

takes. There are always many other and ingenious ways of being disorderly and of making mistakes. The remedy must be sought rather in the direction of reorganizing and strengthening legislative leadership and of making it more responsible to an alert and powerful body of public opinion. This is the most immediately important problem confronting the Constitutional Convention.

The Utilities Bureau

SUPPOSE the citizens of Jonesville make up their minds that the rates charged by their gas company ought to be lower. Jonesville has forty thousand inhabitants. Their gas company is capitalized at seven hundred thousand dollars. The contest does not look unequal. It would not be unequal if the gas company were really as isolated and self-dependent as Jonesville.

But the gas company is not dependent upon itself alone. It is controlled by a holding company capitalized at a hundred and ten million dollars. If the holding company cares to, it can put more money and experter experts into this case than Jonesville can afford. The case may raise questions certain to come up again in disputes between other communities and other plants controlled by the holding company. The more important the case, the less likely is Jonesville to present its side as forcibly as money and organization enable the holding company to present the corporate side.

Holding companies control nearly five and a half of the eight billions invested in American gas, electric, street railway and interurban railway companies. About eighty-nine million persons are served by electric light and power and gas companies. Holding companies serve sixty-two of these eighty-nine millions, or about seventy per cent. Holding companies control seventy-six per cent of the two billions invested in electric light and power; two-thirds of the billion and a third invested in artificial gas; two-thirds of the five billion invested in street and interurban railways. The Middle West Utilities Company will do as an example. It operates in twelve states and three hundred and fifteen cities.

Naturally these companies have their own bureaus for collecting the facts they need. What machinery exists for collecting facts and putting them in such form that they can be used to give fair prices and good service to the consumers who pay for public utility services? Separate states have in a more or less reliable form the facts published in the reports of state public service commissions. The mayors of American cities, at their conference in Philadelphia on Public Policies as to

come for attempting a like work on a national scale. The result is the Utilities Bureau.

The functions of this Utilities Bureau are to collect and collate data as to rates, service standards and cost factors in municipal utilities; to prepare these data for the use of cities, public bodies, corporations and interested citizens; to help by study and advice cities that want help in solving their utility problems; to codify the decisions of public service commissions and other judicial or quasi-judicial bodies; to make and keep up a list of engineers, lawyers, accountants and valuation experts; to encourage the introduction of cost-keeping methods, similar to those followed in the industries, throughout the utilities; whether publicly or privately owned, and to develop standard forms and methods for reporting basic facts; to serve as a national agency through which American cities may cooperate by exchanging data as to cost factors, service standards and rates.

In any difference of opinion between a city and a public utility corporation advantages are at present likely to be the corporation's. Unless we assume that the public interest and the corporation's interest are always identical, such a central body as the Utilities Bureau is needed. When these two interests are identical, and they not infrequently are, the Utilities Bureau's business will be to make this fact, so eminently worth knowing, known far and wide. Public service commissions are quasi-judicial bodies which decide cases on the facts presented by the two parties to the controversy. If the Utilities Bureau does its work thoroughly, the public side will hereafter be fully presented. The Bureau's purposes are ambitious and far-reaching. Their accomplishment will depend largely upon the degree to which cities are willing to pay for its services.

The New REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1915, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT. ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS

HERBERT CROLY WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL FRANCIS HACKETT
WALTER E. WEYL CHARLOTTE RUDYARD

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y. UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

If Constantinople Falls

WHATEVER doubt there may be as to the changes in the map of eastern Europe incident to the capture of the Turkish capital by the Allied fleet, there can be no doubt as to the naval and military consequences. At one blow the Turkish arms of the Central European Alliance will be severed from the trunk. This arm, too, is at the moment literally at the throat of the anti-German alliance, strangling Russia.

Once Constantinople falls and the straits to the east and to the west are opened, there will flow to Russia's allies all the vast stores of wheat now waiting at Odessa for the end of the blockade. More important still will be the cargoes of ammunition, of guns, of gold, that will go from Marseilles and from Southampton to the Black Sea ports. Russia will at last break through the bonds that winter and the Kaiser's Turkish ally have imposed upon her, and join hands through the Dardanelles with the sea powers.

Again, it matters not whether Russian, French, British, or all three flags are flown on the hills that rise above the Golden Horn, the effect of the Allied occupation of Constantinople upon Bulgaria must be immediate and decisive. Until Bulgaria has given her consent in the shape of a guarantee that she will not attack them, neither Rumania nor Greece, each with real prizes to be won by doing it, can join in the attack upon Austria.

Such consent Bulgaria naturally will not give so long as Greece, Rumania and Servia remain the sole gainers by the Balkan war in which Bulgaria paid the heaviest toll. But if the Allies reach Constantinople, then the vilayet of Adrianople, retaken from Bulgaria by Turkey when Bulgaria was attacked by Servia, Greece and Rumania, will be theirs to bestow. Ten thousand square miles and nearly a million population is a prize that might easily win Bulgaria, if not to alliance at least to permanent neutrality. And to take it she would have merely to stretch out her hand.

This would release Rumania, but it would do more. Such a gain for Bulgaria would go far to destroying the present superiority of Rumania in population and area; to restore the balance she would be bound to seek to liberate three million Rumanians in Bukovina and in Transylvania. Not merely the desire for a Greater Rumania would then drive her statesmen, but they would be forced to consider, as they were after the first Balkan war, the necessity to preserve their position as the strongest of the Balkan states.

But for the sullen, resentful, doubtful attitude of Bulgaria, Greece would long ago have been beside Servia on the Danube and the Drina. Victorious Austria would not halt her southward march at the new Greek frontier; Salonica, next to Constantinople the prize of the Near East, has long been the goal of Ballplatz diplomacy. For Greece it would be better to defend it in the valley of the Morava than at the shore of the Aegean. With the destruction of Turkey-in-Europe, too, Greece must consider the millions of Hellenes in Asia Minor. Her sympathy, her interests, her very safety lie with the Allies.

Italy's situation is only slightly different. For her the Mediterranean question is one of life or death. She has chosen to separate herself from her old allies. Whatever else is doubtful, there is now no possibility that she will enter the battle line with the two kaisers. From them she has nothing to expect if they are victorious. Rather, she has much to fear, for the outposts she has established across the Straits of Otranto on Valona Bay are as grave a menace to Austria's position in the Adriatic as the Turkish batteries at the Dardanelles are a barrier to the southern sea gate of Russia.

But if Italy stays neutral she can expect little real reward from the anti-German alliance. Only those will speak with authority in the congress which makes peace who have fought on the winning side, shared the peril, paid the cost in blood and treasure. France, England and Russia victorious, their control in the Middle Sea will be supreme, not to be challenged. They can then divide the Near East. Already Britain has annexed Egypt. French designs for a Syrian protectorate have been long known. Even Greece, as a soldier of France and England, may easily persuade her greater allies to ask Italy to leave Rhodes, to retire from the Dodecanese.

A partition of territories which leaves Italy out will be fatal to the Italian future, which holds the dream of restoring the commercial and a fraction of the political greatness of Venice in the Aegean and of Rome on the north African shores. Certainly if the Anglo-French-Russian alliance wins, Italy will have no peril of an attack to face. But she will be outside the ranks of those who lay down the boundaries which are likely to endure for many years to come. She came too late to get Algeria or Tunis, Egypt or Morocco. Another failure may be hers.