

\$3,750—a ridiculous sum when one considers that the very purpose of a primary is to allow the party voters to become informed as to the merits of the different candidates and that this must be done very largely through printed matter and addresses. It has been said that the campaign of Mr. Pinchot for the primary nomination as Governor in Pennsylvania cost over \$125,000, yet every one knows that the campaign was not one of mercenary influence but of public information and of getting the facts and arguments before the voters. In this Michigan campaign, moreover, Senator Newberry's opponent, Mr. Ford, spent enormous sums in what was in effect political publicity, although it was in the guise of commercial advertising.

Senator Newberry was convicted under a law which was not a law as the case proved, and not for any alleged act of corruption, but only on the charge of expending more money than the statute allowed. We repeat what we pointed out when the case was first under discussion, that "to set an arbitrary limit for the expenditure of money for elections is to create a crime where no moral wrong is necessarily involved, and it was a relief to many reasonable students of public affairs to find that this law was based on an arbitrary distinction proved on another ground to be unconstitutional."

PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE LABOR CRISIS: COAL

THERE has been some disposition to criticise President Harding's address to Congress relating to the present crisis in the railway and coal strikes. It is said that he is trying to shift the burden of responsibility from his own shoulders to Congress without definitely telling Congress how to deal with the actual existing crisis; but it is easier to criticise the President for not doing something or proposing something than to describe just what he should do or propose. Immediate and effective action would probably lie in the direction of taking over the mines and the railways, or of enforcing compulsory arbitration, and either course would encounter formidable opposition. When, however, the President declares, as he does in his Message, that the people of the United States are at the mercy of the United Mine Workers, and neither exercises the powers he now has nor asks for new powers to assert the authority of all the people over that part of the people that has them at its mercy, it is not strange that there should be disappointment at the apparent lack of leadership.

The President does make four definite requests from Congress, but none of these requests applies directly to immediate settlement of the strikes. The

request which has met with the most opposition in Congress and seems least likely to be carried out (namely, the proposal for the establishment of a Governmental coal agency which should have power to buy, sell, and distribute all coal that is subject to inter-State shipment) aims to guard the public interest and to prevent profiteering, suffering, and loss if the strikes continue or after they end if the shortage of coal is still a public menace. It does relate to the present crisis, but it does not provide a way for settling the difficulty.

The request for a law which would establish a National coal commission to investigate the coal industry—mining, carrying, distributing, selling, and profits—is admirable, and seems to meet with acceptance in Congress as well as with the public. It would take up and report to Congress such questions as the best way to deal with the over-production and over-mining of the soft-coal mines, with the desire of miners generally for a working year of, say, not less than 280 days, problems of storage and seasons, and how to deal in future with disagreements as to wages and contracts. But this proposal suggests a remedy not for this but for future crises.

PRESIDENT HARDING ON THE LABOR CRISIS: RAILWAYS

ON the railway situation the President's chief recommendation is to do what is popularly called "putting teeth" into the law behind the Railroad Labor Board. The President points out that the Board as it stands now cannot impose penalties nor enforce its decisions, nor require compulsory arbitration. He holds that its decisions must be made enforceable and effective against employers and workers equally. He does not answer the question which every one at once asks, namely, How does he propose that the Board should enforce such powers? Probably he would answer that the case would be analogous to that of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, which has very definite powers; that the orders of the Court could be enforced against the railways precisely as those of the Inter-State Commerce Commission are enforced; and that, as to compelling the workmen to obey the mandates of the Board, the recent decision of the Supreme Court, which would render the unions liable financially through their treasuries, will be of great assistance.

The last specific recommendation of the President does not at first sight seem to bear on the labor question; but it most emphatically does so, for it purports to allow the Federal Court jurisdiction in criminal cases within States where violence is done to aliens. The immediate occasion for this is of course

the Herrin massacre and the lawless acts of railway employees in holding passengers under uncomfortable and even dangerous conditions on deserted trains. The practical argument for such a measure has often been put before the country, but Congress has never acted. It is certainly an embarrassing situation when such an incident occurs as that which happened years ago in New Orleans, where Italian citizens were lynched; their home Government naturally applied to the United States Government for redress, and our Government was obliged to reply that it had no power either to prevent such a lynching in advance or to punish the criminals. A number of such instances might be quoted, and it seems certain that our dual form of government acts unjustly in this matter. The President did not hesitate to speak of "the mockery of local inquiry and the failure of justice in Illinois," and urged that in the future the Federal Government should have power to "punish barbarity and butchery at Herrin or elsewhere, no matter in whose name or for what purpose the insufferable outrage is committed."

There were energy and purpose in President Harding's pledge in this address to use all the power of the Government to maintain transportation and sustain the right of men to work. He did not hesitate to point out abuses of labor organizations and unfairness of organizations of employers.

THE LABOR CRISIS AS IT IS

BUT meanwhile, up to August 22, there has been no positive advance in the settlement of the railway and coal quarrels.

Under the Cleveland agreement, certain soft-coal operators have pledged themselves to open their mines and some mining of soft coal has been done. The hard-coal strike remains unsettled; day after day we hear of new conferences, but only of hopes of settlement; one such conference is going on as we write, and may have positive results before this is read; one chief difficulty is the insistence by the miners that agreements now and in the future must be reached by conferences, and not through arbitration.

The seniority question, which we have already discussed at some length, remains the difficult point in the railway trouble; the Eastern roads are uncompromising on this point; the Western roads show some disposition to compromise.

THE HERRIN MASSACRE

THE feeling of horror and the demand for action and for the legal punishment for those who perpetrated the slaughter at Herrin grows rather than diminishes as time goes on. One corre-

GIVE ME SOME HELP HERE, HO!

(All's Well That Ends Well, Act II, Scene 1)

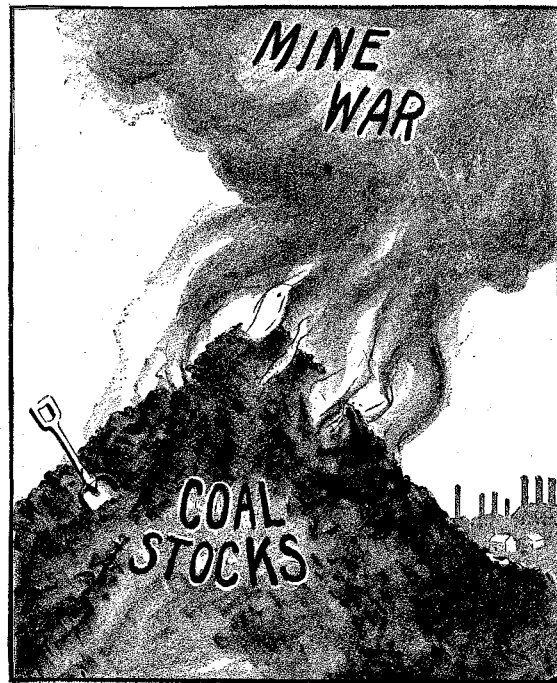
Enright in the New York World



CARRYING IT HOME

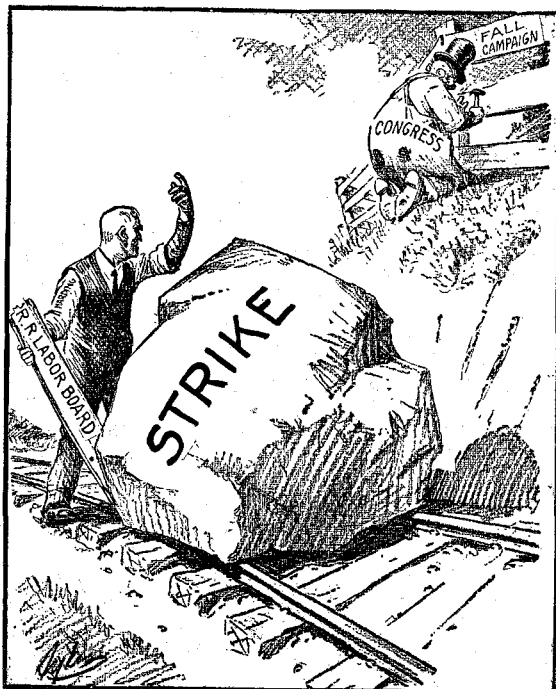
From J. B. Hayn, Buffalo, N. Y.

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



WASTE

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger



MORE IMPORTANT THAN FENCES

From Frederick Eissler, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch



THE INVALID

From Paul H. Ramsey, Columbus, Ohio