

WHEN THE CANNON ARE SILENT GREAT TRADE WAR WILL BEGIN

England's Indignation for Air Attacks Upon Non-combatants May Result in Economic Regulations Which Will Crush Germany and May Hurt Our Trade

By EDWARD MARSHALL.
The accompanying interview with Prof. W. A. S. Hewins, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, reveals a new phase of war's effect. The British Tariff Commission, upon farmsteads and village streets filled with women and children.

"The change of feeling which has occurred during the last few months of the war has been remarkable. Just before we began fighting, when Sir Edward Grey was forced to express the opinion that we probably would be involved, the forthcoming struggle was regarded somewhat in the light of an affair of honor. The Germans had violated their treaty of regard for Belgium and had assailed

those German ideals which were in conflict with ours were as much in conflict with your own. The injuries which some time will be revealed were not less than amazing. "Up to 1911 the war may not have been inevitable. After that it was, if prior to 1911, an understanding could have been arrived at between the United States and the British Empire as to the fundamental principles involved and the necessity for their preservation to both nations the war might have been prevented.

"Of this there cannot be the slightest doubt. There is no doubt of it in the mind of any sane statesman. Therefore the obvious procedure, if future wars are to be prevented, which is your dearest wish and ours, is the agreement between the United States and the British Empire upon such an understanding. Thus only can the world be given future peace. No mission could be higher than that of the man who helps to bring about this thing.

"After we have won, as the war gathered force and momentum for sixteen years before it had what we regard incorrectly as its actual beginning, it will require as long a period for it to die down. Thus I estimate the post-war period of readjustment into rationality and permanent peace at something very near to a full score of years after armed hostilities have ceased.

"During all that period, and during every day which intervenes between this day and that of the war's close, we, that is, you, the Americans, and we, the men of the British Empire, must cultivate real friendship one for the other, along constructive lines and real knowledge of those problems the solution of which will enable all men to live together in peace and prosperous cooperation, in contentment, in happiness and in progress.

"Upon us the war is having an effect of inconceivable importance, entirely aside from the death roll of our heroic fighting men and the vast social changes which that alone must bring about, which coupled with the vast expenditures of money which have been made and must be made.

"We must bring to bear other weapons than artillery and rifles—we must devise and use adroitly, even terribly, the economic weapons which the Teutonic course has justified. This necessity almost surely will mean an after the war economic alliance between the countries which now are hand in hand in the great struggle against Germany.

"If this can be brought about, and it will be brought about in one way or another, we shall be enabled to smash to bits the keystone of the Central European treaty system. We are quite aware that the Teutonic Powers are trying to extend the Zollverein idea, bringing into its control the Balkan States and Turkey, but in this effort, which is a threat against the progress of the world because it is a threat against free competition by the balance of the world, they certainly will fail.

"I predict with any accuracy the effect upon America of what is coming is a task beyond me, certainly. But the trade union of the nations now forming the alliance for the punishment of Central Europe's selfish governmental schemes is forecast in every newspaper in England, France, Italy and Russia every day. Great things are looming on the horizon, which must be very clear to one who for years has devoted as I have, every waking moment to the study of the economies of the world.

"Up to 1870 England was the centre of the Western European treaty system. Then, by our stupid action in adopting 'Cobdenism' and like theories, we made it possible for the Teutonic Powers to build up the Central European system.

"It is practically impossible for an American who has not carefully studied it to understand the German financial plan. It depends upon the recognition of the fact that those countries which represent the trade between the nations of Central Europe and Great Britain.

"Thus we hold the key to the situation. We shall not be afraid to use it, and the Germans know that. Hence their dismay when we came into the great war, hence their incredible disarray as day after day their own defeat seems more assured.

a good representative of that extraordinary British womanhood which has developed in this war, lost no presence of mind but carried the hurt woman into a chemist's shop. "There was a girl," said Mr. Hewins, after he had been assured that her condition was no graver than it had been in the morning, "who never had been away from home. Suddenly a bomb fell from the sky and instantly exploding, mutilated her frightfully. But in five minutes her companion, another Englishwoman, had her on the way to a hospital. The town was stirred, but not in the least panic struck.

"The town was quite unfortified and remote from the great war. What was the military gain secured by sending a weekly loss of from \$500,000 to \$600,000. The lot of the cloakmaker, therefore, and the various contentions as to the source of trouble are of the utmost interest not only to the workers themselves but also to the general community and the municipality.

"There are not many in the city who know intimately the conditions under which the cloakmakers have been working—their physical condition and

"I asked Mr. Hewins to say something at least of the changes in the world's commerce and in trade laws which are taking place every day. "Some understanding as to existing trade treaties between the United States and Great Britain must, I think, be among them," he answered. "For the first time we shall be forced into a definite consideration of what the British Empire consists in the making of such treaties. We must now remember what this war has forced us to consider, the fact that we hold in trust principles damage to which would be disastrous to the world.

"Broadly speaking, the British Empire consists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the self-governing Dominions and the great dependency of India. In those parts of it which have reached a full or nearly full development of constitutional development we have a group of States, mostly autonomous, each with ideals of its own, frequently differing in some regards from those of the United Kingdom.

"Yet a man may be pleasantly loyal to Canada as a Canadian while feeling very keenly the fact that his Dominion, with the others, is bound to the United Kingdom into a higher plane of political being which is called the British Empire. Most of your best citizens are not especially loyal to your States, but are intensely loyal to the United States.

"All of us no matter where we may be found, all our ideas, like all Americans and American ideals, are fundamentally opposed to those of the Teutonic nations. The German brings about political union through uniformity of the States concerned and with one result to the inevitable sacrifice of autonomy involved. Our idea, like your American idea, is wholly different from that. We are working out a plan of the highest realization of autonomy in the individual State and at the same time the union of those States in what Mr. Arthur Balfour once called this 'imperial good relationship' of the British Empire.

"Germany, on the other hand, puts the alliance of the individual to the individual State and the alliance of the individual State to the central Government in iron bonds, doing this for the purpose of centrally controlled wealth, hoping to translate this into world power.

"The British Empire represents a plan after plan of organization, each suggesting something higher. Our idea, like your idea, is independence, yet union in other words a combination of independence with interdependence.

"These are inherent principles and small sticks to them. "These facts must be taken into consideration when we begin to consider negotiations which will bring the war to an end. In any which may occur it is a certainty that the self-governing Dominions will be fully content as States equal in importance with the United Kingdom. After this has been adjusted we shall be ready to deal with outside Powers, and not till then.

"To my mind the greatest blunder in the history of the world was England's permitting or forcing by management the separation from her of the American colonies which afterwards became the United States. If this Armageddon through which Europe now is passing can but pave the way to something better than the state of things which now is, and be not to a political union, for 'slaves' that is now impossible, but to the bringing back of the United States into fellowship with us in terms of the fullest understanding, greatest friendship and most perfect mutual understanding, it will not have been fought in vain."

SMALL EARNINGS CAUSE DISEASE, SAYS DR. PRICE

By Dr. GEORGE M. PRICE, Director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

Director of Joint Board Finds Health Conditions of Striking Cloakmakers Deplorable and Suggests Remedies

FIFTY thousand cloakmakers, representing 250,000 persons, are at present on strike in New York and without means to earn their livelihood. On the average these 50,000 earn and spend at least \$10 or \$12 a week, which means a weekly loss of from \$500,000 to \$600,000. The lot of the cloakmaker, therefore, and the various contentions as to the source of trouble are of the utmost interest not only to the workers themselves but also to the general community and the municipality.

There are not many in the city who know intimately the conditions under which the cloakmakers have been working—their physical condition and

In view of widespread differences of opinion regarding the cloakmakers' strike now in progress and its increasing effect on the general public, THE SUNDAY SUN has obtained a review of contributing conditions from Dr. George M. Price, for the past six years at the head of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, an institution created by the protocol of 1910 to take care of sanitary conditions in the shops and health conditions of the workers. Dr. Price describes conditions as they exist in the trade and as they should be according to his belief.

Manufacturers Protective Association and by the organized union. Successive semi-annual inspections show a gradual improvement in the sanitary conditions of the shops, these improvements ranging from 20

people. The large majority of the fifty thousand cloakworkers are married and are heads and supporters of families. There is a very serious discrepancy between the yearly earning power of the workers and the necessary expenses of their families ac-



Prof. W. A. S. Hewins.

which has its headquarters at 7 Victoria street, London, very near to Westminster Abbey, was founded by Joseph Chamberlain in 1903. It represents, as no other body ever has represented in English history, the industrial, administrative and commercial life of the country. It has published no less than seventeen volumes of reports and fifty-six memoranda, and since the war began its energies have been exclusively devoted to the great economic problems arising out of the war situation. It has, in a word, been one of the main educative influences at work during the post-war period in reforming opinion in England and throughout the empire.

Prof. W. A. S. Hewins is the working head of the commission. I talked with him at length on one of the many recent days when London was flung into the news of Zeppelin raiders or rather thrills with wonder and indignation because so little news of a great raid was being given out by the Government.

"A world trade readjustment is sure to come after the war," he told me. "It will be of immense importance. It may be almost revolutionary, for in some respects by it Germany will be eliminated from the world's trade councils."

"It is not in the least likely, I assure you, that Great Britain will let Germany alone before her military and naval teeth have been so thoroughly drawn that they will be unable to grow again in a long time, or before the unfair and ruthless trade methods which have marked her campaign for the control of the world's commerce have been foreverly readjusted and reduced to what properly may be called fair competition."

"Britain has been aroused as she never has before. The awakening has come slowly, and is not yet complete, but it is progressing with an accelerating speed. Vast new means of fighting now are at our disposal. We are far, far stronger than we ever have been, while the Teutonic allies are weaker. And while they must continue to grow weaker we must continue to grow stronger.

"Germany herself is pulling us together. Nothing, perhaps, has done so much toward this end as Germany's own methods. We are a peculiar people. We take nothing for granted, not even the justice of our own cause. Everything must be proved before we will believe it.

"Germany's aerial raids upon our cities, our county towns and farms have carried proof of the justice of our cause and the injustice of hers into many minds and hearts which our own newspapers and orators had been unable thoroughly to convince. "No British recruiting officer could do such effective work for the British army as that which has been done by the commanders of the Zeppelins who have ordered bombs dropped

slow to wrath. But now they have been quite aroused, and once aroused, they never will let go until the German war has been worried to death. It is that almost unquenchable characteristic of the English, which is most completely developed in that particular reputation for hubbub pertinacity which has become a national psychological trademark.

"The military forces of the nation, which are said to have been so slow in gathering, but which really have been gathered more quickly than any other similar forces of volunteers have ever before been gathered in the history of the world, not excepting even the forces gathered in your United States at the time of your civil war, offer to these counties and to England generally a means of satisfying the determination to crush Germany, and they never will be disbanded, they will never even cease to grow, no matter what the slaughter, until that determination has been satisfied. Germany will understand it fully ere the end comes.

"Even when we consider matters of the tariff and especially when we consider end of the war agreements, this spirit must be carefully considered. "Throughout every stratum of British life runs a single animating thread. It is the basis of our legal system and of its administration. It is the basis of our commercial history. It is that of our success with other peoples who have come under the control of British Government. It is the spirit of fair dealing, the impulse to 'play the game.' We play the game to whatever is its logical end and always we play fair.

"It is probably true that before the war German ideas and what were believed to be German ideas were rather popular with certain British workmen. Widespread generally throughout the empire was a certain admiration for the efficient race of continental Europe who, industrially, scientifically and in social organization, had gone, we felt, a bit ahead of us.

"For that feeling has been substituted now a grim determination to destroy a world danger, a cold resolve to make the ending of this war something far more final, more complete than a mere military victory. "After the complete demonstration which Germany has given of her frightfulness on land and sea, after the complete forecast which this frightfulness has furnished of what the world might expect in case of a German victory and German domination, our people never will be content with merely beating Germany upon the battlefield and driving her out of Belgium.

"The people of Great Britain and Ireland, the people of the British Empire are now resolved deliberately to wreck the German system. They are even determined to crush the German people.

our good friends, our French. We were bound to our word of honor to offer our armed protest. That was enough to make us fight, enough to make us fight well, but it was not enough to make us fight as we are fighting and shall fight.

"As the war proceeded the conviction was borne in upon the British mind that it was confronted by nothing less than the invasion of France, unmodified by the impulse of right; and so, at last, there has come an alterable resolve to have at these people and either obliterate or metamorphose them.

"In the few months of the war the British Government has been revolutionized. If you doubt this read the Red Book, note the generic changes in our public policy, note the metamorphosis of our banking system, note the introduction into this free trade country of an import duty system without trouble or delay, note the regulation of our people's lives which has been brought about in perfect calm, note the vast unopposed expenditures which our Parliament has made and note the others which it has not made and which ordinarily would have been demanded, note last of all the military service act carried by vast majorities.

"The change is vast, basic, startling. No doubt when the year is over the nineteenth century's ways, with their liberal policies and cosmopolitanism, will seem more remote than in the late days of the nineteenth century our early history seemed.

"As a matter of fact England has thrust back to the psychology of her early days. The period of laissez faire, extending from the middle of the eighteenth century to the last days of the nineteenth century, has been seen now like a bad dream by means of which we almost lost everything which has gone to make Great Britain and her dominions, and indeed the United States as well, all the English speaking peoples, describing broadly, what they are liberal policies and cosmopolitanism. "These things being beyond question true, I look for a new world after the great war. This cannot but bring into far closer harmony than ever has been known in the past the peoples of America and those of my own country, for the traditions of the England which is winning are, in some respects, more remote than those of modern England but those of Greater England as represented by our great dominions, and those traditions are identical with yours.

"The fact that France will be our co-victor will make the triumph of our common ideals complete. International affairs, I am quite certain, will be arranged upon far broader lines than any which have been known in the past and upon lines which will come nearer far than recent lines have come to those laid down by your forefathers and our own.

"This war seemed to come suddenly, but really it had its beginning sixteen years ago, in a conflict between British and German ideals, and really



Dr. George M. Price.

the sanitary condition of the shops. During the past six years the writer with his assistants has kept the 1,800 shops in the cloak and suit industry under constant and close observation, visiting them regularly and frequently and doing all that could be done to improve sanitary conditions, as is evidenced by the various reports and bulletins issued from time to time by the joint board and by statements issued by manufacturers and workers as well.

This work of observation and betterment not only has given these engaged in it a thorough knowledge of shop conditions but it has also caused the writer to institute what was the first medical examination on a large scale of workers in an industry. Since 1912 there has been established a medical division of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which up to June 1 had made a physical examination of 14,978 workers, thus giving those directing it intimate knowledge of the physical and general conditions of a large part of the working force in the industry.

It was my privilege, furthermore, to serve for two years as director of investigation for the 'New York State Factory Commission' in that commission's inquiry of safety and sanitation of factories throughout the State. Having thus acquired definite knowledge of the situation, which so poignantly concerns the public, I am glad to explain at the request of THE SUNDAY SUN phases of the existing situation which bear vitally upon the lot of the cloakmakers and have undoubtedly effect upon the general public, although the public may not know it.

In the first place it may be said hesitatingly that there are no sweatshops in the cloak, suit and skirt industry in New York city; that is, if by sweatshop is meant home work or tenement house work or work in shops with the participation of the whole family in that work.

In 1910 the sanitary conditions of the cloak and suit shops were not the best. At that time many of the shops were located in unsafe lofts, more than one-third of them in the East Side, and the shops were full of sanitary defects, and they were woefully neglected. Conditions, however, have been greatly improved during the last five and a half years through and by the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which was equally supported by the Cloak, Suit and Skirt

to 80 per cent, so that I can safely say at present that so far as sanitary defects—general sanitation and cleanliness—are concerned the shops in the cloak and suit industry are immeasurably better than they were in 1910 and comparatively better than the same conditions in the fur trade, the mens' garment trade and other trades similarly situated and located in the city districts.

Unfortunately we cannot claim as much for the safety and the protection of the loft buildings in which the shops are located as for the sanitation. The reason for this is that while the Joint Board of Sanitary Control had jurisdiction over the manufacturers and the workers in the shops it had no power over the owners of the loft buildings, except as had any citizen who sent complaints to the Fire Department or to the State Industrial Commission.

But even in respect of safety and the protection much has been done. Within the last five years, and the loft buildings are very much safer than they were. Conditions, however, are far from what they should be, and that these conditions are bad has been amply and fairly stated in the hazard bulletin issued by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control after the inspection of October, 1915.

Judging by nearly fifteen thousand workers examined in our office, the health conditions of the cloakmakers are really deplorable, and I regret to say that an intimate knowledge of the true situation compels me to admit that at least 25 per cent of all the cloakmakers suffer from various nervous diseases, and as many if not more from digestive diseases, that at least 5 per cent of the workers suffer from pulmonary tuberculosis, and that other diseases are also very general among the cloakworkers.

In an official investigation made by the United States Public Health Service, in conjunction with the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and at its offices, in the summer of 1914, during which time 1,000 workers were examined, only 2 per cent of all those examined were found free from defects of any kind, while the general average of defects was 157 for males and 432 for females. That examination has also shown that only about 25 per cent of those workers were examined had normal vision, while 75 per cent had abnormal vision, mostly defective.

The large number of cloakworkers who suffer from nervous and eye diseases and the too large percentage of persons afflicted with tuberculosis show that their health conditions are much below par and much worse than that found among workers in other industries.

According to a general American standard of living. After careful investigation the United States Public Health Service stated that the average annual earnings of a male garment worker were \$11.50, or a weekly earning of about \$11.75. This, I believe, is a just calculation of the average yearly earnings of the workers, for while it is true that they earn at certain seasons from \$20 to \$25 a week, the idle time is so long that their earnings must be cut at least in half, and the average weekly earnings do not exceed \$10 or \$11. This means that there are a great number of heads of families whose earnings are much lower—probably as low as \$200 or \$400 a year, while there may be a number of workers whose average earnings are higher than \$600 and may reach \$800 or \$900 a year.

If we take the standard of living as estimated by Chapin and others, which declares \$800 a year to be absolutely indispensable for a family of five persons, it will be seen that the average cloakmakers do not earn as much as they should normally spend and therefore are obliged to curtail their expenses in rent and food and other necessities. Their health must necessarily suffer from this curtailment, and there is a direct relation of cause and effect between the insufficient earnings of the workers and their physique and poor health.

I am decidedly of the opinion that the seasonal character of the work has much to do with the conditions of health. In busy seasons a great deal of physical activity as well as nervous energy is spent by the workers in order to earn all they can. There is much fatigue and nervous exhaustion, contributing to the nervousness and digestive disability of the workers.

On the other hand, during the long periods of slack time the workers get around life; their incomes being small, they feed very badly; they worry a great deal; they are going deeper and deeper in debt—all of which things are factors in contributing to make them nervous and to impair their digestion as well as to cause other physical diseases and defects to which they are susceptible.

There are, I believe, a number of other causes which act toward lessening of the resistance of the workers and facilitate the invasion of disease. These include constant disputes between the workers and the shop owners, causing nervous tension, irritability and general nervousness. Another cause lies in the poor safety conditions in the loft buildings, leading to undue apprehension and nervousness, especially among the female workers, who after the Triangle and other fires see themselves daily in peril of being burned up in the loft buildings, an apprehension which surely

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