

and we employ the Pinkerton Service. They are men already in the labor organizations, who may have union cards and have been employed somewhere else. We ask the Pinkerton Company to assign a certain number of operatives to our service; we do not know who they are; they come along in the natural course of events and then we get reports.

And, finally, there is the legion of those who say, with the mill operators of Passaic: "Lies—all lies."

It is unfortunately not possible to clear labor on the score of practising espionage itself. Parallelism between capital and labor is a present characteristic of industrial development, parallelism in both organization and policy. It is a well known fact that strike committees do retain thugs to intimidate non-union workers. There is an organization in New York, The Active Detective Bureau, which advertises espionage service to labor organizations only. Unions boast of the spies they have planted in the offices of the spying detective agencies. There was even a case in Minneapolis in which the same agency was found to be serving both union and employer in the same strike.

All this considered, however, the balance is still on the side of capital. Espionage is included in the Americanism of a great group of American employers, of the Woods and Garys and du Ponts of the country and of their unquestioning supporters. It is a simple matter for the employer to corrupt and dismember the union; it is impossible for the union to return the compliment by dismembering the board of directors.

SIDNEY HOWARD.

(To be concluded)

## Non-Involvementcy

"If despite this attitude war is again forced upon us . . . not one penny of war profits shall inure to the benefit of private individual, corporation or combination, but all above the normal shall flow into the defense chest of the nation."—President Harding's Inaugural.

Not peace perhaps,—how should I promise peace  
When God has charged his people to abhor,  
More than the doom and destiny of war,  
The pacts and covenants of war's surcease.  
We are reserved for some more splendid fate  
Than any Europe dreams of, and the Lord,  
Who filled the founders with his secret word,  
Means us to have no rival and no mate.

I did not promise peace, but, oh, I vowed  
So great a vow that thousands yet unborn  
And thousands whose remembering hearts are bowed,  
And thousands dead shall joy that it was sworn:  
The peace may fail us—but when war appears  
We'll take their profits from the profiteers.

A. MACL.

## The Bandwagon

### THE ROOTS OF THE TROUBLE.

"What are the roots of the labor trouble? They are eighty years old and should be familiar to all of us. First, they are founded on the basis of discontent. Next to the sexual instinct, I suppose, discontent is the most active of all instincts that affect us. Properly regulated, it is a necessary function of success; but let it run wild, and it leads to anarchy."—*L. F. Loree, President of the Delaware and Hudson.*

### PREPARING MRS. WARD FOR GOPHER PRAIRIE.

May Allison, the blonde Metro star, is rapidly completing her work before the camera at the company's west coast studios in Hollywood, California, in a picturization of *The Marriage of William Ashe*, from the novel by Mrs. Humphrey Ward and the stage play by Margaret Mayo. In a tableau scene incidental to the story of *The Marriage of William Ashe*, the beautiful star will pose as Lady Godiva, on a milk-white steed, clad only in her long and flowing hair.—*Announcement by the Metro Company.*

### PREPARING ROSSINI FOR NEW YORK.

During the Lesson Scene in *The Barber of Seville* on Friday, Mme. Galli-Curci will sing the Shadow Song from Meyerbeer's *Dinorah* and *Home, Sweet Home*.—*Announcement by the Chicago Opera Company.*

### AN EDUCATIONAL VALUE.

In writing *Fighting Fate* the authors decided that in addition to the entertainment furnished by the million dollar serial there should also be an educational value to the story. Having decided upon this feature, they searched the archives of the police for strange cases in which criminals used modern scientific discoveries in plying their craft. These crimes were detected by improved methods and illustrated how the police always keep several steps in advance of the perpetrators of evil.—*Announcement by a Moving Picture Company.*

### HOW ONE DIES BY GAS.

*Mr. Humphreys*—"Is it not a fact that the use of gas is the most humane method of fighting?"

*Mr. Sisson*—"One of the most humane methods, because, in the first place, if you have gas, the death is more certain, quick, and speedy than it is to leave them wounded and bleeding and dying on the battlefield."—*The Congressional Record.*

### LOVE AND INTERNATIONALISM.

"We learned many lessons during the war, one of them being that neither of these two countries can get on without the other, and another that neither of the sexes can get along without the other sex," Lady Rathcreedan said.

"We learned, too," she said, "that the great benefits of this life are love, religion and science, and that no one of these things belongs to one country alone. They are international."—*Speech at celebration of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.*

# "To Conserve the Human Resources of the State"

## I

### Health Insurance

**T**HERE were introduced in the New York Legislature of 1920, as doubtless there will be in 1921, two important bills—the so-called Health Insurance and Health Centre bills—both of which were intended to “conserve the human resources of the state.” The Health Insurance bill includes, besides provision of medical benefits, the further provision of cash benefits. In the provision of cash benefits to wage earners by the method of compulsory contributory health insurance the writer believes, but the ensuing discussion deals almost wholly with the provision of medical benefits as alternatively proposed in the two bills. The subject of cash benefits, therefore, will be scarcely more than alluded to here; and views on paternalism, as evoked by conflicting interests, will be ignored. What is to be discussed are various phases of the alternative methods for organized provision of medical benefits to the community as a whole, or in part. It is perhaps needless to add that the choice of the right medical method for the conservation of the human resources of the state is in itself a question of unsurpassed importance.

The compulsory American health insurance scheme, as proposed in the Davenport bill to the New York legislature in 1920, has, like all health insurance legislation introduced in American state legislatures, borrowed from English and German experience. The bill says to the employers and employees who are included: Form your funds with a view to the payment to employees of the following cash sickness benefits—two-thirds of wages up to twelve dollars a week, but not more than eight dollars a week or less than five dollars a week, cash burial benefits, cash maternity benefits—and all “necessary” medical benefits to employees—but none at all to their families—at scales of payment to doctors to be annually established by the Chief of the State Health Insurance Bureau, who is himself a doctor. Use the basis of twelve dollars a week; collect equal contributions from employers and employees (below nine dollars a week the employer pays three-quarters and the employee one-quarter; if five dollars a week or below the employer pays all); to meet the expense make your own contribution rates.

The permissive Sage-Machold Health Centre bill of 1920, on the other hand, provides, through local health centres aided by the state, for medical benefits only, available, however, to the whole population.

The question is, does foreign experience prove that adequate cash and medical benefits have actually been provided by compulsory health insurance? And, supposing that the provision of cash benefits only has been satisfactory in England and in Germany, does not this fact indicate that the provision of medical benefits should be separated from the provision of cash benefits, and that medical benefits should be provided in a wholly different way? It is evident, at any rate, that German and English experience in health insurance must be taken into consideration.

There is a belief, commonly held, that health insurance was invented by Bismarck in 1883. This is not so. Its roots stretched far into the past, how far, not even W. H. Dawson—the leading British authority on German social insurance—knows, but by 1854 it was an important institution for the payment of mutual cash sickness relief. Dawson makes no mention of medical benefits and probably there were none. In 1876 there were two million wage earners insured. In 1878 Bismarck declared political war on the socialist leaders and had a law passed repressing them. In 1879, he proposed nation-wide, compulsory accident and sickness insurance in order to win wage earners from socialist leadership. It was the development of an existing institution, not an innovation. Many, however, were not insured and the uninsured sick had no recourse except to the Poor Laws. The German Poor Laws were then, and are now, substantially the same as England's and ours. That is to say, they disgrace the recipient of relief.

Bismarck hoped that the passage of a government sickness insurance law, with no taint of poor relief, would attach German wage earners to Prussia and to the throne. Such a law, providing for both cash and medical benefits, was passed by the Reichstag, May 15, 1883, and has been in force, with extensions, ever since. On the whole it has always been popular, but affecting as it did only one phase of the industrial problem, it naturally had no positive effect in winning labor away from the leaders of social democracy.

#### DEFECTS IN THE GERMAN SYSTEM

Successful as some aspects of health insurance have been in Germany, other aspects have been criticized. First, the Funds have quarrelled with the doctors. This resulted, according to the German Government Consolidation bill of 1911 in conditions “prejudicial to the proper medical care of the sick” and in “serious public injury.” The Funds always got the best of the doctors in the bargains they made. The doctors complained and even struck—there were 1,022 strikes up to 1911—but they never could get what they wanted, and according to Dawson in 1912 it looked then as though they never would. Their principal complaint was the refusal of the government to allow them to be paid on the principle of professional services rendered, which, the government maintained, would ruin many funds. Insufficient remuneration was, of course, at the bottom of their discontent.

Secondly, there was the tendency, deplored by the German government, for members of a sickness fund to “resort to the doctor for trivial indispositions, and even repeat their consultations to an unnecessary extent in respect of the same illness.” [Quoted by Dawson from the Consolidation bill of 1911.] According to this document, a man who is not only legally entitled to ordinary medical attendance but is paid during his sickness as well, is sure to waste his doctor's time. Minor ailments are naturally emphasized. But this is hard on the doctors and in the long run expensive for the funds.

Thirdly, it has not been possible to prove any specific preventive value in favor of sickness insurance. Eng-