible defeats and even invasions. Germany hopes now to make peace on the basis of things as they were in 1914, while keeping alive the possibility of profiting from the destruction of Russia. But this means that she will have to abandon now what she feels that she cannot accomplish in the present war, and that she will begin on the morrow on the basis of a new attack upon civilization, building on the same foundations on which she built in the years before the present struggle.

No Middle Compromise

There is no middle ground for compromise between the German and the German; not to break his military power or compel him to surrender is to consent to the continued existence of his military machine is to leave open for the future all the old avenues of attack upon democracy. Victory is not and will not be geographical. Frederick the Great lost Berlin, but won his war, and Napoleon believed that he was not comparative; it is in the nature of things absolute. The destruction of German militarism is the destruction of the German army, whether by defeat

not with the idea of victory in his head, but with a growing consciousness of what absolute defeat means. He sees about him the ruins of Belgian and French cities and provinces; he knows that the same ruin or the price of their ruin must be found in Germany. His courage may depart or a wild and agonized determination to avert impending national ruin may fire him to still more determined resistance.

I find about me a growing conviction that the war is over and that we are seeing the last phase of a decisive battle—that "peace by Christmas" is assured. It may be so, but it is at least as likely that we are seeing the end of one more campaign in which there has been no ultimate decision, no breaking of the armed resistance and no taming of the will of the opponent. For myself, I expect to see a campaign of 1919; I believe the German will still be in arms and fighting desperately when next spring comes, and that it will take all of our best strength to break his military power next year in a full and terrible campaign.

Negotiated peace is and will remain possible, if we are willing to make it, at any moment now. Between the present gloom and the opening of the next campaign the German terms will grow more and more reasonable. The German maneuver to catch the weak, the blind, the weary of the enemy nations, to break the home front as it was broken in 1917, will be repeated. But the German is not likely to accept the only terms which he can obtain, because he is almost certain to conclude that he would do better to risk all the consequences of another campaign rather than accept terms which will not be materially harsher if he fights and loses next summer and may be greatly modified, if he fights and postpones a military decision.

This much, at least, is to be said and must be said: It would be the height of folly to make any calculation of any sort based upon the assumption that this year will see the end of the struggle. Two evils would instantly flow from such a calculation. Insensibly but inevitably war effort would slacken, and equally inevitably disappointment would weaken our moral strength next year. By such profits by both he might succeed in escaping from the defeat which must come if the war is to be ended properly.

Reading history one may see that had as is the German's present posture, nations have escaped from worse, as did Prussia in the Seven Year War. The victory which, now assured, is only assured if we increase rather than lessen our effort and strengthen rather than weaken our determination. Two years ago we were just as sure of immediate victory as now and with almost as sound reasons. Then the German peace offensive surprised and routed us. A new German peace offensive is in preparation and there is the same danger.

Constant victory, the interminable reports of the forecasts of captured Germans, the large scale map, the catalogue of captured positions, all these build up an optimism, natural within limits useful, but dangerous when it gives rise to unbounded confidence in a speedy and complete collapse of the German military power. It took the Leipzig campaign of 1813, the Marne campaign of 1914 and the Waterloo campaign of 1815 to rid Europe of the Napoleonic peril and to destroy the Napoleonic

legend. If we have won the Leipzig campaign this summer we have done nothing more. We have not advanced a foot in Germany; we are still demanding that the German make peace on the basis of what we expect to do, not what we have done and not what he believes we can do. Our victory is still limited, our terms absolute.

Allied Victories Undesirable

In sum, on the military side no allied success up to the present hour supplies any conducive or impressive evidence that the German army can be decisively beaten this year or that it will surrender rather than bear the cost, in blood of another campaign. On the political side the peace conditions, which we are agreed must be imposed upon Germany, are such that the Germans may not improbably prefer to risk all the sacrifices and burdens of another year in French hope and our present terms, satisfied that even if they lose that campaign they can hardly face much stiffer terms. On the moral side we know little, but two years ago, when we were counting upon a moral collapse of the German, our own morale broke down in Russia and Italy and was severely shaken in France. We have again and again been convinced that German masses were eager for a surrender peace, we have been convinced that a starving Germany was on the point of throwing off its rulers and embracing democracy and peace, and at the critical moment we have found that we had calculated on our hopes rather than with regard to the facts.

Estimates of German Blundering

Today the German people may be willing to surrender, they may compel their generals and their statesmen to abandon the struggle and pay the price of surrender. They may, on the other hand, be in the mood of France after Sedan, when the people rose to the defense of the nation. Until the German army is decisively beaten we shall not be assured of peace, and the German army is much further from decisive defeat than was French military power after the opening disasters of 1870. We have never yet failed to blunder when we based our military and political calculations upon what we believed to be the German state of mind and the German situation materially, and all our past mistakes have led to disastrous disappointments.

The issue between the Germans and ourselves is one that cannot be settled by compromise. Either he or we must

surrender, and for either surrender means the abandonment of national faith. Bernhardt said nearly a decade ago that the issue of the next war for Germany would be "world power or downfall." Time has not changed the issues, nor can the German now escape downfall by any other means than arms. Therefore it seems wisest to believe that he will fight on until he can fight no more, conscious that his fate then will be but little worse than it would be should he surrender now.

Another campaign seems inevitable

As I close this article, on Monday, October 7, the world is discussing the latest German peace offensive. But nothing which has yet been disclosed with respect to this offensive modifies the views expressed above and in earlier articles. Germany is seeking to acquire immunity for the past and preserve her army and the Prussian tradition for the future. She proposes not surrender, but compromise. She is willing to bargain, but the very proposal to bargain indicates that she does not believe that surrender is necessary.

By the campaign of 1918 we have brought Germany to the point of resigning her plan to impose her terms of victorious peace upon a conquered world. I see nothing now to suggest that short of the campaign of 1919 we can bring the enemy to accept those terms which we all agree must be the foundation of the future, the basis of any just and enduring peace. We have driven the wild beast back into the jungle, but he will return if we do not pursue him into his own fastnesses.

Dairymen Must Go To Church, Result Of Threats to Kill

John Ashenbrenner, a dairyman, pleaded guilty Saturday to an indictment charging him with threats to kill his neighbors. He was sentenced to 30 days in the county jail and to pay a fine of \$50. He was paroled, however, on condition that he attend church regularly for one month.

Ashenbrenner is an uneducated Russian and it is reported has had considerable trouble because his cows got loose frequently and trampled gardens. He was paroled to Rev. John H. Hopp, pastor of the Zion Congregational church.

Street Car Company Sued

The Portland Railway, Light & Power company was sued for \$5000 damages by Nelson E. Conley, who alleges his suffered personal injuries.

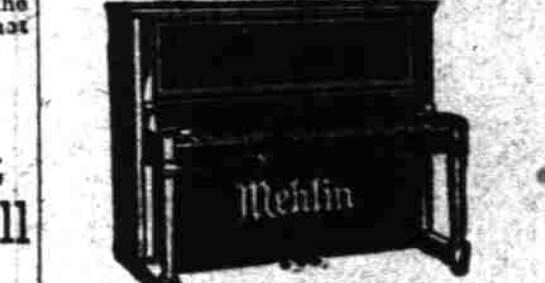
Boy 8 Feet 1 Inch Wants to Go to War

Des Moines, Iowa, Oct. 12.—(L.N.S.)—The extreme height of Bernard Coyne of this city, is expected to keep him out of the army. Bernard, who is just 21, is eight feet one inch tall and still growing. He wears a No. 28 shoe.

Salem Boy Victim of Bronchial Pneumonia

Salem, Oct. 12.—Kenneth Carlton Crossan, son of Mrs. Jessie M. Crossan, 877 Oak street, died Friday in a local hospital at Portsmouth, Va., according to a message received today by his mother. He enlisted in the navy last December. His death was due to bronchial pneumonia. The body will be brought to Salem.

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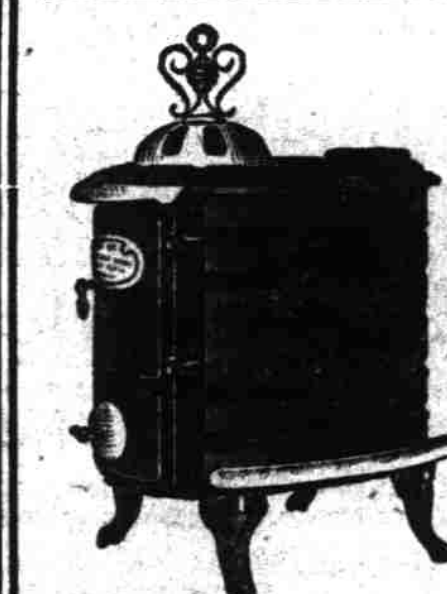
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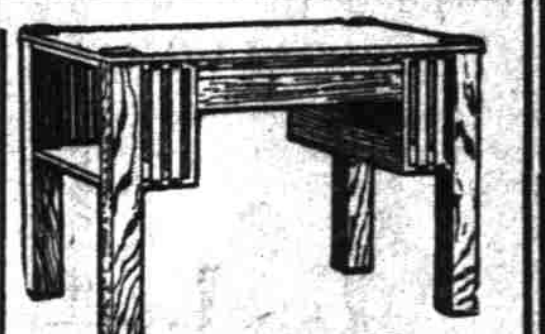
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