

the spoken word will certainly be found much more dependable as a vehicle of propaganda than the printed page, even if in our enthusiasm we attempt the naïve device of dropping democratic literature into the German trenches from aeroplanes. If the Allies find it reasonable to recommend to Germany, through formal state documents, such political changes as a chancellor responsible to the parliament, a representative body with power to initiate taxation, and other devices of self-government endeared through long usage to democratic nations, why at the same time should we deplore the man-to-man propaganda that is being carried forward on the eastern front by newly liberated Russians who out of their own experiences are urging revolt against autocratic government and who are recommending those very reforms which the Social Democrats of Germany have long been advocating? Certainly the Russians who at this moment are freeing themselves from the oppression of the enormous landed estates might most readily appeal to those Germans who have long contended that the foundation of parliamentary reform must be a change in the status of the land-holding Junkers.

Inevitably the results of such a propaganda are absolutely disastrous from the military point of view; but if the Allies are striving to win an entire people from the tenets of militarism, what teachers could be more convincing than men so enthusiastic over a governmental theory based upon the voluntary coöperation of self-directed individuals that they are ready to face a court-martial in order to act upon it themselves and insist upon extending it to the very men who are supposed to represent the military system in its perfection? They are at least treading the paths of martyrdom which Tolstoy believed to be the only way to peace.

It is certainly the wisdom of the humble, the very counsel of imperfection, which is exemplified by this army of tattered men who are walking so carefully in the dawning light. But they may be "the unhindered and adventuring sons of God," who are the bearers of the most precious aspirations of this generation. To insist that they continue in the old lines of warfare when they themselves believe that fraternal intercourse is more efficacious for their revolutionary purposes, will probably result in a failure of both methods. They will neither convert the German troops nor will they efficiently make war upon them. The outcome may easily afford another of those cruel examples, presented so often by history, in which the Good has been the greatest enemy of the Best.

JANE ADDAMS.

## Tying Up Western Lumber

**T**HOUGH it is irrelevant to the issues which have been tying up the northwestern lumber industry in strikes for the last eight weeks—with eighty per cent of the workmen out, a large part of the time—it is a good approach to the subject to note one circumstance of the forest fires which until recently menaced western Montana, northern Idaho, and eastern Washington. These fires, due, many editorial writers asserted, to I. W. W. plotting, were in fact brought within control partly because a considerable number of volunteers for fire-fighting were found within the ranks of the striking I. W. W. lumbermen. In Missoula, Montana, the local secretary of the I. W. W. organization also bore, I learned, the honorable title of Government Labor Agent; he had sent more than a thousand strikers to the fires, even taking his pickets out of the St. Regis district to do it; and his efforts had been approved in the federal forest agent's declaration that "the leaders of the organization have urged their men to go out and help the government fight the fire and stay on this job until the flames are controlled."

It is a good approach to note this, because it helps give credence to the assertion that not all the strikers in the Northwest are destructionists, bent solely upon handicapping the government at a critical moment.

The brand which set fire to the strike was the walkout of several hundred lumberjacks in the Humbird camps at Sandpoint, Idaho, without a referendum, and simply because they had tired of the way they were living. Improvement in camp conditions was made the first demand of the strikers. There has been little federal investigation in this direction, but testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations disclosed primitive conditions which the slow march of social improvement cannot by this time have greatly changed. In many cases it was shown that forty loggers occupied a bunkhouse that should not have accommodated more than a dozen—the men sleeping two in a bunk, with two more in a bunk on top; a stove at either end, sending the steam rising from lines of wet clothes strung the length of the room; beds made in some cases by dumping hay into a wooden bunk; food that was unsavory; the crudest sort of provisions for cleanliness and sanitation. No doubt there were better camps and worse camps. But in view of the widespread dissatisfaction of the men the state regulations seem inadequate. In Washington there is no special legislation or regular inspection; simply rules without penalty promulgated by the State Commissioner of Health, who inspects the camp on request

or incidentally only. In Idaho the bunkhouses are examined under the same general regulations that apply to hotels and restaurants, and in Montana only when the camp is situated on the watershed of some public water system. Certainly the first demand of the strikers, whether or not they were members of the I. W. W. organization, was arbitrable without giving aid and comfort to the enemy.

The other planks in the strikers' program called for a minimum wage of \$60 a month and an eight-hour day, in an industry demanding more than the usual amount of exposure and risk on the part of its employees. The strikers demanded, finally, recognition of the right of organization, by the provision that all men be hired on the job or from the union hall. This was in part a revolt against the "rustling card" system which was used by the Humbird, Blackwell, Potlatch and other companies, and which compelled the employee to show a standard card of recommendation before receiving employment. The companies regarded this practice as a means of protecting themselves against agitators; the workmen have seen that as agitators are classed those employees most active in working for organization. It is always within the company's power to take up a man's card if it finds his services unsatisfactory.

Throughout the strike the eight-hour day has been the issue given chief consideration. There is a good case that can be made out against putting the western lumber companies, on an eight-hour day, into competition with a ten-hour day in the timber districts of the South and East—although, on account of the geographically diversified production, competition in the lumber industry cannot be measured in the same terms as competition in the business of selling wheat or wool. But underlying the question of hours was the more basic one of collective bargaining. That this was so is shown in the fact that at a meeting of employers and strikers called by the Washington State Council of Defense, during the second week of August, representatives of the workmen declared themselves willing to waive the issue of the eight-hour day if they could win a guaranty of the right of the employees to organize.

Meeting in Seattle on the 9th of July a group of a hundred and fifty employers discussed the proposals of the strikers. Their answer was to form the Lumbermen's Protective League, to which they agreed to forfeit \$500 a day for every day's operation of less than ten hours. Nothing was said with respect to union recognition. Trouble, accordingly, went on gathering. By the middle of August the logging industry in Washington, Idaho and western Montana was at a stand-still. The mill workers had come out, too, with demands

similar to those of the loggers, and practically every mill in Seattle, Ballard, Tacoma, Everett and generally throughout the Northwest was closed, either for lack of logs or lack of men to handle what surplus supply remained on hand. So far there had been no delay in the delivery of material for cantonments and wooden ships. But these interests were threatened when, about this time, workmen in four shipyards on Grays Harbor, at work on ships for the government's merchant fleet, declared that they would refuse to handle any lumber that came from a ten-hour mill.

At this stage federal and state interest in the issues of the strike began to be more responsible. So far, efforts at mediation from the outside had been limited chiefly to the dispatching of troops, the establishment of internment camps, and other measures which, however necessary as safeguards, could do nothing to narrow the field of disagreement. But on August 11th there came definite action on the part of the government, in a telegram from the Secretary of War to the chairman of the Washington Council of Defense, urging that the strike be settled by an establishment of the eight-hour day, with time and a half overtime if it should be necessary to operate longer hours. About the same time Governor Lister of Washington declared in a statement to the companies that regardless of the leadership of the strike—which might or might not be in I. W. W. hands—there were demands so obviously just to the workman himself that they should be granted at once.

These proposals were a cause of surprise and disappointment to the lumber press and employers. The American Lumberman, a spokesman for the industry, found in them, in fact, another instance of "not standing behind the government," though this time it was the government which was not standing behind itself. "When one considers the situation without prejudice or passion," it said editorially, "it is really pitiable to see the government grovelling in the dust and truckling to a lot of treasonable, anarchistic agitators and showing a willingness practically to paralyze a great industry simply to placate these agitators who are playing into the hands of our enemies and doing tremendously more harm to the Allied cause than the German army is doing. . . . With a little firmness on the part of the government the situation could be relieved and the mills be permitted to operate—and eventually the matters at issue could be composed in a way satisfactory to all concerned."

Firmness alone, however, is no more a cure for industrial dissatisfaction than it would be for a malarial fever. It has been demonstrated in Colorado, Paterson, and on the Mesaba range that unrest can be relieved only by cutting at its roots,

and not by exerting pressure from above. The reply which the West Coast Lumbermen's Association sent to the Secretary of War promised fair treatment for the employees, but it had no mention whatever of the eight-hour day or the right to organize. It spoke out of the conviction that to own a business is also to own exclusive management of it, no matter what interests of the public may be involved. In replying to Governor Lister the Lumbermen's Protective League came no closer to a settlement of the strike, but a lot closer to an analysis of its causes. The League declared: "It is a matter of common knowledge and beyond dispute that the strike is an I. W. W. insurrection. The I. W. W. frankly state that they will make no agreement which they will observe. It is therefore utterly impossible to contract with them. To grant their demands is only to invite others. Their ultimate aim, as frankly proclaimed by them, is to destroy the wage system; to destroy property rights, and take over all property unto themselves. Such a doctrine, of course, cannot for a moment be considered."

The employers, that is, are in this position: even though they should be willing to bargain they feel that there is no responsible agency for them to bargain with. For an explanation of this predicament they may look back upon their own attitude in the past. The logging industry is a difficult industry to organize, because of the type of men it necessarily employs and the manner in which it scatters them; but it has been made harder still, as the A. F. of L. has found, by the hostility of the companies to collective bargaining. Having prepared no responsible agency with which to deal the companies now find themselves anchorless.

Whatever hope the companies may have of a capitulation on the part of their workmen, if they are in earnest in desiring an early end to the strike there is a step which they can take, with a good guaranty that it will not fail. The companies declare that they have just cause to fear I. W. W. leadership. Then, so long as they must have workmen, their logical next move is to quash I. W. W. leadership by alienating from it—in granting the right to organize—the men who now are only followers for the reason that they have felt the I. W. W. their one hope for improvement. The alternative to this course is a surrender by the men, either now or later on, which will of course do nothing to relieve their dissatisfaction with present hours, wages, and camp conditions. In these circumstances, the workmen will be more loyal than ever to their I. W. W. leadership; and with that leadership the strike will simply be transferred to the shop itself—in sabotage and industrial anarchy.

CHARLES MERZ.

## Carnegied

WHEN Hannis University was first admitted to the benefits of the Carnegie pension fund, there was not a member of the faculty who rejoiced more extravagantly than Professor Bowen. Ten years more of harness, and then liberty! For weeks the professor walked and read and lectured absently, in a dream, a dream of the Seven Hills of Rome and a quiet apartment near the Vatican library. He could already feel the marbly chill of the long corridors, and the quickening of his blood as, late in the afternoon, he would step out into the red Roman sunshine. How rapidly he would transform into finished tomes of clean, weighty text and multifarious footnotes all those literary projects, sketched in or just outlined, that had lain dormant for so many years in the drawers of his office desk. But that was ten years ago, and now, as he stood on the threshold of liberty, he hesitated. Retirement he felt sure would be optional with him. The university would certainly prefer to keep him in active service. Should he, then, exercise his option? He still wanted his liberty. He still wanted to write his books. But a new problem had arisen to vex him, the problem of his successor. It is one thing to abandon your shoes. That may be very pleasant. It is a quite different thing to behold another standing in them. That is very disagreeable, unless your successor is worthy.

Now, a worthy successor is dreadfully hard for any man to find. In the last year Professor Bowen had again and again reviewed the qualifications of the three men holding rank under him. The oldest one was plainly disqualified; he had a mad wife, poor fellow, and his sorrows had played havoc with his scholarship. The next in rank was also disqualified. He had received his training in Germany and had got sundry articles into German Zeitschriften, an honor that had gone to his head and had made him a devoted partisan of the Kaiser. But the third assistant, Professor Jores, was politically correct and domestically neutral, being a bachelor, like Professor Bowen himself.

Jores was an alumnus of the university, an important point in his favor. He had been one of Professor Bowen's first and most brilliant students, and when he became instructor, he had made it his chief ambition to expound, elucidate and defend Professor Bowen's system of thought. It must be understood that forty years ago Professor Bowen was a brilliant radical in his branch of learning. In those days the prevailing school had striven to make out of this branch a religion of things as they are. The radicals had put all their faith in science, declaring their readiness to follow wherever science