

flour, meal, beans and potatoes; to regulate the practices of exchanges or boards of trade; to fix a guaranteed price for wheat; to require producers of coal and coke to sell their products only to the United States, and to fix prices for such commodities. It also prohibits the use of foods, fruits, food materials or feeds in the production of distilled spirits for beverage purposes; prohibits the importation of distilled spirits; and authorizes the President to limit, regulate or prohibit the use of food materials in the production of malt or vinous liquors for beverage purposes.

In carrying out this act the President is authorized to make a reements, to create and use any agency or agencies, to utilize any department or agency of the government, and to coördinate their activities. Under this provision H. C. Hoover has been appointed as food administrator and H. A. Garfield as fuel administrator.

Committee on Public Information. This committee, established by executive order on April 14, consists of the secretaries of state, war and navy and George Creel, chairman, who is charged with the executive direction of its work. It was created to perform the combined functions of censorship and publicity; and has been organized with divisions on external communications, civic and educational coöperation, publicity, visé, foreign correspondence and foreign language publications, pictures and official bulletin. It publishes a daily *Official Bulletin*; and has issued an annotated edition of the President's *War Message and Facts Behind It*, a national service handbook, and a series of shorter pamphlets. All outgoing cables are censored; and newspapers are informed as to matter whose publication is deemed dangerous.

By proclamation of October 12, a censorship board was established, composed of representatives of the secretary of war, the secretary of the navy, the postmaster general, the war trade board and the chairman of the committee on public information. J. A. F.

British War Administration. In the conduct of the present war there have been striking developments and contrasts in the forms and agencies of governmental action by Great Britain, as compared both with peace conditions and with the methods and machinery employed in former wars. In the contest with Spain during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the management both of the war and the internal administration of the country was exercised chiefly, and almost entirely, by the privy council. There was no parliamentary legislation, except for the levy of new taxes; and there were few specialized administrative

officials or other agencies of the central government. In later years parliamentary legislation increased both in amount and importance; and there was also some development of central administrative machinery. In the time of the younger Pitt, parliamentary action reached its maximum; and there was a voluminous and bewildering mass of statutory legislation. There was also a larger use of specialized administrative officials; and the privy council was relatively a much less important factor than either at earlier times or in the present war. At the same time, the active control and direction of the government was in fact exercised by the extra-legal cabinet, under the forceful leadership of Pitt, the prime-minister.

“In the present war both the privy council and parliament played an active part in the conduct of affairs. The subservience of the council to parliament was in theory beyond doubt, but in fact the members of the council exercised a controlling force in the deliberations of parliament, a reversion to the Elizabethan model which was hardly accompanied by the same tenacity of administration or grasp of the essential features of the problem.”

“This is an eclectic age, and there is hardly a possible form of legislative activity to which the government of Great Britain had not to resort in order rapidly to create an economic screen between the nation and the war zone and at the same time to carry on the war with efficiency. It was necessary not only to secure success in the field and on the seas, but also to preserve a national life immune from social and economic disturbance. Legislative methods employed were both remarkable and complex.”²

Acts of parliament have been numerous;—more so than at any time except that of Pitt;—and the legal supremacy of the king in parliament has been formally recognized by securing such legislation for most of the unusual powers, at least in internal affairs. But, besides the actual control exercised by the cabinet in the formulation of statutes, these measures have been for the most part brief and have granted sweeping authority in the broadest terms, leaving to orders in council and departmental regulations much of what a century ago would have been found in the statutes themselves.

Royal proclamations and orders in council have been much greater in number and more important in content than at any previous time,—more even than in the days of Elizabeth. To a large extent these have

¹ *The Times History and Encyclopedia of the War*, VIII, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

been issued under the express authority of acts of parliament, old and new; but there has also been a significant revival of these forms of action based on the unwritten, prerogative and common law powers of the ancient constitution.

But in addition to this return to the practices of earlier times, there has also been a new and remarkable development of administration through specialized departments, officials and other agencies.

“The progress of the war is affecting deeply our administrative organization. It has imposed new duties on many of the old established departments and has directed their energies on lines which may conduce to the more efficient conduct of the war. The home office, the board of trade, the board of agriculture and fisheries, and even the board of education, have been considerably affected as regards their policy and procedure. Economies have been made on normal services and new functions have to be undertaken to meet requirements which the war has made urgent.”³

As a result of these new functions there has been a remarkable increase in the volume and importance of departmental regulations and orders; and there have also been important developments in the formation of new governmental agencies. For the first two years of the war, these were for the most part in the form of special committees and commissions. A host of these have been established, for one purpose and another. Many have been of an ephemeral character, for some immediate investigation and report. Others have been more lasting, some only as advisory bodies, but a number have been vested with executive and administrative authority.

The vast expansion in the scope of governmental action has further led to important internal reorganization in some of the older departments, and the creation of new divisions and sections,—not to mention the enormous increase in the number of officials, both central and local, and the staff employed.

In addition to all this, great and novel developments have taken place outside of the older departments of the government. This new stage in the development of war administration was begun by the creation, in 1915, of the war trade department, the ministry of munitions, and the board of control for the liquor traffic. Further steps in the same direction were taken, at the end of 1916, by the establishment of the new ministries of food control, shipping control, pensions, labor,

³ *Political Quarterly*, No. 7, p. 148 (1916).

and blockade, and the air board; and to these have been added, in 1917, new departments of national service and reconstruction.

Still more significant has been the change, which has well been called a revolution, in the central organ of control of the British government, the cabinet. Before the war there had been established a cabinet committee on imperial defense, which soon after the beginning of the contest became a war committee. This was reorganized towards the end of 1915 into a smaller war council, for directing the active conduct of the war under the supervision of the cabinet. In the reorganization of the government when Mr. Lloyd George became prime minister, in December, 1916, both the war council and the old cabinet were replaced by a new war cabinet of five members. The composition of this body and its relations to the ministry and to parliament show vital and fundamental differences from the former established conventions of the British constitution.

A further, and perhaps even more important development, took place early in 1917. At the time of a special Imperial War Conference of representatives of the British government and the Dominions and India, there was also held a series of meetings of what was publicly called an imperial war cabinet, comprising the prime minister of the United Kingdom, with the other members of the new war cabinet and the ministers most directly concerned with imperial affairs, and also the prime ministers of most of the self-governing dominions and representatives from India. It was decided to continue this imperial cabinet as a permanent feature of the government of the "Imperial Commonwealth."

Both of the last mentioned and most radical reconstructions of the governmental system—the formation of the war cabinet and the imperial cabinet—have been accomplished, in peculiarly British fashion, by an entirely informal and extra-legal process. No act of parliament has been passed, and no order in council or royal proclamation has been issued, establishing or even announcing the new machinery of government. The existence of the new war cabinet may be ascribed to the decision of Lloyd George, in the process of constituting the new ministry, and the change was accomplished when the new ministers accepted their posts and parliament silently acquiesced in the result, announced in the prime minister's first speech to the house of commons. In the formation of the imperial cabinet, the new body itself decided that it should be a permanent institution; and public announcement was first made, not by or at any legalized governmental

institution, but at a social function—a dinner to the delegates attending the imperial conference.

Nevertheless, the new institutions are related in fact to one of the oldest parts of the formal machinery of British government. The members of the new war cabinet and the new imperial cabinet are all members of the king's privy council; and these new bodies will thus have the same basis as the old cabinet as an informal committee of the council.

From this outline, it should be recognized that the broad question of the effect of the war on the British machinery of public administration is one that well deserves close study and investigation. Many of the changes may prove but temporary, and after the war a return to older methods and practices may be anticipated. Even these are worthy of attention as important events in one of the most stupendous crises in history. But some of the new arrangements, and among them probably the most fundamental, are likely to leave a permanent impress on the British government, and to form a landmark in the development of its constitution and of political and administrative organization throughout the world.

J. A. F.

The Internal Political Situation in Germany. The reaction of the war upon the internal politics of Germany bids fair to be as fundamental and far-reaching as in any country engaged in the struggle, save Russia. The government of Germany was indeed stabilized by the outbreak of the war. The opposition of the Social Democrats, which had been especially active in the immediately antecedent period, was at once quieted, and for the first time in the history of their party they joined in an affirmative vote of the budget. Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals and Clericals also all forgot, not only their differences with one other, but also their differences with the government, and joined heartily in support of the policies of von Bethmann-Hollweg's administration. The war, as it progressed, necessitated a few measures of administrative reorganization, such as the appointment of a food controller, but essentially the government remained unchanged in personnel and character down until the resignation of the chancellor on July 14 of this year. This event was the result of a political crisis of the first magnitude whose full effects are impossible to forecast, but which in all likelihood will mark a radical turning-point in the political history of the German Empire.

Opposition to the government was slow to develop and only reached