

Evening Public Ledger

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A FOUR-YEAR PROGRAM FOR PHILADELPHIA
Things on which the people expect the new administration to concentrate its attention:
The Delaware river bridge.
A dredge big enough to accommodate the largest ships.

UNCLE DAVE AGAIN
"WE WILL settle our senatorial and councilmanic affairs in the district ourselves," said Uncle Dave Lane, speaking for the Twentieth ward, "and no outsider, big or little, can interfere in our local affairs!"

BETTER DAYS FOR POLICEMEN
BETTER times are ahead for the police. The agitation for better pay is having practical results and, if we are to judge by the work done in conferences such as the Mayor had yesterday with Controller Walton, it will have a happy ending before long.

FLOURISHING NATIONAL GUARD
THE respect to the present National Guard system contained in the army appropriation bill seems to be amply justified in the rapid reorganization of Pennsylvania's state troops.

PADEREWSKI'S PATRIOTISM
IT IS cheering to note that in renouncing both Polish presidential and public pianistic ambitions, Ignace J. Paderewski is prompt to appreciate the wonderful rebirth of his fatherland.

THE BROTHERHOOD VETO
THE MEMORIAL handed to Mr. Wilson by the rail men with an appeal for veto of the Esch-Cummins bill is not convincing. It opposes the theory of wage tribunals upon the ground that wage adjustments, left to an impartial court, would be "subject to indefinite and uncertain methods of adjustment."

much as any man alive of the factors involved, admitted that, though in some ways imperfect, the Esch-Cummins bill represents the best that Congress or any one else can do at the moment and pleaded for its acceptance.

ONE BIG EMPLOYER WHO LETS HIS WORKING PEOPLE STARVE

The Inhuman and Unintelligent Policy of an Institution With Eleven Hundred Thousand Names on Its Payroll

A WOMAN died of starvation not many months ago. A lawyer interested in the case, seeking to fix the responsibility, hunted out her employer. He discovered that she had been working for the United States Government in Washington.

A pathologist died of anemia. He had been trying to support himself, his wife and two children on a government salary of \$900 a year.

The head of a department in Washington asked for an appropriation to permit him to appoint two new clerks at \$1800 a year. Congress appropriated \$3600, but ordered that it be paid to four clerks at \$900 apiece.

There are 7000 clerks on the payroll in Washington so old that they are unable to do anything. One of them was appointed by President Tyler. They are kept on the payrolls because no one is willing to discharge them and send them to the poorhouse, and Congress refuses to pension them.

These are a few of the facts set forth in a remarkable address made by Robert Catherwood, of Chicago, yesterday before the National Civil Service Reform League, in the course of which he demonstrated that the United States is the most inhuman and unintelligent employer in the country.

There are 1,100,000 persons on the government payroll. In some of the departments the men and women are working for the salaries fixed by act of Congress in 1872. The departments cannot change the pay and Congress refuses to do so.

Not all the employees who suffer under this system are in Washington. Some of them are in the Mint and in the Custom House right here in Philadelphia. Some of the employees in the postoffice are not in such a bad state because they have used their political influence to secure an increase in pay.

The curse of the system is that pay is regulated not by any sound principles of business, but by political considerations. The group of employees which can intimidate Congress by a threat of voting against the congressmen can improve their conditions.

As a result of this state of affairs 60 per cent of the federal employes have affiliated themselves with labor organizations. They have been driven to it. Unless something is done to remove the existing abuses the remaining 40 per cent, or a large part of them, will follow the example of the others until only the men getting the higher range of salaries and inspired by a feeling of professional pride will remain unorganized.

The outcome which Mr. Catherwood foresees is that the salaries will be fixed by the organized government workers rather than by Congress. They will make their demands and enforce them under the threat of a strike, just as the railroad men forced the Adamson law through Congress. Government will then have abdicated and its financial policies will be dictated by irresponsible, unselected men sitting in the councils of a labor organization instead of by the agencies created by the constitution for that purpose.

Mr. Catherwood is not talking without knowledge of his subject. He served as an assistant in the survey of the government departments made by a joint congressional committee on reclassification and came in contact with the men and women on the public payrolls.

The underpayment, scandalous as it is and inhuman as are its effects, is not the only defect in the system. It results in the employment of men at \$2800 a year who when they resign command salaries of \$13,000 from private employers and men at \$4500 who go into private employment at \$25,000. These men do not ask the government to pay them what they could earn in a commercial enterprise. Those who are still in the service do ask for a living wage sufficient to enable them to maintain their self-respect while they devote their abilities to solving the scientific and technical problems put up to them by law.

It results, further, in cluttering the departments with useless appointees with nothing to do. It is estimated that between 15,000 and 20,000 superfluous jobs exist in Washington alone. They are perpetuated because when a place has once been created Congress is loath to abolish it. The incumbent with a political pull insists that his superior be forbidden to discharge him.

How this works is illustrated in the experience of Secretary Lane. There was a useless woman in his department. As she had nothing to do she made trouble. He dismissed her. A congressman heard of what had been done and insisted that some one else be appointed to the vacancy. The secretary had to submit. Then some friends of the woman demanded that she be reinstated and the matter was taken to the White House. The secretary had to find a place for her, and the result of his efforts to abolish a useless job resulted in the perpetuation of the job and in the creation of another one.

And yet Congress still permits thousands of men and women to work in the departments for salaries ranging from \$720 to \$900 a year, when the minimum amount on which a person can live in Washington is said to be \$1350.

The remedy, according to Mr. Catherwood, lies in putting public employment on a business basis. This would immediately eliminate the political basis on which the whole structure now rests. He insists that the national Civil Service Commission is the proper body to have charge of the matter. It has at its command the aid and assistance of all the work required by Congress would only consent. It would treat the executive department of the government as a unit and not as ten separate and distinct entities.

titles, with no more relations to one another than Siberia has with Ecuador. There would be a body of accountants and stenographers and copyists and the like which would move from department to department, according to the needs of each. Under this arrangement a much smaller force could do all the work and, without any increase in appropriations, a living wage could be paid to every one.

The President, with the immense powers conferred on him by Congress for carrying on the war, could have brought about this great reform if he had been so disposed.

Nothing is likely to be done until Congress is persuaded that reform is politically expedient. Mr. Catherwood's speech, if the congressmen read it, ought to have some effect in Washington.

THE ADRIATIC DEADLOCK

THE President's threat to "take under serious consideration the withdrawal of the treaty" is met by the French and British Governments, parties to the Adriatic "arrangement" of January 20, with a denial of any "attempt to force its acceptance until they have heard the views of the United States Government" on the dispatch of February 17.

That opportunity was provided in Mr. Wilson's second note dated February 24. The three dispatches, made public today, constitute a remarkable chapter in the diplomatic aftermath of the war. They fail, however, to provide a settlement of a critical and complicated problem.

Mr. Wilson, although his second contribution, signed "Polk," is more temperate than the first one in this series, signed "Lansing," yields not an inch of ground previously taken. The Allies express "concernation" at the deadlock and the intimation of a possible American retirement from European affairs, but they concede no point to their interrogator.

The situation, therefore, is still extremely serious. The climax, however, has not yet been reached. The crucial second reply from Paris is lacking. That awaited note ought to determine decisively whether or not France, Italy and Britain are resolved to dispose of the Adriatic question independently of the United States.

Mr. Wilson bases his case on the memorandum sanctioned by the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States on December 9, 1919. The salient points in this "settlement" were:

First. The creation of a buffer state between Italy and Jugoslavia to include Fiume and to be under the protection of the League of Nations. The population of such a country would include some 200,000 Jugos-Slavs and 40,000 Italians, the latter chiefly residents of Fiume.

Second. Limitation of Italy's claims to all of the Istrian peninsula. The plan of January 20, 1920, to which the United States was not a party, provides for the extinction of the buffer state and the establishment of Fiume as a free city under the League of Nations, with a right to choose its own diplomatic representatives. It is furthermore stipulated that Italy shall receive all of Istria and a connecting strip of coast cutting off Jugoslavia territory, including the Fiume railway from the sea, in a way, alleged by Mr. Wilson, to predicate enormous commercial and customs difficulties and tangles of jurisdiction.

The President has interpreted such a proposal as an index of effective control of Fiume by Italy and has viewed this and other details as a flat repudiation of the earlier plan. In language which is exceedingly frank for diplomacy Mr. Wilson virtually charges breach of faith and a renunciation of the principles on which, during its later stages, the war was supposed to be fought. His candid opposition to the enforcement of the treaty of London is partly based on similar grounds.

How far public sentiment in America will support him in his stand remains to be seen. The Allies in their answer to the first note take the position that not all the settlements in Paris to which Mr. Wilson himself agreed were reached with scrupulous respect for justice and the theory of self-determination. If arguments of this sort weaken Mr. Wilson's case they are, from the standpoint of morality, no less embarrassing to the European nations.

Lloyd George and Millerand, representing, respectively, England and France, pertinently ask whether the United States is willing "to wreck the whole machinery for dealing with international disputes" because of a difference of opinion regarding Fiume. In a sense also they throw up their hands and seek to shift the burden by inquiring how the United States proposes to settle this perilous business, since no arrangement except the last one has had Italian approval.

Opinion in this country cannot, however, take responsible shape until the second rebuttal from abroad is recorded. Meanwhile the tone of Mr. Wilson's notes will most assuredly strengthen the determination of the treaty reservationists. A President who declares, as Mr. Wilson does, that "the American people are fearful . . . lest they become entangled in international policies" plays, as a champion of an unamended pact of Versailles, a role not without its nuances of inconsistency.

The crisis which for many years to come will affect the destinies of the federal service and profoundly affect the national life is at hand. It would be regrettable if it were quietly annexed by the American Federation of Labor. Only 40 per cent remains unpledged.

I have no doubt that the American Federation of Labor fully appreciates that so far as real power and dominance in this country is concerned a body of 1,000,000 federal employes is worth all the politicians put together.

When union labor can order the government employes to walk out in a strike against the United States, the President, Congress, the farmers, the business men and the happy rump which we still call the public will have to come to heel because of labor's conquest of the federal service. We should not repeat the harm done by neglect, injustice, low wages, cheap politics and cow-ardice and establish a national employment system in the interests of the whole people, and not in the interests of any class, party or clique whatsoever. When that is done, but not before, then the employes' organizations should be confined by law to the service itself and any affiliation or pledge to any outside organization should be prohibited by law. Then once more the federal service will be the people's service, the great stabilizing institution of our country.

UNCLE SAM A BAD BOSS

Extracts From an Address Made at the Annual Meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League

By ROBERT CATHERWOOD

THERE is abundant evidence that President Washington regarded the federal service as a means of stabilizing institutions in American life. He says: "Administrative vigor is indispensable to liberty."

The consequences of defective compensations in various instances and in none more than in respect to the higher stations are of serious import to the government. "Especially remember that dutifulness is to the common interest in the constitution, to the laws and not to any community, faction or class."

"It is repugnant to the vital principles of our government to actually to exclude from public trusts talents and virtues unaccompanied by private wealth."

I have applied Washington's ideas? I came in contact with many of the federal employes in the District of Columbia for some months last fall, as a humble assistant in a survey conducted by the joint congressional commission on reclassification. The first outstanding fact is that the federal service is approaching a crisis. Let me state the nature of the crisis as I see it.

First. A committee of Congress in a few meetings is expected to fix the salaries of 1,100,000 persons.

Second. Upon the overburdened shoulders of ten heads of huge departments is dumped the duty of recommending salaries and promotions, of attending to grievances and organization, of keeping up efficiency, of training employes, of rewarding the efficient and removing the inefficient, of getting along with the aged employes and the employes who duplicate and overlap each other's functions.

Third. An examining board called the civil service commission, with inadequate appropriations for its work, stands at the front door of the federal service. But it cannot set its foot inside. Where it is most needed it has no jurisdiction.

Fourth. The federal employes has no forum where his complaints and grievances may be heard and the necessary adjustments made until he transforms himself into a political force and clamors at the door of Congress.

Fifth. An enormous and unorganized organization which put through the Adamson law and made Congress pay big wages to all trades unionists in the government service is calling to the federal employes in the departments: "Join us! Join us! Affiliate with union labor in a struggle for class rights! Get in the band wagon!"

One hundred and fifty thousand federal employes have become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The issue in the approaching crisis is: "Shall the federal service be held in its duty to the common interest, to the constitution or to the law or to the interests of the instrument of a class, a faction—a labor organization?"

There ought to be a forum or council for the discussion, by representatives of the federal employes and their chiefs, of service grievances and wrongs, of the interests of the individual employes and the representatives of classes and interests should be excluded. The remedy should be furnished by public officers in the interest of the public alone and at all costs the "white-collared official" established by George Washington should be maintained. Even yet the proudest of us is servant of the whole people.

Yet I have seen hundreds of resignations where the reason given is: "I cannot live on the salary." A woman, faithful in her duty for twelve years, died of starvation. The protesting officer, who resigned last summer, published alone and at all costs the "white-collared official" established by George Washington should be maintained. Even yet the proudest of us is servant of the whole people.

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Recently in one division of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 2500 men resigned. Their salaries averaged \$2900 a year. They accepted outside positions which now pay them \$13,143 a year each. The federal government was paying \$2900 to \$13,000 men.

In the last twelve months all of the men who have resigned from the Bureau of Markets have done so to accept an average increase of over \$4000. The chief of that bureau, who resigned last summer to accept a position at \$20,000 a year, enjoyed an emolument of \$4500.

The chief petroleum technologist of the Bureau of Mines at \$4500 a year is now receiving \$2500 a year.

The secretary of the United States Civil Service Commission receives \$2500 a year. May I venture a professional opinion based on Canada, Great Britain and Australia pay like officers with less experience and far smaller services, that he is worth \$10,000 a year. If he received bricklayers' wages his salary would be equal to that of the Civil Service commissioners.

A year ago a department asked for two clerks at \$1800 a year. A vagrant fancy entered the mind of a congressman and he moved to make it four clerks at \$900 a year. This motion was carried unanimously. No reason was ever given, because there wasn't any reason, and reason is not necessary in making appropriations for clerk hire.

It would save a great deal of money if 7000 old people could be retired and pensioned. They cannot work and they feeble attempts to do so are not beneficial to the service. "Please state what you are doing," said a recent questionnaire. "Nothing, for I am totally blind." "I open and shut about a vault door night and morning," said another. "Very little now," said a third. "For I am ninety-seven years old and was appointed by President Tyler." An old lady, eighty-five years of age, with seventy-nine gave a formidable list of duties, which, alas! existed only in their dreams.

Seven old gentlemen come to business, when they do come, in both chairs. But that is the reality? No one has a right to criticize without a constructive proposal.

The remedy is founded upon the principle that all matters which relate to public employment should be regulated by public officers as distinct and separate from politics, on the one hand, and from management and executive direction of departments on the other hand. When an act of Congress is passed embodying that principle all the politics should have been gone out of it and it should be administered by the best employment experts that the President can find.

The crisis which for many years to come will affect the destinies of the federal service and profoundly affect the national life is at hand. It would be regrettable if it were quietly annexed by the American Federation of Labor. Only 40 per cent remains unpledged.

A LEAP YEAR TURN-DOWN



HOW DOES IT STRIKE YOU?

Churchill Sees Constantinople as Key to the Whole War, But Cecil Dissents. Terms of College Presidents

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL cannot take his eyes off Constantinople. In the beginning of the war he saw in the Turkish capital the key to the whole war. Today he sees there the key of empire. Empire is never dull business for Mr. Churchill.

In 1914 a handful of men making a surprise attack in the rear of Germany on the Dardanelles would change the whole fate of Europe.

Today a few picturesque bandits in Constantinople will change the whole fate of Asia.

"Considering our burdens," he says, "throughout the Middle East, Persia and Mesopotamia, no relief can be expected until a real peace is made with Turkey. . . . I trust . . . that we shall not now take steps that will drive the Turkish people to despair."

Make friends of the Turks is his argument, and all the national aspirations, all the love of liberty that is stirring among the Moslems of the British dominions and making British burdens too heavy to bear will disappear.

Hence when Mr. Lloyd George nods one of his half acquiescences, some messenger, perhaps to force Mr. Lloyd George's and President Wilson's hands, is dispatched to roughly India with the glad tidings that the Turk will stay in his old capital.

ENGLAND is half gentleman adventurer and half Puritan, half Cavalier and half Roundhead. Domestically she is all Puritan, all Roundhead.

In her foreign policies she is less certainly affected the romantic aspirations of the Puritan, and when those parts of the earth, the Near East, for example, she is mostly gentleman adventurer.

The Turkish question is an issue between the gentleman adventurer (the modern equivalent of Raleigh and Drake), Mr. Churchill, and the Puritan, the parson-following Lord Robert Cecil, each pulling Mr. Lloyd George by the hand.

Had the Elizabethan exploit of the attack on the Dardanelles succeeded—and it might on a hair's breadth—Churchill instead of Lloyd George would probably now be the master spirit of England.

But Churchill's exploits have all gone amiss. The flight by airplane to Paris to tell Lloyd George how Russia could be conquered by a handful of adventures—"volunteers," Mr. Churchill called them—ended in confusion. Lenin's power and in Europe's going without the cheap raw materials necessary for her recovery.

So Mr. Churchill's short way with the troubles of empire, the old, old way of the gentleman adventurer, making an alliance with some influential savage, rather addicted to murder, but controlling some important gateway—in this instance the gateway to several hundred million Moslem souls—may fail to commend itself to his country.

There is a phrase that is potent in England, more potent perhaps than the gentleman adventurer's tradition, the Gladstonian phrase, "the unspeakable Turk."

THE Turks are puzzled by the word "mandate." It is the same in their language as the word meaning "buffalo."

THE WINDOW GARDEN

A FRIEND I love sent gift my heart to please: In pan of earth she formed a woodland scene With moss and grasses, tiny lake serene, Shaded by ferns and sprigs of cedar trees, Now, when the skies are drear and storm winds freeze, That bit of nature, though in such small space, Can yet recall the joy of summer's face, Her breath of flowers, glad bird-melodies.

Thou One divine and tender, do Thy show Me how to hold the summer in my heart; That love may bloom and joyful waters flow, Life's winter still of beauty have a part; And I Faith's verdure cherish, come what may.

Until I know God's perfect summer day! MAUDE FRAZER JACKSON.

Synopsized Politiks To suburb pink palaces Though we may roam, A man who wants to vote in town Has got to have a home. So have a heart, commissioners, And likewise have a care! Signed Hansley, Sam'l Salus, Martin, Scott and Eddie Vane.

A nurse in the Hahnemann Hospital gave a pint of her blood in the hope of saving the life of a patient. Though the man died, the sacrifice was not in vain. It lives as an example of courage and devotion to high ideals.

Trade and Commerce were ranking members of the conciliation board treating with the Russian problem.

The oyster isn't the only thing that is panned, but it is about the only silent thing.

Every profiteer has an accomplice in the consumer.

The Iron county revolt has practically rusted away.

It is understood that some cuss has to eat crow in every caucus.

Politically speaking, sectionalism is always cross sectionalism.

Climbing on the Moore band-wagon has become a habit.

What Do You Know? QUIZ

1. How did Fiume get its name? 2. What is the meaning of the word serried? 3. Of what state was Grover Cleveland governor previous to his election as President? 4. Who was Praxiteles? 5. What former premier of Great Britain has just been elected to Parliament? 6. What is pabulum? 7. Who was the first woman in the United States to attain the degree of M. D.? 8. What god in Greek mythology corresponded to the Roman Mars? 9. What is the principal possession of the Netherlands in the West Indies? 10. What is thaumatococcus?

Answers to Yesterday's Quiz 1. Work on the Brooklyn bridge began in 1870 and ended in 1883. 2. The salary of an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court is \$14,000 a year. 3. Eugene Brieux is a French dramatist of the present day, especially noted for developing social themes in his plays. He was born in Paris in 1858. 4. Little Rock is the capital of Arkansas. 5. The three wonders of Babylon were the palace, said to have been eight miles in circumference, the hanging gardens and the tower of Babel. 6. Saturn is surrounded by rings of luminous gases. 7. The word "demagoguery" should be pronounced as though it were spelled "demagoguery." 8. An elf was originally an elf's child or changeling. The word now describes a misbegotten, deformed or idiot child or an awkward lout. 9. Porfirio Diaz resigned the presidency of Mexico in 1911. 10. To find the circumference of a circle multiply the diameter by 3.14159265, commonly expressed as 3.1416.