

order of ideas prevailing on the continent derived in part from Roman laws and from autocratic monarchical practice. The individual has had a less important place in the organism. The strength, welfare, and health of the whole has been the ruling conception. Hence it was possible for an enlightened society, such as that in France, to have a vigorous sincere party urging, during the Dreyfus trial, that it were better for an individual to suffer wrong than for the state to be weakened by loss of respect for the French army. The English point of view would be that it were better for a state that could not give an individual justice to perish in the endeavor to do so, than for society to maintain prestige for an institution through a disregard for the rights of one person.

Duties of the State

The Hohenzollerns in Prussia, and the monarchies in the minor German states, in dealing with the pressure of their peoples for greater political rights, took into full consideration the economic reasons that caused political fermentation. The monarchies gave a progressively better administration, and undertook the responsibilities of protecting the weaker members of society against economic misery. The so-called Prussian common law, as modified by Frederick William II, promulgated July 1, 1794, condemned idleness, recognized the right of every subject to work, and defined the state to be the protector of the poor. The common law proclaimed:

I. It is the duty of the state to provide for the sustenance and support of those of its subjects who cannot obtain subsistence for themselves.

II. Work adapted to their strength and capacities shall be supplied to those who lack means and opportunity of earning a living for themselves and those dependent upon them.

III. Those who, from laziness, love of idleness, or other irregular proclivities, do not choose to employ the means offered them of earning a living shall be kept at useful work by compulsion and punishment, under proper control.

VI. The state is bound to take such measures as will prevent the destitution of its subjects, and check excessive extravagance.

XV. The police authority of ever place must provide for all poor and destitute persons, whose subsistence cannot be insured in any other way.

This fundamental law supplemented by the Stein-Hardenburg legislation, of the second decade of the last century, was the foundation upon which Bismarck stood, when, on May 9, 1884, in speaking upon industrial insurance, he proclaimed the doctrine of the right of work:

"Give the workingman work as long as he is healthy, assure him care when he is sick, insure him maintenance when he is old. Was not the right to work openly proclaimed at the time of the publication of the common law? Is it not established in all our social arrangements, that the man who comes before his fellow-citizens and says, 'I am healthy, I desire to work, but can find no work,' is entitled to say also, 'Give me work,' and that the state is bound to give him work?"

"But large public works would be necessary," exclaimed an opponent.

"Of course," replied Bismarck. "Let them be undertaken. Why not? It is the state's duty."

Bismarck's Winning Policy

The Bismarckian policies, carried out with the full approval of the old emperor, and by conservative majorities in the Prussian legislature and the imperial parliament, have left as deep an impression upon the social life of Germany as his part in the unification of Germany. Modern Germany began with him to abolish pauperism, to make ordered provision for indigent old age, the sick, and the disabled. Poverty is abundant in Germany, but it does not shade off so quickly into pauperism next-door to starvation as it does in the United Kingdom and in some American cities. The poverty is one that can, with self-respect, receive medical aid or maintenance of right from funds to which it has contributed, and will continue to contribute. These measures, while quite a separate chapter from state participation in industry, are inter-related, because both are consequences of the dominant school of political thinking that finds stability and health for society through the state

sharing in business, and in compulsory provisions against the social maladies of pauperism and the unemployed.

The aim of the government in its policy of acquisition and control of mines, of communication and transport, and of sharing, to some extent, in all production whether agricultural, mineral, or industrial is not primarily to raise revenue. The declaration of Bismarck upon the subject of state ownership of railways continues to be true. He said:

"I do not regard railways as in the main intended to be an object of financial competition; according to my view, railways are intended more for the service of traffic than of finance, though it would, of course, be foolish to say that they should not bring financial advantages. The surpluses which the states receive in the form of net profits, or which go to shareholders in the form of dividends, are really the taxation which the states might impose upon the traffic by reason of its privilege, but which, in the case of private railways, falls to shareholders."

State Railway System

The state railway systems of Germany are managed upon two general principles. First, they are to serve the general interests of domestic and external trade, and second, they are to show a satisfactory profit. The Prussian railway administration in 1908 lowered its regular freight tariffs for 64 per cent. of the traffic in order to serve the exigencies of trade, especially export trade, during a period of commercial depression. The government is in a position in Germany to influence the whole machinery of trade and transportation as no other government in the world can do, and this fact must be taken into account when other peoples think of competing on equal terms with the Germans in the far East or in South America.

The administration of the railways, telegraphs, telephones, mines, and the public domains by the state is possible only through trained civil servants. The efficiency of state-managed mines and factories in competition with privately owned enterprises in Germany comes from the character of the bureaucracy. This permanent civil service is one of the greatest glories of Germany, and one of the most powerful of reasons upholding the monarchical principle in a semi-autocratic form in Germany. The Prussian bureaucracy, the model of the other German states, is the creation of the Hohenzollern family during three centuries. It had been developed and improved under all the efficient sovereigns of the Hohenzollern line, such as the Great Elector and Frederick the Great, and it has been a principle of the private policy of the Hohenzollern family to rule through a body of civil servants, whose place in the state is as honorable as that of the army, or perhaps it would be more just to say as ranking next to the army. The non-partisan administrative body, with its own disciplinary courts for cutting out of the public service any member who uses his official position to favor a private interest, either his own or that of another, has kept the civil service up to a code of honor that can be compared in the United States only to the codes regulating the army and navy. Thus in Germany a public servant, because of the power that his class possesses, the personal distinction, and the social position that go with the public service, is willing to work for the state for less than he could receive in the service of a private company.

Salaries Paid

The chiefs of technical bureaus in the mining, agriculture or forestry, telegraph, telephone, or railway services, are paid from \$1,750 to \$3,000 a year. The director-general of the Alsace-Lorraine railways is paid \$3,375, and an allowance for house rent. District superintendents on the Prussian lines, each of whom has supervision over from 1,500 to 2,000 miles of line, are paid \$2,750 a year, with free dwellings. It frequently happens that men in the government service of unusual capacity reject offers from private concerns of two or three times the salaries they are receiving. The officials who decline such proposals have the same feeling about them that a United States army engineer would have. His pride in the service, the sense of usefulness to the country, the social consideration shown to

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