

time had not yet come to use them. There was no supreme power, apparently, to limit the enormous and dangerous control of priority shipments, and the whole transportation system of the country was thrown into confusion.

"Take the matter of contracts for production. Obviously, in contracting for production of supplies for Europe, some sort of regard should have been had for the capacity of our ships to take them. Yet various bureaus have rushed production in factories to an enormous extent until there are now piled up on the docks of a few great harbors nearly 2,000,000 tons of more or less awaiting shipment, and every day adds to the mass and makes the confusion more confounded. Here again there has been no power to co-ordinate between production and transportation across the Atlantic. Now we must begin to curtail production.

"Again, in the selection of factories for the manufacture of goods care should have been exercised not to congest population beyond the housing possibilities, but enormous contracts have been made which required the concentration of tens of thousands of workmen without any one planning ahead for the housing of the extra men.

AS TO THE FUEL FAMINE

"Take the matter of the Fuel Administration. Congress authorized the control of the fuel of the country, and an attempt was made to control prices, supply, and distribution, but it has apparently been made without any successful effort to co-ordinate the work with other functions of the Government.

"Today we have a fuel famine in the country, not because we lack productive mines, but because they have not been permitted to operate. Lack of knowledge, lack of transportation, and lack of harmony between the Fuel Administration and other functions of the Government are the causes of the breakdown. If there had been some authority which could have brought the Fuel Administration into close contact with the mining and labor interests of the country and with the war industries of the country, as well as into conference with the Priority of Shipments Board and other branches of the Government, much of the present breakdown could have been prevented.

"But the Fuel Administration, like the Food Administration, the War Industries Board, the Raw Materials Board, the Priority of Shipments Board, the Shipping Board, the Aircraft Production Board, and all of the other boards was functioning in an independent course. Its activities were not focused with the other activities at any point. Its decisions were reached and its orders were made practically as though the others did not exist.

"It started trouble last summer by fixing prices for coal at such figures as to make impossible the operation of hundreds of small mines. It reached a climax in mid-Winter by closing arbitrarily for more than a week thousands of industries, throwing millions of laborers and clerks out of work and causing the loss of millions of dollars.

"The Aircraft Production Board, straining every nerve to secure aircraft and aircraft materials, already two months behind on its program, found its production interfered with. The allied Governments, purchasing in this country products necessary to the war, found some of their factories embarrassed. The Shipping Board, waiting for materials from certain plants, found their program interfered with. Almost every other department of the Government stood aghast at the revolutionary character of an order that they had no knowledge of until it appeared in the public press.

THE SHIPPING BOARD DELAYS

"Take the Shipping Board. That was an authority of law created nearly a year and a half ago, in the Fall of 1916, months before we got into the War. It has been running as an independent branch of the Government, co-ordinating with nothing else whatever. For months it was more than a dismal failure—it was a farce, and almost a crime.

"Even since it got into more vigorous operation it has been enormously handicapped and embarrassed because there has been little or no co-ordination of its energies and operations with the energies and operations of other branches. It has needed materials, it has needed labor, and every effort should have been made to get the materials and get the labor supply in priority over every other activity of Government.

"It is a matter of common report, however, that enormous delays have occurred in our shipyards because of their failure to receive materials as well as because labor has been diverted in other directions. I have been told on what I deem reliable authority that 1,000 car loads of ship plates, made for the Shipping Board, loaded upon cars at the place of manufacture, were lost in the congestion of freight for a month at a time while the shipyards waited anxiously for their arrival.

"Production of war materials for Europe has been rushed to completion in factories by labor which should have been employed in building ships and would have been if we had a War Cabinet to survey the whole field and balance production and transportation. Now we have the products filling every warehouse, sidetrack, and dock without the ships to carry them.

"The present condition of our shipbuilding is nothing less than shocking. The present supply of shipping is worse than alarming. I

am afraid to go too deeply into figures, for one might be charged with giving information of value to the enemy were one to tell the truth about the present supply of shipping.

"All who are informed as to the present supply of our shipping were thunderstruck at the statements of Secretary Baker before the Military Affairs Committee. His sanguine predictions as to the ability to ship men to Europe and to supply the war when there are exaggerations of the wildest sort.

THE FOOD SITUATION

"Another evidence of the failure to make departments work together and to co-ordinate their efforts may be seen in the food situation. While in and near New York there have nearly 2,000,000 tons of freight piled up and waiting for ships, we have in New Orleans last week 250,000 tons of shipping and only 80,000 tons of food and feed with which to load it. So the shipping has to lie and wait for the food and feed to arrive.

"Out West at the present time we have hundreds of millions of bushels of corn that cannot be moved from the farms for lack of cars. Actual corn shipments in the last two months have been only 50% of what they were a year ago. With the vast corn supply actually wasting and spoiling on Western farms we have dairy men and other owners of cattle and live stock in the East actually feeding wheat to their live stock because the market is bare of corn.

"In January we shipped to Europe only one-fifth as much corn as we should have shipped and as we promised to ship. Yet that corn is available in the West in quantities never before known. Where is the power in our government to equalize the priority orders and the shipping privileges so that the shipping of food and feed will be planned months in advance and carried out in accordance with the plans? It does not exist. And it will not exist until we have a War Cabinet.

DENIES THERE IS A WAR PLAN

"Secretary Baker says we have plans. I am sorry I cannot agree with him. If there has been one thing more conspicuous by its absence than any other in the operation of the various departments and bureaus in Washington since we went into this war, it has been planning for the future. I do not deny that the various departments and bureaus have planned as far as they could in advance for what they immediately have to do, but who has prepared the master plan which will harmonize the other plans? Nobody. Nobody could.

"The President in the daily press is quoted as objecting to any change in law on the ground that he alone has the responsibility for the conduct of this war. That is to assume that he has exclusive responsibility. The mere statement presents an absurdity.

"It would be a monstrous wrong to hold him (the President) responsible for these and other shortcomings, because he is certainly not alone responsible for the sending of men to the front and the power of omniscience could enable one man to look after these vast interests. He cannot at one time design and conduct our difficult and delicate foreign policy, perform the duties of Commander in Chief of the Army and the Navy, act as liaison with the Prime Minister, design all the legislation for Congress to pass, dictate all the industrial, financial, and political activities of the country, and look after the expenditure of \$250,000,000 a week. It is out of the question and out of reason.

SAYS PRESIDENT DOES NOT KNOW

"I agree with the Chairman of the committee, Senator Chamberlain, that the President does not know the real situation. He cannot give two months to an investigation as we have done. Like a King surrounded by a court he hears practically only one side.

"The people who complain do not reach the President nor even members of his Cabinet. They come to the various Senators and Representatives. It is we who have the responsibility. We declared war, we levied enormous taxes, we authorized the sale of billions of dollars in bonds, we created the present machinery of the Government. We alone can change it.

"The French Parliament and the British Parliament do not shirk their responsibilities. They go much further than we do or could do. When dissatisfied with the conduct of the War they go so far as to up set the administration by an adverse vote, and thus bring about a change in Cabinet. Since this War began three such complete changes have occurred in France and one in Great Britain, to say nothing of some minor changes.

"Shall the Congress of the United States not even be permitted to amend defective machinery? Can one of its great committees not be permitted to report its conclusions on a pending bill? Shall the Senate be prohibited even from discussing bills duly reported and widely demanded by public opinion? I cannot believe our duty to the people would be performed by such weak abdication of responsibility. To use a slang phrase, it is 'up to us'.

"We appropriated billions of dollars, and we find much of that money used to make 2,000,000 tons of munitions of war piled up on the docks because we lack the ships to send it to Europe, while the pigs grows larger day by day. We know this is due to a failure to coordinate production and transportation. We say

the answer is a War Cabinet. "We drafted a great many men from the people and provided abundant money for their clothing, arms, and equipment, but we find that while they have twenty pairs of shoes apiece, tens of thousands have suffered for lack of clothing and tens of thousands have had to drill with wooden guns. We say the answer is a Director of Munitions.

"We supposed the various agencies of Government created by law to carry on the War would all work to a single plan in harmony and accord. We find there has apparently been no one to plan ahead, no one to bring unity of action, no one to co-ordinate the many different functions of Government, and we say the answer is a War Cabinet of three men to do these things."

"The sight of Christ laboring, toiling, fasting, teaching, healing, patient, calm under injustice, tenacious of purpose, persevering, all the manifestation of a character human but absolutely perfect—the combined pattern of all perfection forms a stimulus to our hesitating will, powerful, yet human, beyond the range of any inventiveness of our own.—Sacred Heart Review.

SOLDIERS' DEVOTION TO ST. MICHAEL

"I have before me a picturesque account of another shrine, far away in the provinces, which since the War, has witnessed many acts of faith. The great medieval church of St. Michael 'in peril of the sea,' on the Norman coast, is connected with the remote history of France, and memories of heroism and holiness, of illustrious warriors and saintly abbots, haunt its old scenes. The two hundred people who live on the rock, crowned by a Gothic basilica, know and care little, alas, about these traditions; yet, before the War, more occupied with the tourists who flocked to the surrounding seaside resorts to the 'Mont St. Michel,' but during the last three years there has been a considerable revival of devotion towards the Archangel, who is one of the patrons of France. The material difficulties that make traveling a labor prevent the organization of large pilgrimages, but individual pilgrims are numerous, and scarcely a day passes without some blue soldier coming to kneel in the tiny oratory, where, since the eighth century, prayers have been said to the 'Froest of Paradise,' as the old writers call St. Michael. One day a group of disabled fighting men came on their crutches up the steep, stony street leading to the shrine; another day fifty officers, who were starting for the front, requested the chaplain to give them the scapular. Letters pour in from all parts of France, asking that a lamp should be burnt for some beloved soldier, and in the dimness of the old chapel these faithful stars of light represent the prayers and thoughts that fill many a much-tried home. In this oratory, prayers have been said to the 'Froest of Paradise,' as the old writers call St. Michael. 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